Ara Taiohi
Peak Body for Youth Development

# NGĀ TIKANGA WHĀNAKETANGA

# He Arotake Tuhinga

A Review of Aotearoa New Zealand Youth Development Research

May 2019

By **Kelsey Deane** PhD, **Hilary Dutton** MA(Ed) and **Elizabeth Kerekere** PhD

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau
NEW ZEALAND

**EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WORK**

This arotake tuhinga forms part of a broad review of the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (2002) led by Ara Taiohi in partnership with the Vodafone New Zealand Foundation and the Ministry of Youth Development. This component of the review was commissioned by Ara Taiohi and made possible through generous support from the Vodafone New Zealand Foundation.

Vodafone New Zealand Foundation

# Ngā Tikanga Whānaketanga – He Arotake Tuhinga

## A Review of Aotearoa New Zealand Youth Development Research

May 2019

Prepared for Ara Taiohi by

**Kelsey Deane** PhD, **Hilary Dutton** MA(Ed) and **Elizabeth Kerekere** PhD

**Contact information for Principal Investigator**

**Dr Kelsey Deane**
Te Kura Tauwhiro Tangata | School of Counselling, Human Services and Social Work
Faculty of Education and Social Work
The University of Auckland

Private Bag 92601
Symonds Street
Auckland 1150 New Zealand

Telephone: + 09 373 7899 ext. 48685
E-mail: k.deane@auckland.ac.nz

### Potential conflicts of interest:

Kelsey Deane is Co-Director of Campus Connections Aotearoa, a therapeutic youth mentoring programme that has previously received funding from the Vodafone New Zealand Foundation and the Ministry of Youth Development. This work is completely separate from her work with Campus Connections Aotearoa, and the contractual agreement for this work is with Ara Taiohi as the commissioning organisation. No funders were involved in the production of this document. Kelsey has also been involved in evaluation partnerships with several organisations delivering youth programmes and collaborations with other youth researchers, many of whom are represented in the research cited. This review summarises evidence already presented or published and makes no claims with respect to the comparative value of any specific programmes or research studies.

### Acknowledgements:

*Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi,*
*Engari taku toa, it te toa takitini*

*It is not through the strength of one,*
*but of many that we will succeed*

This work has been greatly enhanced by those who participated in the research consultation process (either via the online survey or the research hui). This includes (in alphabetical order by surname) Rod Baxter, Fiona Beals, Pat Bullen, Jono Campbell, Terryann Clark, Simon Denny, Myron Friesen, Niki Harré, Nikki Hurst, Jade Le Grice, Lloyd Martin, Jayne Mercier, Robyn Munford, Jackie Sanders, Ria Schroder, and Nicola Taylor. We are sincerely grateful for their contributions, Ara Taiohi's partnership in this process (with special mentions to Jane Zintl, Shannon Wong, Dayna Carter, and Jon Huang), and the financial support of the Vodafone New Zealand Foundation, without which this arotake would not have been possible. We also acknowledge the other researchers whose work we have included here, and the young people who were willing to share their experiences through research participation. Thank you for your contributions. They are critical to advancing the development and wellbeing of young people across Aotearoa New Zealand.

# Contents

# Executive Summary

## Introduction

- The Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (YDSA) has been pivotal for the youth development sector since its launch in 2002. It has provided the foundation for youth development practice and qualifications. It has also been prominent in youth research but it is in need of an update to better align with the needs of contemporary young people in Aotearoa New Zealand.
- This Aotearoa-based youth development arotake tuhinga (literature review) attempts to address critiques of the YDSA and its accompanying literature review, *Building Strengths*, (2002) particularly with respect to their Western orientation. To ensure kaupapa Māori was integral to this work, we created a framework based on concepts discussed in Māori models of youth development. The scope, structure, and focus of this arotake (review) was guided by research-engaged "critical friends" who were consulted in the process.
- This arotake is only one component of the activities that form a broader review of the YDSA. It encompassed *Te Ao Māori* (Māori world) through the use of te reo Māori and Māori frameworks; *Kaimahi* (workers) through an online survey and regional consultations with young people and people who work with young people across the country with additional hui for Māori practitioners; *Taiohi* (young people) through two focus groups; one for young people and one for Pacific Island youth practitioners and young people; and a survey on young people's perceptions of wellbeing; and *Mātauranga* through this arotake and an evidence review of the youth development landscape.
- Six Māori concepts provide the organising frames for the youth development literature we reviewed. Each is described in relation to the six existing principles of the YDSA although they do not directly correlate in each case. They are Whakapapa (interconnectedness through time and space); Mauri (one's inherent potential and life spark); Mana (one's inherent authority and integrity); Manaakitanga (generosity and care for collective wellbeing); Whanaungatanga (relationship building and connection); and Mātauranga (knowledges).
- We have come a long way in the past 17 years with respect to producing youth development research. Research about and with young people in Aotearoa New Zealand has burgeoned. It is rich, diverse, and exciting. We have benefitted from large-scale quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods projects, theoretical and conceptual articles, books, and numerous theses from multiple disciplines, all forms of which were considered in this arotake. Given such a range, we limited the scope of this arotake to Aotearoa research published from 2002 onwards that was focused on young people aged 12–24 years and their development or wellbeing. A "living" bibliography of research we identified will be housed on Ara Taiohi's website and additional research can be added.

## Review Insights

- There is much to celebrate regarding the young people in this country. Research demonstrates that the majority are healthy, happy and well adjusted. Most young people report having positive relationships in their lives and positive aspirations for their future. We have also seen many improvements in their health and wellbeing over the past 17 years, including substantial reductions in risk taking behaviour.
- Aotearoa New Zealand is becoming increasingly diverse, as evidenced by growing Māori, Pasifika and Asian youth populations. There has also been growth in the number of young people who identify with more than one ethnicity. Young people in Aotearoa New Zealand deftly navigate their multiple identities and cultural worlds. Young people's ethnic identities (both in traditional and contemporary form) are a common source of pride and having a positive ethnic identity is an important contributor to their wellbeing. At the same time, young people with stigmatised ethnic identities are all too aware of the negative stereotypes that pervade their lives and this hampers their developmental outcomes.

- Young people in Aotearoa New Zealand face too many systemic risks and violations of their human rights. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCROC) demands more from us, and the cumulative effects of not addressing the issues raised by advocacy groups are beginning to show. Too many young people in New Zealand are not getting their basic needs met. Too many young people are also marginalised based on their ethnic, religious, sexual, gender, and ability identities. They exhibit many strengths, but are too often the targets of hostility, harm, and more insidious forms of prejudice and discrimination. The neoliberal policies of the 1980s have exacerbated the inequities created by colonisation, the effects of which continue to be felt by young people. Marginalised young people struggle to access the resources and opportunities needed to thrive and they suffer from poorer emotional health and wellbeing. The difficulties compound when young people have multiple, intersecting marginalised identities.
- Robust research on the developmental experiences of Asian, migrant and refugee, rural, and Rainbow young people, and young people with disabilities is scarce in New Zealand, particularly research which privileges their voices and investigates the experiences and impact of having intersecting, marginalised identities.
- The digital world is evidently becoming a space where young people spend a lot of their time. This is a site for a wide array of positive and negative developmental experiences and one that has fundamentally changed young people's lives but the consequences of this remain largely unknown. The generational digital divide needs to be bridged because many adults do not have a good understanding of what young people do online nor how to support them. This provides major opportunities for innovative research where young people, as the digital natives and experts, should be supported to lead.
- In many ways, young people in New Zealand are prevented from full citizenship participation despite largely inaccurate lamentations that young people today are apathetic. Civic disengagement is influenced by inaccessible opportunities and information about civic processes, and narrow conceptualisations about what counts as civic engagement. Many young people ultimately want a kinder, fairer world, and they want to make a difference but require support to do this. For a long time, young people have felt silenced. They have a need for agency in their lives and a right to be involved in decisions that affect them. And whilst there has been increasing attention on youth voice and youth participation over the past 17 years, organisations are still struggling to provide authentic opportunities for this. Youth participation opportunities also tend to be selective whereas they need to be available to the full spectrum of youth.
- When young people are adequately supported to engage in authentic participation, service and leadership opportunities, they benefit. They are capable – and not just the high achievers. Adults need to relinquish some of their power and expect more of young people for authentic youth participation to be effective.
- For taiohi (young people) who are Māori, youth development is inherently tied to Māori development where the focus of youth participation is for the benefit and wellbeing of the collective. This invokes the need for youth participation to involve cultural participation. Some notions of youth participation advanced in Western models sit in tension with traditional Māori views and do so in ways that can disrupt young people's understanding of the kaupapa.
- Confidence and competency development provide the foundation for agency and leadership. This is a focus of many New Zealand-based youth development programmes, where experiential learning, group cohesion and support, and skilled adult role models facilitate personal growth. Young people sharing their experiences through the programme evaluations we reviewed overwhelmingly report positive learning and development. There are, however, areas for improvement where the most common themes highlighted the importance of cultural responsiveness in programming and the skills and characteristics of the people working with young people.
- Providing accessible (financial and otherwise) and research-informed training and education for people who support young people, whether through natural or formal roles is a worthy investment. Above all, research demonstrates that it is the people who walk alongside young people who have a fundamental influence on their developmental journey. The relationships young people have with the important people in their lives, particularly with whānau/family, are the primary nurturing sources of their development, but can also be the sources of strife.

- The school context is, unfortunately, a common site for the latter, particularly for marginalised young people and this sits in contrast with their experiences in youth programmes and community-based activities. Sense of belonging is a vital nutrient for positive youth development and it is not only the people but the climate of the places young people inhabit that matter in this regard.
- For some young people, youth workers are the allies and connecting agents in their lives. Despite major advances in the youth development sector (led in important ways by Ara Taiohi over the past decade), resource constraints have negatively influenced work conditions for youth workers for far too long. Passion goes a long way but meagre resourcing, time pressures and poor pay impinge on the quality of their work and their own wellbeing.
- To date, Western, deficit-based psychological and neuroscientific knowledge has been privileged in policy and public discourse about youth development. Robust research is critical to raising awareness and developing strategies to best support the positive development of all young people in Aotearoa New Zealand, whether through policy or practice. These goals are better served by drawing on multidisciplinary, multi-method and multicultural research that incorporates multiple stakeholder perspectives.

# Recommendations

- Focus on creating systemic change. Perhaps now, more than ever (given the improvements we have seen in individual risk), future thinking and policy needs to be directed at improving the environmental systems in which young people are embedded. These are where outcomes are deteriorating or stagnating and this is what young people say they want.
- Raise critical consciousness across institutions involving young people. Changing systems in an increasingly diverse country necessitates the disruption of entrenched mindsets that privilege Western ideals over indigenous and other cultural perspectives and, inadvertently or not, perpetuates oppression.
- Grow multidisciplinary and multimethod research on the developmental experiences of Asian, migrant and refugee, and Rainbow young people, young people with disabilities and those living in rural New Zealand. Continuing support of large-scale, research projects that provide a representative picture of their lives is critical to effective strategy development. We also need research that amplifies their voices and deepens our understanding of the impact of having intersecting, marginalised identities.
- Following from this, develop research-informed strategies and best practice guidelines to better support marginalised young people.
- Likewise, invest in building an evidence-base about young people in the digital world to take advantage of the beneficial opportunities it offers while mitigating the accompanying risks. Develop strategies to bridge the generational digital divide – with young people at the helm.
- Disseminate case exemplars of authentic and effective youth participation involving diverse groups of young people with clear best practice guidelines. Support organisations to make changes that will enable more frequent, widespread and genuine youth participation practices.
- Invest resources in creating positive organisational, school, and family climates for young people. Invest in the people who support young people within these contexts. Young people thrive when their surrounding environments are affirming, safe and resource rich. This requires accessible, culturally responsive, and research-informed training, education, and ongoing support. Developing people who support young people to embrace an authentic Aotearoa-flavoured youth development approach and to evaluate their efforts is critical to advancing the wellbeing of young people in this country.
- Recognise, value and invest in youth development approaches informed first by home-grown Māori youth development models in concert with Western approaches – approaches that 1) affirm young people's mauri, 2) enhances their mana, 3) are characterised by manaakitanga, 4) facilitate whanaungatanga, 5) remain mindful of young people's whakapapa, and 6) are informed by rich and diverse mātauranga. Follow through with the original vision of the YDSA by keeping the refreshed version of the YDSA visible across policy platforms, advocating for its use in guiding practice in all public sector organisations, and promoting engagement with it by others walking alongside young people.

# An Introduction to He Arotake Tuhinga

The intention of the *Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa* (YDSA), initially published in 2002 by the then Ministry of Youth Affairs (MYA), was to provide a common policy platform to guide policy decisions and initiatives focused on young people aged 12 to 24 years – those considered "youth" according to MYA and the current Ministry of Youth Development (MYD), who have adapted the United Nations' (UN) definition of youth (which is 15 – 24 years). Whilst the primary audience for the original YDSA included policymakers, public sector agencies, and other government contracted service providers, the YDSA offered a vision, goals and principles to any organisation, group or individual interested in supporting the positive development and wellbeing of young people in this country (MYA, 2002). Seventeen years on, we have experienced many changes in the political landscape that have influenced young people and people working with young people in Aotearoa New Zealand. This includes changes that, until now, have invisibilised the YDSA in the policy context (Beals, 2015; Deane & Shepherd, 2016).

The YDSA's principles have, nevertheless, remained the indomitable pillars of practice for the youth development sector. These principles provide the foundation for *The Code of Ethics for Youthwork in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Ara Taiohi, 2011), henceforth referred to as the *Code of Ethics*, and the competencies for Youth Worker accreditation by Aotearoa New Zealand's first professional association for Youth Workers, Korowai Tupu o Ara Taiohi (Ara Taiohi, 2019). They have also shaped the core content of youth development education with certificates, diplomas and degrees requiring graduates to have knowledge of the YDSA. As such they have provided a working definition of "youth development" for Aotearoa New Zealand. Moreover, wide consultation conducted as part of the current review of the YDSA indicates that those engaged with the youth development sector still feel that the broad principles are relevant and useful.

If we are to stay true to the YDSA principles, however, we must continue to engage with and be informed by "good information" (YDSA Principle 6). This includes making evidence-informed decisions regarding potential changes to the YDSA and its principles rather than blindly sticking to the status quo. New Zealand society has undergone substantial changes over the past 20 years and young people today deserve renewed attention to the policies and practices that affect them. Collecting evidence to inform these decisions must therefore encompass the direct perspectives of young people and people who work with young people, as well as evidence derived from relevant research.

## Kupenga Kete Framework for Te Arotake YDSA

In order to encompass the range of contributions for the overall Arotake (review), and to reflect calls for a kaupapa Māori and Treaty-based concept, a Māori framework was developed. The Kete Kupenga framework, produced by the third author, is inspired by the pictured kete (on next page) which uses a kupenga (fishing net) weave.

The Kete Kupenga framework features a loose diamond weave which starts simply and develops into an intricate knot where double strands meet. The four double strands feeding into the knot represent the components of intersectional youth development, Te Ao Māori (Māori world), Taiohi (young people), Kaimahi (workers: people who work with young people) and Mātauranga (knowledges, research). The knots themselves represent key points of whakapapa in those intersections such as events or publications. The space between the weave represents wairua, time and place. It builds on and contextualises the Whatu Raranga strategic framework of Ara Taiohi which features woven items to represent strategic goals: *Rourou*: connect the sector – whakawhanaungatanga; *Kete*: raise the standards – whakamanatanga; *Korowai*: champion youth development – taiohitanga; and *Waikawa*: promote sustainability – rōnakitanga.

*Te Ao Māori* strands are reflected in the use of te reo Māori and Māori frameworks. In addition to gathering Māori voices across all of the strands, this Aotearoa-based youth development literature review, entitled *Ngā Tikanga Whānaketanga – He Arotake Tuhinga* (roughly translated as "document review on the principles of youth development") is guided by Māori youth and community development models.

The *Taiohi* strands are reflected in the survey was conducted by youth-led organisation, ActionStation (2018), *Ngā Kōrero Hauora o Ngā Taiohi*, that engaged over 1000 young people and youth development professionals to examine what youth wellbeing looks like in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Ministry of Youth Development also facilitated a youth focus group (2019). This arotake tuhinga was informed by taiohi Māori critiques of the YDSA, and young people took part in the Pacific talanoa.

The *Kaimahi* strands are reflected in a national online survey and a workshop with over 300 participants at Involve 2018. In 2019, a series of regional consultations with young people and people who work with young people were held across the country. Alongside the regional hui, were specific hui for Ngā Kaihoe, Māori working with young people, with one talanoa for Pasifika youth practitioners and young people.

The *Mātauranga* strands are reflected in this arotake tuhinga and in the evidence review of the youth development landscape that was conducted by the Centre for Social Impact (CSI). CSI's (2018) review reflected on the status and relevance of the YDSA since its introduction in 2002, as well as evidence from the youth development sector more broadly, to assess how a future national strategy for youth development could be mapped. The review presented data relating to protective and risk factors for young people today; a summative review of practice frameworks such as the *Code of Ethics* (Ara Taiohi, 2011) and *Positive Youth Development in Aotearoa*

(Wayne Francis Charitable Trust – Youth Advisory Group, 2011); and characteristics of effective youth development programmes, such as early intervention, youth mentoring, and inclusion of whānau and community. The review also presented findings from a plenary session at the national Involve 2018 youth development conference focused on the future of the YDSA, and a smaller co-design workshop involving civil servants and practitioners interested in child and youth wellbeing (CSI, 2018). Although we will not reiterate details of the insights arising from these other activities, we refer to some of the findings in this arotake and encourage readers to explore these related resources.

# Youth Development Research that Informed the Existing YDSA

Though not as prominent as the YDSA itself, McLaren (2002) produced an extensive youth development literature review, entitled *Building Strengths*, (McLaren, 2002). McLaren's review was conducted concurrently with the development of the YDSA and focused predominantly on issues facing young people, whilst the YDSA was informed by extensive feedback MYA obtained from young people, youth workers, youth policymakers and other youth development experts across the country. Today, we are in a very different position with respect to the youth development research we have available to us, thus our approach to this literature review is quite different to that taken by McLaren almost 20 years ago.

McLaren's (2002) literature review traversed a wide range of research on adolescent development focused on contextual and relational influences on positive outcomes. The review conceptualised positive adolescent development as effective navigation of the transition to adulthood, including mastery of key tasks associated with physical, sexual, cognitive, socioemotional and identity development challenges. McLaren highlights the importance of support through the adolescent transition period and draws on research focused on factors such as family structure, parenting styles, peer influences, school climate and structure, community connection, and participation in leisure activities and employment. The seminal research McLaren cited is still informative and, importantly, her recommendations for how to create positive outcomes for young people align well with the Positive Youth Development (PYD) perspective that has gained ground overseas since the late 20th century (see Damon, 2004; Hamilton, Hamilton, & Pittman, 2004; Lerner, 2005). This includes the importance of building young people's strengths through high quality relationships, surrounding them with positive influences and rich resources, and engaging them in constructive activities and well-structured educational opportunities.

On the other hand, McLaren's (2002) review contained a meager amount of New Zealand-based research. She acknowledged there was very little New Zealand youth development research available at the time of writing, particularly research on Māori youth. Where she could locate some, it was incorporated. This major limitation was likely influenced by her confined scope, given she prioritised quantitative research derived from statistically robust methodological designs (McLaren, 2002).

Relatedly, McLaren's review represents a narrow, Westernised and predominantly psychological perspective of individualised development that obscures important cultural and socio-structural perspectives and sits in tension with indigenous and other collectivist ways of knowing. Further, youth voices and minority youth experiences are notably absent. This is not uncharacteristic of youth development research (Keelan, 2014; Ware, 2009), especially prior to the 21st century. Keelan (2014) has acknowledged that New Zealand youth development research, particularly indigenous research, was scarce 20 years ago. Nevertheless, relevant mātauranga Māori models of human development (Anae, Moewaka Barnes, McCreanor, & Watson, 2002; Keelan, 2014) and documentation of traditional Māori child and youth development practices certainly existed (Baxter, Caddie & Bidois Cameron, 2016; Te Ora Hou, 2011). Consequently, many New Zealand scholars conducting youth-focused research have expressed related critiques (e.g., Anae et al., 2002: Beals, 2008a, 2015; Beals, Foaese, Miller, Perkins, & Sargent, 2018; Bullen, Deane, Meissel, & Bhatnagar, 2019; France, 2012; Keelan, 2014; Ware, 2009; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010).

The absence of a Te Ao Māori perspective of youth development is a glaring omission for a literature review meant to support the development of a strategy that should be bicultural, and where the first principle highlights the obligations we have to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi), as the nation's founding constitutional document. McLaren (2002) argued that, in the absence of New Zealand research, cross-cultural findings were

included to supplement the predominantly U.S.-based research in her review to demonstrate that findings related to principles for promoting positive youth development outcomes were largely stable across cultures. However, important differences between cultural and cross-cultural research undermines the applicability of the latter to demonstrate how cultural values, norms and experience shape a person's thoughts and behaviours. Important cultural perspectives are lost if we restrict ourselves to the insights gained from cross-cultural research alone.

## Recent Advances in Aotearoa New Zealand Youth Development Research

There is no paucity of New Zealand-based youth development research today. The field has burgeoned over the past two decades, as evidenced in this arotake. The YDSA itself provoked responses from Māori youth development scholars who criticised the strategy for its Western orientation (Keelan, 2014; Ware, 2009; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010) and its disconnection from the lived experiences of taiohi (young) Māori (Ware, 2009; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). Researchers and practitioners have since developed frameworks, models and principles grounded in Te Ao Māori concepts (Baxter et al, 2016; Caddie, 2011, Keelan, 2003, 2014; Simmonds, Harré & Crengle, 2014; Hurst, 2017; Ware, 2009; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010).

We have also seen the presence of Pasifika models gain visibility in the youth development space. Anae et al. (2002) drew attention to the criticality of understanding the concept of "Va" for Samoan youth wellbeing, referring to the "space between people, which at once joins and separates them" (p. 8). The concept of Va also surfaces in the most recent guide produced by the New Zealand Youth Mentoring Network (2019), along with Luafutu-Simpson's *Fausiga O Le Fale Tele* framework for exploring Samoan values with young people. The Ministry of Social Development (MSD) also published the Auckland Pacific Youth Development Strategy based on consultation with the Pasifika community in 2005, though it has since disappeared from discussions about youth development.

There are now numerous theses focused on youth in New Zealand, youth development programme evaluations are far more prolific, three full length books have been dedicated to youth work in Aotearoa New Zealand and another exclusively on Māori Youth Development (Keelan, 2014). In addition to this extensive knowledge base, we have also hugely benefitted from several large scale youth-focused research projects that have collectively generated hundreds of research reports and peer-reviewed journal articles focused on the wellbeing and development of youth in this country. The Adolescent Health Research Group's (AHRG) Youth 2000 Series has produced the most comprehensive picture of the health and wellbeing of young New Zealanders to date through its representative Youth '01, Youth '07 and Youth '12 surveys of 8000–10,000 secondary school students. AHRG has also produced numerous reports and presentations on youth subpopulations including Māori, Pacific, Asian, migrant, same and both-sex attracted, and transgender youth; youth with disabilities; and youth enrolled in Alternative Education and Teen Parent Units[1]

The *Youth Pathways & Transitions* research projects led by Munford and Sanders at Massey University for the New Zealand component of an international resilience research programme have included approximately 1500 young people. Together the projects have produced well over 50 peer-reviewed publications and the projects have informed a strengths-based model, PARTH, for practice with vulnerable youth[2]. The research produced from the now concluded *Youth Connectedness Project* led by a team at Victoria University Wellington is also insightful.

Evidently, in 2019, we cannot make the excuse that we have little New Zealand based research upon which to make evidence-informed policy and practice decisions. We do – and the research that exists offers rich and varied perspectives of young people's experiences in Aotearoa New Zealand, the kind that are important for effectively supporting the holistic development of our very diverse young people. It's drawbacks notwithstanding, the YDSA

1 For a comprehensive list of AHRG publications see **https://www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/en/faculty/adolescent-health-research-group/publications-and-reports.html**

2 For a comprehensive list of Youth Pathways & Transitions publications see **http://www.youthsay.co.nz/**

has frequently been cited as a grounding framework for youth development in New Zealand by many scholars (Baxter et al., 2016; Beals, 2008b, 2015; Beals et al., 2018; Deane & Shepherd, 2016; Farruggia & Bullen, 2010; Hurst, 2017; Martin, 2006) and needs to be acknowledged not only for its foundational role in youth development practice, but for mobilising research for the sector. Simultaneously, researchers have called for its review and revitalization, particularly with respect to the integration of non-Western perspectives (Beals 2015; Beals et al., 2018; Deane & Shepherd, 2016) thus it is heartening that this review is underway.

## The Scope, Limitations, and Approach to He Arotake Tuhinga

Because there is now ample youth research to draw on from the Aotearoa context, resource and time constraints required us to narrow our scope. As a result, the following arotake only contains research produced from *2002 onwards* that explicitly focuses on young people aged *12 to 24 years* (as per Ara Taiohi and MYD's definitions of youth, adapted from the UN definition) *in the Aotearoa New Zealand context* and their *development or wellbeing*. We have included theoretical, conceptual, and empirical research produced from qualitative, quantitative and mixed-methods designs, reviews and commentaries published in book chapters, peer-reviewed journal articles, and reports. However, we have largely excluded conference papers, other presentations, and policy documents that do not incorporate research.

Being mindful of our own disciplinary and personal biases toward research on youth development, we engaged in consultation with individuals across New Zealand who are engaged with youth research before we embarked on the task of conducting the arotake. With the support of Ara Taiohi, we solicited online feedback from these individuals regarding the YDSA's strengths and drawbacks and the theories and research they felt were important for advancing the field. We then engaged a small group of research-engaged "critical friends" in a workshop geared to collectively determine the shape and structure of the arotake tuhinga. The feedback from this workshop highlighted the importance of:

- a Te Ao Māori orientation and inclusion of the YDSA's whakapapa;
- attention to other diversity and equity perspectives;
- a predominant focus on Aotearoa New Zealand research;
- incorporation of multidisciplinary perspectives, qualitative research and research that augments youth voices;
- and using the existing YDSA principles as a loose organising structure, while remaining open to additional principles or frameworks supported by research.

Our limited project resources also meant that we have prioritised research the consulted individuals signaled they felt was important. In this sense, this is primarily a crowd-sourced youth development arotake tuhinga, supplemented by our own knowledge of research in this space, and a review that we hope honours the diverse perspectives of the research-engaged individuals who participated in our consultation process. Even with those delimiting parameters, we could not capture the full breadth of recommended research in this written research synthesis; therefore, we have also produced an accompanying bibliography that contains a greater range of research than the studies cited in this document. The bibliography will be housed on Ara Taiohi's Research Directory available at **http://www.arataiohi.org.nz/**. Our vision is for this to be a useful repository of New Zealand-based youth development research that could become a "living" database where additional studies be added.

# The Organising Framework for He Arotake Tuhinga

We began by categorising literature according to the existing YDSA principles, as recommended, while noting some of the challenges we encountered in doing this. The three authors then met to discuss these challenges and the feedback that had come through the consultation process thus far. We opted to set the YDSA principles aside and review the principles discussed in Māori-specific youth development literature to then see how Te Ao Māori concepts aligned with the existing principles. In this way, research literature, consultation feedback and the existing principles mutually informed the organising framework for this arotake tuhinga.

To elaborate, we initially struggled to categorise youth identity research within the existing principles. The topic of identity does not feature strongly in the existing YDSA. There is acknowledgement that the "big picture" shapes personal and cultural identities, that low self-esteem is a risk factor, and that identity is a "key issue for specific groups of young people" (MYA, 2002, p. 40 – 43). Fostering positive identities in young people is also mentioned as a goal of the YDSA. The sparse comments related to identity in the YDSA do not, however, align with the considerable multidisciplinary research that exists on young people's experiences of identity exploration and development within the contexts of family/whānau, peers, culture, sexuality, gender, programme and community participation, and a globalised world. Some of the challenges of positioning identity within a single existing principle may stem from the different ways that identity is constructed within Māori compared to within Western worldviews, where the constructions of the former align more closely with PYD notions of connection and the latter with confidence (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2018). Identity, like quality relationships, connection, and participation influences and is influenced by the other YDSA principles, hence we felt it was important to draw explicit attention to identity in this arotake.

The description of the third YDSA principle that "youth development is based on a consistent strengths-based approach" was also limiting with respect to categorising relevant research. Whilst Principle 3 encourages a move away from seeing youth as problems and promoting protective factors (including connection and participation) to mitigate risk, the risk and protection approach to youth development is inherently deficit-focused and grounded in a history of risk psychology that marginalises non-normative young people and sees problems (and therefore solutions) as residing with individuals and their families (Beals, 2015). In contrast, the strengths-based perspective, as described in other literature, emphasises core aspects that are lacking in the description of Principle 3. For instance, a focus on a young person's inherent potential, talent, passion, and agency; understanding and working with youth from a systems and community-engaged perspective (Farruggia & Bullen, 2010); empowering youth by affirming their strengths; collaborating with them to use their assets; and facilitating their sense of belonging (Keelan, 2014; Kerekere 2017a, 2017b); Wayne Francis Charitable Trust – Youth Advisory Group, 2011). In this way, a strengths-based approach cuts across many of the YDSA principles and we considered that the organising frames used for this arotake tuhinga should collectively represent a strengths-based approach.

The six organising frames for this arotake initially stemmed from an analysis of research led by Keelan (2014) and Ware (Ware, 2009; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). These researchers have explicitly critiqued the YDSA from a tangata whenua perspective and have challenged us to first look to Māori approaches. Accordingly, Keelan's full text on Māori Youth Development, *Nga Reanga*, draws on lessons from pūrākau (stories) of Māui, "an ancestral hero, a role model of what to do and not to do" (Keelan, 2014, p.V) and the three models of youth development described in her text also draw inspiration from whakataukī and mātauranga Māori concepts. Equally, Ware (2009) used Māui pūrākau to identify constructs that were relevant to taiohi Māori and used these to guide discussions about tikanga (cultural values) and āhuatanga (characteristics or qualities) that eight taiohi Māori felt were important to their development.

Keelan's (2002) Taiohi Māori Development Toolkit, developed as part of a set of resources associated with the YDSA and to inform a national youth suicide strategy, takes its inspiration from Sir Apirana Ngata's whakataukī – *E Tipu e Rea* – written for Ranginui Walker. Her translation of E Tipu e Rea draws attention to themes associated with the time and place of adolescence, cultural heritage and positive cultural identity but also the benefit of exploring different

cultural worlds and resources, and spiritual integrity (Keelan, 2014). Keelan interprets the fishing metaphor reflected in Karetu's whakataukī "Ka pu te ruha ka hao te rangatahi" in relation to emerging leadership. She points to the need for preparation and a readiness to learn, a safe and supportive environment in which one can take risks yet seek guidance, where generosity and commitment are of prime importance and where achievements are celebrated. Finally, her MĀUI model of youth entrepreneur development proposes that development stems from the core concepts of Mauri (the inherent life force or spark), Mana (authority derived from relationships with others), Āta (careful reflection and planning), and Arataki (leadership).

Ware and Walsh-Tapiata's research also explicitly emphasised the importance of Mana (which they defined as collective integrity and responsibility), Manaakitanga (collective wellbeing), and Whanaungatanga (relationship building). These three broad cultural values were seen to drive the qualities of Māia (confidence), Manawanui (resilience), Ihumanea (innovation), and Mahaki (humility) that resonated with the taiohi Māori who they interviewed (Ware, 2009; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010).

Kerekere (2015, 20017a, 2017b) discussed youth development from a takatāpui (Māori LGBTIQ) perspective. Her definition of takatāpui speaks to Whakapapa (descent from ancestors with sexual and gender fluidity), Mana (authority and power to be who we are), Identity (claiming all of who we are – culture, gender, sexuality and ability), and Inclusion (unity across all iwi, genders, sexualities and sex characteristics). Kerekere's *Whare Takatāpui* model (2017b) describes a place of wellbeing and safety that addresses the impact of colonisation on people with diverse genders, sexualities and sex characteristics. It includes additional values of Wairua (interconnectedness of all things in the universe particularly ancestors and atua), Mauri (life spark, identity choice and expression), Mana Wāhine (restoration of gender balance and the basis of eliminating homophobia, transphobia and biphobia), Tapu (maintaining safety and boundaries), and Tikanga (processes based on sound mātauranga).

Te Ora Hou's model of practice with youth and whānau shares a great deal with the above frameworks. Their Maia model emphasises concepts based on Durie's essential principles for Māori whānau and community wellbeing, and the Circle of Courage, a well-known youth development model grounded in Native American principles (Baxter et al., 2016; Te Ora Hou, 2011; Wayne Francis Charitable Trust – Youth Advisory Group, 2011). The core of the model illustrates essential ingredients for identity, belonging and support of youth as embedded in whānau, hapū and iwi. The ingredients include Ohaoha (generosity and contribution, Pukengatanga (mastery and competence through elder-youth mentoring relationships), and Mana Motuhake (independence and mastery). These ingredients are nourished through Whakamana (empowerment and participation), Whakatakato Tikanga (future planning), Manaakitia (whānau care), Pupuri taonga (effective resource management), Whakapūmau Tikanga (cultural integrity and affirmation), and Whakawhānaungatanga (whānau consensus and cohesion).

Similar concepts are expressed in Luafutu-Simpson's Fausiga O Le Fale Tele model of Samoan values to teach to children (as cited in NZYMN, 2019). Simmonds et al.'s (2014) *Te Kete Whanakentanga – Rangatahi*, a conceptual model of Māori positive youth development likewise emphasises the importance of a holistic, relational and systems approach that deeply considers culture and history, as do contemporary international models of positive youth development, the majority of which stem from Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of human development (Farruggia & Bullen, 2010; Keelan, 2014; Ware, 2009).

To this last point, there are, in fact, remarkable similarities between mātauranga Māori models and oft-cited overseas models of positive youth development (Anae et al., 2002), so it is not a case of mātauranga Māori only being of benefit to taiohi Māori. The principles for positive development of taiohi Māori are largely the active ingredients of positive development for all youth. Thus we are not advocating for the need to throw out Western models of youth development. Instead, we contend, alongside others (Beals, 2015; Beals et al., 2018; Keelan, 2014; Ware, 2009; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010), that Māori and Aotearoa-based models should orient our analysis of Western perspectives and not the other way around.

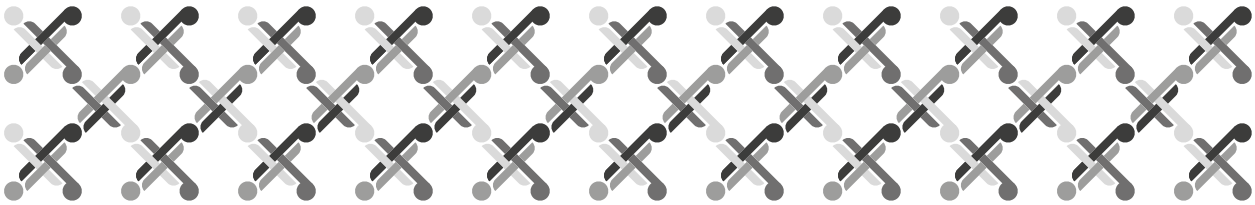
The salient themes we noted across these scholarly, culturally and practice-informed discussions were of Mauri (potential, passion and identity); Mana (agency, integrity and inborn value deserving of respect);

Manaakitanga (care, generosity and investment in relationships where the collective responsibility lies with the side with greater power or authority); and Whanaungatanga (inherent need for connection, sense of belonging and positive relationships, particularly with those considered whānau). Interconnectedness is also represented through Whakapapa (systems that link cultural heritage, historical events, stories, and policies that have culminated in the here and now). Finally, Mātauranga speaks to the importance of sharing the valuable knowledge we have accumulated from different perspectives and different sources over time to inform the way forward.

These six mātauranga Māori concepts: *Whakapapa, Mauri, Mana, Manaakitanga, Whānaungatanga, and Mātauranga* form the organising frames of this arotake tuhinga. They are not direct translations of the six existing YDSA principles. Had they been, we would be continuing to endorse a cultural "add-on" approach (Trickett, 2015, p. 201) to what are, in essence, Western constructs – an approach that has produced substantial "cultural cringe" here in New Zealand (Keelan, 2014, p. 5; see also Anae et al., 2002; Beals, 2015; Beals et al., 2018; Ware, 2009; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010).

This is the whakapapa of the organising frames for the literature synthesis that follows, each with a more detailed descriptive introduction that refers to links with the existing YDSA principles. We begin with Whakapapa as the orientation that connects the past to the present and the future. We then move to Mauri and Mana, essential qualities of young people. Sections focused on Manaakitanga and Whanaungatanga follow which emphasise the supportive context required to foster youth development, and Mātauranga summarises where we are currently placed in terms of good information for youth development in Aotearoa. Woven together, this information guides our conclusions and recommendations for the future.

> Recognise, value and invest in youth development approaches informed first by home-grown Māori youth development models in concert with Western approaches – approaches that:
>
> 1) affirm young people's mauri,
>
> 2) enhances their mana,
>
> 3) are characterised by manaakitanga,
>
> 4) facilitate whanaungatanga,
>
> 5) remain mindful of young people's whakapapa, and
>
> 6) are informed by rich and diverse mātauranga.



# WHAKAPAPA

Whakapapa is traditionally used to describe genealogical or ancestral lineages; therefore, connection to and interconnection between whānau, hapū and iwi (Keelan, 2014). Whakapapa also captures the stories of descendants, their connection to whenua (land) and events that have shaped history. Hence, whakapapa also represents the histories of people, places and events that provide the context for where we are now. Whakapapa illustrates how the "big picture" shapes youth development (YDSA Principle 1) by telling the story of how we arrived at the present situation, accounting for the values, beliefs and actions that have contributed to the current context. Whakapapa teaches us important historical lessons that have future-focused implications. It is the responsibility of current descendants to ensure the healthy and positive continuation of their whakapapa (Keelan, 2014). As Beals et al. (2018) articulate, whakapapa "requires us to look back at our social and spatial connections. It is *whakapapa* that gives us our story, it is whakapapa that ignites the hope that is in each of us" (p. 238).

Some of the whakapapa of youth development research in Aotearoa New Zealand has been told in the previous sections of this document. This section therefore focuses on research that paints a picture of the current situation for youth in New Zealand. It includes literature on current big picture wellbeing trends and issues for the general youth population as well as for specific groups, and how past and present policies and events have contributed to the current situation. This discussion signals issues that need to be addressed to ensure that all young people in Aotearoa New Zealand flourish in the future.

# The Current Picture of Youth Wellbeing

Since 2000, the Adolescent Health Research Group (AHRG) has undertaken three significant, large-scale surveys as part of the *Youth 2000 Survey Series* predominantly involving secondary school students in New Zealand. A summary of findings from these surveys (Clark et al., 2013) show how young people are faring and how their context influences their personal health and wellbeing. Overall, most young people in Aotearoa are doing very well. They generally have positive family, peer and school relationships. Since the turn of the century, there have been improvements regarding individual risk behaviours: fewer youth are engaging in dangerous driving, binge drinking, cigarette and marijuana use, perpetrating violence, and initiating early sexual activity (Clark et al., 2013; Lewycka et al., 2018). This is something to celebrate and to keep in mind when confronted with the "storm and stress" myth that adolescence is an inherently tumultuous period characterised by uncivility (Beals, 2015; Beals et al., 2018; Deane & Shepherd, 2016; Farruggia & Bullen, 2010). Systemic risk seems to have increased, however. At home, more families worry about having money for food, youth have less access to GP's and health care, and they have experienced a decrease in part-time work. Although there were fewer reported suicide attempts, emotional wellbeing generally showed negative or stable trends (Clark et al, 2013; Lewycka et al., 2018).

Two other major surveys asking thousands of New Zealand young people about wellbeing have been released in the past year. The first, *Nga Kōrero Hauora o Ngā Taiohi*) ActionStation 2018), engaged over 1000 young people, as well as youth development professionals, to examine what youth wellbeing looks like in New Zealand. Young people identified mental health and education, economic insecurity, body image, oppression, the environment, community, role models, and a desire to contribute to positive change as significant issues in their lives. Participants were acutely aware of marginalised identities and how some of the major issues – like mental health, economic insecurity, and role models – are especially relevant to them. When asked what they most wanted to see change, youth highlighted a fairer economy, no more oppression, and accessible, affordable, high quality education. The most popular responses to a question about what makes a good life were stable income, eradication of poverty, friendship and community, and spending time with whānau.

The second report, *What Makes a Good Life?* (2019), was conducted by the Office of the Children's Commissioner and Oranga Tamariki with a view to informing the Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy. The voices of over 6000 young people, from ages 7 to 18, were represented, with a focus on youth perceptions of wellbeing. Like the ActionStation (2018) and Youth '12 reports (Clark et al., 2013), when asked about the good things in life, young people typically mentioned being happy, having supportive friends and family, and having their basic needs met. While most of the responses were collected via survey, some interviews were also held. In these interviews, young people talked about the challenges they experience and see in their everyday lives. Again, the messages were similar to the ActionStation report. Young people want to be accepted for who they are, free from bullying, discrimination, and violence which make life difficult. This acceptance must also be present in the services provided to them. Participants articulated how their wellness is dependent on the wellness of their whānau and communities and this means more than just meeting the bare minimum standard of living.

Other research consistently indicates that some groups of youth in New Zealand experience disparities in outcomes, compared to the wider youth population. Related to this, CSI's (2018) evidence review of youth development in New Zealand includes projections for demographic trends of youth in New Zealand. The ethnic makeup of the youth population is changing. By 2038, it is expected the proportion of three ethnic minority groups – Māori, Asian, and Pasifika – will all increase, to 27%, 23%, and 15% respectively. The future make-up of New Zealand will indeed be diverse therefore we elaborate on key trends, including inequities experienced by specific groups of young people.

### *Taiohi Māori*

There were 1700 taiohi Māori who participated in the Youth'12 survey (Crengle et al., 2013). Improvements since 2001 include more taiohi Māori eating breakfast, fewer engaging in substance use (cigarettes, alcohol, and marijuana), safer driving habits (e.g., seatbelt use and drunk driving), and experiencing violence, both physical and sexual. However, almost half are living in high deprivation areas, which has remained consistent since 2001. With regards to indicators of household stress, a small percentage report living

in overcrowded homes, while 10.3% said they had moved house at least twice in the previous year. Furthermore, there was an increase in the number of young Māori whose families were worried about having money for more food (from 10.5% in 2007 to 14.3% in 2012). The most significant deterioration was in employment: far fewer young Māori are able to get part-time work.

### *Pasifika Young People*

The Pasifika population of New Zealand is characterised by its youthfulness: almost 40% are under 15, with a median age almost 15 years lower than the general population (Siataga, 2011). *Youth 2000* provides some of our most comprehensive data about Pasifika young people with over 1400 included in the most recent iteration of the survey, Youth'12 (Fa'alili-Fidow et al., 2016). There have been some important improvements in their lives since the study started in 2001. More Pasifika young people are reporting having improved relationships with family and school, greater aspirations to achieve at school, feeling good about their health and lives, improved decision-making about risk behaviours, and fewer experiences of violence. While these represent good progress for Pasifika young people, they are still comparatively worse off than Pākehā young people with regards to mental health (e.g., self-harm and suicidality), engaging in some risk behaviours (notably smoking, contraceptive use, and seat belt use), and experiencing violence. Furthermore, economic deprivation is a real concern, as many Pasifika young people experience barriers to accessing health and dental care and report that their parents do not have enough food. Pasifika young people are also more likely to live in overcrowded homes or move home frequently compared to Pākehā young people.

### *Asian Young People*

The population of Asian young people in New Zealand is growing fast. Like the term Pasifika, this group is comprised of numerous ethnicities, and there are inherent challenges associated with what may be misconstrued as a homogenous Asian grouping. In the Youth'07 report (Parackel, Ameratunga, Tin Tin, Wong, & Denny, 2011), the category 'Asian' was comprised of young people from Chinese, Indian, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Cambodian, and other ethnic backgrounds. Most Asian young people reported feeling positively about their family, school, and physical health. However, there are also concerning patterns regarding barriers to accessing health care, racist bullying at school, and nutrition and exercise.

The two largest groups of Asian youth are those of Chinese and Indian descent. The Youth'12 survey published factsheets on how these two subpopulations have fared between 2001 and 2012. Chinese young people experienced some significant improvements in that time: they felt safer at school, as well as reductions in risk behaviours (e.g., smoking, drinking alcohol, and being in a car with a dangerous driver) and violence. In fact, there was only a significant deterioration in one category, feeling safe in the neighbourhood. In the same timeframe, Indian students reported improvements at school (adults at school care a lot and feeling safe at school), using a seat belt and using contraception. Both groups had better access to health care and more stability at home (i.e., less likely to move home multiple times per year).

### *Refugee and Migrant Young People*

The population of refugee and migrant young people has, and continues to, increase substantially (Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2008). Refugee and migrant young people have some unique circumstances which require special consideration for their positive development and wellbeing. In some cases, there are issues associated with the mental and physical trauma stemming from conflict in their origin country (AYCA, 2015). Refugee and migrant young people may also be affected by lack of English language skills (their own or their parents') which can make accessing services and systems – such as health care and education – challenging, as well as increasing social isolation (ACYA, 2015). Many refugee and migrant young people do not feel settled or accepted in Aotearoa New Zealand society (Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2008), and experience significant racism and discrimination (Gluckman, 2011; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2008; Stuart, 2012), and these feelings will inevitably have been exacerbated by the 2019 terror attack in Christchurch, particularly for Muslim youth, many of whom are migrants and refugees.

### *Rainbow Young People*

While research about Rainbow young people (with diverse genders, sexualities and sex characteristics) in Aotearoa New Zealand is still relatively scarce, there have been several important additions to the literature recently. This has largely occurred as a result of the Youth 2000 surveys in 2000, 2007,

and 2012. The proportion of young people who report being same/both-sex attracted stayed fairly consistent across the three surveys, at approximately 4% (Lucassen et al., 2014). Between 2001 and 2012, there was an increase in the proportion of these young people who had come out (from 31% to 53%), suggesting the social acceptability of being same or both-sex attracted had improved. However, these young people still face disparities in health and wellbeing outcomes when compared to opposite-sex attracted youth. This includes bullying, self-harm, depression, suicide attempts, and accessing help for managing their emotional wellbeing. Moreover, Youth'12 data has been used to investigate mental health outcomes for adolescents who are both sexual or gender and ethnic minorities (Chiang et al., 2017).

In 2013, results from a survey on the health and wellbeing of transgender students in New Zealand were published (Clark et al., 2014). With a large, nationally representative sample size (over 8000 young people), this study represented a significant addition to the literature regarding transgender young people in this country. In terms of prevalence, 1.2% of respondents reported being transgender, and another 2.5% were unsure. While most of these young people experienced supportive households, they were also more at risk for bullying and violence, as well as depressive symptoms, self-harm – including suicidality – and many were unable to access the healthcare they needed. This suggests that the social world transgender youth are located in is, at times, hostile and harmful.

A recent publication from Ara Taiohi (2016) shone a spotlight on how the youth sector supports rainbow young people. They noted that while rainbow support organisations excel at collaborating with one another, the sector itself is reliant on being staffed by young people and volunteers, which is not sustainable. More support and resourcing is needed to continue and expand their work. Suicide and homelessness are significant issues impacting the wellbeing of rainbow young people, and when sexuality intersects with other identities – such as Māori, Pasifika, migrant, refugee, and disability – appropriate frameworks and services are lacking. Notably, best practice guidelines and accountability at the governmental level (i.e., Ministries of Health and Education) are also deficient.

The impact of colonisation and historical trauma that affects the mental health of taiohi takatāpui (Māori with diverse genders, sexualities and sex characteristics) is detailed in the research and suicide prevention resources of Kerekere (2015, 2017a, 2017b). In collaboration with firstly the Mental Health Foundation and then RainbowYOUTH, the two suicide prevention resources address the importance of identity and whānau and Māori cultural values in taiohi health and wellbeing.

In addition, participants in the ActionStation (2018) youth wellbeing report emphasised the importance of reducing systemic oppression, including homophobia and transphobia. They suggested this could be done through education initiatives (e.g., LGBTIQ sex education), and social, physical and legal changes towards inclusivity (e.g., broader use of they/them pronouns, gender neutral bathrooms, protection and discrimination laws). Action for Children and Youth Aotearoa (ACYA's) 2015 report regarding New Zealand's obligations to the United Nations Charter on the Rights of Children (UNCROC) noted a problem with availability of services for transgender youth, and the lack of a national strategy for these services.

### *Young People with Disabilities*

Young people with disabilities are at high risk of poor outcomes in New Zealand (CSI, 2018). Data collected for Youth'12 show 9% of young people had a chronic disability (Clark et al., 2013). For young people with disabilities and their families, there are considerable barriers to accessing education, health, and disability support services. The report by ACYA (2015) regarding New Zealand's obligations under UNCROC highlight some of the disparities experienced by young people with disabilities. Many are living in low-income and benefit-dependent households. They are also disproportionately affected by family violence. ACYA argue government policies do little to improve the health and wellbeing of young people with disabilities, and that the Vulnerable Children's Action Plan is unclear about how the complex needs of young people with disabilities will be met. Not only are services lacking, but the data required to ensure services are adequate and effective is lacking.

In the working paper on education, Te One (2007) notes that there are significant and ongoing issues when accessing education. Issues include lack of resourcing, uneven allocation of services, and being outside the government's current focus. Many schools are reluctant to enrol young people with disabilities unless they have suitable resources (e.g., support person, teacher aid) and funding. There is widespread discrimination against young people with disabilities, and they are more vulnerable to bullying in school.

Meanwhile the CSI report (2018) states young people with disabilities leave school without a qualification at almost twice of the rate of other young people.

In 2005, MYD noted transportation is a problem for young people with disabilities. This was echoed in the ActionStation report 13 years later, which also highlighted challenges associated with getting employment. Multiple reports remark on how the obstacles faced by young people with disabilities and their families increase when disability intersects with other marginalised statuses, such as being LGBTIQ, from an ethnic minority or refugee background, or living in a rural area (ACYA, 2015; Ara Taiohi, 2016; Te One, 2007, Robertson 2017).

### *Young People in Canterbury*

The big picture for young people in Canterbury is marked by the aftermath of the 2010/2011 earthquakes. Housing, education, and community and social services continue to be affected by these events. In 2014, the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) published a report focused on youth wellbeing in the Canterbury region, using survey responses from over 3300 young people living in the area. Ongoing negative impacts from the earthquakes included loss of places they used to go (e.g., cafes, libraries, churches, sports and recreation facilities), distress caused by aftershocks, transportation issues, being in a damaged environment (e.g., school or home), and being surrounded by construction work. Almost all respondents experienced stress which negatively affected them, although the impact of the earthquakes appeared to be magnified for young people who were unemployed or living with health issues or disability. On one measure of mental health and wellbeing, more than one third of young people had scores which indicated poor emotional wellbeing. Respondents endorsed some positive impacts too, such as helping family, friends, and community, improved coping ability, and having access to new facilities. Moreover, a majority of respondents felt a sense of community and connectedness with their neighbourhood. In the wake of the recent terror attack in Christchurch, we can expect even more prolonged distress and disruption in this re-traumatised region.

### *Young People in Rural Settings*

There are unique issues which affect young people who live in rural or geographically isolated areas. According to the Youth'12 survey (Clark et al., 2013), there are no differences between urban and rural youth on most indicators. However, rural young people are more likely to report having nothing to do in their neighbourhood, and they are more likely to be in paid employment. Innovative research conducted at the turn of the century used youth "tribunals" as a methodological tool to privilege the testimonies of young people throughout New Zealand (Smith et al., 2002). Analysis of rural youth testimonies demonstrated that whilst rural young people had much in common with other young people across the country in that they did not feel listened to or feel like fully valued citizens, they were anxious and uncertain about their futures, and they experienced different identity journeys. Young people in rural areas also had unique concerns. Some, particularly taiohi Māori, felt deep connections with and saw strength and potential in their communities whereas others felt a strong need to escape. Many were cynical about traditional models of youth participation and had developed their own strategies for dealing with complex issues in their families and communities, yet visions for their futures co-existed with the burden of others' expectations. In rural communities youth voice was also hampered by concerns about breaches of confidentiality.

More recent work regarding rural young people indicates that the provision of support services in health and education can be compromised, particularly with regards to school closures (ACYA, 2015). There may also be less infrastructure: both ACYA (2015) and MYD (2005) have remarked on the limited public transportation for rural young people. In an increasingly digital world, rural young people also face access problems (CSI, 2018), including less mobile phone coverage and slower internet connections (ACYA, 2015). Infrastructure may not be the only thing lacking for rural youth. For Rainbow young people in rural communities, they may experience more isolation and less social acceptance, and services to support them may be more difficult to provide (Ara Taiohi, 2016).

# Young People in a Digital Age

Since the inception of the YDSA in 2002, digital life has become an increasingly important part of the lives of young people. Gluckman (2013) argues that the pervasive influence of the internet and digital communications technology, including social media, has fundamentally changed the world of young people and the way in which they engage in relationships over the past few decades. This is a global trend that has contributed to the increasingly complex society our young people need to learn to navigate, and one that Gluckman (2011) argues is mismatched with their biology. Whether good or bad, the effects of this change remain largely unknown.

According to Netsafe (2018), one third of young people in New Zealand spend more than four hours per day online, and they overwhelmingly perceive the internet in positive terms. At Involve 2018, discussions about how to incorporate digital life into the YDSA and youth development more broadly was a hot topic (CSI, 2018). Working with young people necessitates an understanding of how they use technology on a daily basis. Topics of interest include: integration of tablets into classroom learning, information seeking on the internet, communicating through text messaging and social media, and the ubiquity of smartphones to name but a few.

Research about the digital lives of New Zealand youth is becoming more and more popular. Netsafe (2018) recently compiled a factsheet based on data from 1000 young people about how they do digital life. The Ministry for Women and Netsafe also published a report in 2017 regarding digital harm for young New Zealanders from a gendered perspective, including issues associated with their competence to navigate the online world, how youth 'curate' an identity online, the separation of online and offline lives, and harassment.

The Office of Film and Literature Classification asked over 2000 young people about their attitudes about pornography (Talbot, Hoyle, Wilkinson, & Mohamed, 2018). Although seeing pornography was widespread, only a minority view it regularly. Some participants reported seeing pornography as a way to learn about sex, but few talk to their parents about it. Many young people have concerns about the accessibility of internet pornography and how it affects the sexual behaviours of young people. While some of the findings are troubling, the report argues that a lot of young people also have awareness of the importance of consent, respectful relationships, gender inequality and the potentially negative effect of pornography.

Hartnett (2017) collected data from New Zealand students about their access to the internet and digital devices at home. While the vast majority of participants had a computer at home, internet access, and a cellphone, those who didn't were significantly more likely to attend a low decile school. Those from low decile schools were also more likely to share digital devices with other family members, rather than having one of their own, and these devices tended to be older. This suggests another dimension to the digital divide: it is not simply about the haves and have-nots, but the quality of digital life and how quality influences the degree to which youth can benefit from online resources.

Another study explored electronic harassment and cyberbullying among young people (Fenaughty and Harré, 2013a). More than one third of their participants reported experiencing recent electronic harassment, mainly via mobile phones, and half of them found the harassment distressing. There were significant gender differences, as girls were harassed at twice the rate of boys. Notably, 40% of those young people who were harassed reported that the harasser was at their school. Thus, schools have an important role to play in decreasing the amount of electronic harassment that occurs, preferably by taking a 'whole school' approach, rather than focusing on individual harassers or targets. A related study by Fenaughty and Harré (2013b) explored the strategies young people used to manage distress arising from e-harassment. The main strategies they employed were dealing with the problem directly through retaliation or restricting access to their accounts, seeking social support from peers who they felt were less out of touch than adults, or ignoring the issue, which was a popular recommendation from friends. Unfortunately, these strategies were ineffective. Few felt they could access adults who would be empathetic and understanding enough not to restrict their access to technology. Nevertheless, those who had high self-efficacy with respect to asking adults for help experienced less distress from e-harassment, even when they did not actively seek this support.

While bullying has long been an issue at schools, it has come under increased scrutiny with the popularity of social media and other electronic means of communication between youth. A recent study on bullying in Aotearoa New Zealand schools investigated different forms of bullying (Kljakovic, Hunt, & Jose, 2015). They found school-based bullying was actually more frequent than cyberbullying. Victimisation was more prevalent for youth aged 12–14, the typical age of transition to high school. Schools with positive discipline practices tend to have fewer incidences of bullying and victimisation (Ministry of Education, 2017), emphasising the importance of school climate for reducing such harm for students. According to the Ministry of Education (2017), 26% of youth are bullied a few times a month or more, higher than the OECD average of 19%. Being bullied has serious effects on young people, including mental health and adjustment problems (Gibb, Horwood, & Fergusson, 2011), low self-esteem, depression, and suicidality (Coggan, Bennett, Hooper, & Dickinson, 2003), and a lower sense of belonging at school and lower expectation of staying at school (Ministry of Education, 2017). As evidenced above, some young people are more vulnerable to bullying and hostile victimisation than others.

# Youth Education and Labour Market Trends

The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) survey is an international survey administered by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) every three years to assess global trends in reading, maths and science literacy among 15 year olds. The survey rotates a deeper focus on one of the three literacy areas at each administration. The most recent published results were based on the 2015 survey which included more than half a million students from 72 different countries including every OECD member country and had a focus on science literacy. The 2015 PISA report for Aotearoa New Zealand includes results for more than 4500 students across 183 schools. Students here consistently perform at a higher level than the OECD average level in all three literacy areas, with 83% of students able to succeed with science and reading tasks expected for their age. Across OECD countries, Aotearoa New Zealand has one of the highest proportions of students achieving within the top performance band.

However, Aotearoa New Zealand was also amongst the top 10 most inequitable countries included in the study with respect to science achievement. The socio-economic backgrounds of Aotearoa New Zealand students is also more strongly associated with their academic achievement compared to many OECD countries. Relatedly, Māori and Pasifika students tend to perform below the OECD average whereas Pākehā and Asian students tend to perform above. These trends culminate in what has been commonly called "the long tail of underachievement" (McNaughton, 2011) that policymakers and educationalists have bemoaned for some time. Optimistically, socioeconomic background was a weaker predictor of student academic success in the 2015 round of PISA results compared to previous rounds. Student performance declined between the 2009 and 2012 administrations but stabilised between 2012 and 2015 (May, Flockton, & Kirkham, 2016).

In 2015, young New Zealanders who participated in PISA were also asked about their views towards education (Ministry of Education, 2017). Compared to the OECD average, New Zealand youth were more academically motivated, aiming for high grades and the best opportunities available upon completing secondary school. Fifty nine percent of students planned to complete post-secondary education, a figure which is lower than the OECD average (64%). Girls and socio-economically advantaged students were more likely to say they expected to complete a university degree. The PISA data also shows Aotearoa New Zealand young people experience significant schoolwork-related anxiety, particularly girls and Pasifika and Māori students. The Youth '12 survey results focused on taiohi Māori similarly demonstrate that Māori were more likely to attend a low decile school than Pākehā. Nonetheless, many young Māori have a positive view of education and have aspirations of academic success. Almost all said being proud of their schoolwork was important to them. When looking to the future, 83% of Māori youth aimed to finish Year 13, while just over half planned to do post-secondary education. Planning further education was more likely for Māori girls and Māori living in low deprivation areas, while Māori boys were more likely to move straight into employment after completing secondary school (Crengle et al., 2013).

Although young people typically spend many years in education, employment becomes an increasingly important part of their life as they get older. In the Youth'12 survey, 48% of young people reported having paid part-time work, either regular or seasonal, and a further 19% worked unpaid in the family business but, as noted above, there has been a decline in participation in part-time work since 2001. A vast majority of participants (87%) expect to complete Year 13, after which, most plan to go on to further education (64%) and a further one quarter intend to start work. Young people in high deprivation areas were more likely to anticipate going to work, rather than post-secondary education (Clark et al., 2013). According to the Ministry of Education (2017), 88% of students who participated in PISA in 2015 worked in the home or took care of other family members, higher than the OECD average of 73%.

Yao, Deane, & Bullen (2015) explored the post-secondary school transition for a group of disadvantaged young boys who received specialized support from their mid-decile boarding school. They found this group of 178 students had a higher NCEA Level 3 and University Entrance achievement than students in comparable secondary schools. This was notable given the higher proportion of Māori and Pasifika students at this school, who are typically over-represented in the "long tail of under-achievement". Qualitative data from a sub-sample of students found their post-secondary transition was a fairly smooth, positive experience. Students reported the transition was facilitated by three school factors: academic transition support (e.g., fostering independent study skills), social transition support (e.g., developing social skills like leadership and empathy), and support to transition to independent living (e.g., financial support). However, there were also challenges such as insufficient career guidance, adjusting to tertiary expectations, loneliness and making new friends, and lack of budgeting skills. Although these were high achieving young people who were able to make a successful transition, there was still scope for school action in preparing them for the transition.

An earlier study on youth transitions by Higgins and Nairn (2006) involved interviews with a group of young people about to transition from school to work. They found few of them had a clear idea of what they were going to do post-secondary school. Some found it difficult to choose just one option, and optimistically assumed everything would work itself out in the end. Most young people believed in the direct, linear pathway from secondary school, to tertiary qualifications, to the workforce. As Higgins and Nairn note in their analysis, few young people considered how other forces – like work experience, labour market conditions, and cultural capital – could affect this pathway. Universities were perceived as the best chance for the best jobs, although this was also a risky option due to the high "user pays" cost associated with university study. Higgins and Nairn conclude by arguing that these young people have brought into the linear pathway suggested to them in policy discourse, even though it does not often bear out.

The linear school to work, training or further education transition expectation is evidenced in policy discussions focused on young people who are not in education, employment or training (NEET). "NEETs" are frequently referred to as a source of concern because being "NEET" for a prolonged period is associated with a range of poor life outcomes (Yao et al., 2015). Average NEET rates for young people aged 15 to 24 years have declined since a peak of approximately 15% in late 2009. In early 2018, it sat at almost 12.5%, and the gender gap has also decreased (Stats NZ, 2018). The notion of a "prolonged period" is important with respect to risk because it is not uncommon for young people to move between periods of employment and study or training with gaps in between, or to engage in volunteering or travel following secondary school. The NEET indicator therefore captures young people who may be meaningfully engaged in service, caregiver or exploratory opportunities. However, the negative connotation associated with youth "NEETs" in mainstream policy discourse can serve to marginalise young people who deviate from the socially expected transitional trajectory. Furthermore, this dominant discourse generally overlooks the complex and systemic factors that create barriers to meaningful employment and accessible further education or training (Higgins & Nairn, 2006; Yao et al., 2015). Tasi's (2009) thesis on the transition experiences of eight young Samoan men from South Auckland affirms this. Tasi demonstrated that the Samoan young men he interviewed were eager to secure employment as soon as possible to ensure the financial security of their families, but barriers associated with restricted employment opportunities and family pressures created stumbling blocks in their efforts to achieve their employment goals.

# Ecological Systems Influences on Development & Wellbeing

Much of the above discussion hints at some of the ecological factors (e.g., policies, infrastructure and sociocultural changes) that are implicated as contributors to the current situation for young people in Aotearoa New Zealand. Here we explore some of these influences at a deeper level. We exclude discussions of factors associated with the immediate contexts of youth development, like family and whānau, peers, and school because these are addressed in later sections. Principle 1 of the YDSA stresses "big picture" influences that do (or should) be considered as impacting youth development. Of these, government policies and legislation play a key role, including international agreements ratified by Aotearoa New Zealand.

### *Recent Policy Influences*

Mirroring trends observed in other national and global surveys, there has been a decline in adolescent risk-taking behaviour between the 2001 and 2012 Youth 2000 surveys. In an effort to explain this, Lewycka and colleagues (2018) took an evidence-informed approach to examining potential causal contributors by reviewing the interpretations offered in related empirical research and consulting with experts. They suggest that although socioeconomic conditions and income inequity are associated with youth health and wellbeing, and wealth and income inequity in New Zealand is higher than the OECD average, inequity rates have stabilised since the mid-1990s following a sharp rise in the 1980s. Therefore changes in socioeconomic conditions were unlikely to have contributed to declining risk behaviours. Similarly, the Global Financial Crisis of 2008 led to increased unemployment, yet the decline in risk-taking was already evident prior to the crisis. There has, however, been increased resourcing for built environment improvements – like education and health facilities, roads and transport – over the period, and an improved physical environment is associated with reduced risk. In addition, changes in social norms have likely increased parental involvement and monitoring of their young people in ways that deter them from engaging in risk to the same degree as past generations. The authors also acknowledge that changes in internet use and social media may mean that young people are simply displacing their risk-taking behaviour from the physical to the digital world.

Nevertheless, Lewycka et al. (2018) contend that the stronger influences likely stem from improvements in school-based health services and new educational curricula that focus on values and competencies for healthy living. In particular, evidence-informed improvements to public health campaigns and policy changes that have increased the regulation of alcohol and cigarettes appear to have had an impact. Interestingly, the authors make no comment on the introduction of strengths-based youth development policies (e.g., the YDSA and related strategies) which coincided with the first Youth 2000 survey and the advent of Positive Youth Development in Aotearoa (Deane & Shepherd, 2016). As previously indicated, the YDSA has had a fundamental influence on shaping the practice of people who work with young people. Thus it may be that the YDSA did instil a shift from a deficit to a strengths-based approach to thinking about and working with youth, and that this helped to mitigate risk, as it proposed to do.

On the other hand, Beals and her colleagues contend that, despite its strengths-based framing, the YDSA is still rooted in the deficit-focused perspective of Western risk psychology. They argue that young people would be better served if youth policymakers and practitioners would acknowledge and critically reflect on the marginalising effects that dominant, risk-focused Western perspectives can have on some groups of youth, and by considering Western models only in conjunction with indigenous and other cultural models (Beals, 2015; Beals et al., 2018). Beals (2008a) also notes that the language of celebration and support of and collaboration with young people evident in the YDSA contrasts sharply to that of the Youth Offending Strategy where the focus is on control and supervision, despite both being launched at the same time. This illustrates how policy discourses segment certain populations of young people in ways that can continue to marginalise and devalue those who are already disadvantaged.

### *International Obligations Regarding Child and Youth Rights*

Related to the influence of national government policy on youth wellbeing, UNCROC is one of several human rights instruments that Aotearoa New Zealand endorses as a member of the United Nations. As a child and youth-specific treaty, it is the one most commonly discussed in relation to policy actions required to ensure the interests and holistic wellbeing of 0 to 18 year olds are adequately protected and provided for (MYA, 2002). In 2015, ACYA released a comprehensive report which addressed a range of issues regarding Aotearoa New Zealand's obligations under UNCROC. The report highlighted the complex lives of many young people and how they are directly and indirectly affected by a number of government policies. ACYA acknowledged some positive developments: increased rates of immunisation, free doctor visits and prescriptions for more young people, declining mortality rates for infants, children and young people, support for LGBT young people, and the introduction of Māori and Pasifika youth courts. However, ACYA also argued that successive governments had failed to meet some obligations, impacting the wellbeing of young people in Aotearoa New Zealand. The report discussed pressing issues such as inadequate housing, educational support for young people with disabilities, abuse and neglect, mental health services, support for minority young people, and criminal responsibility.

Between 2007 and 2010, a series of working papers and reports relating UNCROC obligations were released. The reports examined local evidence against various articles of the convention to assess whether Aotearoa New Zealand was meeting its obligations as a signatory to the convention which stipulates a set of rights for children in international law. The working papers addressed issues including a Māori view of children's rights (Waldon, 2010), education (Te One, 2007), child poverty and health (Dale, St John, Asher, & Adam, 2010), child employment (Shuttleworth, 2010), the sexual exploitation of children (Bell, 2010), and the use of corporal punishment on children (Wood, 2010).

Waldon's (2010) Tamariki Māori report presented a Māori view of children's rights. The paper gave special consideration to Article 30 of UNCROC, which stipulates indigenous children will not be denied the right to enjoy their culture, practice their religion, learn their own language, and be in community with other members of their group. Several specific issues for tamariki Māori were emphasised: inequality, the contribution of Māori society and culture to youth wellbeing, and removing the association of 'Māori' with disadvantage. The report shows that while a number of these issues pertaining to Article 30 are recognised by the government, there is considerable action required to address the deficits.

A review of education in Aotearoa New Zealand with a view to our UNCROC obligations was published in 2007 (Te One, 2007). It assessed progress made towards recommendations from the previous report in 2003, which included issues like ethnic disparities in school exclusions, hidden costs of education which prohibit participation, teacher supply, exam fee exemptions for low income students, culturally responsive schools, and strengthening bilingual education. While some strides had been made – the provision of teen parent units and restorative justice or peer mediation responses to school-based violence, for instance – many issues still required government action. There were also new areas of concern. To address bullying, the report reiterated findings from an ERO report which stated the most effective measures against bullying occurred when school culture emphasised the safety and wellbeing of students. It also noted the increasing prevalence of bullying via new technology, such as cell phones. Groups of youth who often require specialist support – refugee and asylum-seeking youth, and young people with disabilities – were also discussed. Homophobic, transphobic and biphobic bullying of Rainbow young people, or those perceived to be, was raised as a significant issue in the Youth '12 reports (Clark et al., 2014; Lucassen et al., 2014).

The working paper on child poverty and health (Dale et al., 2010) highlighted a myriad of issues, underpinned by increased income inequality which is associated with poverty, poor housing, and limited access to health care. The report notes that these outcomes disproportionately affect young people from high deprivation households, as well as taiohi Māori and Pasifika young people. Consequently, various rights of the child – including

right to life, high standard of health, adequate standard of living, and non-discrimination – have been breached, partly due to political choices and inaction. The working paper concludes by stating "visionary leadership" (p.12) is needed to implement its recommendations: free breakfasts in low decile schools, free healthcare for under 18's, healthy housing programmes, improved access to education for disadvantaged youth, and additional income support for families to ensure an adequate standard of living. In addition to the obvious health benefits for young people associated with these changes, the report's authors argue there are long-term, less obvious benefits, such as less child abuse, more productive work force, reducing intergenerational poverty, and stronger communities.

Shuttleworth (2010) identified issues relating to child exploitation in employment. This included the lack of a minimum age for work, no minimum wage for under 16's, and health and safety concerns. Among the recommendations from the working paper are implementing a minimum age of 15 years for work (18 years for dangerous work), and legislative changes regarding the maximum hours of work allowed per day. Connected to this working paper was another which focused on sexual exploitation of young people (Bell, 2010). The report addressed child prostitution, pornography, and trafficking for sexual purposes. It concludes by stating Aotearoa New Zealand is not free from these types of abuses, and prevention requires increased public awareness as well as government and NGO action.

The working paper on corporal punishment (Wood, 2010) outlines the development and response to the "anti-smacking bill" which became law in 2007. Although the bill was divisive, it was necessary to uphold Aotearoa New Zealand's obligation to UNCROC. Early evidence indicated the law was working well and societal perceptions of corporal punishment were changing, with more people believing it was ineffective.

Annual Child Poverty Monitor reports have also been produced since 2013 to contribute to our understanding of how Aotearoa New Zealand is faring with respect to our obligations under UNCROC and as a signatory to the United Nations Agenda 2030 which includes sustainable development goals pertaining to children (Duncan et al., 2018). These reports accentuate the dire situation that too many children and young people in Aotearoa New Zealand find themselves in. In 2018, this included statistics demonstrating increased hospitalisations, greater food insecurity and experiences of abuse and neglect for those up to 15 years old who live in high deprivation compared to low deprivation areas. Households in the highest deprivation areas also spend a far greater proportion on their income on housing (more than 30%) compared to those in the least deprived areas (14% on average). Further, incomes for households in low deprivation areas have increased more quickly than those in high deprivation areas since 1994, creating a bigger gap between high and low earning households (Duncan et al. 2018). The 2017 report confirms that the sharp increase in income poverty occurred between the late 80s and early 90s and that the proportion of households in income poverty remains high. Further, the proportion of children and young people up to 17 years who live in the most severe income poverty has not improved since 2012 (Duncan et al., 2017).

Problems with the 2018 sample sizes for data collected on material hardship led the Ministry for Social Development not to report these data (Duncan et al., 2018); however, the 2017 report indicates that, using a severe threshold measure of poverty, 19% of 0–17 year olds depend on households with incomes that are less than 50% of the contemporary median income after adjusting for housing costs. Twenty percent of 6–17 year olds who live with the highest levels of material hardship cannot access suitable clothing, healthy food, internet and extra-curricular opportunities (Duncan et al., 2017). Notably, the group leading the Child Poverty Monitor reports are optimistic that the Child Poverty Monitor Bill introduced in early 2018, which will require the government to regularly report on measures of child poverty is a "breakthrough" that will substantially improve the quality of data we currently have on child poverty (Child Poverty Monitor, n.d.).

### *Historical Influences*

Like others (Lewycska et al., 2018; Duncan et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2002), Beals (2015) locates the rise in inequality in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1980s. The drastic shift from a welfare to a neoliberal society focused on a free market and user-pays economy and the decentralisation and privatisation of public services resulted in "dysfunctional and inequitable policies" (p. 126), the brunt of which was felt by Māori, Pasifika and low income families. Interestingly, this also coincided with increased usage of the term "youth at-risk", referring to young people who did not conform to the social expectations of the new neoliberal society (Beals, 2015; Smith et al., 2002). Oppressive policies targeting Māori and Pasifika have much deeper roots, however.

The decades leading up to the 1980s neoliberal shift were characterised by a migration swell from neighboring Pacific Islands arising from a demand for unskilled labour, though migration from the Pacific Islands has long been a part of Aotearoa New Zealand history. An economic downturn in the 1970s led to higher unemployment and concomitant changes to immigration policy that resulted in increased racism towards Pasifika communities, particularly in Auckland. The Polynesian Panthers created a youth-led movement of advocacy for their community which converged with the government crack-down on "overstayers". This culminated in the "dawn raids" during which Pasifika communities were subjected to intrusive home and workplace searches and police brutality, some claiming with little regard for their actual immigration status (Anae, 2010). The Dawn Raids are acknowledged to be a significant event that in part led to a Ministry focused on Pacific Island Affairs and programmes specific to Pacific communities and this is an important part of the whakapapa of Pasifika young people (McDonald et al., 2016).

With regards to Māori, understanding of Māori youth development is incomplete without a grasp of how colonisation, the ongoing breaches to Te Tiriti and the resultant urbanisation of Māori dislocated whānau, hapū and iwi from each other and their whenua. This fundamentally disrupted the traditional Māori way of life in ways that set the stage for the disparities between Pākehā and Māori that continue today. Equally, Māori youth development knowledge is partial without an appreciation for the ongoing resilience demonstrated by Māori since colonisation and its impact on cultural revitalisation (Baxter et al., 2016; Ware, 2009).

The importance of respect and adherence to the Te Tiriti o Waitangi tripartite principles of *partnership* with and *participation* of Māori, and *protection* of taonga Māori (Māori treasures, including language and culture) has increasingly come to the fore in the youth development sector. This sits in contrast to the origins of youth work in Aotearoa which began with the introduction of programmes imported from the United Kingdom and ignorance of traditional models of practice (Baxter et al., 2016). Today, Te Tiriti o Waitangi is identified as a "big picture" influence on youth development (MYA, 2002), treaty-based principles guide Ara Taiohi's work, and the *Code of Ethics* provides bilingual principles of effective practice that were designed to ensure consistency with the responsibilities agreed to in Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Ara Taiohi, 2019). This includes recognising the importance of taiohi Māori ties to whānau, hapū and iwi; seeking guidance from tangata whenua when working with taiohi Māori; and promoting the rights of Māori to practice their own indigenous models of youth development.

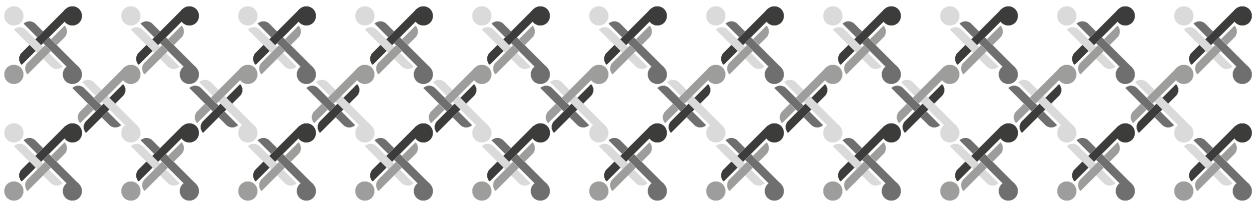
Beals and colleagues (2018) indicate that all youth development training in this country includes content on the 1840 Treaty. However, they argue that training needs to include deeper exploration of colonisation and how colonising beliefs and practices are perpetuated through the implicit Western agendas that underlie the knowledge that has guided the sector. Baxter et al (2016) and Kerekere (2017b) agree that raising awareness of how this history has shaped young people's world today is essential to effective practice.

# Whakapapa Summary

There is much to celebrate regarding the young people in this country. Research demonstrates that the majority are healthy, happy and well adjusted. Most young people report having positive relationships in their lives and positive aspirations for their lives. We have also seen many improvements in their health and wellbeing over the past 17 years, including substantial reductions in risk taking behaviour.

Alternatively, risk behaviours may simply be displaced to the digital world, where young people today are spending a lot of time. The digital world is a site for a wide array of positive and negative developmental experiences and one that has fundamentally changed young people's lives but the consequences of this remain largely unknown. The generational digital divide needs to be bridged because many adults do not have a good understanding of what young people do online nor how to support them.

Research paints a picture of an inequitable experience with respect to young people being able to access the nutrients required to thrive. Too many young people contend with systemic risks and violations of their human rights. UNCROC demands more from us, and the cumulative effects of not addressing the issues raised by advocacy groups are beginning to show. This includes too many young people not getting their basic needs met and too many young people being marginalised based on their ethnic, religious, sexual, gender, and ability identities. They exhibit many strengths, but are too often the targets of hostility, harm, and more insidious and intersectional forms of prejudice and discrimination. The neoliberal policies of the 1980s have exacerbated the inequities created by colonisation, the effects of which continue to be felt by young people. Marginalised young people suffer from poorer emotional health and wellbeing. The difficulties compound when young people have multiple, stigmatised identities.



# MAURI

The Mauri principle in Keelan's (2014) MĀUI model draws from Durie and Pohatu's writings on Māori perspectives of human development and holistic wellbeing. Mauri is the life spark or essence inherent in all living things that has been passed down from ancestors through whakapapa. Mauri affects and is affected by the surrounding environment. It is a motivating force and also encapsulates a process of change from Mauri moe, a state where potential is as yet unrealised; through Mauri oho, sparks of interest and the realisation that change is possible; to Mauri ora, an action oriented stage of striving towards full potential (Keelan, 2014; Pohatu, 2011). Mauri, along with tikanga (cultural values) drives the expression of āhuatanga, a person's characteristics and qualities (Ware, 2009; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010) and is closely connected to identity exploration and development, and flourishing. Thriving occurs through realisation of one's inherent strengths and the ability to stand in one's own truth (Kerekere 2015, 2017b).

There is ample youth development literature focused on young people's identity exploration experiences, including navigation of identity challenges, the benefits arising from being afforded opportunities for self-discovery, and the effects associated with having a strong cultural identity. However the idea of supporting young people's self-discovery and strengthening their identities is largely absent from the existing YDSA principles. Consequently, the Mauri principle stands somewhat apart from the existing six YDSA principles.

# The Emphasis on Identity in Youth Development Models

The expression and affirmation of positive identity is a core feature of many positive youth development models. In indigenous models, one's personal identity is inextricably linked to the collective (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2018), as illustrated in the Ware and Walsh-Tapiata's (2010) description of Mauri above and in Te Ora Hou's *Maia model* (Baxter et al., 2016; Te Ora Hou, 2011; Wayne Francis Charitable Trust – Youth Advisory Group, 2011). Keelan points to the instructive comments in *E Tipu e Rea* regarding the importance of keeping one's cultural identity and heritage at the fore as one navigates their developmental journey, as well as taking on board the lessons offered by other cultures. The latter point of having the confidence to move between cultural worlds is also emphasised in Simmonds et al.'s (2014) *Te Kete Whanaketanga – Rangatahi* model. Positive Identity is also one of four internal asset categories in the Search Institute's *40 Developmental Assets* and self-belief forms a core feature of the *5 C's model of PYD*; these are two evidence-informed international PYD frameworks often referred to in research literature on youth development in Aotearoa New Zealand (e.g., Burnett, 2018; Deane, 2012; Deane, Meissel, Moore & Gillham, 2017; Farruggia & Bullen, 2010; Furness, Williams, Veale, & Gardner, 2017; Smit, 2016; Williams, 2015).

# The Importance of Positive Cultural Identity

The Youth 2000 research provides a snapshot into several dimensions of cultural identity for taiohi Māori. Since the first survey in 2001, there has been a large increase in the number of taiohi Māori who know their iwi affiliation, from 60.3% to 76.6%. Most are proud to be Māori and many feel it is important to them to be identified as Māori. Younger Māori were more likely to report being satisfied with their knowledge of Te Ao Māori and that they could understand and speak Te Reo well, when compared to older young people. This suggests that generations of taiohi Māori are increasingly engaged with and connected to these aspects of their cultural identity. Similarly, more than 80% of young Samoan, Cook Island, Tongan and Niuean youth are proud of their ethnic heritage, and most Samoans and Tongan youth are able to speak their language. More than 70% of other Pasifika youth, other Asian youth (excluding those identifying as Indian or Chinese), Middle Eastern, Latin American and African, Pākehā and Other European young people are also proud of their family's culture. Indian and Chinese young people involved in the survey reported the lowest levels of pride in their ethnic culture (64% and 57% respectively; Clark et al., 2013). The Youth '12 report also illustrates the growing ethnic diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand communities with 42% of young people identifying with more than one ethnicity, compared to 29% in 2001. Two-thirds of Pasifika young people identified with at least two ethnicities, including 13% who identified with four or more ethnic groups. Almost two-thirds of Asian young people identified with only one Asian ethnicity, with remaining young people far more likely to identify with a non-Asian ethnicity (33%) than another Asian identity (5%).

In interviews with young Māori in South Auckland, participants described a set of conventional indicators of authentic Māori identity (Borell, 2005). These included using te reo, having knowledge and connection to iwi, engagement with marae, attending kōhanga reo or other Māori medium education, and participating in kapa haka or waka ama. However, these young people also described obstacles to accessing these indicators, which limited their capacity to engage in their Māori identity in conventional ways. Instead, they cultivated their identity through other experiential indicators. Material disadvantage, a 'Māori' environment – characterised by being rough, bad parenting, and lacking in resources – and gangs were significant to their understanding of a Māori identity. The participants in Borell's (2005) study articulated a "Southside" identity based on being Māori in a specific part of South Auckland. Being Southside meant acknowledging the negative image of South Auckland, but coupling this with reflections on what is great about it.

Webber (2012) asked young Māori what they like and dislike about being Māori. Participants cited culture (e.g., kapa haka or cultural traditions); a sense of belonging, community, and place; experiencing pride and status as tangata whenua; religion, language, and the way Māori look as positive associations with their identity. Many participants (62%) said racism and discrimination is a negative part of being Māori, including stereotypes about violence, gangs, crime, and being "dumb" or lacking academic ability.

Several studies have explored how cultural identity impacts the wellbeing of young people. Williams, Clark, and Lewycka (2018) found young people with a strong Māori cultural identity tended have better mental health outcomes, such as better wellbeing and lower depressive symptoms. However, youth who experienced ethnic discrimination were more likely to experience mental health risks like poorer wellbeing, increased depressive symptoms, and suicide attempts. Therefore, promotion of cultural identity as well as a reduction in ethnic discrimination is needed. In Webber's (2012) interviews with high achieving Māori youth, having a positive ethnic identity as Māori was important to their healthy development by instilling a sense of belonging and place. Furthermore, their identity contributed to resilience and coping with challenging circumstances. For instance, one participant referred to using his mana to manage distracting classmates.

As part of a cross-cultural study regarding identity and wellbeing, Reese et al. (2017) collected data from Māori, Chinese, and Pākehā youth. Participants were asked to tell their life story to an interviewer, identifying important events which changed their life. In doing so, researchers were able to establish how youth make sense of their identity – an important developmental task during adolescence. Only for Pākehā youth were personal developments, such as a change in religious beliefs or the kind of person they want to be, linked to wellbeing. The authors suggest this may be due to cultural differences in valuing the individual over the collective. Māori youth were more likely than others to weave a theme throughout their life story, connecting events around a coherent theme. This may be due to the value placed on memory and narrative in Māori culture.

Manuela and Anae (2017) explored ethnic identity and wellbeing through a Pasifika lens. Their review of the literature shows strong ethnic identity has benefits not only in wellbeing, but also in education and justice sectors. They argue for the differentiation between cultural programmes based on language and creative arts, and ethnic programmes. Such programmes should be responsive to the differences in being "island-born" or "New Zealand-born", as well as addressing colonisation and encouraging Pasifika young people to use Pasifika knowledge to understand and navigate their life.

## Navigating Multiple Identities

As more and more young people identify with more than one ethnic background (Clark et al., 2013), literature regarding how young people manage multiple cultural identities has emerged. Tupuola (2004) argues that Western frameworks about "achieving" a particular identity are unsuitable for diasporic, global young people, such as those from a Pasifika or Oceanic background. She argues that some young people "weave within and between multiple cultures with relative ease" (p. 88) and challenges the dichotomy of "New Zealand born" and "island born" Pasifika young people. Almost three quarters of Pasifika young people included in the Youth'12 survey are New Zealand-born, and the majority reported feeling comfortable in both Pākehā and Pasifika social environments (Fa'alili-Fidow et al., 2016). Similarly, Tasi (2009) and McIntosh (2005) describe the multifaceted, fluid identity of Samoan and many Māori youth, respectively.

The proportion of young people of Asian descent is growing quickly, and is projected to continue this trend over the coming decades (CSI, 2018). This population is comprised of resident Asian youth as well as international students who may live in Aotearoa New Zealand for years while they study. Some of these young people have multiple Asian identities, and thus develop Pan-Asian identities (Benson & Rahman, 2007). Adopting a coherent Pan-Asian identity is somewhat easier for young people from East and South East Asian backgrounds, as there is a common, compatible set of values among many of these nations. Furthermore, the presence of political and economic ties through organisations such as ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) can encourage young people to adopt a broader Pan-Asian identity. Thus, a Pan-Asian identity can allow young people to enjoy their traditional cultural practices, whilst taking advantage of the opportunities provided through a regional identity.

Another study explored the intersection of Māori and disabled identities, working with young Māori who are deaf by using photovoice methodology (Faircloth, Hynds, Jacob, Green, & Thompson, 2016). Participants in this project were adamant about claiming both identities equally because they were proud to be both Māori and deaf. However, these young people experienced barriers to Te Ao Māori at times. For instance, they highlighted the lack of interpreters fluent in both sign language and te reo. While having dual marginalised identities did not appear to affect the strength of their identity, they might be further bolstered by having the resources to allow greater access to their cultures. In his research on young people with disabilities who also have diverse genders, sexualities and sex characteristics, and come from a range of cultural backgrounds, Robertson (2017) reiterated the need for such young people to constantly navigate multiple identities. While respondents identified strengths and positives, the intersectional nature of the discrimination and racism they faced could be overwhelming.

The past 16 years has seen an explosion of the LGBTIQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, intersex, queer) youth sector. From the first National Queer Youth hui in 2003 to the annual youth-led Shift Hui for queer and gender diverse youth, young people with diverse genders, sexualities and sex characteristics have been finding ways to allow their mauri to shine. Snapshot (Ara Taiohi 2015) was developed to explore the complex context of the support sector for Rainbow young people and identify strengths and gaps to support their work. Thirty Rainbow organisations across the country, primarily youth-led, took part in the study. While such groups provided an important role in creating safety and support for identity formation, they also reported significant issues of burn out, minimal funding and routine disclosure of depression, self-harm and suicide ideation from the young people attending those groups. Kerekere (2015, 2017a) emphasises that whānau acceptance of their takatāpui young people is essential to the development of their mauri and key to suicide prevention. Doing so enhances the mana of the whānau.

## Identity Development via Programme, Service and Community Engagement

Youth development programming can contribute to the development of strong, positive identity for young people (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2018; Deane & Harré, 2014, Dutton, 2014; Grocott & Hunter, 2009; Hayhurst, Hunter, Kafka, & Boyes, 2015; Hunter et al, 2018; Smit, 2016) with outdoor adventure programmes perhaps particularly well suited to foster sustained personal growth, as evidenced by evaluation studies demonstrating sustained follow up effects in identity development domains (Grocott & Hunter, 2009; Hunter et al., 2011). Deane and Harré (2013, 2014) describe the facilitated experiential learning cycle that provides the foundation for new self-insights in many youth adventure programmes, along with the social learning that accompanies these kinds of intense but collective growth experiences, also acknowledged by Arahanga-Doyle et al. (2018).

With regards to fostering positive cultural identities, a week long youth development sailing voyage in the Bay of Islands that explicitly drew on Māori concepts of identity and place demonstrated particularly strong effects in resilience and self-esteem for the Māori students who participated. Ball (2010) highlights the importance of grounding youth mental health promotion programmes for Māori in Māori values and strengthening participants' identities as Māori. However, evaluation research demonstrates that many youth programmes could be enhanced in this regard (Hollis, Deane, Moore, & Harré, 2011; Farruggia, Bullen, Soloman et al., 2011; Fay, 2016). For instance, Māori youth who participated in Project K described their pride in being Māori, despite an acute awareness of the negative stereotypes associated with their culture. The participants noted, positively, how they were not treated differently because they were Māori: expectations were the same for all participants. However, they were a little critical of the lack of knowledge about Māori culture, and subsequent cultural insensitivities, of some instructors which may have further improved their already positive programme experience (Hollis et al., 2011).

Youth identities can also be affirmed through other social services. Munford and Sanders (2014) investigated how support services, particularly social workers, for at-risk youth can contribute to identity development. Three themes were identified in

their findings: seeking safe and secure connections (e.g., connecting youth to iwi leaders); providing opportunities to test out identities (e.g., re-engaging with education); and building a sense of agency (e.g., becoming less reactive in response to risk factors).

Elsewhere, research has explored how young people might develop their identity through activism and community service (Harré, 2007), and the interaction between identity and young people's perceptions of their own wellbeing (Bullen, 2010). Harré (2007) argues that participating in service or activism can promote powerful feelings of belonging and integrity in young people. These feelings can contribute to the formation of an associated identity which then motivates them to continue participating in service. Bullen (2010) explored 'identity projects': the activities and goals which contribute to identity development. Within these identity projects, young people who experienced efficacy, belonging, and integrity reported higher subjective wellbeing.

## Mauri Summary

Aotearoa New Zealand is becoming increasingly ethnically diverse, as evidenced by growing Māori, Pasifika and Asian youth populations. There has also been growth in the number of young people who identify with more than one ethnicity. Young people deftly navigate their multiple identities and cultural worlds. Ethnic identities (both in traditional and contemporary form) are a common source of pride and having a positive ethnic identity is an important contributor to their wellbeing. At the same time, young people with stigmatised ethnic and other identities such as disabled or Rainbow, are all too aware of the negative stereotypes that pervade their worlds and this hampers their developmental outcomes. Particularly in Rainbow communities, the profusion of youth-led groups is actively working toward creating safe spaces and building resilience.

Young people actively construct their many identities as they go about the activities of their lives. This includes through acts of service and activism, participation in youth development programmes and engagement with support services. Allies within these spaces can play a powerful role in connecting youth to identity exploration experiences. When these experiences are positive and fulfill their psychological needs to belong and develop a sense mastery and integrity, identity exploration experiences can fuel motivation and Mauri ora.

# MANA

Mana is inherited at birth, based on whakapapa and connection to the land. Throughout their life, people accumulate mana through their actions and achievements that are reflected in their social standing and related integrity, authority or power. A person's actions and contributions can enhance or diminish their mana in the eyes of others (Keelan, 2014; Ware, 2009; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). Mana implicates rights as well as responsibilities, as expressed by the taiohi Māori participants in Ware and Walsh-Tapiata's (2010) research. They explained that, for them, "mana included a level of self-reliance, self-determination and independent authority, but only in relation to the needs of, or benefits to, the collective" (p. 23).

There are clear links between the YDSA principle 5 of "youth participation" and the concept of mana. First, mana connects to the idea of citizenship. All citizens of a country, including young people, have rights and with those rights come responsibilities, including responsibility to the collective. Related to this, young people have agency and have a right to be involved in decisions that affect them, and to access mana-enhancing leadership and other opportunities. Mana-enhancing practice connects to the core of a "consistent strengths-based approach" (YDSA principle 3), if considering this from a broader empowerment perspective, and involves support to build skills, confidence and competency that are also intertwined with the identity development discussions captured in the above Mauri section.

Arataki (leadership) is a core concept embedded in Keelan's (2014) MĀUI model and captures ideas of leadership associated with being adventurous, hard-working, and nurturing of others. The concept of "youth leadership" in a youth-led rather than opportunity-provided context is less well covered by the YDSA.

# Young People as Citizens

Discourses regarding youth citizenship are often narrowly focused on participation in electoral processes, particularly voting in general elections. Lamentations about young people not enrolling or voting are fairly common during election time. In 2015, the National Youth Advisory Group released their submission into the inquiry regarding the 2014 General Election to the Justice and Electoral Committee, including recommendations for increasing youth participation following a 63% participation rate of youth aged 18 to 24. Young people involved in the inquiry pointed to the fact that if young people are constantly subjected to negative youth portrayals in the media, struggle to understand and access pertinent electoral campaign information, or do not have faith that their voices will have resonance with those in power, they are less likely to be engaged. The group made 11 recommendations based on their survey of young people and their experiences of election campaigns and voting. The 11 recommendations were led by two main recommendations: the introduction of compulsory civics education in school and the production of clear information about political parties and processes for new voters (National Youth Advisory Group, 2015). Optimistically, the 18–24 year old voter turnout of 69% was the highest increase (6.5%) relative to all other age grades from the 2014 to the 2017 election, an election that had the highest overall voter turnout (80%) since 2005 (Elections Electoral Commission, 2017).

For many young people, however, disengagement from electoral processes does not reflect a lack of civic engagement. Youth citizenship encompasses a wide range of facets including how young people belong, participate, and contribute to society. When broadening the definition beyond voting behavior, we see that many young people are civically engaged. The 12 to 24 year olds involved in ActionStation's (2018) survey of young people's perspectives on wellbeing illustrates that many young people care deeply about civic issues and are not apathetic and self-focused. Primary concerns for these young people included better protection of the natural environment, a fairer economy, and the end to oppression of marginalised groups. Further, they desire greater education on how to create meaningful change in their communities.

Instead of recognising the value and citizenship rights of young people in the present, youth are too often portrayed as citizens of the future when their views and contributions will become valid by way of becoming adults. This "futurity" argument (White, Wyn & Robards, 2017, p. 273) is often underscored by developmental psychology and neuroscientific knowledge about brain development which portrays young people as too reckless or lacking the sophisticated thinking needed for participation in social and political spheres. The deficit brain development argument has served as fuel for public discourse and related policy changes focused on increased monitoring and regulation of young people (France, 2012) and processes that limit youth input in governance (White et al., 2017).

In a similar vein, Panelli and her colleagues (2002) demonstrated how negative media discourses about young people feed into popular beliefs that youth behaviour requires increasing controls and supervision. Their review of portrayals of youth in public spaces in the Otago Daily Times demonstrated a dominant media narrative of young people as drunken, disorderly troublemakers who must be controlled. This narrative was linked to suggestions that either supervision or exclusion of youth from public space more generally is needed. Panelli et al. (2002) emphasise that providing selective access to public space denies some citizens their basic human rights. Further, as one of the few domains where young people can congregate with peers without being under the watchful eye of adults, public space provides a platform for identity exploration and expression that contributes importantly to youth development (Panelli et al., 2002; White et al., 2017). Increased regulation and privatisation of public space has substantially changed the developmental experiences of contemporary young people (White et al, 2017). This major socio-structural change may be contributing to young people spending increased time indoors and moving their socialisation activities to the digital world where many can adeptly manoeuvre out from a constant adult gaze.

We highlight these arguments not to disregard the useful insights offered by brain science (see Gluckman, 2011 for example), some of which are being used to advocate for the special care UNCROC

stipulates young people deserve. For instance, the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989 has legislated changes to extend Youth Court Jurisdiction to include young people up to age 18 from July 1 2019 (Youth Court of New Zealand, 2018). However, presenting neurodevelopmental research in the absence of a socio-structural analysis undermines the evidence that the biological influences on young people's behaviour are contextually dependent and not universal across cultures (Deane & Shepherd, 2016). Further, the absence of a systems-perspective in this debate can compromise efforts to support young people's need for agency and their decision-making rights.

## Youth Agency and Decision-Making

For young people to feel respected and be engaged as citizens, they must have opportunities to exercise greater control over what happens to them, and having a sense of agency is essential in this regard. Agency refers to the ability for young people to exert power in their own lives, and developing agency is an important part of adolescence. Agency can be enacted through decision-making, where young people influence or make decisions about issues that directly affect them. The YDSA (MYA, 2002) advocated for genuine youth participation as a contributor to healthy development. This meant moving beyond consultation to including young people in decision-making, especially in schools. Unfortunately, the same principles seem not to apply when young people deviate from "normal" developmental trajectories. The Youth Offending Strategy developed at the same time as the YDSA promoted a discourse of control rather than agency for youth offenders (Beals, 2008a) who are predominantly Māori.

In one study, young people engaged in social services (e.g., youth justice, alternative education, child welfare) described three parts to agency: making sense of the world, having a voice and being heard, and acting on the world (Munford & Sanders, 2015b). There were adults in their life who could, and did, facilitate their agency, particularly social workers. The support and advocacy provided by social workers encouraged constructive ways forward, rather than limiting young people to exercising their agency in ways that did not require adult assistance, such as running away.

Smith et al.'s (2002) Youth First study involving young people across Aotearoa New Zealand demonstrated that, at the turn of the century, one thing was clear – young people did not feel heard and their voices were silenced when it came to policy and practice decisions that directly affected them. Yet, they expressed their agency through resistance and the development of their own strategies to support each other through tough experiences. Dating further back, Kerekere (2017a) asserts that colonisation made silent the voice of children and young people along with the attempted subjugation of Māori women. Therefore, young people standing in their own truth, in their own mana is an act of decolonisation.

## Participation in Governance and Leadership

Numerous institutions and organisations make decisions that directly and indirectly influence the development of young people. Theorists have argued for more youth participation in such institutions, on the basis of fairness, efficiency, and effectiveness. Following on from the seminal Youth First project (Smith et al., 2002) which highlighted how many young people were "turned off" traditional models of youth participation (p. 175), research has explored how young people are engaged in the governance of local and national organisations and it has revealed that the problems perpetuate. For instance, research conducted with three local councils found councils were not adequately engaging with young people as decision-makers, despite a belief that young people have the ability to do so (Curran, 2011). Youth participation was largely relegated to youth councils, limiting the issues they had input on and the extent to which their viewpoints were prioritised by local councils (Curran, 2011). While youth councillors are appreciative of adult encouragement, these forums should be led by young people without being

taken-over or ignored by adult decision-makers (Henley, 2015). Peteru (2006) argues that while councils talk positively about youth participation, in practice, the participation of young people and their ability to receive the benefits of participation, is lacking. Peteru (2006) also highlights the importance of contesting the "futurity" argument and seeing youth as contributors to society *now*, rather than just being useful in the future.

In contrast, a study investigating how young people participated in a review of Child, Youth and Family (now Oranga Tamariki) was largely positive (Fitzmaurice, 2017). In their effort to overhaul a system that was not sufficiently child-centric, CYF engaged in collaborative research with young people at the centre. Seventy-eight young people participated in interviews, co-design workshops, or a youth advisory panel. The study found the degree and type of participation of young people was meaningful, as they were included as the "experts in their own lives" (Fitzmaurice, 2017, p.48) and had the opportunity to influence decision-making.

Youth participation should also be broad and inclusive. The Principles for Youth Participation articulated by the Ministry of Youth Development suggest inviting a diverse range of young people, and working with youth organisations to access those young people who are hard to reach (MYD, 2009). There is little data about which young people get to contribute to governance, at local or national level. In the review of CYF for instance, there was a purposeful attempt for diversity of ethnicity, gender, and geographic location (Fitzmaurice, 2017), but other groups – such as Rainbow, young people with disabilities, or migrant and refugee youth – should also be sought out. Another example examining local government initiatives for youth participation found invited youth were either high achievers or 'troublemakers', leaving an "excluded middle" as non-participants (Nairn et al., 2006, p.261). Funaki (2017) echoes concerns about exclusion, noting that marginalised Māori and Pasifika young people are often left out of youth participation initiatives.

## Social Activism and Service as Citizenship Engagement

Youth activism provides rich opportunities for civic engagement but political activism involving young people is not typically recognised as such unless it fits within the conventional norms for youth participation advocated by mainstream government institutions. Ironically, young people's agency is undermined by these discourses. Young people are construed as not competent enough to fully grasp what they are advocating for and their behaviour often attributed to manipulating adults who use young people to advance their own agendas (White et al., 2017).

Youth engagement in activism and other forms of voluntary service confer a range of developmental benefits, but young people often confront a many other barriers that prevent their participation in such initiatives (Deane, Meissel, Moore & Gillham, 2017; Harré, 2007). Young people need to be provided with easily accessible service opportunities and afforded time to get involved. This can be difficult when trying to juggle competing demands (Harré, 2007), and this is especially so for young people living in impoverished environments who may also have to contend with transport barriers. Paradoxically, these young people are often involved in high levels of service at home, assisting with caregiving and other domestic duties while their primary caregivers work long shifts or are otherwise unavailable but this kind of contribution is not "counted" as voluntarism (Deane et al., 2017). Relatedly, Westernised definitions of civic engagement and voluntarism obscure meaningful contributions by Māori and Pasifika groups who consider service an integral human value and way of being (Wilson, 2001; Luafutu-Simpson, 2011 as cited in NZYMN, 2019) but would not necessarily label their behaviour as voluntarism (Wilson, 2001).

# Confidence and Competency Development through Programme and Community Engagement

Confidence and competency development are building blocks of young people's agency and leadership identities. Thus, these facets are core to mana-enhancing practice. Many youth development programmes strive to produce outcomes in these areas through adventure, life skills, community service, arts and mentoring activities. The evaluations we reviewed (and in some instances conducted) demonstrate that the great majority of young people involved in the studies report gains in competency and confidence domains (Chapman, Deane, Harré, Courtney & Moore., 2017; Deane, Moore, Gillham, & Brown, 2015; Deane, Harré, Moore, & Courtney, 2017; Duke of Edinburgh, 2018; Fay, 2016; Furness et al., 2017; Hayhurst et al., 2015; Heke, 2005; Hunter et al., 2013; Noonan, Bullen, & Farruggia, 2012; Rodney Economic Development Trust, 2008; Turner & Schroder, 2014, 2017; Turner, Schroder, & McKay, 2014; Walls, Deane, & O'Connor, 2016; William Pike Award, 2018; YWCA Auckland, 2015). A few studies demonstrate teacher, caregiver or other stakeholder confirmations that these are positive developmental experiences (Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2017; Dutton, 2014; Fay, 2016; Turner & Schroder, 2015; YWCA Auckland, 2015), whereas other studies indicate mixed perceptions (Chapman et al., 2017; MacDonald, Bourke, Berg, & Burgon 2015).

Some of the above cited evaluation studies include descriptions of the programme mechanisms thought to drive empowering outcomes and these align with the programme drivers described in other youth development literature (e.g., Ball, 2010; MYD, 2009; Wayne Francis Charitable Trust – Youth Advisory Group, 2011). Skill and confidence building often arise from confronting challenges, trying new experiences (Deane & Harre, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Salvation Army, 2017; YWCA, 2015), opportunities for agency and decision-making (Burnett, 2018; Deane et al., 2015; Dutton, 2014; Salvation Army, 2017; Smit, 2016), or through creative arts (Trayes, 2009; Walls et al., 2016; Worley, 2015). Adult role models who act as guides, encouraging reflection, and peer support serve as critical props of support in these experiential learning processes (Burnett, 2018; Chapman et al., 2017; Deane & Harre, 2013, 2014; Tasi, 2009; Smit, 2016).

Burnett's (2018) case study involving participant observation of youth engagement in Project K's Wilderness Adventure component of the programme highlights that young people are motivated to engage in youth development activities for different reasons and at different times. Some degree of disengagement is normal and often linked to minor set-backs that compromise efficacy, but good facilitator and peer support to persevere through stumbling blocks can also lead to greater personal gains. Notably, marginalised young people involved in several different youth development programmes have reported an increased sense of safety and comfort to try different experiences and develop new skills without the sense of fear or failure they experience in other settings like school (Hollis et al., 2011; Rodney Economic Development Trust, 2008; Tasi, 2009; Walls et al., 2016).

# Youth Voice in Research

Fortunately, one trend in research since the inception of the YDSA in 2002 has been the inclusion and amplification of youth voice. Recent examples include the ActionStation (2018) and *What Makes Life Great?* (2019) reports discussed previously. Youth voice in research can include interviews where the words of young people take centre-stage (e.g., Hollis et al., 2011, Lavini, 2011; Walls et al., 2016); research where young people collect the data that is meaningful to them (e.g., Faircloth et al., 2016; Jensen, Kaiwai, McCreanor, & Barnes, 2006); and research where young people are active in design, analysis, and interpretation as part of a youth-adult partnership (Bolstad, 2011; Gaffney et al., 2013, Kerekere 2017a). Researchers in Aotearoa New Zealand have been attentive to using the voices of some marginalised young people, such as Māori (e.g., Berryman, Eley, & Copeland, 2017; Borell, 2005) and Pasifika (e.g., Tima, 2013) young people, while

others, such as Rainbow young people , young people with disabilities and refugee/migrant young people are included less often.

Berryman and colleagues (2017) posit that sharing the power in the research relationship opens up space for activism and self-determination driven "by youth, for youth". This includes listening to and privileging their voices, then following the advice they give, informed by their own knowledge and experiences. From a rights-based perspective, Harris (2006) argues that within government and universities, perceptions of young people as research participants have shifted from vulnerable individuals who require protection to empowered citizens with the right to be engaged in research which concerns them.

Gaffney and colleagues (2013) published an article recounting their experience conducting a service evaluation with a youth advisory group, five of whom were named authors for the article. They describe the process of working with young people in this capacity, both benefits (for the evaluation and youth) and tensions, whilst emphasising the capability of young people to participate in research and evaluation.

## Māori Perspectives of Youth Participation & Competency Development

Regardless of the forum or format, youth participation initiatives need to be culturally responsive. This requires investigation of whether and how youth participation is promoted in other cultures, and a commitment to Te Tiriti implies the need to uphold approaches that protect Māori culture. Whilst some aspects of traditional Māori approaches to youth participation fit well with contemporary Western youth development practice, Keelan (2014) points out that other facets sit in tension with Māori views.

In traditional Māori society, children and young people were privy to political meetings, important participants in community affairs, and supported to contribute (Baxter et al., 2016; Keelan, 2014). Accordingly, much of young people's learning and skill development occurred alongside adults and not in educational institutions that separated them from community life as we do today. Some young people were selected for their special talents to attend whare wānanga and learn specialised skills passed down through generations but, more commonly, a young person was mentored by an elder through the practice of pukengatanga. A young person would accompany their mentor in community activities to become the knowledge link across generations (Baxter et al., 2016; Te Ora Hou, 2011). The tuakana-teina relationship whereby an older sibling or cousin would mentor a younger, less experienced whānau member was also a central feature of taiohi development (Farruggia, Bullen, Soloman et al., 2011). Evidently, creating opportunities to learn from young people is an important principle of effective youth participation today. Also in line with contemporary youth development practice, experiential learning was an important methodology in the development of taiohi in traditional Māori communities.
The practice of urungatanga involved 'education through exposure' (Baxter et al., 2016, p. 156) where young people were put in authentic learning situations and expected to work out solutions without adult guidance (Te Ora Hou, 2011; NZYMN, 2019).

The aspects of Western youth participation theories that causes the most friction with Te Ao Māori perspectives is the notion all individuals have the right to express their opinion. This tension arises from the fact that the base unit of participation in Māori culture is the whānau thus if an issue concerns the collective, the young person's view is only one of many interconnected perspectives. With the right to express a view comes the responsibility to share accountability for whānau outcomes. Receiving support also implies a reciprocal agreement whereby the service to whānau will be returned (Keelan, 2014). Keelan also raises concerns regarding the implicit message in the YDSA that young people "should be heard as well as seen" (p. 21). She argues that in some contexts this principle can ironically disrupt taiohi Māori participation in their own culture. She contends that Māori youth development should be inextricably tied to Māori development. This necessitates the preservation of tikanga which means young people need to understand and observe the kawa (traditional cultural protocols) of ceremonial processes that are the sites of Māori knowledge. In such circumstances there are distinct roles and responsibilities that preclude the expression of views given out of turn.

# Mana Summary

In many ways, young people in Aotearoa New Zealand are prevented from full citizenship participation despite largely inaccurate lamentations that young people today are apathetic. Civic disengagement is influenced by inaccessible opportunities and information about civic processes, and narrow conceptualisations about what counts as civic engagement. Many young people ultimately want a kinder, fairer world, and they want to make a difference but require support to do this.

For a long time, young people have felt – and been – silenced. Young people have a need for agency in their lives and a right to be involved in decisions that affect them. And whilst there has been increasing attention on youth voice and youth participation over the past 17 years, organisations are still struggling to provide authentic opportunities for this to happen. Youth participation opportunities also tend to be selective; they need to be available to the full spectrum of young people. When young people are adequately supported to engage in authentic participation, service and leadership opportunities, they benefit. Youth are capable – and not just the high achievers. Adults need to relinquish their power and expect more of young people to stand in their own mana.

Confidence and competency development provide the foundation for agency and leadership. This is a focus of many youth development programmes, where experiential learning, group cohesion and support, and skilled adult role models facilitate personal growth. Young people sharing their experiences through the programme evaluations we reviewed overwhelmingly report positive learning and development. There are, however, areas for improvement where the most common themes highlighted the importance of cultural responsiveness in programming and the skills and characteristics of the people working with young people.

Some notions of youth participation advanced in Western models sit in tension with traditional Māori views and do so in ways that can disrupt young people's understanding of the kaupapa. For taiohi Māori, youth development is inherently tied to Māori development where the mana of young people is inextricably linked to the mana, and thereby the benefit and wellbeing, of the collective.

# MANAAKITANGA

Ware and Walsh-Tapiata (2010) describe manaakitanga as expressing kindness and respect for others, to safeguard collective wellbeing. It emphasises responsibility, the importance of nurturing positive relationships, and reciprocity. Manaaki is expressed in different ways depending on the nature of the relationship and people involved. On the marae, to "manaaki manuhiri" is to nourish your guests with food and any other requirements they might have. Ware and Walsh-Tapiata (2010) underscore the importance of learning about what other people value and privilege to ensure appropriate expression of manaaki. This relates to the principle of āta. Pohatu's āta principle is included in Keelan's (2014) MĀUI model and highlighted in the New Zealand Youth Mentoring Network's (NZYMN, 2019) workbook on building quality relationships. Āta speaks of the need to be careful and considerate before taking action; engaging in reflection and creating safe spaces for relationships to develop (Keelan, 2014, NZYMN, 2019).

Manaakitanga clearly links to YDSA principle 4 of "quality relationships". Accordingly, this section focuses on the features of helping relationships designed to support the development and wellbeing of young people. However, manaakitanga includes the idea of responsibility for collective wellbeing which is missing from the YDSA. Therefore, this section also addresses issues associated with the collective wellbeing of the youth development sector and evidence that supports the need for adequate resourcing and training for people working with young people.

# Formal Adult-Youth Relationships

Formal adult-youth relationships are those facilitated through programmes or services that otherwise would not likely occur. PYD theorists argue that such programmes are needed to compensate for the deterioration of traditional community ties where young people had access to a range of adult role models within their organic networks (Deane, 2012). Youth work has a long history in Aotearoa New Zealand (Barwick, 2006), a history characterised by a grassroots movement, driven by volunteers who engaged in natural relationships with young people in their community to offer support (Martin, 2006). Over time, these informal practices became formalised through the establishment of qualifications and opportunities for paid employment in youth work (Ara Taiohi, 2015b; Martin, 2006). Similarly, the desire to facilitate youth development has resulted in the formation of numerous organisations that provide young people with both opportunities for growth and connection with caring, more experienced adults in their community (e.g., mentors). Within these programmes, there are also staff members who interact with young people and walk alongside youth workers and mentors to provide support and guidance to young people.

As these relationships are based on the development of bonds between young people and their supporting adults or older mentors, there is some linkage to the next section, whānaungatanga. However, here we emphasise the manaakitanga inherent in the older person's role: whether a youth worker, youth mentor, or youth programme staff, the responsibility and privilege of caring for young people falls on the shoulders of these individuals.

Fundamental to youth work is the youth-youth worker relationship. As noted by Martin (2006, p.11), "Youth workers provide a service in order to build a relationship. Connecting with young people in their worlds, in ethical and wholistic relationships, is at the heart of youth work practice". Ideally, these relationships are formed over time and result in a meaningful connection between youth and youth worker (Bruce et al., 2009; Martin, 2006). It is a youth-focused relationship, as youth workers walk alongside as a skilled professional, rather than a friend (Ara Taiohi, 2013), with the aim to use the relationship as a means to build community and connection for young people (Bruce et al., 2009). Fractured relationships are a reality for many young people, and so those adults with whom they can develop trusting, respectful, and warm relationships are highly valued (Munford & Sanders, 2015a). Young people interviewed for several studies saw youth workers and social workers as integral parts of their community (Jensen et al., 2006; Nakhid, Tanielu, & Collins, 2009).

In his book, *The Invisible Table* (2002), Martin argues that youth workers need to develop multi-dimensional relationships with young people. These relationships have three dimensions: social context, time, and empowerment. Youth workers should engage with youth in multiple contexts to break through the stereotypes associated with the role, and become a relatable person to them. Trust and shared history are developed through time. Trust can be precarious for at-risk young people, but with time, youth workers can show their dependability. Additionally, the more time spent with young people, the more experiences are collected as part of a shared history and become part of a bond. Lastly, empowerment happens when young people take the lead in *their* world, using *their* competencies.

Youth mentoring is an intervention dedicated to pairing youth with caring adults. It is often associated with formal mentoring programmes that match volunteer adults with young people in schools or communities who would benefit from having an additional adult in their life to guide and support them (Dutton, Bullen, & Deane, 2018; NZYMN, 2016). However, mentoring also occurs in other spaces: natural mentors, such as neighbours, coaches, teachers and elders, contribute to youth development by forming meaningful relationships with young people in their community. Youth workers have also reported engaging in mentoring as part of their practice (Martin, 2006). Whether formal, natural, or as part of youth work, the widespread and enduring belief in the benefits of quality youth-adult relationships underpins youth development.

Research on youth mentoring in the Aotearoa New Zealand context is burgeoning. In addition to studies on the effectiveness of youth mentoring programmes (Deane, et al., 2015; Farruggia, Bullen, Davidson, Dunphy, Soloman, & Collins, 2011; Farruggia, Bullen, Dunphy, Soloman, & Collins et al., 2010; Farruggia, Bullen, Soloman, Collins, & Dunphy, 2011; Noonan, et al., 2012), research has explored what quality youth mentoring relationships

look like and how programmes can best facilitate such relationships (Dutton, Deane, & Bullen, 2018; Dutton et al., 2018).

In 2010, Youthline published a literature review to explicate the intersection between mentoring and youth development, guided by the six YDSA principles. Of special interest were the findings on quality relationships, given the centrality of the mentor-mentee relationship to the success of mentoring as an intervention. The review highlighted five core elements for quality mentoring relationships: mutual trust, friendship, clear expectations, enduring relationships with regular meetings, and multi-level activities (Davies et al., 2010). Overall, doing youth development through quality mentoring relationships should be mentee-focused and youth-friendly, combining fun, high expectations, clear boundaries, and a focus on developing the strengths of the mentee. Principles for relationship development such as those proposed by Dutton and colleagues (2018; McDonald et al., 2016) can usefully inform not only mentors and mentoring programmes, but other people who work with young people as well.

This point is notable, because programme outcomes are frequently attributed at least in part to the skills and characteristics of the adult role models who may also hold facilitation responsibilities in youth programmes (Chapman et al., 2017; Deane & Harré, 2014; Dutton, 2014; Price, 2015; Turner & Schroder, 2017; YWCA Auckland, 2015). At the same time, young people in some programmes have noted that staff quality is variable and this can negatively affects their programme experiences (Burnett, 2018; Hollis et al., 2011; Tasi, 2009; Turner & Schroder, 2017). Tools specifically developed to guide reflective practice during youth-adult interactions, such as Hurst's (2017) Whakapiri (connect/engage) – Whakamarama (clarify/collaborate) – Whakamana (empower) framework could be usefully employed to prevent such floundering relationships.

## The Development of People who Work with Young People

This brings us to the significance of developing the people who work with young people and supporting their wellbeing. In the *Code of Ethics*, this is considered to be a critical component of "strengths-based practice" (YDSA Principle 3) and links to the collective wellbeing dimension of manaakitanga. Understanding the contemporary issues facing youth workers is therefore informative in this regard.

In a 2006 review of youth work, Barwick indicated that Aotearoa New Zealand was lagging behind countries like Australia and the UK with regards to professionalisation. The report identified a need for a unified voice filtered through a national or professional association; a trade union that could advocate for better pay and work conditions; specialised training opportunities to improve youth work practice; a code of ethics to guide practice; and a national framework to provide strategic direction and development of the sector. In the same year Martin (2006) produced a comprehensive report on the state of youth work based on the involvement of more than 600 youth workers throughout the country. The needs Martin identified in his report reiterated the importance of raising the profile and standards of youth work. It also pointed to the need for greater resource investment including funding of community organisations, the site for most youth work.

Since then, much has changed. Founded in 2010 from the dissolution of both the National Youth Workers Network Aotearoa (NYWNA) and New Zealand Aotearoa Adolescent Health and Development (NZAAHD), Ara Taiohi is now established as the peak body for youth development and provides a forum for national youth work issues to be raised. Ara Taiohi was gifted the first *Code of Ethics* by the NYWNA when it was formed and subsequently produced the second edition in 2011. Their current strategic plan focuses on connecting the sector, raising standards of practice, championing youth development and promoting sustainability. In 2017, Ara Taiohi launched Korowai Tupu, the first professional association for youth workers in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In 2015, Ara Taiohi released two reports on the state of the youth sector. The subset of youth worker responses were compared to Martin's (2006) seminal survey of youth work to explore how the sector had changed over the decade (Ara Taiohi, 2015b). The report affirms the considerable changes that have occurred particularly with respect to qualifications and training. There has been a substantial increase in

the proportion of youth workers with qualifications (certificate, diploma, or degree). In 2006, about half had a qualification of some kind, including 13% who had a diploma or degree in an unrelated area. By 2015, the amount of qualified youth workers had risen to 78%, including 38% who had a youth work specific qualification, a significant leap from 7% in 2006. Furthermore, in the 2015 survey, an additional 33% of youth workers had a non-youth work degree.

While the increase in qualifications is heartening, there is much less engagement with training on the *Code of Ethics*. The *Code of Ethics* was published after the 2006 youth worker survey, so there is no comparative data. The 2015 survey by Ara Taiohi showed only 25% of youth workers had undertaken training on the *Code of Ethics*, despite widespread knowledge of its existence. Boosting this number will be essential to the professionalisation of the sector and should be expected as Korowai Tupu's momentum builds.

The number of youth workers attending supervision regularly remained fairly consistent over time, with a slight increase from 55% to 60% (Ara Taiohi, 2015). This is concerning given the complex nature of the work undertaken by youth workers (Ara Taiohi, 2015) and lack of self-care/personal support or access to training was a salient stressor for youth workers in 2006, as reported by Martin. In the *Braided Pathways* report (2015a) on the broader youth sector, increasing the uptake of external supervision was identified as an area of focus. Supervision is part of a good practice according to the *Code of Ethics* and has multiple purposes, including reflection, learning from experience, getting an outside perspective, accountability, identification of strengths and weaknesses, and ultimately contributing to better relationships with young people (Baxter & Eriksen, 2018).

Time pressures, lack of resourcing and financial insecurity combine to create major access barriers for youth workers in terms of training and ongoing support, which inevitably impinges on quality practice. Indeed, Martin (2006) found that lack of time and money were the main reasons youth workers did not access training. Martin explains that in the 20 years leading up to his 2006 report, little gain was made with regards to resourcing, recognising and valuing youth work. With Ara Taiohi's (2015) report demonstrating that youth work wages have not increased in any real terms since Martin's (2006) report, it is clear that adequate resourcing of quality youth work practice remains a pressing issue.

## Manaakitanga Summary

Whether in formal roles (paid or voluntary) as youth worker, mentor, or programme facilitator, the relationships youth development workers have with young people inherently involve a power difference and the adults (or older youth) in the relationship bears responsibility to manaaki (care and nurture). For some young people, youth workers are the key allies and connecting agents in their lives.

Some manaakitanga though is provided from a distance, to safeguard the collective wellbeing and ensure that the resources are available and the workers are trained. Despite major advances in the youth development sector (led in important ways by Ara Taiohi over the past decade), resource constraints have negatively influenced work conditions for youth development workers for far too long. Passion goes a long way but meagre resourcing, time pressures and poor pay (where relevant) no doubt impinge on the quality of their work and their own wellbeing.

Providing accessible (financial and otherwise) and research-informed training, education, ongoing support and supervision for people who work with young people is a worthy investment because research consistently demonstrates that it is the people who walk alongside young people who have a fundamental influence on their developmental journey.

# WHANAUNGATANGA

Whanaungatanga is about relationship, kinship and a sense of family connection. It is created through shared experiences and working together and provides people with a sense of belonging. It comes with rights and obligations, which serve to strengthen each member of that whānau or group. Where manaakitanga directs greater attention to the responsibility to care and nurture, whanaungatangarepresents relationships with those who are considered whānau. This includes people who may not be connected through direct whakapapa lineages but who feel like kin because of their shared experiences (Ware, 2009; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). Whanaungatanga clearly links to YDSA principle 4 on "quality relationships"but equally to YDSA principle 2 about "being connected" because it reflects a young person's need to belong and be part of a collective. Research included in this section focuses on family, peer, school, and community contexts, and relationships within these realms. We also incorporate research on outcomes arising from engagement and participation in community thus some of this content links to the YDSA principle 5 of "youth participation".

## Whanaungatanga as the Weaving Thread of Youth Development

The theme that most consistently weaves across all models of youth development and features most prominently in youth development programmes is that of relationships and connection. Whānau (close kin), whanaungatanga (intergenerational relationships), and whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building) provide the foundation for growth, not only in the context of Māori youth development practice (Keelan, 2014; Te Ora Hou, 2011; Ware, 2009) but in teaching (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanaugh & Teddy, 2009) and health and human development more broadly (Anae et al., 2002).

The traditions of pūkengatanga and tuakana-teina described earlier, illustrate the value placed on close relationships between young people and more experienced guides in Māori culture. And this is not unique to Māori culture.

Pasifika models of wellbeing and development, like the Fonofale, are relational and we have already mentioned the significance of the "Va" (the space between that both separates and connects) to Samoan culture (Anae et al., 2002). Connection to family, church and education provided the platform for effective Pasifika youth development in the Auckland Pacific Youth Development Strategy (2005). Belonging, support, and connection are also building blocks in international youth development models like the Circle of Courage, the 5C's of PYD and the 40 Developmental Assets (Farruggia & Bullen, 2010; Wayne Francis Charitable Trust – Youth Advisory Group, 2011). Not surprisingly, many youth development programmes explicitly seek to improve young people's established relationships and connections or facilitate new ones and many report succeeding in doing so (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2018; Chand, Farruggia, Dittman, Chu, & Sanders, 2013; Chapman et al., 2017; Deane et al., 2015; Deane & Harre, 2014; Howell, 2012; MacDonald et al., 2015; Price, 2015). Connections within and across family, school, peer and community contexts are acknowledged to be "where youth development happens" (MYA, 2002) so we summarise Aotearoa New Zealand research focused on these spheres next.

# Family and Whānau

Family has a significant and enduring effect on young people. Respondents to the Youth'12 survey (Clark et al., 2013) demonstrated that most young people got along with their family (72%), felt their family members got along well with one another (81%), and had fun with their family (69%). Most young people also reported feeling close to their parent/s and that their parent/s care about them. When it comes to spending time with parents, respondents had less time with their fathers than mothers. Time with mothers was compromised by her being busy with other commitments: work, household duties, and other children or family members. For fathers, young people reported barriers such as work, other family members, and living separately. Most of these trends have been fairly static since the first *Youth 2000* survey in 2001, although fewer girls are satisfied with how much time they spend with their parent/s.

Research on family as a context has explored ideas such as family connectedness, the role of extended family, family structure and organisation, and the interface between home and other contexts, such as school and community. Qualitative research is often used with youth participants, asking what influence they think family has had on their development. For instance, Pākehā youth interviewed by McCreanor and colleagues (2006) talked about the importance of their family environment. Family support was especially valued, including clear and negotiated boundaries for their behaviour. Notably, family support was not limited to parents: siblings, grandparents, and other extended family (such as cousins) were also actively engaged with and appreciated by young people.

The quality of family relationships is a protective factor for taiohi Māori, regardless of the structure of the whānau (e.g., sole parent or other non-nuclear family arrangements; Stuart & Jose, 2014). For Māori and Pākehā young people, mothers are particularly important. In one study, taiohi Māori described their mothers as being in charge of caring, comfort, and warmth, and acknowledged the sacrifices mothers made to raise them (Edwards et al., 2007). These taiohi also described the contrast between parents: mothers were strong and provided aroha, while paternal relationships were challenging due to the absence and stress driven by economic scarcity (Edwards et al., 2007). Similar findings emerged in a study with Pākehā young people: while most reported having quality relationships with their parents, mothers were always rated higher on specific aspects of the relationship (e.g., feeling close to mum/dad, spending time with mum/dad; McCreanor et al., 2006). In both studies (Edwards et al., 2007; McCreanor et al., 2006) youth discussed their relationships with siblings and extended family, such as grandparents and cousins.

Parenting adolescents comes with its own complexities and rewards. While families can be sources of support and aroha for youth, there are challenges too. Family conflicts occur around both the lack of boundaries and boundaries that are restrictive and stifling for young people (McCreanor et al.,

2006). A review of a parenting intervention aimed at parents and their adolescent children was shown to be effective for increasing both parental (e.g., school involvement and positive communication techniques) and adolescent behaviours (e.g., decision-making and caring for others) which contribute to positive youth development (Chand et al., 2013).

Research on family connectedness for Māori youth emphasises the role of extended family, as whānau by definition, encompasses both nuclear and extended family (Edwards et al., 2007; Stuart & Jose, 2014). Merritt (2003) found extended family – especially older women like aunties or grandmothers – provided the love and support young Māori girls needed as they moved through adolescence. Edwards and colleagues (2007) also highlighted the importance of grandparents and aunties/uncles for taiohi Māori, as it is not unusual for young people to live with extended whānau at various times in their life, either with or without their parents.

Several studies have explored the effect of family on youth wellbeing using quantitative measures. In one study with taiohi Māori, family connectedness protected against normative decreases in wellbeing during middle adolescence (Stuart & Jose, 2014). In other words, even though adolescents typically experience some reduction in wellbeing during their teen years, for taiohi Māori, family connectedness acted as a buffer against this trend. Whānau connectedness was used in a recent study as part of a broader concept of cultural embeddedness, which was shown to indirectly predict youth wellbeing through an improvement in the use of solution-focused strategies when young people are facing difficult situations (Fox, Neha, & Jose, 2018).

For Pasifika young people, family are also fundamental to their wellbeing and development as a source of support and high expectations, particularly in education (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2005). Fa'alau (2011) explored the connection between Samoan youth wellbeing and three dimensions of family: family structure (size and composition), family organisation (e.g., routines, decision-making, family activities), and family relationships. In describing family as a protective factor, Fa'alau emphasises the characteristics of mutual understanding, respect, trust, and support. When these are lacking, the wellbeing of Samoan young people suffers.

Of course, families do not exist in isolation from other individuals or institutions in the lives of their young people. The interaction of family and other potential sources of connectedness can also influence how young people develop. For example, one study explored home-school dissonance: when the cultures of home and school are inconsistent with each other (Jose, Rata, & Richards, 2017). Taiohi Māori were more likely than Pākehā young people to experience this dissonance, which predicted lower connectedness with home and school, as well as predicting various negative outcomes (e.g., lack of autonomy, negative affect, lower self-confidence) for Māori and Pākehā students. The researchers suggest schools should be encouraged to improve the congruence between school and home cultures for marginalised students. Another study showed most young people (90%) feel supported by their parents and whānau in their schoolwork, especially boys and Pākehā students (Ministry of Education, 2017). However, young people who did not have parental support when they were having difficulties at school were more likely to be bullied regularly.

# Schools

The Youth'12 survey (Clark et al., 2013) collected data about how young people feel about school. School connectedness was measured by four questions asking if: students feel like part of their school, they like being at school, people at school care for them, and teachers are fair. A vast majority of students feel like they belong at school (87%), and like school a lot (29%) or think it is okay (61%). When asked about their relationships at school, only 27% think the adults at school care about them, while half think teachers are fair to students most of the time. Both of these measures have increased since 2001: from 23% for the former, and from 43% for the latter. In contrast, PISA data shows the sense of belonging at school has decreased since 2003 (Ministry of Education, 2017). One measure – feeling like an outsider or left out of things – increased from 8% in 2003 to 22% in 2015.

A survey undertaken with over 1500 young people by the Office of the Children's Commissioner (2018) reiterated the importance of the teacher-student relationship. Participants emphasised how knowing a teacher believes in them makes a difference in their motivation and achievement. Having quality relationships with teachers is especially important for high-risk young people in schools (Sanders, Munford, & Liebenberg, 2016). These relationships bolster the resilience of young people, which in turn contributes to desirable outcomes such as positive peer relationships, being pro-social, and satisfied with life (Sanders, Munford, & Liebenberg, 2016).

A report from Rodney Economic Development Trust (2008) examining why so many young people in the area leave school without formal qualifications highlighted the impact of low quality relationships between teachers and students. More than 100 young people in the area took part, and 81% said they felt their teachers wanted them 'gone' from school. Many participants felt like their teachers did not know or care about them. Young people appreciated teachers – who were often younger – that understood where they were coming from and that there were other issues happening in their lives. They also liked teachers who were encouraging and rewarded effort, not just outcomes.

The *Youth 2000* series investigated the relationship between secondary school and health outcomes for youth. Their findings include an association between supportive school environments and reduced depression and suicidality for male sexual minority students (Denny et al., 2016); positive school climate was associated with less problem alcohol use and risky motor vehicle behaviour (Denny et al., 2011); and the provision of school-based health services (such as nursing and doctors hours) was associated with better mental health for students, including lower levels of depression and suicidality (Denny et al., 2018). Schools are also important sites for service and leadership opportunities especially for young people living in low socioeconomic conditions. School-based programmes remove some of the access barriers to these important developmental experiences (Deane, Moore et al., 2017).

Important research has also investigated the wellbeing of young people who are excluded from mainstream education. One study exploring the health needs of – in alternative education found significant and concerning health issues and engagement in risky behaviours (Clark et al., 2010). Noel et al. (2013) reinforced this finding by demonstrating that young people in Alternative Education are ten times more likely to experience emotional distress coupled with engagement in high risk behaviours relative to secondary school students. Other studies conducted with vulnerable young people, most of whom were disengaged from mainstream school in some way, found they struggled to create a positive identity for themselves as a student (Sanders & Munford, 2016). However, youth reports of having adult support within the school – from teachers or counsellors for example – is associated with belonging and resilience (Sanders & Munford, 2016), as well as experiencing schools as helpful and positive spaces (Sanders, Munford, & Liebenberg, 2016). Experiencing school as a positive place also helps vulnerable young people stay in mainstream education (Sanders, Munford, & Thimarsarn-Anwar, 2015).

## Peers

For some young people, friends are as important as family (Kerekere, 2017a; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). Relationships with friends were consistently rated highly by young people who participated in the Youth'12 survey (Clark et al., 2013). Young people almost always have fun when they are with their friends (99%), and friends also provide important emotional support: 91% reported having at least one friend they can talk to about almost anything, while 97% had friends who helped and looked out for them. This is an encouraging sign, since good peer relationships are typically associated with positive development in adolescence (Farruggia & Bullen, 2010). One study conducted with vulnerable young people found positive peer relations contributed to improved attendance at school (Sanders, Munford, & Thimarsarn-Anwar, 2015), a finding echoed by a survey of over 1500 young people which found

having friends at school was a major motivator for attending school regularly (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2018). Similarly, youth in one study who left school prematurely indicated the main reason they stayed at school as long as they did was to be with their friends (Rodney Economic Development Trust, 2008).

However, research has also investigated some of the challenges and negative effects associated with peer relationships. In one study, researchers have found some at-risk youth reduce their interactions with antisocial peers to avoid associated risks, such as being exposed to gangs (Sanders, Munford, Liebenberg, & Ungar, 2017). However, this strategy can result in isolation if other relationships, including those with caring adults, are not present to mitigate boredom, loneliness, and mental health problems such as depression.

# Community

Most young people like the neighbourhood they live in and trust the people in their community (Clark et al., 2013). Almost half of secondary school students are also active in their community, including sports (45%) and church groups (23%), while over a quarter of reported helping someone in their community in the past 12 months (Clark et al., 2013).

For many young people, church is an integral part of life and their community. *Youth '12* found that 26% of young people went to church, mosque, or temple at least once a week. Almost one third of respondents said they felt like they belonged at church, and this was proportionately higher for youth in high deprivation neighbourhoods. The centrality of church is especially important for Pasifika young people (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2005). Church is not only a place for spirituality, but also for social life and identity development. Church-based youth activities and youth groups can give young Pasifika people opportunities to develop leadership skills and connect to adult role models as well (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2005).

Communities offer a physical place for young people to feel connected to (Funaki, 2017). There is a relational component in spaces where young people can gather and meet with peers and important adults. However, the physical representation of the value of young people to a community – through structured, dedicated spaces for youth, for instance – is important to facilitating belongingness and connection (Funaki, 2017).

One innovative project examining youth and community (Jensen et al., 2006) utilised photovoice: a method in which participants take photos to capture and illustrate what is important to them. Two groups of young people in South Auckland explored their community, including spaces and opportunities for youth development. Young people highlighted the places they valued (parks, recreation centres, and churches), concerns for their community (e.g., gangs, graffiti, housing, and the pervasiveness of liquor and fast food outlets), as well as solutions (more social workers and facilities for youth). They also demonstrated an acute awareness of how 'outsiders' see their community negatively, but remain connected to and proud of where they come from: "People say heaps of stuff about Mangere … but to us, it's just home". This echoes other research with South Auckland youth who reinforce the pride they have in their community (Borell, 2005; Nakhid et al., 2009), as well as cognisance of the strengths and challenges their community faces (Nakhid et al., 2009).

Simcock (2016) interviewed young people in Te Aroha and Otorohanga to explore the relationship between rural young people and their community. Participants described a sense of collectiveness from participating in social events in the community, through which they could develop social capital and, potentially, improve wellbeing. Community also played an important part in the success of young people from Opotiki, as it was a place for them to feel grounded and supported, with the community nurturing their potential (Williams, 2016).

Connection to community can be fostered through participating in community-based activities and programmes. Community-based activities are common in Aotearoa New Zealand and include a variety of extracurricular activities – such as sports, arts, and cultural activities – located in communities, rather than schools (O'Connor &

Jose, 2012). O'Connor (2011) found young people who participated in such activities felt more connected to their community and school, and also reported better adjustment on several outcomes (wellbeing, social support, and life satisfaction; see also O'Connor & Jose, 2012). The social benefits of participating can vary by ethnicity. In O'Connor and Jose's (2012) study, participation predicted higher social support and community connectedness for Māori, while for Pākehā, participation predicted higher wellbeing. However, young people who identified as both Māori and Pākehā saw no benefits at all from participating in community-based activities. O'Connor (2011) found benefits were particularly strong for young people in sports, boys in arts or community activities, and young Māori who participated in a combination of arts, community, and sports activities. Other research supporting the link between various forms of sports participation and youth development include work by Heke (2005), Hodge, Danish, & Martin (2012), Gordon (2015) and Wheaton, Roy and Olive (2017).

## Whanaungatanga Summary

The relationships young people have with the important people in their lives are the primary nurturing sources of their development, but they can also be the sources of strife. Family has the utmost influence and this is the case for the majority of young people, regardless of whether they come from a collectivist or individualistic background. Most young people in Aotearoa New Zealand feel cared for and close to family. Many want to spend more time with their parents but for some parents, the demands on their time – economic and otherwise – compromise their availability.

Schools can facilitate access to important services and developmental opportunities and most secondary school students feel like they belong at school. Nonetheless, the school context is, unfortunately, a common site for difficulties. Teacher-student relationships play an important role in "making or breaking" a young person's schooling experience and strained relationships are typical for many marginalised young people. Unfortunately, alienation from mainstream education is associated with very poor wellbeing. Peer relationships also facilitate engagement in ways that can both nurture and impede positive development. Regardless, isolation from friends compromises wellbeing.

Involvement in community activities, including church, supports young people's sense of connection and their developing identities. Sense of belonging is a vital nutrient for positive youth development. It is not only the people but the climate of the places young people inhabit that matter in this regard.

# MĀTAURANGA

Mātauranga refers to knowledge, wisdom, understanding and skill. Mātauranga Māori refers to the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives, Māori creativity and cultural practices. Importantly, mātauranga informs tikanga; the processes and policies which guide our work. Māori youth development scholars (Keelan, 2003, 2014; Ware, 2009; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010) have complained about the invisibility of mātauranga Māori and youth voice in mainstream youth development literature, especially when "there is a mātauranga Māori of youth development and it does not sit in negative statistics" (Keelan, 2014, p. 7).

Of all the Māori values outlined in this arotake tuhinga, mātauranga most closely aligns with the YDSA Principle 6, "youth development needs good information". It emphasises information derived from research and evaluation, but as discussed in the earlier sections of this arotake, the mātauranga used to inform youth development policy and practice in the past was substantially limited.

Effective youth development policy and practice must be informed by multidisciplinary, multicultural, multimethod and multiple stakeholder perspectives. In this section, we summarise what we have learned from youth development research reviews conducted prior to this one, we share our insights of the youth development mātauranga we have synthesised here, and we discuss the implications associated with privileging certain knowledge bases of youth development over others.

# Other Research Reviews

Research reviews are useful in terms of synthesising current knowledge of a specific topic and the youth development sector has benefitted from several reviews produced since McLaren's (2002) *Building Strengths* report was disseminated. Ball (2010) produced a literature review based on both national and international evidence of best practices for mental health promotion programmes targeting taiohi Māori. She argued that approaches aligning with good PYD practice with respect to boosting strengths and focusing on holistic development and wellbeing were more effective than those focused on reducing problematic behaviours, and that both universal and targeted programmes were needed. Ineffective approaches included solely information-based and fear-inducing interventions and unstructured activities.

MYD conducted a youth development programming review in 2009, again drawing predominantly on international evidence with some commentary on domestic initiatives to the relevancy of the structured programmes it supports. This review emphasised the problems associated with such a diffuse definition of "youth development", arguing that "the current conceptualisation of what constitutes appropriate youth development activity is so broad that very few things could actually be considered inconsistent or out-of-scope" (p.7). This highlights the importance of being clear about the youth development principles that operationalise the work of our sector, and what sits outside of our youth development practice. MYD's review provides a contrasting tone to Ball's in that it suggests the huge popularity of youth development programmes far outweigh the evidence. With good quality implementation, such programmes typically produce modest positive effects. Raising the collective standard of practice is thus imperative to increasing the sector's impact. Growing the Aotearoa New Zealand evidence base, upon which best practice guidelines should be based, forms a vital part of this work.

Two systematic review projects are also of note. Systematic reviews collect all available research on a topic and then synthesize the data to provide a large-scale assessment of the evidence. In this way, they report on the quality of the research as well as the content. Farruggia and colleagues conducted such a review on the effectiveness of youth mentoring programmes first reported on in 2010, then followed by related publications (Farruggia, Bullen, Davidson et al., 2011; Farruggia, Bullen, Soloman et al., 2011). Their systematic review included 26 evaluations of programme effects. A vast majority of programmes showed some degree of effectiveness. This review provided some assurances that youth mentoring in Aotearoa New Zealand was on the right track, but also highlighted some important gaps which needed to addressed (such as more robust evaluation procedures and increased funding to programmes to ensure evaluation takes place).

Their systematic review also explored the cultural context of mentoring. Many of the programmes included in that review work with significant numbers of Māori and Pasifika young people, and those programmes with a greater proportion of Māori and Pasifika youth were less culturally appropriate. Moreover, there was a negative association between appropriateness and effectiveness, as programmes higher in cultural appropriateness tended to be lower in effectiveness, and vice versa. The authors suggest that programmes need to balance established best practices with cultural appropriateness, to ensure young people are receiving the benefits of both. They also suggest that goal-orientation (e.g., interpersonal, academic, or cultural goals) can influence effectiveness and perhaps programmes with high numbers of Māori and Pasifika youth are targeting goals which are more difficult to change or measure. Finally, they posited that a mismatch with research methodologies may mean the effects of programmes with many Māori and Pasifika youth are not captured.

Also in 2010, a systematic review of impact of youth work on young people was published (Fouché, Elliott, Mundy-McPherson, Jordan, & Bingham, 2010). The review had specific parameters: evaluations of the effect of youth work interventions on young people aged 12–24. Unfortunately, the review itself was 'empty' as no studies met the inclusion criteria of the review. We note that their operationalisation of "youth work" for the purposes of the review was very narrow. The researchers only included studies where the authors explicitly labelled their work as "youth work". This does not align with the broad definition offered in the *Code of Ethics* (Ara Taiohi, 2011) where most youth development

programmes (paid or voluntary) involve relationships of a youth work nature. The authors noted that no evidence does not mean there is no effect; only that the type of evaluation targeted by their review was lacking. The authors concluded that while there are indicators in the field to show youth work works – such as young people's participation in and positive feeling towards the services they are offered – the youth work sector would benefit from practice-based, high quality evidence which shows the effect youth work can have. Generating this evidence has challenges however, not least with respect to accessing funding for such endeavours.

# Insights about Youth Development Research from our Synthesis

In this review, we have had the opportunity to peruse a swathe of local literature. In doing so, several trends have become evident and are worth discussion here as suggestions for ways to move the collective body of knowledge forward. Since 2002, there has been a plethora of research done by Aotearoa New Zealand researchers about young people in Aotearoa New Zealand. As indicated earlier in this review, although we have included a lot of this research, there is still much more that was not able to be included. Data has been compiled from a range of sources: peer-reviewed journal articles, books, postgraduate student theses, organisational reports, submissions and information sheets. The research ranges from conceptual and theoretical pieces to empirical studies using small case studies to large scale, national projects with thousands of young people. All manner of research methodologies based on kaupapa Māori, qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-methods frameworks have been employed and we have drawn on literature from the disciplines of psychology, sociology, anthropology, health and education. In short, Aotearoa New Zealand youth development research is innovative, diverse, and exciting.

Already in this review we have highlighted some of the large-scale projects. Of note, the *Youth 2000* surveys present the most comprehensive picture of secondary school health and wellbeing that we have to date, and the robust representative design of these studies means that they provide the most accurate overview of the "big picture". Not only this, but they provide rare insights into population-based experiences of marginalised secondary school students, without which these students would continue to be invisibilised. Likewise, Munford and Sanders' work with young people living in chronic risk conditions provide unique insights about the lives of hard to reach young people. Continued support of projects such as these is essential if we are to understand the diverse experiences of young people across the country.

Although large-scale projects are often associated with quantitative analyses and generalised findings (such as AHRG), Munford and Sanders' work includes mixed-methods and qualitative research being done with significant sample sizes (e.g., Munford & Sanders, 2015a; Sanders, Munford, & Boden, 2017). There are also many smaller projects utilising robust methodologies from kaupapa Māori, quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods paradigms. Some have argued that certain qualitative methodologies – such as interviews, focus groups, oral histories, and case studies – are most appropriate for doing research with Māori, as they more closely align with how Māori have traditionally passed knowledge on (Bullen et al., 2019; Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006) and seem to resonate more with Māori participants (Heke, 2005). Indeed, these approaches appear to be popular in the Aotearoa New Zealand youth development literature, emphasising the voices and subjective experiences of marginalised peoples.

There are numerous youth development programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand, working with thousands of young people across the country. A critical part of programme practice involves evaluating whether the programme is not only doing what is says it does (in other words, that it is effective), but also that it is safe. However, the systematic reviews led by both Farruggia and Fouché and their colleagues in 2010 point to the scarcity of youth programme evaluations available at that time. The limited scope of both reviews (on mentoring and narrowly defined youth work initiatives) may have contributed to the low numbers; it may also be that evaluation in the youth development landscape has changed very quickly in the last 10 years. Numerous reports have

been produced in recent years and recent research demonstrates that there is a growing evidence-based movement in Aotearoa New Zealand, which is almost certainly a key driver of this increased activity (Bullen et al., 2019; Deane & Harré, 2016). Several evaluation studies have been described in this arotake, where specific outcomes were pertinent to issues in other sections, and we expect that there are many more that will contribute importantly to the evidence base on youth development programming in this country.

The increased evaluation activity in the sector is encouraging considering youth development organisations experience significant resource constraints (Martin, 2006) and are amongst many social and community services that acknowledge numerous barriers to engaging more deeply with evidence. This includes a need for internal evaluation capacity-building (Bullen et al., 2019). Investment in these activities is crucial because Farruggia et al. (2010) demonstrate that programmes with a history of evaluation and that align with best practice principles show greater levels of effectiveness.

Many of the evaluation studies included in this review, particularly those published in peer review journals, provided useful and transparent details regarding the theorised programme mechanisms driving change (i.e. aspects of the programme theory), the methods employed, and the limitations. These details are essential with respect to demonstrating evaluation and programme quality thus we encourage greater attention to these aspects in all evaluation reports. The *NZYMN Guide to Effective and Safe Practice* (McDonald et al., 2016) includes a section on evaluation which describes the benefits of evaluation, as well as the different types of evaluation. This is a useful resource for any youth development programme, as is the *What Works* website.[3]

There is an abundance of postgraduate theses available in the 'grey literature'. Clearly, many students are interested in the lives of young people in this country and they are exploring a multitude of dimensions of youth development. There are now open online repositories of theses completed by students at tertiary institutions, making most of this research available to the sector at large. Some thesis content is eventually published in peer-reviewed journals and we encourage more of this. Publication of this work in peer-reviewed outlets provides an extra level of quality assurance, and also forces the distillation of arguments and narratives into a more digestible length. We appreciate that publisher paywalls restrict access to this information for many segments of the youth development sector unless choosing Open Access options, some of which do attract high fees. Nevertheless, there are freely available Open Access options (e.g. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online* published by the Royal Society Te Apārangi) that provide good outlets for youth development research. We also encourage research dissemination in a wide range of other open access forms, such as presentations, resources, blogs and podcasts. Increased dissemination activity is necessary to advance the sector.

3 **http://whatworks.org.nz/**

# The Politics of Youth Development Knowledge

We conclude by reiterating that an exclusive focus on psychological knowledge of youth development, which has largely privileged Western constructions of adolescence, wellbeing and development and originates from deficit theorising of norm deviant youth (Beals, 2008b; 2015; France, 2012), does not serve young people in Aotearoa New Zealand well. Certainly, ecological, cultural and critical psychological perspectives of youth development exist and these knowledge bases eschew biologically reductionist and individualistic views of human development. Nevertheless, it is the former approaches, undergirded by brain science (France, 2012) and a positivist, evidence-based movement (Bullen et al., 2019) that have gained the greatest currency in political spheres by convincingly offering methodological solutions that pinpoint causality, and hence "What Works" for effective youth development. Fostering positive youth development in an inclusive and culturally responsive way in a diverse country like Aotearoa New Zealand is not that simple and the political power of knowledge has real implications for young people. France (2012) argues that knowledge construction is also subject to neoliberal conditions of market competition. Consequently, this had led to power and resource imbalances whereby "hard" science secures greater

gains from financial investment. This has the flow on effect of greater visibility in policy making, perpetuating a vicious cycle that pushes social science knowledge further and further to the periphery when it comes to influencing youth policy. The youth development sector will gain more from a collective knowledge base that builds a systemic, dynamic, and interdisciplinary picture of young people and their world. It is our hope that by incorporating diverse research in this arotake that we have taken a small step towards this goal.

## Mātauranga Summary

The research base on Aotearoa New Zealand youth development has grown extensively over the past 20 years with programme evaluation studies becoming increasingly prevalent over the last decade. This growth is exciting, important for the sector and in need of continued investment. Researchers have a role to play in this. We need to grow the impact and visibility of this work by publishing and presenting our research in diverse forums that speak to different audiences.

To date, Western, deficit-based psychological and neuroscientific knowledge has been privileged in policy and public discourse about youth development. Robust research guided by Mātauranga Māori and other cultural knowledge systems is critical to raising awareness and developing strategies to best support the positive development of all young people in Aotearoa New Zealand, whether through policy or practice. These goals are better served by drawing on multidisciplinary, multi-method and multicultural research that incorporates multiple stakeholder perspectives.

# Concluding Summary with Implications for Policy and Practice

The YDSA envisioned "a country where young people are vibrant and optimistic through being supported and encouraged to take up challenges" (MYA, 2002, p. 7). Young people in Aotearoa are vibrant and they are optimistic. The majority have positive relationships, good health and optimistic aspirations for their futures. Further, we have seen improvements in a range of areas over the past 17 years, including declines in young people's risk taking behaviours. It is unclear what specific mechanisms have contributed to these declines, but we nevertheless hope future research will continue to disrupt the popular myth that young people today are worse than in previous generations (Farruggia & Bullen, 2010).

These improvements have occurred for young people across the four most prevalent ethnic groups in Aotearoa New Zealand: Pākehā, Māori, Pasifika and Asian, the latter three being those where we have seen and will continue to see population growth. As the research reviewed here shows, most young people are proud of their ethnic backgrounds, and this pride is an important asset for their development. Furthermore, the increasing number of youth people who identify with multiple ethnicities are developing intricate and powerful identities which are grounded and enriched by drawing on their cultural backgrounds. Young people lead the way in understanding and celebrating diversity. Providing resources and programming which bolsters the cultural identities of young people is a worthwhile contribution to their positive development.

Young people also lead the way in the digital world. It is an indispensable part of their – and our – lives, and comes with complexities and misunderstandings. It appears that the oft-cited "digital divide" is still at play, although the divide is not as simple as whether young people have access or not; rather, the quality of access and usability may well be more pertinent today, particularly for rural and disadvantaged youth. Regardless, this is an area ripe for research, and young people are ideally placed to direct related initiatives.

There is a lot to celebrate but there is much work to be done. Recent research consistently demonstrates that many young people are not getting their basic needs met. Māori, Pasifika Rainbow young people and young people with disabilities continue to feature prominently in impoverished settings. Other marginalised young people also struggle to access adequate support and resources and are more frequently the targets of hostility and harm. It is no wonder they report poorer mental health. The problems compound when young people identify with more than one marginalised identity. Although this arotake includes several studies about specific multiple identities, more research in this area is needed to acknowledge their unique needs and provide a foundation for programme and policy support.

Ultimately, the story across advocacy groups, census data and representative youth self-reports is the same – further systems change is needed. Therein lie the root problems thus therein lie solutions. Not only that, it is what young people say they want: better role models, improved services and institutions for those who are marginalised, and ultimately a fairer and kinder world. Systemic change needs systemic intervention, and this implicates policy. Whilst some policies appear to have contributed to improvements for young people, there is a huge role for policy makers in creating the desired systems change. Concerning trends arising from economic inequality are stabilising in some areas but it will take much more to undo the damage that years of neoliberal policies have done to already disadvantaged young people and their whānau. Likewise, the historical effects of oppression and colonisation are still felt strongly by Māori and other marginalised young people. Critical consciousness raising regarding colonisation and other forms of oppression is needed across our institutions. In youth development, traditional Western ideology has perpetuated deficit-theorising of youth. This continues to permeate through contemporary research and hence has been used to inform practice and policy in ways that push marginalised youth further out to the periphery. Voices that speak out against this ongoing trend need to be amplified.

Meaningful youth participation is needed at the policy level across government and organisations working with young people because they are the

experts in their own lives. Traditional expectations for civic engagement and participation are often not appealing because they are not relevant or accessible, and frequently tokenistic. Simply labelling youth as apathetic is unconstructive and inaccurate because many do care and want to make a difference. The March 2019 student-led climate change strike and associated marches across the country shows the interest and desire to make change is there. However, young people need to be supported to participate, they need to feel effective in doing so, and organisations require adequate resourcing to do this well. Moreover, the clichéd adage that "young people are our future" is often unhelpful as it downplays the value young people offer in the present.

Youth have agency needs that need to be fostered for effective leadership and youth development models, such as *E Tipu E Rea* and MĀUI are designed to do this. Experiential learning opportunities characterised by high challenge and high support are particularly growth-enhancing. The climate surrounding such experiences also facilitates positive outcomes. Places where young people feel like they belong and are affirmed in their identities provide a safe site for deeper exploration and competency building. This is true for school and community contexts and this is the bread and butter of youth development programming. Evidence indicates that when youth development programmes do this well, they are effective. High quality programme evaluations are informative and necessary in this regard but there is a need for evaluation capacity building within youth development organisations.

In any case, however, when it comes to fostering youth development, the resounding truth is *he tangata, he tangata, he tangata* – it is people, it is people, it is people. Research tells us – and more importantly, young people tell us – it is people who fundamentally alter young people's journeys in life, whether it be whānau/family, teachers, peers, programme staff, youth workers or mentors. These relationships are sources of joy, inspiration and guidance for young people and when young people struggle, it is their relationships that are the fix as well as the cause of much of their strife. Investing resources in the people supporting young people is therefore a worthy investment, and one that has and continues to be sorely lacking. Therefore, drawing on the growing Aotearoa New Zealand literature on quality adult-youth relationships, research-informed training, education and intervention programmes that focus on strengths-based relational engagement with young people across their primary spheres of development are needed. Further, these need to be financially and geographically accessible and culturally responsive.

As adults walking alongside young people, it is our responsibility to enact the manaakitanga of strengths-based practice. Equally, our "strengths-based approaches" need to encompass the fuller definition of strengths-based practice we see articulated in the many Aotearoa New Zealand-based and international models of youth development and operationalised through the *Code of Ethics*. This involves affirming young people's mauri, enhancing their mana, facilitating whanaungatanga, remaining mindful of their whakapapa and being informed by rich and diverse mātauranga.

We have come a long way in terms of advancing the vision of the YDSA. But there is a long way to go – in research, in policy and in practice. The YDSA principles are as relevant in research as they are in practice, and this arotake is a reflection of their enduring importance. The Māori values presented here reframe and offer additional richness to the principles. They have been embraced by the youth development sector and it is now time for the updated YDSA principles to be infused across the many worlds that young people inhabit.

# References

## A


Action for Children and Youth Aotearoa (2015). *United Nations Conventions of the Rights of the Child. Alternative report prepared by Action for Children and Youth Aotearoa*. Auckland, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **http://www.acya.org.nz/reports-to-the-united-nations.html**

ActionStation (2018). *Nga korero hauora o nga Taiohi. A community-powered report on conversations with 1,000 young people about wellbeing*. Retrieved from **https://actionstation.org.nz/campaigns**

Anae, M. (2010). All power to the people: Overstayers, dawn raids and the Polynesian panthers. In S. Mallon, K. Māhina-Tuai, & D. Salesa (Eds). *Tangata o le Moana. New Zealand and the people of the Pacific* (pp. 221-240). Wellington, NZ: Te Papa Press

Anae, M., Moewaka Barnes, H., McCreanor, T., & Watson, P. (2002): Towards promoting youth mental health in Aotearoa/ New Zealand: Holistic 'houses' of health. *International Journal of Mental Health Promotion, 4*(2), 5-14. doi: 10.1080/14623730.2002.9721855

Ara Taiohi (2019). Korowai Tupu o Ara Taiohi. Retrieved from **http://www.arataiohi.org.nz/professional-association/about-korowai-tupu**

Ara Taiohi (2011). *Code of ethics for youth work in Aotearoa New Zealand (2nd ed.)* Wellington, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **http://www.arataiohi.org.nz/Code**

Ara Taiohi (2013). *Te Hautaki o Ara Taiohi full report*. Wellington, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **http://www.arataiohi.org.nz/images/uploads/general/Te_Hautaki_Report_final_Mar_2013.pdf**

Ara Taiohi (2015a). *Braided Pathways. A report on the 2014 Ara Taiohi National Youth Sector Survey*. Wellington, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **http://www.arataiohi.org.nz/images/uploads/general/Braided_Pathways_Final_August_2015.pdf**

Ara Taiohi (2015b). *Stepping Stone. A step on the pathway to professionalisation. A report on youth work trends from the 2014 Ara Taiohi National Youth Sector Survey compared against the 2006 NYWNA Real Work report*. Wellington, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **http://www.arataiohi.org.nz/images/uploads/general/Stepping_Stone_Final_August_2015.pdf**

Ara Taiohi (2016). *Snapshot 2015. A report on the support sector for rainbow young people.* Wellington, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **http://www.arataiohi.org.nz/images/uploads/general/Ara_Taiohi_Snapshot_Report_Final_5_April_2016.pdf**

Arahanga-Doyle, H., Moradi, S., Brown, K., Neha, T., Hunter, J. A. & Scarf, D. (2018). Positive youth development in Māori and New Zealand European adolescents through an adventure education programme. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online,* 1-14. doi: 10.1080/1177083X.2018.1508479


## B


Ball, J. (2010). *Review of evidence about the effectiveness of mental health promotion programmes targeting youth/rangatahi.* Wellington, NZ: Quigley and Watts Ltd. Retrieved from **https://www.quigleyandwatts.co.nz/contact_us_and_about_us**

Barwick, H. (2006). *Youth work today: A review of the issues and challenges. A literature review of youth work in New Zealand, Australia and the United Kingdom.* Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Youth Development. Retrieved from **http://www.arataiohi.org.nz/images/uploads/general/youth-work-today-a-review-of-the-issues-and-challenges-pdf.pdf**

Baxter, R., Caddie, M., & Cameron, G. B. (2018). Aotearoa New Zealand's indigenous youth development concepts explored in practice today. In M. Heathfield, & D. Fusco (Eds.), *Youth and inequality in education: Global actions in youth work* (pp. 155-172). New York, NY: Routledge.

Baxter, R. & Eriksen, T. (2018). *Supervision scrapbook: A resource for youth workers and anyone working with young people.* Wellington, NZ: Ara Taiohi.

Beals, F. (2008a). Conflicting demands: Reviewing the impact of youth policies on New Zealand Schools. *New Zealand Annual Review of Education, 17*, 91-105. doi: 10.26686/nzaroe.v0i17.1525

Beals, F. (2008b). *Rethinking knowledge: The unforeseen implications of risk psychology.* Paper presented at the New Zealand Association for Research in Education Annual Conference. Palmerson North, NZ: Massey University

Beals, F. (2015). Tackling the unmarked in youth development: Why settle for the west when a new dawn brings new possibilities. *Journal of Applied Youth Studies, 1*(1), 122-141.

Beals, F., Foaese, P. C., Miller, M., Perkins, H., & Sargent, N. (2018). Screaming aloud from da old plantation down-under: Youth work on the margins in Aotearoa New Zealand. In P. Alldred, F. Cullen, K. Edwards, & D. Fusco (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of youth work practice* (pp. 227-240). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Bell, A. (2010). *Preventing the sexual exploitation of children: One child's reality, everyone's responsibility – an ever present and demanding challenge*. Auckland, NZ: Action for Children and Youth Aotearoa. Retrieved from **http://www.acya.org.nz/working-papers.html**

Benson, S. J., & Rahman, K. A. (2007). Pan-Asian identity in a globalizing world. *The International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations, 7*(5). 1447-9532.

Berryman, M., Eley, E., & Copeland, D. (2017). Listening and learning from rangatahi Māori: the voices of Māori youth. *Critical Questions in Education, 8*(4), 476-494

Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Cavanaugh, T. & Teddy, L. (2009). Te Kotahitanga: Addressing educational disparities facing Māori students in New Zealand. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 25*, 734-742. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2009.01.009

Bolstad, R. (2011). *From "student voice" to "youth-adult partnerships": Lessons from working with young people as partners for educational change*. An NZCER Working Paper from the Families and Communities Engagement in Education (FACE) Project. Wellington, NZ: New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Retrieved from **https://www.nzcer.org.nz/system/files/set2011_1_031.pdf**

Borell, B. (2005). Living in the city ain't so bad: Cultural identity for young Māori in South Auckland. In J. Liu (Ed). *New Zealand Identities: Departures & Destinations* (pp. 191-206). Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press

Bruce, J., Boyce, K., Campbell, J., Harrington, J., Major, D. & Williams, A. (2009). Youth work that is of value. Towards a model of best practice. *Youth Studies Australia, 28*(2), 23-31.

Bullen, P. (2010). *Identity projects and positive youth development: The importance of efficacy, integrity, and belonging during adolescence* (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from **https://www.library.auckland.ac.nz/services/research-support/finding-theses-and-dissertations**

Burnett, F. (2018). *An innovative exploration of engagement using participant observation in an outdoor adventure youth development programme.* (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from **https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/36948**

## C

Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (2014). *Youth Wellbeing Survey 2013*. Christchurch, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **https://ceraarchive.dpmc.govt.nz/documents/youth-wellbeing-survey**

Centre for Social Impact (2018). *Evidence review: The youth development ecosystem. Mapping the context for a review of the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa.* Auckland, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **https://www.centreforsocialimpact.org.nz/media/1428/the-youth-development-ecosystem-an-evidence-review.pdf**

Chand, N., Farruggia, S., Dittman, C., Chu, J. T. W., & Sanders, M. (2013). Promoting positive youth development through a brief parenting intervention program. *Youth Studies Australia, 32*(1), 29-36.

Chapman, C. M., Deane, K. L., Harre, N., Courtney, M., & Moore, J. (2017). Engagement and mentor support as drivers of social development in the Project K youth development program. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 46*, 644-655. doi: 10.1007/s10964-017-0640-5

Chiang, S. Y., Fleming, T., Lucassen, M., Fenaughty, J., Clark, T., & Denny, S. (2017). Mental health status of double minority adolescents: Findings from national cross-sectional health surveys. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 19*(3), 499-510. doi: 10.1007/s10903-016-0530-z

Child Poverty Monitor (n.d.). Tracking progress on reducing child poverty in NZ. Retrieved from **https://www.childpoverty.org.nz/!/#/**

Clark, T. C., Fleming, T., Bullen, P., Denny, S., Crengle, S., Dyson, B., … Utter, J. (2013). *Youth'12 Overview: The health and wellbeing of New Zealand secondary school students in 2012.* Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland. Retrieved from **https://www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/assets/fmhs/faculty/ahrg/docs/2012-overview.pdf**

Clark, T. C., Lucassen, M. F. G., Bullen, P., Denny, S. J., Fleming, T., Robinson, E. M., & Rossen, F. V. (2014). The health and wellbeing of transgender high school students: Results from the New Zealand Adolescent Health Survey (Youth '12). *Journal of Adolescent Health, 55*, 93-99. doi: 10.1016/j.jadohealth.2013.11.008

Clark, T. C., Smith, J., Raphael, D., Jackson, C., Denny, S. J., Fleming, T., … Crengle, S. (2010). Kicked out of school and suffering: The health needs of youth in Alternative Education. *Youth Studies Australia*, 29(4), 10-17.

Coggan, C., Bennett, S., Hooper, R., & Dickinson, P. (2003). Association between bullying and mental health status in New Zealand adolescents. *International Journal of Mental Health Promotion, 5*(1), 16-22. doi: 10.1080/14623730.2003.9721892

Curran, M. P. (2011). *Effective participation for children and young people in council decision-making.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **https://ourarchive.otago.ac.nz/handle/10523/2545**

## D

Dale, M. C., St John, S., Asher, I., & Adam, O. (2010). *Child poverty and child Health. Failing our commitments to the children in New Zealand in 2010.* Auckland, NZ: Action for Children and Youth Aotearoa. Retrieved from **http://www.acya.org.nz/working-papers.html**

Davies, A., Lowry, J., McBride, P., Desai, S., Withers, V., & Sundgren, W. (2010). *Youth mentoring relationships: A youth development wrap around approach. Literature review of better practice.* Auckland, NZ: Youthline Auckland Charitable Trust.

Deane, K. L. (2012). *Project K in black and white: A theory-driven & randomised controlled trial evaluation of a youth development programme* (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from **https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/19753**

Deane, K. L., & Harre, N. (2016). Developing a thoughtful approach to evaluation: Values-driven guidelines for novice evaluators. *Evaluation Matters – Te Take Tō Te Aromatawai, 2*, 53-78. doi: 10.18296/em.0011

Deane, K. L. & Harré, N. (2013). The youth adventure programming model. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 24*(2), 293-308. doi: 10.1111/jora.12069

Deane, K. L., & Harré, N. (2014). Program theory-driven evaluation science in a youth development context. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 45, 61-70. doi: 10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2014.03.009

Deane, K. L., Harré, N., Moore, J., & Courtney, M. (2017). The impact of the Project K youth development program on self-efficacy: A randomized controlled trial. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 46*, 516-537. doi: 10.1007/s10964-016-0463-9

Deane, K. L., Meissel, K., Moore, J., & Gillham (2017). Positive youth development profiles of cross-age peer mentors. *Applied Developmental Science, 22*(4), 301-315. doi: 10.1080/10888691.2017.1295810

Deane, K. L., Moore, J., Gillham, B., & Brown, K. (2015). *The Impact of Stars on peer mentors.* Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland & Foundation for Youth Development. Retrieved from **http://www.communityresearch.org.nz/**

Deane, K.L. & Shepherd, M. (2016). Social policy and young people in Aotearoa New Zealand: Statistics, strategies and services. In J. Maidment & L. Beddoe (Eds.) *Social policy for social work and human services in Aotearoa New Zealand: diverse perspectives.* (pp. 208-222). Christchurch, NZ: Canterbury University Press.

Denny, S., Grant, S., Utter, J., Robinson, E., Fleming, T., Milfont, T., … Watson, P. (2011) The health and wellbeing of New Zealand youth who attend secondary school: What has changed from 2001 to 2007? *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health*. 47(4), 191-197. doi: 10.1111/j.1440-1754.2010.01945.x

Denny, S., Howie, H., Grant, S., Galbreath, R., Utter, J., Fleming, T., & Clark, T. (2018). Characteristics of school-based health services associated with students' mental health. *Journal of Health Services Research & Policy, 23*(1), 7-14. doi:10.1177/1355819617716196

Denny, S., Lucassen, M.F.G., Stuart, J., Fleming, T., Bullen, P., Peiris-John, R., … Utter, J. (2016). The association between supportive high school environments and depressive symptoms and suicidality among sexual minority students. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology, 45*(3), 248-261. doi: 10.1080/15374416.2014.958842

Denny, S., Robinson, E., Utter, J., Fleming, T., Grant, S., Milfont, T., … Clark, T. (2011). Do schools influence student risk-taking behaviors and emotional health symptoms? *Journal of Adolescent Health, 48*(3), 259-267. Retrieved from **http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/21338897**

Duke of Edinburgh's International Award (2018). *2018 global participant satisfaction survey results.*

Duncan, M., Oben, G., Wicken, A., Morris, S., McGee, M. A., & Simpson, J. (2017). *Child poverty monitor: technical report 2017 (National Report).* Dunedin, NZ: New Zealand Child and Youth Epidemiology Service, University of Otago.

Duncan, M., Oben, G., Wicken, A., Richardson, G., Adams, J, & Pierson, M. (2018). *Child poverty monitor 2018 technical report.* Dunedin, NZ: New Zealand Child and Youth Epidemiology Service, University of Otago.

Dutton, H. (2014). *School-based mentoring for change: Building a framework for practice and evaluation.* (Unpublished Honours dissertation). University of Auckland, Auckland, NZ.

Dutton, H., Bullen, P. & Deane, K. L. (2018). Getting to the heart of it: Understanding mentoring relationship quality from the perspective of program supervisors. *Mentoring and Tutoring: Partnership in Learning, 26*(4), 400-419. doi: 10.1080/13611267.2018.1530132

Dutton, H., Deane, K. L. & Bullen, P. (2018). Distal and experiential perspectives of relationship quality from mentors, mentees, and program staff in a school-based youth mentoring program. *Children and Youth Services Review, 85*, 53-62. doi: 10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.12.008

## E

Edwards, S., McCreanor, T., Barnes, H. M. (2007). Māori family culture: A context of youth development in Counties/Manukau. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online, 2*(1), 1-15. doi: 10.1080/1177083X.2007.9522420

Elections Electoral Commission (2017). Election turnout up for all age groups. Retrieved from **https://www.elections.org.nz/news-media/election-turnout-all-age-groups**

## F

Fa'alau, F. (2011). *Organisation and dynamics of family relations and implications for the wellbeing of Sāmoan youth in Aotearoa, New Zealand*. (Doctoral Thesis). Retrieved from **https://mro.massey.ac.nz/handle/10179/2880**

Fa'alili-Fidow, J., Moselen, E., Denny, S., Dixon, R., Teevale, T., Ikihele, A., … Clark, T.C. (2016). *Youth'12 the health and wellbeing of secondary school students in New Zealand: Results for Pacific young people*. Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland. Retrieved from **https://www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/en/faculty/adolescent-health-research-group/publications-and-reports/vulnerable-groups-or-populations-of-young-people.html#pacific**

Faircloth, S. C., Hynds, A., Jacob, H., Green, C., & Thompson, P. (2016) Ko wai Au? Who am I? Examining the multiple identities of Māori youth. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 29*(3), 359-380. doi:10.1080/09518398.2015.1053158

Farruggia, S., & Bullen, P. (2010). Positive youth development in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In J. Low & P. E. Jose (Eds.). *Lifespan development: New Zealand perspectives*, 2nd ed. (pp. 144–154). Auckland, NZ: Pearson New Zealand.

Farruggia, S. P., Bullen, P., Davidson, J., Dunphy, A., Solomon, F., & Collins, E. (2011a). The effectiveness of youth mentoring programmes in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 40*(3), 52-70.

Farruggia, S., Bullen, P., Dunphy, A., Soloman, F., & Collins, E. (2010). *The effectiveness of youth mentoring programmes in New Zealand.* Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland and The NZ Youth Mentoring Network. Retrieved from **https://www.youthmentoring.org.nz/content/docs/Youth%20Mentoring%20Research%202010.YMN.pdf**

Farruggia, S. P., Bullen, P., Solomon, F., Collins, E., & Dunphy, A. (2011b). Examining the cultural context of youth mentoring: A systematic review. *Journal of Primary Prevention, 32*(5-6), 237-251. doi:10.1007/s10935-011-0258-4

Fay, L. (2016). *Implementing MY FRIENDS youth programme in a New Zealand secondary school: The experiences of staff and Year 9 students.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/xmlui/handle/10063/5250**

Fenaughty, J., & Harré, N (2013). Factors associated with distressing electronic harassment and cyberbullying. *Computers in Human Behavior, 29*(3), 803-811. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2012.11.008

Fitzmaurice, L. (2017). Children's voices in system reform – A case study on children and young people's participation within the modernisation of Child, Youth and Family. *Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work, 29*(1), 41-52. doi:10.11157/anzswj-vol29iss1id190

Fouché, C., Elliott, K., Mundy-McPherson, S., Jordan, V. & Bingham, T. (2010). *The impact of youth work for young people. A systematic review for the Health Council of New Zealand and the Ministry of Youth Development.* Auckland, New Zealand: MYD & HRC partnership. Retrieved from **http://hdl.handle.net/2292/7357**

Fox, R., Neha, T., & Jose, P. E. (2018). Tū Māori Mai: Māori cultural embeddedness improves adaptive coping and wellbeing for Māori adolescents. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 47*(2), 14-24.

France, A. (2012). 'It's all in the brain'. Science and the 'new' construction of the youth problem in New Zealand. *New Zealand Sociology, 27*(2), 76-95.

Funaki, H. R. M. (2017). *"At least I have a house to live in": Māori and Pacific young people's hopes and features about the future.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/6474**

Furness, K., Williams, M. N., Veale, J. F., & Gardner, D. H. (2017). Maximising potential: The psychological effects of the youth development programme Project K. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 46*(1), 14-23.

## G

Gaffney, M., Munro, J., Inns, B., Morgan-Hudson, D., Kennedy, K., Nyman, L., & Buckley, M. (2013). Young people's participation in service evaluation. *Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work, 25*(4), 62-70.

Gibb, S. J., Horwood, L. J., & Fergusson, D. M. (2011). Bullying victimization/perpetration in childhood and later adjustment: Findings from a 30-year longitudinal study. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research, 3*(2), 82-88. doi: 10.1108/17596591111132891.

Gluckman, P. (2011). *Improving the transition: Reducing social and psychological morbidity during adolescence. A report from the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor.* Auckland, NZ: Office of the Prime Minister's Science Advisory Committee. Retrieved from **https://www.pmcsa.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/Improving-the-Transition-report.pdf**

Gluckman, P. (2013). *Impact of the technological world on adolescent health and behaviour.* A presentation for the Families Commission Seminar Series on 20 February 2013.

Gordon, T. L. (2015). *Youth development through street-sports: An exploration of the relationship between learning styles and fear of failure*. (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **https://mro.massey.ac.nz/handle/10179/7566**

Grocott, A. C., & Hunter, J. A. (2009). Increases in global and domain specific self-esteem following a 10 day developmental voyage. *Social Psychology of Education, 12*, 443-459. doi: 10.1007/s11218-008-9088-5

## H

Harré, N. (2007). Community service or activism as an identity project for youth. *Journal of Community Psychology, 35*(6), 711-724. doi: 10.1002/jcop.20174

Harris, A. (2006). Critical perspectives on child and youth participation in Australia and New Zealand. *Children, Youth and Environments, 16*(2), 220-230.

Hartnett, M. (2017). Differences in the digital home lives of young people in New Zealand. *British Journal of Educational Technology, 48*(2), 642-652. doi: 10.1111/bjet.12430

Hayhurst, J., Hunter, J. A., Kafka, S. & Boyes, M. (2015). Enhancing resilience in youth through a 10-day developmental voyage. *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Learning, 15*(1), 40-52. doi: 10.1080/14729679.2013.843143

Heke, J. I. (2005). *Hokowhitu: a sport-based programme to improve academic, career, and drug and alcohol awareness in adolescent Māori.* (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from **http://hdl.handle.net/10523/161**

Henley, Z. (2015). *Speaking up and being heard. An analysis of young people's participation in civic activities.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **https://mro.massey.ac.nz/handle/10179/7772**

Higgins, J., & Nairn, K. (2006). 'In transition': Choice and the children of New Zealand's economic reforms. *British Journal of Sociology in Education, 27*(2), 207-220. doi: 10.1177/0011000012462073 10.1080/01425690600556321

Hodge, K., Danish, S., & Martin, J. (2012). Developing a conceptual framework for life skills interventions. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 41(8), 1125-1152. doi: 10.1177/0011000012462073

Hollis, H., Deane, K., Moore, J., & Harré, N. (2011). Young Māori perceptions of a youth development programme. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences, 6*(1-2), 50-61. doi:1080/1177083X.2011.615847

Howell, J. R. (2012). *Learning through stories: An investigation into how Tracks Rites of Passage programme impacts on the development of young men and their family systems*. (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/handle/10092/7611**

Hunter, J. A., Hayhurst, J., Kafka, S., Boyes, M., Ruffman, T., & O'Brien, K. (2013). Elevated self-esteem 12 months following a 10-day developmental voyage. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 43*, 1956-1961. doi: 10.1111/jasp.12132

Hurst, N. A. (2017). Whakapiri—Whakamarama—Whakamana. A reflective framework for connection, participation and change. *Journal of Applied Youth Studies, 2*(2), 36-46.

## J

Jensen, V., Kaiwai, H., McCreanor, T., & Barnes, H. M. (2006). *'Back off Ma this is our project': Youth Photovoice research in Clendon and Mangere.* Report to the Ministry of Youth Development. Auckland, NZ: Massey University.

Jose, P. E., Rata, A., & Richards, A. (2017). The effects of home-school dissonance on individual and school outcomes for Māori and European New Zealand adolescents. *Frontiers in Education, 2,* 53-62. doi: 10.3389/feduc.2017.00053

## K

Keelan, T. J. (2002). *Youth development activity kit. E Tipu E Rea*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Youth Affairs.

Keelan, T. J. (2014). *Nga reanga youth development. Māori Styles.* Auckland, NZ: Unitec ePress. Retrieved from **https://hdl.handle.net/10652/2671**

Kerekere, E, (2015) *Takatāpui: Part of the Whānau.* Second Edition 2016. Auckland: Tīwhanawhana Trust and Mental Health Foundation.

Kerekere, E. (2017a) *Growing Up Takatāpui: Whānau Journeys.* Auckland: Tīwhanawhana Trust and RainbowYOUTH.

Kerekere, E. (2017b) Kerekere, E. (2017). *Part of The Whānau: The Emergence of Takatāpui Identity: He Whāriki Takatāpui (Doctoral thesis,* Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand. Retrieved from: **http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/xmlui/handle/10063/6369**

Kljakovic, M., Hunt, C., & Jose, P. (2015). Incidence of bullying and victimization among adolescents in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 44*(2), 57-67.

## L

Lavini, A. (2011). *A youth perspective: Collaboration for youth development within Aotearoa New Zealand.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/1951**

Lewycka, S., Clark, T., Peiris-John, R., Fenaughty, J., Bullen, P., Denny, S., & Fleming, T. (2018). Downwards trends in adolescent risk-taking behaviours in New Zealand: Exploring driving forces for change. *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health, 54*(6), 602-608. doi:10.1111/jpc.13930

Lucassen, M.F.G., Clark, T. C., Moselen, E., Robinson, E.M., & Adolescent Health Research Group. (2014). *The health and wellbeing of New Zealand secondary school students in 2012: Young people attracted to the same sex or both sexes.* Auckland, NZ: The University of Auckland. Retrieved from **http://oro.open.ac.uk/43995/**

## M

MacDonald, J., Bourke, R., Berg, M., & Burgon, J. (2015). *"It's, like, trying to make us better people". My FRIENDS Youth final evaluation report.* Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Education.

Manuela, S., & Anae, M. (2017). Pacific youth, acculturation and identity: The relationship between ethnic identity and well-being – new directions for research. *Pacific Dynamics: Journal of Interdisciplinary Research, 1*(1), 129-147.

Martin, L. (2003). *The invisible table*. Perspectives on youth and youthwork in New Zealand. Melbourne, Australia: Cengage Learning.

Martin, L. (2006). *Real work: A report from the national research project on the state of youth work in Aotearoa.* Christchurch, NZ: National Youth Workers Network.

May, S., Flockton, J., & Kirkham, S. (2015). *PISA2015 New Zealand summary report*. Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from **https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/series/PISA/pisa-2015/pisa-2015-summary-report**

McCreanor, T., Watson, P. & Denny, S. (2006) "Just accept us how we are more": Experiences of young Pākehā with their families in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand* 27, 156-70. Retrieved from **https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/journals-and-magazines/social-policy-journal/spj27/just-accept-us-how-we-are-more-27-pages156-170.html**

MacDonald, J., Bourke, R., Berg, M., & Burgon (2015). *"It's, like, trying to make us better people". My FRIENDS Youth final evaluation report.* Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Education

McDonald, N., Dunphy, A., Tuiasau, F., Dutton, H., Bullen, P., Deane, K. … Topham, H. (2016). *Guide to effective and safe practice in youth mentoring.* Auckland, NZ: NZ Youth Mentoring Network. Retrieved from **https://www.youthmentoring.org.nz/research/publications.cfm**

McIntosh, T. (2005). Māori identities: Fixed, fluid, forced. In J. H. Liu (Ed). *New Zealand identities: Departures and destinations* (pp. 38-51). Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press.

McLaren, K. (2002). *Building strength. A review of research on how to achieve good outcomes for young people in their families, peer groups, schools, careers and communities.* Wellington, NZ: Ministry of Youth Affairs. Retrieved from **http://www.myd.govt.nz/documents/resources-and-reports/publications/building-strength-youth-development-literature-review-2002.pdf**

McNaughton, S. (2011). *Educational outcomes in adolescence for Māori and Pasifika students.* In P. Gluckman. Improving the Transition. Reducing Social and Psychological Morbidity During Adolescence (pp. 97-109). Auckland, NZ: Office of the Prime Minister's Science Advisory Committee.

Merritt, K. (2003). Rangatahi Wahine: Overcoming the odds – preliminary results. *The proceedings of the National Māori Graduates of Psychology Symposium*, 107-109.

Ministry of Education (2017). *PISA 2015: New Zealand students' wellbeing report*. Wellington, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/schooling/pisa-2015-new-zealand-students-wellbeing-report**

Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs. (2005). *Ala Fou – New Pathways: Strategic directions for Pacific youth in New Zealand*. Wellington, NZ: Author

Ministry of Social Development. (2005). *Pacific youth development strategy. Deliver positive life-change and affirmation for all Pacific youth in Auckland*. Auckland, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **http://www.msd.govt.nz**

Ministry for Women & Netsafe. (2017). *Insights into digital harm. The online lives of New Zealand girls and boys research report*. Wellington/Auckland, NZ: Authors. Retrieved from **https://www.netsafe.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Insights-Into-Digital-Harm-Ministry-for-Women-Netsafe_R3_v6b-Web.pdf**

Ministry for Youth Development. (2005). *Briefing to the Incoming Minister: Supporting young people today for a better New Zealand tomorrow.* Wellington, NZ: Author.

Munford, R., & Sanders, J. (2014). Negotiating and constructing identity: Social work with young people who experience adversity. *The British Journal of Social Work, 45*(5), 1564-1580. doi: 10.1093/bjsw/bcu059

Munford, R., & Sanders, J. R. (2015a). Understanding service engagement: Young people's experience of service use. *Journal of Social Work, 16*(3), 283-302. doi: 10.1177/1468017315569676

Munford, R., & Sanders, J. (2015b). Young people's search for agency: Making sense of their experiences and taking control. *Qualitative Social Work, 14*(5), 616-633. doi: 10.1177/1473325014565149

## N

Nairn, K., Sligo, J., & Freeman, C. (2006). Polarizing participation in local government: Which young people are included and excluded? *Children, Youth and Environments, 16*(2), 248-271.

Nakhid, C., Tanielu, T. R., & Collins, E. (2009). *Pacific families now and in the future: Pasifika youth in South Auckland*. Wellington, NZ: Families Commission. Retrieved from **http://hdl.handle.net/10292/4416**

National Youth Advisory Group (2015). *Submission on the Inquiry into the 2014 General Election to the Justice and Electoral Committee.* Retrieved from **http://www.myd.govt.nz/documents/young-people/yag-submission-on-2014-general-election.pdf**

Netsafe. (2018). *New Zealand teens' digital profile: A factsheet.* Wellington, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **https://www.netsafe.org.nz/youth-factsheet-2018**

NZ Youth Mentoring Network (2019*). Sharing the kaupapa. Quality relationships in youth mentoring workbook.* Auckland, NZ: Author

Noel, H., Denny, S., Farrant, B., Rossen, F., Teevale, T., Clark, T., … Fortune, S. (2013). Clustering of adolescent health concerns: A latent class analysis of school students in New Zealand. *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health, 49*(11), 935-941. doi: 10.1111/jpc.12397

Noonan, K., Bullen, P., & Farruggia, S. P. (2012). School-based mentoring: Examining the cultural and economic variations in engagement and effectiveness. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 47*(1), 47-64

## O

O'Connor, S. (2011). *Getting involved, doing well, feeling connected: How participation in community activities relates to positive developmental outcomes in a culturally diverse sample of young New Zealanders.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/1701**

O'Connor, S., & Jose, P. E. (2012). A propensity score matching study of participation in community activities: A path to positive outcomes for youth in New Zealand? *Developmental Psychology, 48*(6), 1563-1569. doi: 10.1037/a0027597

Office of the Children's Commissioner (2018). *Education matters to me: Key insights.* Wellington, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **http://www.occ.org.nz/publications/reports/education-matters-to-me-key-insights/**

Office of the Children's Commissioner & Oranga Tamariki (2019). *What makes a good life? Children and young people's views on wellbeing.* Wellington, NZ: Authors. Retrieved from **http://www.occ.org.nz/publications/reports/what-makes-a-good-life/**

## P

Panelli, R., Nairn, K., Atwool, N., & McCormack, J. (2002). "Hanging out." Print media constructions of young people in public space. *Youth Studies Australia, 21*(4), 38-48.

Parackal, S., Ameratunga, S., Tin Tin, S., Wong, S., & Denny, S. (2011) *Youth'07: The health and wellbeing of secondary school students in New Zealand: Results for Chinese, Indian and other Asian students.* Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland. **https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/18986**

Peteru, P. S. (2006). *Youth participation with local councils. A snapshot of officer reflections involving young people in decision-making.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **http://aut.researchgateway.ac.nz/handle/10292/210**

Price, M. (2015). *Genesis Youth Trust: A programme for youth offenders.* (Doctoral thesis). **http://hdl.handle.net/2292/26669**

## R

Reese, E., Myftari, E., McAnally, H. M., Chen, Y., Neha, T., Wang, Q., & Robertson, S. J. (2017). Telling the tale and living well: Adolescent narrative identity, personality traits, and well-being across cultures. *Child Development, 88*(2), 612-628. doi: 10.1111/cdev.12618

Robertson, S. (2017) *All of Us: Minority Identities and Inclusion in Aotearoa, New Zealand*. Auckland: Stace Robertson with support from Vodafone NZ

Rodney Economic Development Trust (2008). *Project 300. Report from the youth development partnership fund between the Ministry of Youth Development and Rodney District Council.* Auckland, NZ: Author.

## S

Salvation Army (2017). *Aspire Kiwi youth development. 2017 programme report.* Retrieved from **https://www.salvationarmy.org.nz/get-help/children-youth/youth-programmes/aspire-kiwi-youth-development-programme**

Sanders, J., & Munford, R. (2016). Fostering a sense of belonging at school––five orientations to practice that assist vulnerable youth to create a positive student identity. *School Psychology International, 37*(2), 155-171. doi: 10.1177/0143034315614688

Sanders, J. R., Munford, R., & Boden, J. (2017). Culture and context: The differential impact of culture, risks and resources on resilience among vulnerable adolescents. *Children and Youth Services Review, 79*, 517-526. doi: 10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.07.007

Sanders, J. R., Munford, R., & Liebenberg, L. (2016). The role of teachers in building resilience of at risk youth. *International Journal of Educational Research, 80,* 111-123. doi: 10.1016/j.ijer.2016.10.002

Sanders, J., Munford, R., Liebenberg, L., & Ungar, M. (2014). Peer paradox: the tensions that peer relationships raise for vulnerable youth. *Child & Family Social Work, 22*(1), 3-14. doi: 10.1111/cfs.12188

Sanders, J. R., Munford, R., & Thimarsarn-Anwar, T. (2015). Staying on track despite the odds: Factors that assist young people facing adversity to continue with their education. *British Journal of Educational Research, 42*(1), 56-73. doi: 10.1002/berj.3202

Shuttleworth, P. (2010). *Employment of Children.* Auckland, NZ: Action for Children and Youth Aotearoa. Retrieved from **http://www.acya.org.nz/working-papers.html**

Simcock, C. (2016). *Community influences on rural youth wellbeing. Young people's perspectives.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **https://hdl.handle.net/10289/10609**

Simmonds, H., Harré, N., & Crengle, S. (2014). Te Kete Whanaketanga – Rangatahi. A model of positive development for rangatahi Māori . *MAI Journal, 3*(3), 211-226.

Smit, A. K. (2016). Exploring the implementation of Positive Youth Development in a New Zealand youth development programme context. (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/handle/10092/12513**

Smith, L. T., Smith, G. H., Boler, M., Kempton, M., Ormond, A., Chueh, H. C., & Waetford, R. (2002). "Do you guys hate Aucklanders too?" Youth: voicing differences from the rural heartland. *Journal of Rural Studies, 18,* 169-178.

Sobrun-Maharaj, A., Tse, S., Hoque, E., & Rossen, F. (2006). *Survey of key informants for a study of migrant and refugee youth settlement and social inclusion in New Zealand.* Auckland, NZ: Department of Labour. Retrieved from **https://www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/assets/fmhs/soph/sch/cahre/docs/Final_Migrant_and_Refugee_Youth_Report.pdf**

Stats NZ (2019). *Rates of young men and women not earning or learning converge.* Retrieved from **https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/rates-of-young-men-and-women-not-earning-or-learning-converge**

Stuart, J. E. (2012). *Pathways to positive development for Muslim immigrant youth in Western contexts.* (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from **http://hdl.handle.net/10063/2036**

Stuart, J., & Jose, P. E. (2014). The protective influence of family connectedness, ethnic identity, and ethnic engagement for New Zealand Māori adolescents. *Developmental Psychology, 50*(6), 1817-1826.

## T

Talbot, H., Hoyle, S., Wilkinson, C., & Mohamed, M. (2018). *NZ youth and porn. Research findings of a survey on how and why youth New Zealanders view online pornography.* Wellington, NZ: Office of Film & Literature Classification. Retrieved from **https://www.classificationoffice.govt.nz/assets/PDFs/NZYouthPorn-OFLC-December2018-PrintVersion.pdf**

Tasi, B. S. (2009). *Supporting youth for work in New Zealand. A case study of the Samoan experience.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **http://hdl.handle.net/10292/674**

Te One, S. (2007). *Education 2007. A review of New Zealand's education in light of the convention on the rights of the child. Provisional working paper 2007.* Auckland, NZ: Action for Children and Youth Aotearoa. Retrieved from **http://www.acya.org.nz/working-papers.html**

Te Ora Hou (2011). *Hei Tikitiki. Māori rites of passage & youth development research project*. Retrieved from **https://teorahou.org.nz/resources/hei-tikitiki-rites-of-passage-research/**

The William Pike Challenge Award. (2018). *2018 student survey findings.*

Tima, M. T. T. (2013). *Youth participation: Does it have a place in the Samoan traditional church? Exploring youth perceptions of the EFKS in South Auckland.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **http://aut.researchgateway.ac.nz/handle/10292/7721**

Trayes, J. (2013). *A youth performing arts experience: The active ingredients of a natural high.* (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from **https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/20671**

Tupuola, A. (2004). Pasifika edgewalkers: Complicating the achieved identity status in youth research. *Journal of Intercultural Studies 25*(1), 87-100. doi: 10.1080/0725686041000168704 5

Turner, M., Schroder, R., & McKay, S. (2014). *Evaluation of the 24-7W programme 'Youth Worker in Schools'*. Christchurch, NZ: The Collaborative for Research and Training in Youth Health and Development.

Turner, M., & Schroder, R. (2015). *24-7 YouthWorker in Schools programme. Phase 2 evaluation: school staff.* Christchurch, NZ: The Collaborative Trust

Turner, M., & Schroder, R. (2017). *24-7 YouthWorker in Schools programme. Phase 3 evaluation: student follow up.* Christchurch, NZ: The Collaborative Trust

## W

Waldon, J. (2010). *Tamariki Māori . A Māori view of children's rights.* Auckland, NZ: Action for Children and Youth Aotearoa. Retrieved from **http://www.acya.org.nz/working-papers.html**

Walker, S., Eketone, A., & Gibbs, A. (2006). An exploration of kaupapa Māori research, its principles, processes and applications. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 9*(4), 331-344.

Walls, A., Deane, K. L., & O'Connor, P. J. (2016). 'Looking for the blue, the yellow, all the colours of the rainbow': the value of participatory arts for young people in social work practice. *Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work, 28*(4), 67-79. doi:10.11157/anzswj-vol28iss4id206

Ware. F. J. R. (2009). *Youth development: Maui styles. Kia tipu te rito o te pa harakeke. Tikanga and ahuatanga as a basis for a positive Māori youth development approach.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **http://hdl.handle.net/10179/1152**

Ware, F. & Walsh-Tapiata, W. (2010). Youth development. Māori styles. *Youth Studies Australia, 29*(4), 18-29.

Wayne Francis Charitable Trust (2011). *Positive youth development in Aotearoa. "Weaving connections – Tuhonohono rangatahi"*. Christchurch, NZ: Author. Retrieved from **https://www.wfct.org.nz/assets/Uploads/PYDA-2017.pdf**

Webber, M. (2012). Identity matters: Racial-ethnic identity and Māori students. *Set: Research information for teachers,* (2), 20-27.

Wheaton, B., Roy, G., & Olive, R. (2017). Exploring critical alternatives for youth development through lifestyle sport: surfing and community development in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Sustainability, 9*, 2298-2314. doi:10.3390/su9122298

White, R., Wyn, J., & Robards, B. (2017). Youth & society, 4th ed., Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press

Williams, A. D., Clark, T. C., & Lewycka, S. (2018). The associations between cultural identity and mental health outcomes for indigenous Māori youth in New Zealand. *Frontiers in Public Health, 6*.

Williams, R. A. (2015). *Investigation the implementation and impact of participation in a health promotion programme on the social attitudes and behaviours of children in New Zealand schools.* (Doctoral thesis). University of Auckland. Retrieved from **http://hdl.handle.net/2292/27425**

Williams, T. (2016). *Tu ake nga uri o Muriwai: Understanding key factors that lead to the success of rangatahi Māori from Ōpōtiki.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **http://hdl.handle.net/10292/10222**

Wilson, C. (2001). *The changing face of social service volunteering. A literature review.* Retrieved from **https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/archive/2001-changingfaceofsocialservice.pdf**

Worley, R. P. (2015). *Speak the word ki au nei. The intersection between Spoken Word Poetry and Public Health.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from **http://hdl.handle.net/2292/29300**

## Y

Yao, E.S.W., Deane, K. L. & Bullen, P. (2015). Trends and transitions from secondary school: Insights from a boarding school for disadvantaged New Zealand youth. *Journal of Youth Studies, 18*(10), 1347-1365. doi: 10.1080/13676261.2015.1048202

Youth Court of New Zealand. (2018). Youth justice principles and processes. Retrieved from **https://www.youthcourt.govt.nz/youth-justice/youth-justice-principles-and-processes/**

YWCA Auckland (2015). *YWCA Auckland Future Leaders programme review and redevelopment research project*. Auckland, NZ: Author

# The Authors

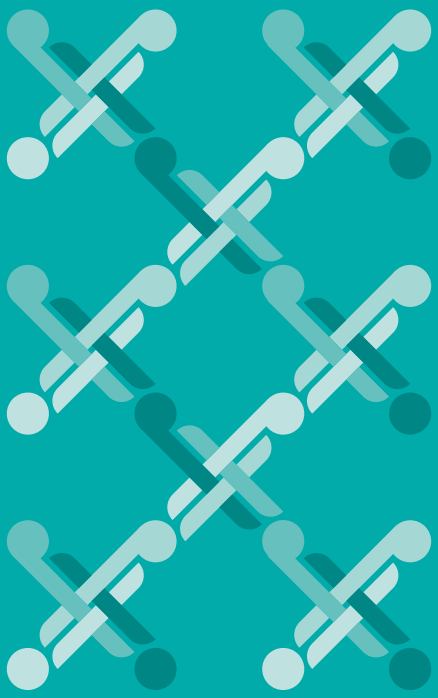
**Kelsey Deane** is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Counselling, Human Services and Social Work in the Faculty of Education and Social Work at the University of Auckland. Kelsey is originally from the East Coast of Canada and has been living in Aotearoa New Zealand since 2006. Kelsey's teaches youth development and youth work courses to students from a range of programmes at the University of Auckland. She is passionate about research that directly informs the quality of youth programmes and services and has been involved in a number of evaluation partnerships with youth organisations. She is currently Principal Investigator of the Youth-Adult Partnerships (Y-AP) Observation Study, a project focused on adult communication behaviours that facilitate positive connections with youth. She is also Co-Director of the university-based Campus Connections Aotearoa therapeutic youth mentoring programme.

**Hilary Dutton** (Ngāti Tūwharetoa) is a doctoral student at the University of Auckland, Faculty of Education and Social Work. Her research is focused on youth mentoring and how to facilitate high quality relationships. Hilary is the Research Coordinator for the longitudinal Y-AP Observation Study, and has conducted research on programme evaluation, protective factors for Māori and Pacific student success in tertiary education, and made contributions to the New Zealand Youth Mentoring Network's Guide to Safe and Effective Practice. She also teaches adolescent development and youth work at the University of Auckland.

**Elizabeth Kerekere** (Whānau a Kai, Ngāti Oneone, Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Rongowhakaata, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri) is a community-based scholar, takatāpui activist and mentor of many LGBTIQ youth leaders across the country. She has decades of experience in Māori and youth development and LGBTIQ communities. Elizabeth is Founder/Chair of Tīwhanawhana Trust which advocates for takatāpui to "tell our stories, build our communities and leave a legacy." She is also Co-Chair of Ara Taiohi, peak body for youth development. Elizabeth's PhD thesis on the emergence of takatāpui identity is required reading in most gender and sexuality courses in Aotearoa and some institutions overseas. Current research projects reflect the diversity of her work to uplift takatāpui by uplifting both whānau and Rainbow communities: Honour Project Aotearoa, Te Kotahi Research Institute, Waikato University, on takatāpui health and wellbeing; Marsden project with AUT on accessing assisted reproduction: social infertility and family formation; University of Canterbury on the impact of sexuality and relationships education in schools; and with University of Auckland (and other institutions) on the creation of a research strategy as part of a National Rainbow Strategy.

# How to Cite this Report

Deane, K., Dutton, H. & Kerekere, E. (2019).
*Ngā Tikanga Whanaketanga – He Arotake Tuhinga. A Review of Aotearoa New Zealand Youth Development Research*. Wellington, NZ: Ara Taiohi.



AraTaiohi

Peak Body for Youth Development