

TE KETE WHANAKETANGA— RANGATAHI

A model of positive development for rangatahi Māori

*Hinekura Simmonds**

Niki Harré†

Sue Crengle‡

Abstract

This study was a three-part exploration of what indicates and contributes to positive development for Māori youth (rangatahi). First, a literature review was undertaken to identify relevant themes. Second, we analysed data from the Māori participants ($N = 2,059$) of a nationally representative youth survey (Youth'07). Third, we conducted focus groups and interviews with rangatahi ($N = 8$) and people who worked with rangatahi ($N = 6$). Indicators of positive development were collective responsibility, successfully navigating the Māori and Pākehā worlds, cultural efficacy, health, and personal strengths. Relationships, activities, cultural factors, education, health/healthy lifestyles, socio-historical factors and personal characteristics contributed towards positive development. This is presented in a conceptual model called “Te Kete Whanaketanga—Rangatahi” (The Developmental Kit—For Youth).

Keywords

youth development, positive development, Māori, youth

* Master's student, School of Psychology, University of Auckland, New Zealand.

† Associate Professor, School of Psychology, University of Auckland, New Zealand.
Email: n.harre@auckland.ac.nz

‡ Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences, University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Introduction

Positive youth development (PYD) is an approach that focuses on the potential of young people, rather than viewing them as problems to be fixed (Damon, 2004). A great deal of research has investigated the features of PYD and the characteristics and contexts that nurture these (for example, Benson & Scales, 2009; Blum & Ellen, 2002; Damon, 2004; English & Wilcox, 2002; Farruggia & Bullen, 2010; Fredricks, Blumenfeld, Friedel, & Paris, 2005; Steinberg, 2008). However, there has been little Aotearoa New Zealand research from a PYD perspective and even less that focuses on Māori (see Farruggia & Bullen, 2010). Cultural models have been attempted elsewhere, such as the research on African-American youth (American Psychological Association Task Force on Resilience and Strength in Black Children and Adolescents, 2008) and Chinese youth (Shek, 2006; Shek, Siu, & Lee, 2007). This article provides a framework for identifying the critical features that make up PYD for rangatahi and adds to literature on PYD for indigenous and minority youth.

There are two key benefits to applying a PYD lens to rangatahi. First, as a counterbalance to the numerous reports that highlight areas in which rangatahi have more adverse experiences and outcomes in life than other youth (for example, Clark et al., 2008; Lock & Gibson, 2008; Marie, Fergusson, & Boden, 2008a, 2008b; Oakley Browne, Wells, & Scott, 2006; for exceptions, see Tipene-Clarke, 2005; Ware & Walsh-Taiapa, 2010). Second, to broaden the focus from single outcomes, such as improving academic achievement or reducing youth pregnancy rates (Te Ora Hou Aotearoa Incorporated, 2011), to the wider range of skills for living that young people are developing. Not only are single outcome perspectives limited, but they tend to miss culturally relevant factors such as contributing towards the family (Durie, 2003) and navigating both Māori and Pākehā environments (Ormond, 2004). In this

study, and in keeping with a PYD perspective, we include a wide range of outcomes, including those of particular relevance to Māori. By doing so, we hope to provide useful insight into how to promote positive development for rangatahi.

The core questions for the current project were therefore:

- What indicates positive development in rangatahi?
- What contributes towards positive development in rangatahi?

These questions were investigated in three stages. First we conducted a literature review, then we explored data from Māori participants in a national survey of young people carried out in 2007 (Youth'07), and finally we conducted interviews with rangatahi and youth workers engaged with rangatahi. The procedure and findings from each stage will be presented followed by our proposed model for describing positive development for rangatahi.

Stage 1: Literature review

While our review included key international studies on PYD (for example, Benson & Scales, 2009; Blum & Ellen, 2002; Damon, 2004; English & Wilcox, 2002; Fredricks et al., 2005; Steinberg, 2008; Steinberg & Duncan, 2002), and we acknowledge commonalities between Māori youth and indigenous and minority youth elsewhere, we paid particular attention to studies from Aotearoa in order to build the first stage of our project. Below we describe our key findings in relation to indicators of positive development, contributors to positive development, and the interplay between the two. Table 1 summarises the Aotearoa findings.

We identified five core indicators of positive development. *Collective responsibility* is demonstrated when rangatahi are aware of their responsibility for contributing to the collective (Merritt, 2003; Rochford, 2004; Ware

TABLE 1 Themes identified in the review of Aotearoa literature as contributing towards and indicating positive development for rangatahi

Indicators of positive development for rangatahi		
Theme	Definition	References
Collective responsibility	Aware of collective responsibilities	Merritt, 2003; Rochford, 2004; Ware, 2009; Wirihana, 2011
	Participating within their community	Durie, 2003
Successfully navigating Māori and Pākehā worlds	Confident to navigate both settings	Ormond, 2004; Van Meijl, 2002; Ware, 2009
	Taking up new roles	Te Ora Hou Aotearoa Incorporated, 2011
Cultural efficacy	Engagement as Māori	Grieves, 2007; Houkamau & Sibley, 2011; Keelan, 2001; Rochford, 2004
Health	Emotional, physical and intellectual health	Durie, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2008; Poutasi, 2009; Rochford, 2004;
Personal strengths	Confidence, resilience, and humility	Ware, 2009
Contributors towards positive development for rangatahi		
Theme	Definition	References
Positive relationships	Familial relationships	Clark, 2007; Clark et al., 2008; Durie, 1997; Merritt, 2003; Poutasi, 2009; Turia, 2000
	Non-familial relationships	Barlow, 1994; Broughton & Durie, 2003; Evans & Ave, 2000; Merritt, 2003; Rimene, 1997; Tangaere, 1997; Ware & Walsh-Taiapa, 2010
	Peer relationships	Clark, 2007; Durie, 2003; Keelan, 2001; Ministry of Education, 2008
Activities	Purposeful activities such as sports, faith-based, arts activities	Farruggia & Bullen, 2010; O'Connor, 2011
Cultural factors	Cultural development	Broughton & Rimene, 1997; Cunningham, 2011; Durie, 2003; Hollis, Deane, Moore, & Harré, 2011; Keelan, 2001; Van Meijl, 2002; Ware & Walsh-Taiapa, 2010
	Spiritual connection	Durie, 1985; Keelan, 2001
Socio-historical factors	History	McCarthy, 1997; Ministry of Health, 1998
	Community	Borell, 2005; Durie, 2003; Ormond, 2004; Te Ora Hou Aotearoa Incorporated, 2011
	Media	Houkamau & Sibley, 2011; Van Meijl, 2002
Education	Healthy environments	Durie, 2003; Ministry of Health, 1998; Poutasi, 2009
	Academic success	Broughton & Rimene, 1997
Health/healthy lifestyles	School environment and relationships	Ministry of Education, 2008
	Physical health	Poutasi, 2009
	Healthy lifestyles	Clark et al., 2008; Durie, 2003; Poutasi, 2009
	Equal access to health services	Broughton & Rimene, 1997; Clark et al., 2008; Rochford, 2004

& Walsh-Taiapa, 2010; Wirihana, 2011) and are active participants within their whānau, hapū or community (Durie, 2003). *Successfully navigating Māori and Pākehā worlds* involves the young person showing confidence in both these settings (Ormond, 2004; Van Meijl, 2002; Ware & Walsh-Taiapa, 2010) or taking up new roles such as a job, or moving out of home (Te Ora Hou Aotearoa Incorporated, 2011). *Cultural efficacy* is specifically related to rangatahi Māori identity (Houkamau & Sibley, 2011; Keelan, 2001; Rochford, 2004) and may be indicated by knowing te reo Māori, Māori tikanga or positively identifying as Māori. *Health* involves having emotional, physical and intellectual health (Durie, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2008; Poutasi, 2009; Rochford, 2004), with academic success being one potential demonstration of intellectual health. Finally, from the Māori literature, confidence, resilience and humility are examples of *personal strengths* which indicate positive development (Ware, 2009).

In regard to contributors, the broadest contributor that had implications for all the indicators was *positive relationships*. Notably, we found debate on whether these relationships should be familial (Clark, 2007; Clark et al., 2008; Durie, 1997; Merritt, 2003; Poutasi, 2009; Turia, 2000) or whether positive non-familial relationships are just as powerful in promoting positive development (Barlow, 1994; Broughton & Rimene, 1997; Durie, 2003; Evans & Ave, 2000; Merritt, 2003; Tangaere, 1997; Ware & Walsh-Taiapa, 2010). Given this debate, we explored this in some detail in our interviews in Stage 3 of the study. Positive peer relationships were also shown to be important for desirable youth outcomes (Clark, 2007; Durie, 2003; Keelan, 2001; Ministry of Education, 2008).

Activities were clearly important. In particular, activities that provide purpose such as arts, faith-based groups, and sports (Farruggia & Bullen, 2010; O'Connor, 2011) were seen as promoting health and developing skills

for navigating the Māori and Pākehā worlds. *Cultural factors*, such as cultural activities, are also useful for developing these qualities as well as for cultural efficacy, perhaps partly because they provide a context in which being Māori is normal (Broughton & Rimene, 1997; Cunningham, 2011; Durie, 2003; Hollis, Deane, Moore, & Harré, 2011; Van Meijl, 2002; Ware & Walsh-Taiapa, 2010). We found that, for rangatahi in particular, cultural factors also include a spiritual connection (Durie, 1985) which can support personal strengths and cultural efficacy.

The fourth theme, *socio-historical factors*, includes the impact that history, community, media and the environment play in influencing the development of rangatahi. For rangatahi, history includes the effects of colonisation and assimilation (McCarthy, 1997; Ministry of Health, 1998; Poutasi, 2009; Turia, 2000; Van Meijl, 2002) and community incorporates society's response to rangatahi and its attitude towards them (Borell, 2005; Durie, 2003). Media is also important in transmitting dominant social perspectives (Houkamau & Sibley, 2011; Van Meijl, 2002). Finally, the physical environment can be relatively clean or polluted (Durie, 2003; Ministry of Health, 1998; Poutasi, 2009). A socio-historical context that transmits positive messages can enhance all areas of development by encouraging rangatahi to view themselves as capable and valued by the broader society. From another perspective, collective responsibility is enhanced if rangatahi see themselves as active participants in an ongoing group narrative. Positive physical and social environments can also promote physical health and personal strengths.

Academic success (Broughton & Rimene, 1997) and the school environment (Ministry of Education, 2008) were part of the contributor we labelled *education*. This appeared to contribute in particular to intellectual health, an ability to navigate Māori and Pākehā worlds, and personal strengths. In addition, *health/healthy lifestyles*, such as equal access to health services (Broughton & Rimene, 1997; Clark et

al., 2008; Rochford, 2004); good oral, sexual and reproductive health (Poutasi, 2009); and good nutrition, food safety, and not engaging in health-risk behaviours such as smoking, drugs, alcohol and violence (Clark et al., 2008; Durie, 2003; Poutasi, 2009), were seen as influencing physical health and personal strengths.

While we made a distinction between indicators and contributors in order to build a useful model, we recognise that development is an ongoing, cyclical process and constantly feeds back on itself (Keelan, 2001). Thus an indicator can often become a contributor to further development and the presence of a contributor may be seen as an indicator of positive development. For example, we have described academic success as both a contributor to intellectual health and an indicator of it. Similarly, participation in cultural activities can be seen as both contributing to and indicative of cultural efficacy. We will take up this point again later.

Having identified these factors that appear to indicate and contribute to PYD in rangatahi, we then moved on to the second stage that involved analysing a pre-existing database in order to further examine the relationship between the two.

Stage 2: Analysis of data from Youth'07: The National Survey of the Health and Wellbeing of New Zealand Secondary School Students

Method

Participants: This study utilised the data from 2,059 Māori participants aged 12–18 years (male = 1,044, female = 1,015) in Youth'07: The National Survey of the Health and Wellbeing of New Zealand Secondary School Students. This survey drew on a nationally representative sample of secondary school aged students with 9,107 participants overall. Māori participants were from both mainstream and kura kaupapa schools.

Procedure: The first author searched through the questions used in the survey to find those that corresponded most closely with the indicators and contributors of positive development identified by the literature review. Variables were created from one or more relevant items. Some of the indicators or contributors from the review were measured by two variables, usually due to the relevant survey items being different types of items (that is, continuous vs. categorical) or not being sufficiently correlated to be treated as a single variable. Some were unable to be measured, as there were no appropriate items. The final indicator variables for this stage of the research were collective responsibility, able to navigate the Māori world, cultural efficacy, physical health, emotional health, and spiritual health. The contributor variables were parental relationships, peer relationships, access to environments to learn culture, able to learn culture, relationships with teachers, school supports culture, and spirituality. A full description of the items used, their response categories, the preliminary analyses used to construct each variable, and the distribution of each variable is available from the authors.

Results

As noted, our key question focused on the relationship between indicators and contributors, and so Pearson's or Spearman's correlations were conducted to examine these relationships. We used a threshold of $r = .25$ and $p < .001$ in order to draw attention to relationships of at least moderate strength. Using these thresholds, the indicators that related with the contributors were as follows: collective responsibility (parental, $r = 0.27$; peer, $r = 0.26$; and teacher, $r = 0.36$ relationships); able to navigate the Māori world (access to environments to learn culture, $r = 0.29$); cultural efficacy (access to environments to learn culture, $r = 0.56$; able to learn about culture, $r = 0.33$, and school supports culture, $r = 0.30$); physical health (parental relationships, $r = 0.26$); emotional

TABLE 2 The relationships between the contributing items and the wellbeing indicators as identified by the quantitative study

Contributing item	Contributes to the following indicators
Parental relationships	Collective responsibility; physical health; emotional health
Peer relationships	Collective responsibility
Access to environments to learn culture	Able to navigate the Māori world; cultural efficacy
Able to learn about culture	Cultural efficacy
Relationships with teachers	Collective responsibility
School supports culture	Cultural efficacy
Spirituality	Spiritual health
Personal characteristics	Personal strengths

health (parental relationships, $r = 0.34$); and spiritual health (spirituality, $r = 0.83$). These results are summarised in Table 2.

Stage 3: Interviews with rangatahi and youth workers

The qualitative study addressed some of the limitations of the quantitative study (explored in the discussion section) and aimed to further understand the indicators of, and contributors towards, positive development in rangatahi.

Method

Participants and procedure: This stage consisted of interviews and focus groups with rangatahi (male = 5, female = 3) and youth workers (male = 1, female = 5). Seven rangatahi were from kura kaupapa; all were attending school in Auckland. All youth workers lived or worked in Auckland. Participants were recruited through snowballing, beginning with youth networks known to the first author. One rangatahi and four youth workers were interviewed a second time.

At the beginning of the interview, participants were reminded of their rights to confidentiality and anonymity, informed they could leave at any time, required to sign a consent form, and

given a \$10 petrol voucher. Kai was provided and a karakia followed. Participants wrote on Post-it notes what they thought positive development “looked like” in rangatahi (equivalent to indicators of PYD) and what they thought rangatahi needed in order to do well (equivalent to contributors to PYD). They put these on large sheets of paper and were asked to group the notes into topics. Each topic and its components were discussed. The first author also prompted participants when necessary to consider the contributors and indicators identified in the literature review and how indicators and contributors were related. The sessions ran for approximately one to two hours and were recorded and transcribed. The interviewer also took notes.

All analyses considered the Post-it notes, the transcriptions and the interviewer’s notes. In the first instance, inductive thematic analysis was conducted as described by Braun and Clark (2006) using the indicators and contributors identified by the literature review. For example, topics discussed such as *whānau* and *significant others* were grouped under the indicator of *positive relationships*. We then considered topics that did not appear to fit with the previously identified indicators and contributors. One arose that was considered significant enough to create an additional contributor—*personal characteristics*. This is differentiated from the

indicator of personal strengths in that personal characteristics represents the initial characteristics an individual needs to have in order to produce positive outcomes. These characteristics will be described later. Finally, we considered the data in relation to the connections participants saw between the indicators and contributors.

Results

Table 3 shows the relationships between the indicators and contributors identified by the interviews. This is followed by more detailed discussion of participants' views of these, with sample quotations. The indicator themes were consistent with those previously identified: collective responsibility, successfully navigating the world, cultural efficacy, health, and personal strengths. All of the contributor themes previously identified were present as well, with the addition of *personal characteristics*. In the results below, we attribute quotes either to youth workers (YW) or rangatahi (R). The individual numerical code of the participant is given. The gender of the rangatahi is also given, but not of the youth workers. In the case of the latter, there was only one man, as noted earlier. Where appropriate we indicate whether a theme arose from the youth workers or the rangatahi. If this is not indicated it arose from at least one participant from each group.

Indicators: Collective responsibility. Participants discussed this as someone who took responsibility for their whānau, group and community as well as received support from them. The rangatahi focus group talked about being responsible for other classmates who might be hungry, or opening your house to others; and the youth workers described this in terms of a young person's contribution to their whānau when whānau members need help.

Successfully navigating the world was described by the youth workers as rangatahi having the skills necessary to be able to navigate between and within Māori and Pākehā environments. One described this as “about building up those skill sets and ... being equipped, well equipped to handle both worlds” (YW5). It was also pointed out that rangatahi settings are increasingly multicultural and rangatahi may need to be able to navigate more than just two worlds.

Cultural efficacy was seen as demonstrated by knowing te reo Māori and tikanga, knowing where one is from, and being proud of being Māori. It was also considered to involve a spiritual connection. One rangatahi said:

Like when we do kapahaka we feel like, spirit, like you feel the vibe, like you know, like our ancestors have come to um, protect us Like you feel safe with it, cause you know that like, like it could be passed from you from

TABLE 3 The relationships between the contributing items and the wellbeing indicators as identified by the qualitative study

Contributing item	Contributes to the following indicators
Relationships	Collective responsibility; cultural efficacy; successfully navigating the world; personal strengths
Activities	Cultural efficacy; physical and mental health; personal strengths
Cultural factors	Successfully navigating the world; cultural efficacy; spiritual health; personal strengths
Education	Cultural efficacy; intellectual health; personal strengths
Health/healthy lifestyles	Physical health
Socio-historical factors	Collective responsibility; personal strengths
Personal characteristics	Personal strengths

generations and generations and all those people who have passed, like they're there with you, wherever you are. (R female 1)

Being healthy was not spontaneously raised by the participants, although when asked directly, rangatahi acknowledged the importance of both the physical and mental aspects of health. For example: "Joining more sports teams to stay active. Yeah. That's what um makes me develop in life" (R male 3). The youth workers acknowledged that achieving academically was an indicator of PYD, which has been defined here as intellectual health.

The main *personal strengths* described by both rangatahi and youth workers as indicators of PYD were personal responsibility, curiosity, and achieving goals. Other strengths mentioned by the rangatahi were "kicked back" (a relaxed person), kind, friendly, positive, comfortable with themselves, confident, strives high and wins, and as "pretty brainy" (can be achieving academically).

Contributors: As noted earlier, we were particularly interested in exploring the type of *relationships* required for positive outcomes. Both the rangatahi and youth workers frequently discussed whānau members. For example:

Like you can have kids that have families that are there for them 100% and they know that they're safe and so they're able to go out and just explore the world and do everything that they want to and help whoever they want to and then there's the ones who don't who are just trying to survive day by day. (YW1)

Supportive adults such as coaches and teachers were also seen as important, as shown here:

I think in that sort of situation [experiencing racism at school], if they, as they did with me, um had a sounding board that they can talk to around how that impacted them, then that seemed to me to be important. (YW2)

Having positive support was described as strengthening rangatahi confidence to pursue their goals, encouraging rangatahi to act on their sense of curiosity, increasing capacity for collective responsibility, improving their skills to navigate the world, and improving cultural efficacy and overall health.

Activities were considered important to give rangatahi something productive to do with their time, as well as to learn skills such as time-management, commitment, and to develop their confidence. This meant that rangatahi would have something productive to look forward to.

Being active in all positive things i.e. sports, arts, music and culture because um, yeah that's the same as like, being, having something good to look forward to and having positive reinforcement in your life because, like, you could be down and out all the time but then you've always got something good to look forward to at least once, twice, three times a week. (YW1)

Cultural factors included being exposed to cultural experiences such as kapahaka, Māori food, marae, Māori tribes, having fun as rangatahi Māori, Ahurei, Ngā Manu Kōrero, Te Matatini, kōhanga reo, kura Māori, mau rākau, kī-o-rahi competitions, pōwhiri, mihi whakatau, and waka ama. Understanding and valuing culture was also mentioned. For example, it was pointed out by the youth workers how important it was for rangatahi to know that being Māori was positive, as one said: "That your Māori-ness is all right, it's good" (YW1). Knowing one's heritage was also seen as important, as one rangatahi participant noted:

If you know your past and you know where you come from, you have a good like firm base for your house, oh like, metaphorically your house, like a good base as your past and your heritage and you can build on it with everything else you know. (R male 2)

Cultural factors were seen not only as connected with an improved sense of cultural efficacy, but also an ability to navigate the world in general, spiritual health and personal strengths.

Spirituality, another aspect of cultural factors, was described as important in terms of being connected with one's culture and contributing to who a rangatahi is today. This was seen as influencing personal strengths such as confidence and the cultural efficacy indicator of spiritual health.

With regard to *education*, it was suggested that rangatahi should be sufficiently comfortable at school to make mistakes and learn from them, developing personal strengths. This is described by a youth worker here:

As long as that environment is a safe one, where they feel like they can make mistakes and like they're confident to make mistakes, and um, and safe, then their learning will be enhanced yeah. I think that's one of the main things why our Māori kids don't succeed because they, they're either um, too scared to make mistakes, or then they make mistakes and then they don't want to try again because, because of their failures or they're just in an environment where um, you're either there or you're not there. You know, you get left behind. (YW5)

If school was not a positive environment for the rangatahi, then it was important that there were alternative options. Opportunities such as Alternative Education and the Youth Guarantee Scheme (which gives young people the opportunity to gain skills through the tertiary sector; Tertiary Education Commission, 2013) that currently exist for 16–17 year olds were regarded as working well for rangatahi: “Now the 16-year-olds are quite fortunate at the moment, because there is youth guarantee everywhere. There's a guaranteed course for every young person who's not in school. And that is a free course” (YW4). Schools were also seen as a context to develop cultural efficacy

that may not be possible at home. Lastly, *parents' experience of school* was discussed as important by the youth workers; a new theme that did not come up in the literature review and was not part of the quantitative study. In particular, parents' negative experiences were seen as detracting from how rangatahi perceive school and the opportunities offered: “The young people in that situation, tended to have parents that, and grandparents, with little or no, positive experience with schools or their own education pathway” (YW3).

There was very little spontaneous discussion around *health/healthy lifestyles* and most of it only came when participants were prompted. Nevertheless, hygiene and sports were mentioned, and activities in general were described as important for mental health. These last features are captured here: “Oh it's um getting fit, yeah like mental health like activities and stuff. And um, um joining more sports teams to stay active. Yeah. That's what um makes me develop in life, and yeah” (R male 3).

In regard to *socio-historical factors* there was support for the role of community, media and history as influencing PYD. This contributor was primarily seen as influencing personal strengths. Community was also described as influencing collective responsibility. Community was sometimes described as detracting from PYD, such as in this example: “If you live on a street that does crime heaps then ... it just becomes part of you Cause you, that's all you see around you so that's what you do, that's the thing” (R female 1). However, it was also seen as enhancing PYD when the community took responsibility for its rangatahi as shown here: “The community teaches itself what is expected of the community and particularly young people 'cause ... if you see that kid you say get your ass home” (YW2).

In terms of media, the youth workers in particular were aware of how media presentations translated into how rangatahi perceived themselves. This is captured below.

To understand what it means to be Māori well it's what they hear on TV or what they read in the paper, or what someone else says. And I think that, that's got potential to be dangerous because then it is Māori to be poor, and it is Māori to be a criminal, it is Māori to smoke weed and I've heard people say that, "Oh it's just part of our culture to smoke marijuana." (YW3)

Related to this, the youth workers saw history in terms of "past policies of dispossession and assimilation" as a negative influence on PYD. However, they also discussed how an understanding of their history and the negative stereotypes in society could lead to personal strengths.

Personal characteristics thought to contribute towards PYD included having aspirations, goals, dreams or targets, or as one youth worker

said, having an "idea of where you wanna be" (YW1). Resilience was also noted, as being able to move forward and not get "sidetracked" (YW2). These characteristics were seen as influencing how well rangatahi would actually achieve their goals and as improving their sense of personal responsibility.

Results from all three stages and proposed model

In this section we introduce our model for capturing positive development in rangatahi. We then summarise the indicators and contributors identified by our three-part study and the relationships between them.

Te Kete Whanaketanga—Rangatahi (The Developmental Kit—For Youth; Figure 1) uses a kete to depict rangatahi development. A

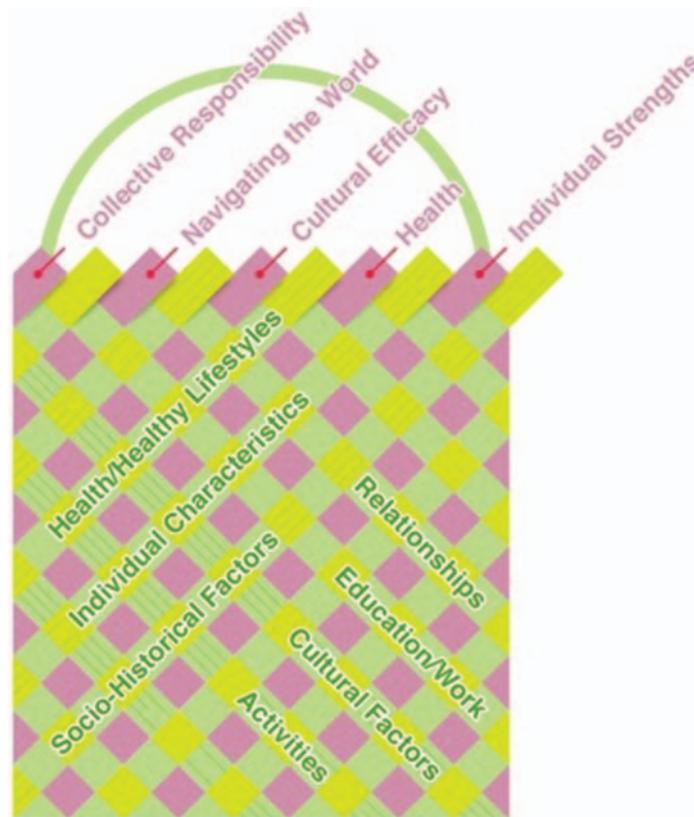


FIGURE 1 Te Kete Whanaketanga—Rangatahi: A conceptual representation of the contributors towards, and indicators of, positive development for rangatahi Māori and the interwoven links between these

kete has multiple whenu that must be woven together. These whenu represent the multiple contributors to positive development. When a kete is almost finished, there are pieces coming out the top which are then folded back in (Pendergrast, 2008). These pieces represent the indicators of positive development. The folding back in represents how rangatahitanga is a time of weaving oneself together in an ongoing process of development. In addition, rangatahi are woven into a variety of roles. Some will be doctors, others labourers, some politicians, and so on. Thus, it resembles the multiple purposes of a kete.

The indicator strands identified by our study were:

- *Collective responsibility*—responsibly contributing towards the collective, including whānau, community and society.
- *Successfully navigating the world*—having the skills and confidence to navigate both Māori and Pākehā environments.
- *Cultural efficacy*—knowing te reo and tikanga, wanting to share this knowledge with others, being proud of being Māori, being spiritually aware.
- *Health*—maintaining physical, emotional and intellectual health.
- *Personal strengths*—demonstrating confidence, achieving desired goals, personal responsibility, humility and curiosity.

The key contributors were:

- *Positive relationships*—with parents, peers, teachers, the wider whānau, and adults outside the immediate family. Relationships that challenge, nurture and support skills development, collective responsibility and cultural efficacy.
- *Activities*—a wide variety of interesting activities including faith-based, sports, arts or cultural. Activities provide rangatahi with alternatives to antisocial behaviour and an opportunity to develop skills.

- *Cultural factors*—access to environments to learn about culture and respecting and valuing culture. This contributes towards cultural efficacy, successfully navigating the world, health, and personal strengths.
- *Education*—the school environment, how school supports cultural development, and an alternative to school when necessary. Education contributes towards cultural efficacy and personal strengths.
- *Health/healthy lifestyles*—access to health services, and active and pro-social lifestyles. These contribute towards overall health.
- *Socio-historical factors*—history, social attitude towards Māori and rangatahi, community, and media. These contribute towards collective responsibility and personal strengths.
- *Personal characteristics*—individual personality characteristics that motivate rangatahi to move forward such as resilience and having goals/aspirations. These contribute towards personal strengths.

Discussion

In keeping with a PYD perspective, the current project sought to identify how rangatahi could develop positively, rather than highlighting risk factors for adverse outcomes. We identified a number of indicators of and contributors to positive development. Of particular note we found that collective responsibility was identified as an important indicator, both in previous studies of Māori youth (Durie, 2003; Merritt, 2003; Rochford, 2004; Ware & Walsh-Taiapa, 2010; Wirihana, 2011) and in our interviews. This demonstrates that positive development for rangatahi can be, and is, seen in a broader cultural context that does not only focus on the individual gaining the skills for personal success.

As shown previously (for example, Clark, 2007; Clark et al., 2008; Durie, 1997; Merritt, 2003), we found that relationships were

particularly important. Parental relationships were correlated with a number of indicators in the quantitative study and were seen as highly significant by participants in the qualitative study. Also of interest was interviewees' discussion of how parents' experiences of school could affect rangatahi experiences. School, or school alternatives, played a key role, especially in cultural efficacy, by providing contexts in which to learn about and experience Māori culture.

We have proposed Te Kete Whanaketanga—Rangatahi as a simple visual model for capturing the key features of PYD that may appeal to marae, community groups, youth workers and researchers. This can be used in conjunction with our more detailed summary of the relationships between indicators and contributors. The detailed summary may be particularly useful for those who wish to focus on one or two primary indicators as a starting point for considering likely contributors.

It is notable that there has been little research on positive development for rangatahi (exceptions include Keelan, 2001; Te Ora Hou Aotearoa Incorporated, 2011; Ware & Walsh-Taiapa, 2010) so it is likely that this model could be further refined. In particular, research could investigate how the indicators and contributors feed back on themselves over the 12 years that span adolescence (12–24 years; Ministry of Youth Development, 2013).

One limitation of our study was that the quantitative component was conducted with a pre-defined data set. This meant that it was difficult to capture some of the contributors and indicators in their entirety. For example, when looking at relationships, we could only find questions relating to parental relationships, peer relationships, a “significant adult who is not related to you”, and teacher relationships. There were no items on wider whānau relationships such as cousins, aunts and uncles, which we have identified as important. We recommend these are included in New Zealand youth surveys that wish to capture the experience of rangatahi.

For the qualitative study, rangatahi interviewed were mostly from kura kaupapa, whereas the majority of rangatahi attend mainstream schools (TeachNZ, 2013). In addition, all of the participants were living in Auckland. Rangatahi from other parts of Aotearoa and from a wider variety of mainstream schools are likely to have important insights to add.

Other future research concerning Te Kete Whanaketanga—Rangatahi may involve creating an assessment scale based on the contributors and indicators we have outlined. For example, a culturally appropriate scale measuring indicators of positive development in youth has been created in China (see Shek, 2006; Shek et al., 2007). A similar Aotearoa scale could provide useful and relevant insight into the current position of rangatahi.

Conclusion

To promote positive outcomes for rangatahi, we must not only understand risk factors, but also understand the routes by which they develop positively. The current study combined a literature review, the analysis of a large nationwide survey of youth, and a qualitative study to explore positive development in rangatahi. We offer a new model, Te Kete Whanaketanga—Rangatahi, that can be used by both practitioners and researchers to inform PYD approaches and further explore how to ensure our young people are given the opportunities and support they need to flourish.

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank the Adolescent Health Research Group for the use of the Youth'07 survey data, the rangatahi who participated in the Youth'07 survey, and the participants of the qualitative study.

Glossary

Ahurei	Tūhoe iwi kapahaka competition	Ngā Manu Kōrero	national speech competition with Māori and English language categories
Aotearoa	New Zealand	Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
hapū	sub-tribe	pōwhiri	a traditional welcome
iwi	tribe	rangatahi	literally means “to weave one”; a word to describe young people (generally 12 or 15 years to 24 years)
kai	food	rangatahitanga	period of youth, where young people are learning to weave themselves together
kapahaka	a style of performing arts	Te Matatini	national kapahaka competition
karakia	prayer	te reo Māori	Māori language
kī-o-rahi	a traditional Māori ball game	tikanga	for the purposes of this article, it relates to Māori law and order
kōhanga reo	early childhood centres that use a Māori medium in the Māori language	waka ama	outrigger canoe paddling
kura kaupapa	schools operating under a Māori medium in the Māori language	whānau	family, extended family (before it becomes a hapū), can include non-related but connected individuals
kura Māori	broad term for schools that are delivered in a Māori medium	whenu	the strands of fibre prepared for weaving
marae	focal point of settlement for the hapū		
mau rākau	martial art based on traditional Māori weapons		
mihi whakatau	a traditional welcome		

References

- American Psychological Association Task Force on Resilience and Strength in Black Children and Adolescents. (2008). *Resilience in African American children and adolescents: A vision for optimal development*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/pi/families/resources/resiliencercpt.pdf>
- Barlow, C. (1994). *Tikanga whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture*. Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.
- Benson, P. L., & Scales, P. C. (2009). The definition and preliminary measurement of thriving in adolescence. *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 4*(1), 85–104. doi: 10.1080/17439760802399240
- Blum, R. W., & Ellen, J. (2002). Work group V: Increasing the capacity of schools, neighborhoods, and communities to improve adolescent health outcomes. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 31*(6S), 288–292.
- Borell, B. (2005). *Living in the city ain't so bad: Cultural diversity of South Auckland rangatahi* (Unpublished master's thesis). Massey University, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101.
- Broughton, J., & Rimene, C. (1997). *Hauora rangatahi: "Don't tell me, show me!"* Dunedin, New Zealand: Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora Māori o Ngāi Tahu, University of Otago.
- Clark, T. C. (2007). *Factors associated with reduced depression and suicide risk among Māori high school students New Zealand* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- Clark, T. C., Robinson, E., Crengle, S., Herd, R., Grant, S., & Denny, S. (2008). *Te Ara Whakapiki Taitamariki. Youth'07: The health and well-being survey of secondary school students in New Zealand. Results for Māori young people*. Auckland, New Zealand: University of Auckland.
- Cunningham, C. (2011). Adolescent development for Māori. In P. Gluckman (Ed.), *Improving the transition: Reducing social and psychological morbidity during adolescence* (pp. 145–152). Wellington, New Zealand: Office of the Prime Minister's Science Advisory Committee.
- Damon, W. (2004). What is positive youth development? *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 591*, 13–24. doi: 10.2307/4127632
- Durie, M. H. (1985). A Maori perspective of health. *Social Science & Medicine, 20*(5), 483–486. doi: 10.1016/0277-9536(85)90363-6
- Durie, M. H. (1997). Whanau, whanaungatanga and healthy Māori development. In P. T. Whaiti, M. McCarthy, & A. Durie (Eds.), *Mai i rangiatea: Māori wellbeing and development* (pp. 1–24). Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.
- Durie, M. (2003). *Ngā kāhui pou: Launching Māori futures*. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia.
- English, A., & Wilcox, B. (2002). Work group VI: Exploring the influence of law and public policy on adolescent health. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 31*(6S), 293–295.
- Evans, I. M., & Ave, K. T. (2000). Mentoring children and youth: Principles, issues, and policy implications for community programmes in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 29*(1), 41–49.
- Farruggia, S. P., & Bullen, P. (2010). Positive youth development in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In J. Low & P. Jose (Eds.), *Lifespan development: New Zealand perspectives* (2nd ed., pp. 144–154). Auckland, New Zealand: Pearson.
- Fredricks, J. A., Blumenfeld, P., Friedel, J., & Paris, A. (2005). School engagement. In K. A. Moore & L. Lippman (Eds.), *What do children need to flourish? Conceptualizing and measuring indicators of positive development* (pp. 305–321). New York, NY: Springer.
- Grieves, V. (2007). What is indigenous wellbeing? In J. S. Te Rito (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Matauranga Taketake: Traditional Knowledge Conference* (pp. 105–114). Retrieved from <http://www.maramatanga.ac.nz/sites/default/files/TKC-2006.pdf>
- Hollis, H., Deane, K., Moore, J., & Harré, N. (2011). Young Māori perceptions of a youth development programme. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online, 6*(1–2), 50–61. doi: 10.1080/1177083x.2011.615847
- Houkamau, C. A., & Sibley, C. G. (2011). Māori cultural efficacy and subjective wellbeing: A psychological model and research agenda. *Social Indicators Research, 103*(3), 379–398. doi: 10.1007/s11205-010-9705-5
- Keelan, T. J. E. (2001). E tipu e rea: An indigenous theoretical framework for youth development. *Development Bulletin, 56*, 62–65.
- Lock, K. J., & Gibson, J. K. (2008). Explaining Māori under-achievement in standardised reading tests: The role of social and individual characteristics. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal*

- of *Social Sciences Online*, 3(1), 1–13. doi: 10.1080/1177083x.2008.9522428
- Marie, D., Fergusson, D. M., & Boden, J. M. (2008a). Ethnic identification, social disadvantage, and mental health in adolescence/young adulthood: Results of a 25 year longitudinal study. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 42(4), 293–300. doi: 10.1080/00048670701787644
- Marie, D., Fergusson, D. M., & Boden, J. M. (2008b). Links between ethnic identification, cannabis use and dependence, and life outcomes in a New Zealand birth cohort. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 42(9), 780–788. doi: 10.1080/00048670802277289
- McCarthy, M. (1997). Raising a Māori child under a new right state. In P. T. Whaiti, M. McCarthy, & A. Durie (Eds.), *Mai i rangiatea: Māori wellbeing and development* (pp. 25–38). Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.
- Merritt, K. (2003). Rangatahi wahine overcoming the odds—Preliminary results. In L. W. Nikora, M. Levy, B. Masters, W. Waitoki, N. TeAwakotuku, & R. J. M. Etheredge (Eds.), *Proceedings of the National Māori Graduates of Psychology Symposium 2002* (pp. 107–110). Retrieved from http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/bitstream/10289/860/1/NMGPS_Paper_Merritt.pdf
- Ministry of Education. (2008). *Ka hikitia managing for success: The Māori education strategy, 2008–2010. Key evidence and how we must use it to improve system performance for Māori*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.
- Ministry of Health. (1998). *The wellbeing of whanau: The public health issues = Whaia te whanaungatanga: Oranga whanau*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.
- Ministry of Youth Development. (2013). *About the Ministry of Youth Development*. Retrieved from <http://www.myd.govt.nz/about-mydl/>
- 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* (Unpublished master's thesis). Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Oakley Browne, M. A., Wells, J. E., & Scott, K. M. (2006). *Te rau hinengaro: The New Zealand mental health survey*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Health.
- Ormond, A. (2004). *The voices and silences of young Māori people: A world of (im)possibility* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Pendergrast, M. (2008). *Te mahi kete: Māori flaxwork for beginners*. Rosedale, New Zealand: Raupo.
- Poutasi, C. M. (2009). *The retention of Pacific health workers in the Auckland health workforce: An exploratory study* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Rochford, T. (2004). Whare tapa wha: A Māori model of a unified theory of health. *The Journal of Primary Prevention*, 25(1), 41–57.
- Shek, D. T. L. (2006). Conceptual framework underlying the development of a positive youth development program in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Adolescent Medicine and Health*, 18(3), 303–314. doi: 10.1515/ijamh.2006.18.3.303
- Shek, D. T. L., Siu, A. M. H., & Lee, T. Y. (2007). The Chinese positive youth development scale: A validation study. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 17(3), 380–391. doi: 10.1177/1049731506296196
- Steinberg, L. D. (2008). *Adolescence* (8th ed.). Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.
- Steinberg, L. D., & Duncan, P. (2002). Work group IV: Increasing the capacity of parents, families, and adults living with adolescents to improve adolescent health outcomes. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 31(6S), 261–263.
- Tangaere, A. R. (1997). Māori human development learning theory. In P. Te Whaiti, M. McCarthy, & A. Durie (Eds.), *Mai i rangiatea: Māori wellbeing and development*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.
- Te Ora Hou Aotearoa Incorporated. (2011). *Hei tiki-tiki: Māori rites of passage & youth development research project*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.
- TeachNZ. (2013). *Thinking of teaching?* Retrieved from <http://www.teachnz.govt.nz/thinking-of-teaching/maori-and-education/>
- Tertiary Education Commission. (2013). *Youth guarantee*. Retrieved from <http://www.tec.govt.nz/Funding/Fund-finder/Youth-Guarantee/>
- Tipene-Clarke, R. (2005). He korero o nga rangatahi: Voices of Maori youth. *Childrenz Issues*, 9(2), 37–42.
- Turia, T. (2000). *Speech to New Zealand Psychological Society Conference, Waikato University*. Retrieved from <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/node/8466>
- Van Meijl, T. (2002). Culture and crisis in Maori society: The tradition of other and the displacement of

- self. In E. Kolig & H. Mückler (Eds.), *Politics of indigeneity in the South Pacific: Recent problems of identity in Oceania* (pp. 47–71). Hamburg, Germany: LIT Verlag Münster.
- Ware, F. J. R. (2009). *Youth development: Māui styles. Kia tipu te rito o te pā harakeke; Tikanga and āhuatanga as a basis for a positive Māori youth development approach* (Unpublished master's thesis). Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa: Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.
- Ware, F., & Walsh-Taiapa, W. (2010). Youth development: Māori styles. *Youth Studies Australia*, 29(4), 18–29.
- Wirihana, R. (2011). *Maori women's voices on life, experience and journey*. Paper presented at the Te Ara Oho Mairangi—The Celestial Beacon: Navigating Maori Research, Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.