

Talanoa Participatory - Impact Evaluation

A Pacific Youth Gang Prevention and
Intervention Programme

Developed by Affirming Works (AW)

Prepared By
Siautu Alefaio, Julia Ioane,
Petra Satele, Joseph Satele &
Marlon Naepi

3 July 2023

This report acknowledges Affirming Works (AW), Police and MSD staff who engaged in talanoa on a place-based initiative focused on youth-gang prevention and intervention

SCHOOL OF
PSYCHOLOGY,
MASSEY UNIVERSITY



MASSEY
UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŌREHUROA

UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	4	Community-grounded	16
		Holistic approach grounded in Community development	16
INTRODUCTION	6	Community-engaging	17
		Providing accessible, and alternate experiences to engage the community	17
UNCOVERING THE LAY OF THE LAND	7	Obstacles to success	18
Evaluative Measures	7	Lack of resources and staff	18
Our collective approach: Talanoa participatory- impact evaluation	8	Restrictions tied to funding	19
Community-Led Innovative Response	9		
AW – The organisation	9	CAPTURING A MOMENT IN TIME	20
Programmes of community-led initiative	9	Snapshot: AW Pacific place-based youth-gang prevention initiative	20
Document analysis: Otago scoping exercise commissioned by AW	9	Measures of success	20
Table 1. Outline of informal initiatives (self-funded groups)	10	Conclusion	21
AW Place-Base Approach	11	Figure 3. ALL-IN collaborative response	21
Diagram 1. Initial AW Place-based initiative (image/illustration provided by AW)	11		
COVID-19 Impacts	12	MAPPING THE LANDSCAPE	22
		Overview of research and literature	22
FORMING A CLEAR VISION OF THE CONTEXT	13	Pacific peoples history and migration to Aotearoa New Zealand	22
Talanoa with key collaborators of change	13	Intergenerational impact of Dawn Raids	22
Process of analysis	13	Pacific people today and the realities of socio- cultural challenges	23
Figure 1. Mind Map of Key Themes	13	Pacific youth, identity and pacific- indigenous cultural values	24
Analysis of talanoa	14	Developing Identity within Pacific Youth	24
Keys to Success	15	Pacific cultural values	25
Figure 2. AW youth gang prevention keys to success	14	Gangs in Aotearoa NZ	26
Community-driven	14	Global influence	26
Locally led by Pacific leaders in the community	16	History of nz gangs and the societal impact	27

South Auckland gangs and the pacific comparison with family	29
Pacific youth gangs in relation to family violence	30
Gang culture in the Pacific	31
Gangs and the societal impact	31
Gang Prevention and Intervention	31
Australia	31
USA	32
NZ Prevention Programmes/Interventions	33
Ministry for Pacific Peoples	33
MSD	33
Police	33
Churches	34
NGOs	34
SUMMARY	34
Appendix 1	36

REFERENCES **37**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Aotearoa New Zealand has a diverse population, including a significant Pacific community. Unfortunately, some Pacific youth are susceptible to gang involvement due to socio-economic factors, limited educational opportunities, and feelings of disconnection. This report details community-led efforts through a localised place-based strategy for the prevention of Pacific youth gang involvement in Otara, South Auckland New Zealand. The Pacific community faces unique challenges that contribute to gang membership among its youth population. To capture the complexities of this diverse cultural community, this report co-created and termed Talanoa (Pacific indigenous approach to dialogue) *participatory-impact evaluation*, as a culturally-responsive approach to examining the Affirming Works (AW) place-based initiative on youth gang prevention.

Research and literature on youth gang prevention in Aotearoa NZ is scarce, this report provides a cohesive and current account of research available as a starting point. An overview of Pacific youth in Aotearoa NZ as part of the broader history of Pacific peoples migration, brings to light current socio-cultural challenges experienced by new generations of the Pacific diaspora living in Aotearoa. It also emphasizes how Pacific-Indigenous cultural values embedded in community-led initiatives can help to resolve tensions such as identity development, that is at the core of Pacific youth wellbeing. The global influence of gangs is undeniable as is the history of NZ gangs with its impact on society. It highlights the rise of youth gangs with a specific focus on South Auckland and provides an overview of global and local gang prevention and intervention initiatives. It draws on books, publications, journal articles and grey literature to set the context of youth gang prevention and intervention in Aotearoa New Zealand, within which the Affirming Works (AW) placed-based initiative is developed and situated.

Aotearoa NZ gang culture originates primarily with Pakeha youth and was (and still is) spread via American media such as music, books, and movies (Gilbert, 2013). Gang culture quickly spread to Māori and later to Pacific People in Aotearoa NZ.

Gangs have served functions in communities such as legal and illegal employment, providing venues, and organising events (Gilbert, 2013; Schlemmer, 2014). However, they also have negative impacts such as trading illegal drugs, putting a strain on government resources, and facilitating violence, and replacing cultural community values with antisocial gang culture (McFadden Consultancy, 2016; Gilbert, 2013; Faleolo, 2016). A 2018 approximation states 70 gangs with 1000 members in South Auckland, where most Pacific gang members are located (Newbold & Taonui, 2011). There are several factors which contribute to Pacific youth joining gangs. The Pacific population collectively make up the fourth largest ethnic group in Aotearoa NZ (Statistics NZ, 2013, Lilo et al., 2020). They face socioeconomic challenges compared with Pakeha, such as lower employment rates, worse education outcomes, and housing challenges (Ryan et al., 2019). Many of these challenges have been contributed to by the historical negative attitudes and discriminatory practices of the government towards Pacific immigrants (Asafo & Tuiburelevu, 2021; Leaupepe & Sauni, 2014). Pacific values are collectivist, and centre around 'aiga (family and close members of community), respect for elders, and spirituality (especially Christianity; Averill et al., 2020; Havea et. al, 2021; Ministry of Education, 2013; Ministry of Education, 2018). However, as an individualistic society Aotearoa NZ poses difficulties for Pacific youth due to the conflicting nature of Pacific worldviews which are based around the relational self (Fa'alau, 2016; Ioane, 2017). The contrast between Pacific worldviews and values in contexts such as home and church with the Aotearoa education system and employment, cause difficulties in identity development among Pacific youth (Manuela & Anae, 2017). These pressures increase the risk that Pacific youth will join gangs. Motivations for joining gangs also include financial gain, status among peers, security, mutual support of gang members, peer pressure, excitement, surrogate family relationships, and increased sense of identity (The Ministry of Social Development, 2008; Schlemmer, 2014). Family is the crucial social unit among Pacific People, and there is evidence that gangs replace family among

Pacific youth who have strained relationships with their biological families (Nahkid et al., 2009). Police and governmental efforts to reduce or eliminate gangs through increasing the strictness of legislation law enforcement has proved to be largely ineffective (Lambie, 2018). An alternative approach is to alleviate the pressures on Pacific families and youth. Therefore, an emphasis on strengthening Pacific youth's identities is needed (Alefaio, 2007; Havea et. al, 2021; Tautolo et al., 2020). Families are central to Pacific identities and values and are important contexts for learning Pacific values and forming cultural identities (Alefaio, 2007; Havea et. al, 2021). Families can be assisted in this by having mentors and role models demonstrating Pacific cultural values in community organisations and churches (Alefaio, 2007; Ataera-Minster & Trowland, 2018).

Overall – Pacific youth are in an identity crisis and need help strengthening their identity and navigating the complexity of their environments that they are in or occupy (or complexity of life in all its form i.e., humanity and developmental life cycle that is unique to Pacific diaspora). Results of the *Talanoa participatory-impact evaluation* of Affirming Work's place-based initiative highlight the unique approach to youth gang recruitment prevention is **home and family focused with accessible activities that are provided through mentoring as an overall systemic means of early intervention**. This AW unique systems approach to early intervention provides alternate pathways as spaces for youth to engage in experiences not just programmes. Keys to their success have a flow-on impact that altogether make the difference. These are: being **community-led through local knowledge, valuing young people** thereby having the right people for the job with staff enabling youth to succeed through **wraparound support that is holistic**.

All-in response (as in responsive strategies) requires less on suppression strategies (law and order), more on prevention strategies focused on language, culture, values, and worldview. Examples of these preventions are found in the work that AW is doing. Effective Pacific youth gang prevention in New Zealand requires a comprehensive approach that addresses cultural identity, education, family support, and employment opportunities. Collaborative efforts between

government agencies, community organizations, and Pacific leaders are essential for creating a safer environment and brighter future for Pacific youth. The remainder of this evaluation report provides an in-depth account of the *Talanoa* participatory-impact evaluation of AW's place-based youth gang prevention initiative.

We Strongly Recommend:

Immediate funding for this AW community-led initiative in partnership with MSD and Police.

For sustaining and growing this initiative it became evident that the obstacles of not enough funding and being restricted by funders would hinder further success.

INTRODUCTION

This Talanoa participatory-impact evaluation documents the environment, development, and overall impact of the Affirming Works (AW) place-based initiative on Pacific youth gang prevention. Our report draws on a review of relevant research and literature, analysis of supplied documents and Fa'afaletui-Talanoa (Pacific-Indigenous equivalent of participatory action research and co-design) with identified collaborators of the project from AW, Police and MSD to shine a light on the unique locally-led approach grounded in Pacific Indigenous cultural values and beliefs. *Talanoa* as a Pasifika-qualitative tool of research and relational engagement is utilised alongside participatory impact evaluation being similar to, but different from participatory action research.

Given the real-time response of the AW community-development approach, this formative phase of evaluation considers the situational context or socio-cultural environment of AW as a Pacific social enterprise. It provides a systemic overview of a place-based initiative within the context of crisis-response for Pacific communities in need.

Initially, the aim of the evaluation in discussion and agreement with AW and MSD was:

To evaluate the impact of implementation of the initiative to reduce gang recruitment in Otara and the extent to which the work carried out by the community leader to reduce youth gang recruitment has been achieved (MSD-AW initial contract, 2020).

This initial aim was directly impacted by COVID-19 and as result the timeframe was extended and evaluation scope adapted. As such the new focus of evaluation shifted to:

a Talanoa participatory-impact evaluation of the AW (Affirming Works) place-based initiative in Pacific youth gang prevention focused on understanding the context of development. This draws on Fa'afaletui-Talanoa (similar to a systems-thinking approach but culturally responsive as it brings to surface Pacific-Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing).

From talanoa (cultural-participatory dialogue) with Pacific-leaders (akin to stakeholders) involved in the process of this unique community-led collaboration, consideration of the new COVID-pandemic climate meant flexibility and adaptation was prioritized and changes were a necessary consequence.

Talanoa as a Pacific-Indigenous method of research is applied in this evaluative environment to focus on:

- **Mapping the landscape** by understanding the background (AW and history of work in Otara) and seeing the bigger picture (A review of research and literature informed by those at the front line).
- **Uncovering the lay of the land** through identifying appropriate evaluative measures for understanding community-led innovative response and the development of the AW place-based approach
- **Forming a clear vision of the context** through *talanoa* with key collaborators of change (AW community leaders/champions, Police and MSD including co-governance meetings) and *Fa'afaletui* (collation and analysis of *talanoa*).
- **Capturing a moment in time** by providing a snapshot of the AW Pacific place-based youth-gang prevention initiative and the impact of systems thinking in a community-led and grounded collaborative partnership.

Overall, these areas will highlight preliminary learnings from the AW place-based youth gang prevention initiative. While "mapping the landscape" was the initial phase of the evaluation process, its placement at the end of the report serves a deliberate purpose to specifically highlight AW's approach - what works, areas for improvement and the impact on overall prevention and intervention of youth gang recruitment.

UNCOVERING THE LAY OF THE LAND

EVALUATIVE MEASURES

Evaluation is a crucial aspect of assessing the effectiveness of programs, interventions, and initiatives in various fields. Historically the right of passage for Pacific community organisations to continue providing services or programmes has been through evaluation either self-initiated and funded, or prescribed by funding agencies requiring the need for evidence-based practice. Brought on by demand for accountability in the public sector, evaluation is increasingly required yet it remains an area of contention especially for cultural communities such as the Pacific diaspora whose evidence lies in practices that are continuously formed as collective-responsivity to crises of life. Evaluation is deemed as a 'process of reflection' and something we all do naturally however at the core of evaluation is the word 'value' and at its heart are key issues of whose values drive evaluation, whose standards are being met or whose standards are being measured against. Whose values are community-led culturally responsive initiatives being assessed against? Are they standards prescribed by funding bodies such as government agencies, or the communities themselves in which they are responding to? For this very reason an outline of evaluative measures are described to highlight the rationale behind the culturally responsive approach co-created for the AW place-based evaluation.

Common types of evaluation utilised for the type of needs raised by the AW placed-based initiatives are formative evaluation, process evaluation, impact evaluation and participatory evaluation. Each type serves a distinct purpose in understanding different stages and dimensions of a program's lifecycle.

The key differences between these three types of evaluation are:

Formative Evaluation occurs during the development and planning stages of a program. It helps identify potential issues, gather feedback, and make improvements before the full implementation. Formative evaluation aids in refining program components and strategies, ensuring they align with intended goals and target audiences. This type of evaluation is conducted during the development of a program or intervention. It focuses on providing feedback to improve the design and implementation. Formative evaluation helps identify potential issues and make necessary adjustments early on.

Process evaluation focuses on monitoring the implementation of a program to ensure it is being carried out as intended. This type of evaluation examines how well the program is being executed, identifies bottlenecks or challenges, and assesses fidelity to the planned strategies. Process evaluation helps maintain program integrity and optimize its delivery. Process evaluation involves monitoring the implementation of a program to ensure it is being carried out as planned. This type of evaluation helps identify any deviations from the intended process and provides insights into how well the program is being executed.

Impact evaluation delves into understanding the long-term effects and outcomes of a program. It assesses whether the program led to the intended changes and whether those changes can be attributed to the program itself rather than external factors. Impact evaluation is crucial for understanding the program's true influence on the target population. Impact evaluation aims to measure the long-term effects and changes resulting from a program. It assesses the extent to which the program has contributed to desired outcomes and whether these changes are sustainable over time.

Participatory evaluation involves stakeholders, including program participants, in the evaluation process. It empowers those directly affected by the program to provide input, share insights, and contribute to the evaluation's design and implementation. This approach can lead to more relevant and insightful findings.

A combination of these evaluation types provides a comprehensive perspective on the success, challenges, and potential areas for improvement of various programs and interventions. Each type addresses different aspects of the program lifecycle, contributing to evidence-based decision-making and enhancing the overall quality of interventions. Specifically as participatory evaluation places all those vested in the initiative (i.e. stakeholders) at the center of the evaluation process, recognizing their expertise and involvement in shaping programs and projects. This approach values collaboration, shared decision-making, and empowerment. It shifts the evaluator's role from an external judge to a facilitator of dialogue, fostering a sense of ownership among participants. Importantly participatory evaluation is relevant in diverse and complex settings where multiple perspectives are crucial for understanding program impacts. It recognizes that those directly affected by a program or intervention possess valuable insights that can inform assessment and improvement efforts. An example of this combination is found in the Participatory Impact Pathways Analysis (PIPA) method, which combined participatory and impact evaluation techniques to enhance project planning, monitoring, and evaluation (Rifkin et al, 2012).

For the purposes of this evaluation the Pacific method of *Talanoa* is combined with participatory and impact evaluation creating ***Talanoa participatory impact evaluation***. Together this culturally collaborative approach emphasizes co-creation of evaluation frameworks, data collection, and interpretation, resulting in more relevant and impactful outcomes.

OUR COLLECTIVE APPROACH: TALANOA PARTICIPATORY - IMPACT EVALUATION

Drawing on the Pacific method of *Talanoa* we directly engaged with all those involved in the initiative for a clear understanding of the 'extent of the work' and its implementation and how this impacts the reduction of youth gang recruitment as outlined in the initial aims of the project (MSD-AW initial contract, 2020). *Talanoa* as a Research Methodology (TRM), is a phenomenological approach developed for studies involving Pacific people (Vaiolati, 2013). TRM allows relative freedom to explore unanticipated themes which may arise due to the lack of research in this area. It also respects the culture and collective spirit of Pacific peoples. For this evaluation *Talanoa* is utilised as a Pacific culturally intuitive and safe way of engaging with those involved in the project and brings this together in the context of participatory impact evaluation. *Talanoa* was conducted across three different organisations: MSD, Police and AW. A *talanoa* outline was developed to guide dialogue with participants who were given an information sheet upon invitation to participate in the evaluative project. The information sheet contained a brief description of the aims of the study, as well as what would be expected from participants, and information about rights and confidentiality. Participants signed a consent form which notified them of their right to withdraw from the study at any time. Participants included Affirming Works' staff involved in implementing and running the different initiatives connected to Youth gang prevention, Pacific leaders from the Police and MSD Pasefika Proud leaders/ staff. An ethics approval for this project was received (4000026880) on (14 December 2022) and evaluated by peer review to be low risk.

COMMUNITY-LED INNOVATIVE RESPONSE

AW – THE ORGANISATION

PROGRAMMES OF COMMUNITY-LED INITIATIVE

Affirming Works (AW) is a non-profit organisation based in South Auckland that supports the Pacific community (mainly youth and families in Otara many of which have gang-related backgrounds) through a combination of services that involve social enterprise, mentoring services, and culturally relevant faith-based programs (Affirming Works, n.d. a). The services that AW provides support not only youth but includes the whole family with programmes such as Talanoa Ako (where parents of are taught skills and knowledge to empower their children) or Kainga Tu'umalie (A prevention and restoration faith-based programme for families affected by family violence). AW also has a food bank and a community cafe which all bring positive change to the whole community (Affirming Works, n.d. b). Further AW run a youth hub for families and youth called 'The Powerhouse' (Tagata Pasifika, 2021).

The Kainga Tu'umalie initiative was developed by AW with collaboration from Tongan faith leaders in Auckland (Affirming Works, n.d. c). The phrase Kainga Tu'umalie is translated as 'prosperous family/souls' where the focus of this initiative is to engage with *kainga* (families) to grow positive life patterns that empower these *kainga* to build and maintain violence-free family relationships (Havea et al., 2021). A key component of this initiative is the integrating of Christian faith-narratives and Tongan cultural knowledge throughout the sessions and retreats (Alefaio-Tugia & Havea, 2016). The values that are incorporated throughout the Kainga Tu'umalie initiative are: "*ofa* (love and compassion), *ofa au fuato* (submission), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), and *angafakatokilalo* (humility)" (Havea et al., 2021, p.84). Practically these cultural values are incorporated through '*Fofola e fala ka e talanoa e kainga*' which represents the Tongan-indigenous metaphor where a mat is laid down to facilitate family discussions.

The Community Cafe run by AW was established in 2010 in Auckland as a social enterprise to bring social services within the community together

to provide people with a central access point to their services (Alefaio-Tugia et al., 2019). The vision of the cafe was to see a place of inclusion and collaboration amongst government agencies, individuals, families, businesses and community groups (Alefaio-Tugia et al., 2015). The Community Cafe is still operating today with three main goals: 1) Bringing community development through collaboration; 2) It sells Tupu'anga Coffee to provide funding streams for AW's various mentoring initiatives; and 3) provides training opportunities for youth (Affirming Works, n.d. d).

Talanoa Ako, another initiative provided by AW, equips families and parents to provide support to their children's education in order to succeed (Pasefika Proud, n.d. b). AW staff and teachers run sessions for the parents and families answering questions around the children's learning at all educational levels (Pasefika Proud, n.d. b).

AW also have a partnership with Lighthouse Famz (dance collective) where they host youth and families in Otara at a youth centre called 'The Powerhouse'. This youth hub hosts a variety of activities like Krump Klubs and carving workshops for both young people and families (Tagata Pasifika, 2021).

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS: OTARA SCOPING EXERCISE COMMISSIONED BY AW

In a scoping exercise undertaken by AW in January-February 2020 (refer to appendix 1. Otara community scoping exercise document) key youth and community leaders working directly with youth gangs in the Otara area provided a collective depiction on the state of prevention of gang recruitment. Fourteen (14) leaders of Pacific initiatives across South Auckland were consulted, 9 were born, raised and local residents of Otara with deep affiliations and historical connections to the community and neighbourhood. Leaders represented a range of roles from various organisations, these included: experienced Youth workers, social workers, sports co-ordinators, residential care, teacher, Program facilitators, General Manager (Health), Consultant and Chairman and a city Councillor.

Altogether these leaders reported youth gang activity as rampant and in the worst state they have ever experienced specifically the increase in gun-related activity, turf war and meths (methamphetamine). Leaders attributed the increase and escalation in gang activity directly to the impact of deportees from Australia (501s) involved with the notorious Commonchero's (Australia-based) causing turf-war within the community. Reportedly the Tribesman and Killer Bees remain the main senior gangs in the community. The scoping exercise also revealed a large recruitment drive by gangs with the increased recruitment highlighting 'family member obligations' and the draw to being "patched up" due to financial difficulties of owing money.

The community-led initiatives of 274 Youthcore under the leadership of Crosspower Ministries – Sully Paea and the late Malagaoma Allan Va'a (2004-2008) were the flagship interventions noted by many as a huge loss. Overall, the consensus was that there is no one working directly with the youth gangs and no work being done towards the prevention of gang violence that is community-led and initiated. The alternative education units in Otago had been closed and TYLA a police initiative was the only organization identified as working with youth at risk but was noted as closing.

There were several informal initiatives that were shared through this collective leadership group, these involved:

Table 1. Outline of informal initiatives (self-funded groups)

Informal initiatives		
Name	Activity	Focus
BARBER	Providing free haircuts to the young people and offering support	Business with youth focus
ADULLAM YOUTH CLUB	Set up 15 years ago (2006) under 274 youthcore based at the Tupu Youth Library.	Boys Club Coluntary basis delivered by former members of the Club positively impacted by the clubs program.
LAST STANCE OTARA	Fight club teaching young boys the discipline of Muai Thai and Kick Boxing	Young boys
THE OTARA SCORPIANS RUGBY LEAGUE CLUB	A safe haven for ex-offenders demonstrated through their commitment to the running of the club.	Ex-offenders
TUMAU SPORTS TEAM	Engages over 120 children, youth and families across Auckland in an annual sports camp	Based in Otago and primarily engages Otago residents.
MAN UP' RUN BY DESTINY CHURCH	Effective and making an impact with men however some concern regarding a negative effect on other participants (unknown factor)	Men
Two residential houses in Otago	1) Mahitahi Trust on Franklin Rd 2) Lifewise Trust on Clayton Ave	Youth housing None have engaged or consulted with local community groups.
Closed initiatives		
2 Alternative education centres in Otago		
Police-led initiative		
TYLA	Closing soon?	

This scoping exercise commissioned by AW in 2020 revealed:

- little to no 'intentional work' being undertaken with youth gangs.
- the informal initiatives (self-funded groups) provide life skills as prevention work and shown to be safe and empowering places of belonging, given each were operating successfully over several years.
- Other sporting clubs, churches and groups who may be offering supports for youth and their families are unknown requiring further research.

Based on this scoping exercise, the AW place-based initiative as a systems-approach was developed for

directly and intentionally responding to youth gang prevention and intervention.

AW PLACE-BASED APPROACH

The initial AW place-based initiative is captured in diagram 1 (image/illustration provided by AW leadership). Diagram 1 illustrates this process of development grounded in community responsiveness and collaborative practices that seek to meet the lived realities of youth within families of need by focusing on the place (community) in which youth as 'clients' reside and

Diagram 1. Initial AW Place-Based Initiative (image/illustration provided by AW)



live within aiga (families) as holistic environments as opposed to units of measurement or analysis.

COVID-19 IMPACTS

This initial aim of this evaluation was directly impacted by COVID-19 and as result the timeframe was extended and evaluation scope adapted. The new *talanoa* participatory impact evaluation of the AW (Affirming Works) Pacific youth gang prevention initiative focused on understanding the place and space (context/environment of Otara community) and the development of a community-led response to youth gang prevention via Fa'afaletui-Talanoa (similar to a systems-thinking approach but deeper as it brings to surface Pacific-Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing).

Consideration of the new COVID-pandemic climate meant flexibility and adaptation was prioritized and changes were a necessary consequence. Pacific-Indigenous methods of evaluation were engaged with main aims focusing on reflective learning from talanoa (culturally responsive and collaborative dialogue) with Pacific-leaders involved in the process of this unique community-led collaboration.

FORMING A CLEAR VISION OF THE CONTEXT

TALANOA WITH KEY COLLABORATORS OF CHANGE

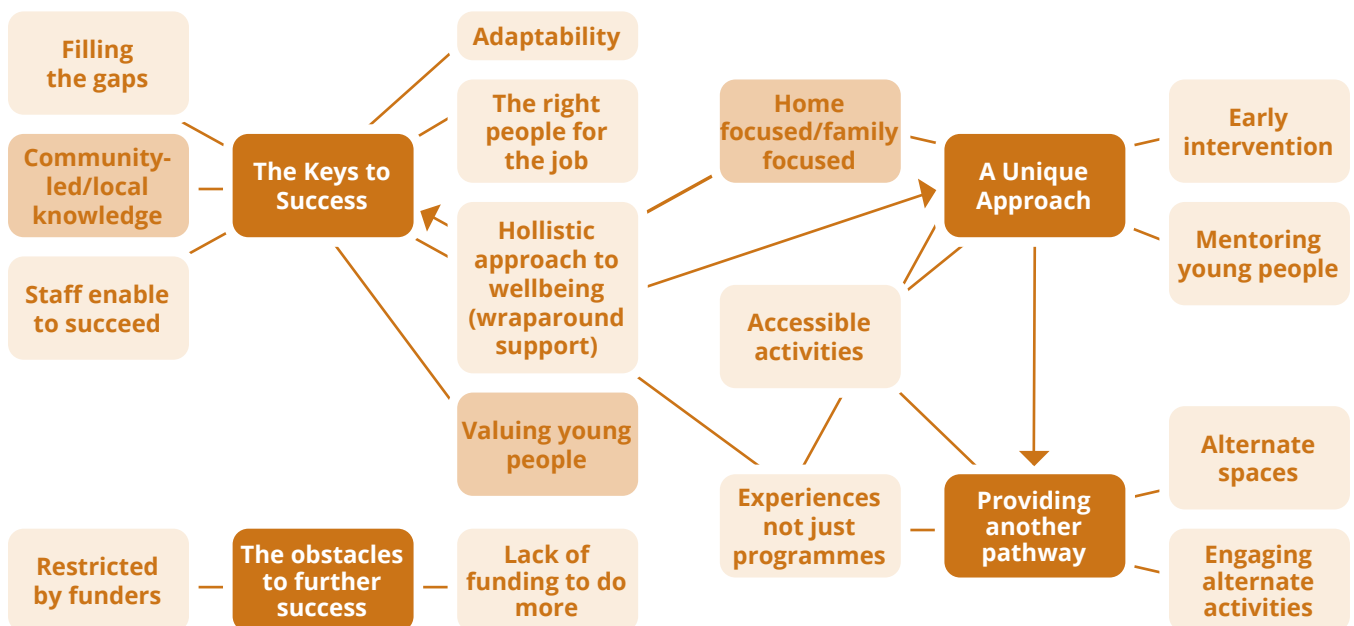
Reflexive Thematic analysis (TA) was a first step in analysing talanoa data and is a method of data analysis compatible with *Talanoa* because of its theoretical flexibility in considering the researcher as a source of analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2021). This is important as the research team are part of the Pacific community. As such, *Talanoa* emphasizes the researcher's or in this case the evaluator's role in interpreting what the participants are expressing through language or implications and context (Vaiolleti, 2013).

Data analysis followed a six-phase process: 1) data familiarisation and writing familiarisation notes; 2) systematic data coding; 3) generating initial themes from coded and collated data; 4) developing and reviewing themes; 5) refining, defining, and naming themes; and 6) writing the report (Braun and Clarke, 2021, p.331). This approach is reflexive, and the phases are fluid and recursive.

PROCESS OF ANALYSIS

This preliminary mind map outlined key themes which came through in the data highlighting Affirming Work's unique approach to youth gang recruitment prevention is home and family focused with accessible activities that are provided through mentoring as an overall systemic means of early intervention. This AW unique systems approach to early intervention provides alternate pathways as spaces for youth to engage in experiences not just programmes. Keys to their success have a flow-on impact that altogether make the difference. These are: being community-led through local knowledge, valuing young people thereby having the right people for the job with staff enabling youth to succeed through wraparound support that is holistic. For sustaining and growing this initiative it became evident that the obstacles of not enough funding and being restricted by funders would hinder further success.

Figure 1. Mind Map of Key Themes



ANALYSIS OF TALANOA KEYS TO SUCCESS

“
We're about giving young people choices, really make them understand their value and their purpose in life. Understanding their culture, understanding where they fit in their family (AW)
”

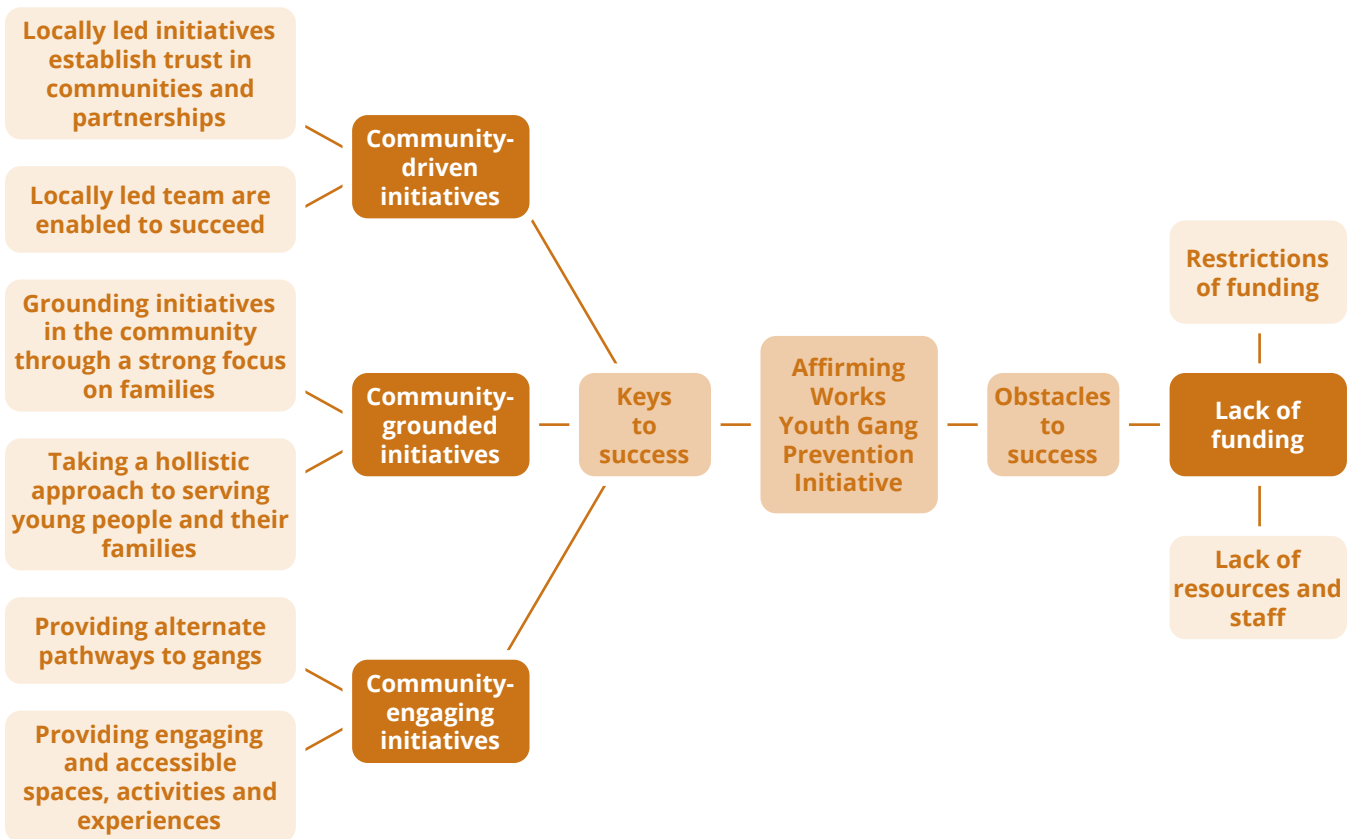
Throughout this evaluation it was evident through the talanoa that the keys to success for Affirming Works in youth gang prevention come from initiatives that are driven by the community, led by the community and engage the community. Affirming Works is a locally led team taking a holistic approach grounded in community development. The provision of care is centered on Kainga-Aiga (family), with holistic support for entire families within their community. Figure 2. below illustrates the overall keys to success of the AW place-based youth gang prevention initiative lie in being community driven, community grounded and community engaged.

COMMUNITY-DRIVEN LOCALLY LED BY PACIFIC LEADERS IN THE COMMUNITY

Talanoa revealed a clear understanding that the success of Affirming Works stemmed from being a locally led team. These team members possess an intricate knowledge of the community they serve, which allows them to effectively connect with and understand it's needs:

“
..what worked was local, local, local, like, we are local. So we know the streets. Even if the streets are technically not safe, it's our hoods... we know our hood... So it was by locals, it was run for locals... it was in a gang... influence space and there's drug dealers on every street kind of thing. And so we're able to create a space... so what worked was just the super local for local and local areas (AW)
”

Figure 2. AW Youth Gang Prevention Keys to Success



“

It's having people from South Auckland who know South Auckland come and mentor the young people of South Auckland. You can't bring a West Aucklander or someone from outside it to come in and tell South Auckland young people: 'Hey man, this is how it is, this is what you need to be doing'. (NZP)

Allowing and championing locally driven initiatives led to more effective partnerships, trust and authentic connections:

“

So I actually think it's really key, the partnership between AW and the local community and Otara. So a lot of the staff are actually from Otara, which, which I think is amazing. I think that, like, no one knows the community better than the people in the community. (AW)

“

...we had only Otara people working there, which again, made a real significant difference in you know, kind of brewing a trusting community... (AW)

“

if they don't know you, they don't trust you, you know, that relationship, I guess, is key. Relationship is key, but also not only with relationship, but engagement, like, you know, they have to know that you're always there. No, you have to have that consistency with helping them. (AW)

By being deeply rooted in the community through AW has been able to establish a sense of trust and rapport with the families as locals and through shared cultural identity and values:

“

...our staff are all Pacific too. So even just having that point of contact for families, and someone that speaks their language, or, like, you know,

can just relate to some way for shared experiences, I think allows us talanoa as well, to kind of happen between staff and the community. (AW)

“

AW is really relational...I think for AW it's that genuine heart to care and serve for the community... the shared experiences, which is so valuable for people and building trust... building trust with a community, it takes time and effort... and if you're from that area, it makes it... easier. (AW)

Affirming Works enables their staff to succeed and thrive by serving locally the youth and families within their own communities.

“

...the cultural values are strong in that place. And then is key to really being successful. They know who they are, they know where they're from. They know what their mission is, what their purpose is. So when they know all of that, when it comes to meeting a young person, they've got this- I don't know what you call it, they just got this tool bag, all the goodness in it, when they come to a young person they... just offer everything. (NZP)

“

That's the process that you're trying to showcase is community development, where you don't just come in and try to save the community... so true enablement for you, as identifying the leaders within the community, and enabling them rather than trying to tell them what to do. (AW)

“

having key personnel who know how to actively listen to young people and know how to actively engage with young people. That's the key to their success (NZP)

“

...which is a very unique approach, because normally it's you know, we'll hire you, you do this job, it was kind of opposite, we'll hire you to do what you already are good at to serve your community. And we'll bring the resources around it. And so, I've never been given that opportunity before. And that level of trust to be innovative in the way that we knew really worked. And I think that's been a huge, a huge factor into why we've been successful in the short time. that we've been brought on the team. (AW)

COMMUNITY-GROUNDED

HOLISTIC APPROACH GROUNDED IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Affirming Works implements a holistic approach that extends beyond individual support for youth to encompass the entire kainga (family). Recognizing that the challenges faced by young people are often intertwined with family dynamics and broader societal factors, AW provides wraparound support. AW addresses the diverse and interconnected needs of families and acknowledges that preventing youth gang recruitment requires a comprehensive effort that considers these challenges faced by families and the wider community. This comprehensive approach enables a lasting impact and ensures that **not only the youth but also their families** receive the necessary resources and assistance to thrive.

“

we're running about 10 to 15, very different programmes reaching as young as five years old, and then all the way up to grandparents. And so the programmes all had almost similar goals, to look after families, to connect them to peer support, to mentoring, to food... if they needed financial support, like it was, it was basically a connection point... to really speak to the need of wellbeing (AW)

“

Emeline's focus was on providing a holistic approach to try and strengthen families in Otara and the surrounding areas. So that the kids would, would be less inclined to be recruited or work for the gangs... Emeline decided to... put in a programme that would... try and strengthen the families in those areas, as a means of trying to turn their kids away from going to the gangs, and providing... something for them at home... that they'd find a bit more fulfilling. (NZP)

“

my biggest focus was also the powerhouse work there and creating programmes that looked at aligned with everything that affirming works already focuses on which is well being of the young person and their families (AW)

“

Even though our focus was youthwork, you can't help but help the family. And that's one of the, I guess, strategies, or the way that Affirming Works, works across all teams, is we look at the home. And we look at one young person, that's a home, they have siblings, they have parents, they have grandparents, they might have multiple families in their home. And so that's causing so much other factors that we need to support... it's a very different approach compared to other places I've worked with. And that's been a really helpful approach. (AW)

“

...yes we can focus on the youth. But if we don't focus on the families as well, we're not going to be successful, if whatever success looks like it won't be successful with the youth if we don't focus on the family. So what I think has been successful, is how they've developed all these platforms to engage and focus on the families (NZP)

Affirming Works understands what the pathway to gangs offers to young people who may be looking for a sense of belonging in a family, and the importance of a family focused approach:

“

Yeah, I think you can't... turn your back on your family. Like, people aren't really thinking that what these gangs aren't gangs, they're not like foreign clubs. They're just- their actual massive families with people that were there at probably the hardest times for most individuals... we can only come against gangs by being a family... in gangs, it's family, but at the same time... in the response its families... and we have to make a competing address to give them an alternative, so that the kids can choose this family to be part of versus that family. (AW)

“

I think it's mainly just connecting with families, that's the most important thing is that we connect with families that were there, that we journey with them, not just connecting with but journey with. And if there's an issue, they'll come to you, they will tell you about stuff. That is really important. Because a lot of families that are on their own, disconnected from everything, until they fall apart. And that's when they go for help. It's too late. (SP)

COMMUNITY-ENGAGING

PROVIDING ACCESSIBLE, AND ALTERNATE EXPERIENCES TO ENGAGE THE COMMUNITY

Affirming Works emphasizes the importance of providing accessible spaces (free, local etc.) and alternative pathways to prevent youth from joining gangs. They recognize the importance of providing youth and their families safe and engaging environments in accessible spaces, and showing young people alternate pathways for their futures:

“

...just being able to kind of have a space, a safe space that's associated with Affirming Works for communities, plays a big part in allowing community to kind of come out, especially after COVID to kind of reconnect... (AW)

“

I think it's just providing alternative spaces. alternative career paths to gang recruitment, if that makes sense. So for example, we've had a gathering which was for youth called Young for in Pacific so it's a event that really, it's called Young free and Pacific so really hones in on to the Pacific elements of- you know that South Auckland is predominantly Pacific people in Auckland. So even providing a space for youth...and a lot of families... (AW)

“

*...gangs have been our problem for ages, like, for as long as I can remember, and I can actually say that some of my family members are in gangs... it's really hard to be like... 'you need to stop' like, you can't really just tell someone to stop... I feel like when people talk about gang prevention and that's what they think it is...to be like, 'Oh, don't go there, do this instead'... people know what's wrong and right... but I actually think it's the importance of working with and... showing the alternative paths...So I think my time at AW has been really valuable for me personally, and my family because it's been a another pathway, like actually you don't have to go down the gang way... you can go to university... my brothers actually didn't go to university, they went to trading schools, and you know, these other pathways that I think are very important... I think it's their presence is what is most valuable, I think, especially in the work to prevent gang recruitment. **If young people or families are seeing, you know, seeing you go, this pathway it will encourage the next generation to be like, actually, 'I don't want to be in a gang. I want to be like, my cousin that's working in social services' or look at alternatives... 'Oh, actually, I want to go to university, I want to do other things'... and sometimes I think, yeah, gang prevention is that simple. It's just providing events providing platforms providing opportunity and just for people to be in spaces and it's also providing that support. (AW)***

“

So you create an alternative pathway for children at an early younger age to choose better. They have to, they have to choose early intervention. (AW)

“

...Emeline decided to look at their programme and put in a programme that would provide that would try and strengthen the families in those areas, as a means of trying to turn their kids away from going to the gangs, and providing... something for them at home... that they'd find a bit more fulfilling... They've provided a number of platforms for the kids to try and to engage with the kids. And you know, I'm just looking at their things here. Their hotspots, their street barbecues, the powerhouse, they've got fitness, their food banks, their Community Cafe, you know, the Talanoa ako, Kainga ako. Their school outreach, family violence prevention. So, they've got a number of platforms that are focused on strengthening those families. Because the reality was we all agreed that no one really knows what the answer is to stopping these kids from joining the gangs... but we all agreed we had to try something... (NZP)

OBSTACLES TO SUCCESS

Though other challenges exist in youth gang prevention such as , talanoa revealed the main challenge was not having enough resources to support programmes and staff.

LACK OF RESOURCES AND STAFF

Funding for AW is essential not only to support programmes, but more so to enable the appointment of youth workers and mātua leaders who provide the kainga-aiga holistic wraparound support. The unique AW Pacific-led approach of being locally-led and community grounded ensures the right people are appointed to lead the specialist support required.

“

We just have such a richness about us and our team. And unfortunately, like, we can't get more people... to do different programmes to help... the prevention of like these kids getting into gangs because unfortunately, like, people have to have to earn an income they got to look after their family and they got to do their thing. And so yeah, unfortunately, there's just not enough money to get other people to help... this whole thing. We're a very small part of this whole map and I think yeah, if we just need more money to pay more people to be able to do this stuff because our community like South Auckland is such a rich community, that if people were to invest and were to provide money so that other people could do their thing? Like it would be way different, like, our communities would be way different our- Yeah. South Auckland would look very different if we were enabled, the same way that we were enabled by AW, if other people were able to do that, for them, and for their local community and for their people. (AW)

“

definitely resources, resources would always be a big help. For running anything... I think you just really need a lot of people... who have the heart to serve... you really need to have the heart to work within our communities... how can you encourage families that are just struggling and just don't see? They just want to get through today... you try and tell them about tomorrow in the future, but they're just like, 'Look, I just want to make sure I put food on the table for my kids, you know, pray that they have a good education, and pray that they don't get involved in gangs'... just like a just a tunnel view in how they're going to support their family. (AW)

“

that commitment needs to be matched with resourcing. There's nothing worse than being committed and not getting the backing, the support that you actually need... it needs money to resource the social workers on the ground. And also to undertake...

The powerhouse, the Talanoa Ako, the- you know all these platforms that they're undertaking that are focusing on the families (NZP)

“

...you see you see result, we see results of what Affirming Works does. But that's only just the tip of the iceberg we need to go more go much deeper. And that's where we need to be able to achieve all that. We need funds money to do things these days... I just don't feel that Affirming Works is going far enough. Because we need finance to fund it. (SP)

RESTRICTIONS TIED TO FUNDING

An AW worker expressed the frustration around partnering with MSD which at times felt like they had to operate within the objectives and requirements set by MSD. Taking mainstream programmes and making them fit to the Pacific communities they serve, rather than allowing AW to operate and do what they know works for their communities:

“

...they're helpful in terms of resourcing our team and our staff. But sometimes... I'm thinking, like... we get a contract, they have objectives that we need to follow that kind of stuff. And, you know, it's good, but... I kind of wish that we can just do what we do. You know, I'm like, can we just do what we do? And we do what we know works. And... I don't know, not make their programmes... look brown. (AW)

These concerns were further expressed

“

What Affirming Works is doing is, it's great, but it's only just a scratch in the surface need. We need to go. They need to be equipped, much more than they have and deeper, so that they can go deeper and connect with more

families. And, you know, we have the key to be able to help stop kids from joining gangs. But also it's a lot more working together with the system. Sometimes I feel that the system end up working against each other. They're going in this direction and we want to go in that direction. (SP)

“

... I think we've, we've been creating a model that's been so effective. And it really, it really has allowed us to do so much more in the homes. Not just for the young person. So, you know, what we need is resource that's going to trust that we're going to do the job. And not with, you know, too much expectations to box in, when our community actually is over here... (AW)

From the government agency perspectives resourcing was highlighted as a 'balancing act' and difficult especially when teams are small and required to respond nationally (across the country). Furthermore govt agencies expressed their own internal agency tensions when crises occur in specific areas e.g. ram raids and agencies respond nationally disbursing funds across the country instead of in the specific area where the escalation of crisis has occurred e.g. Auckland.

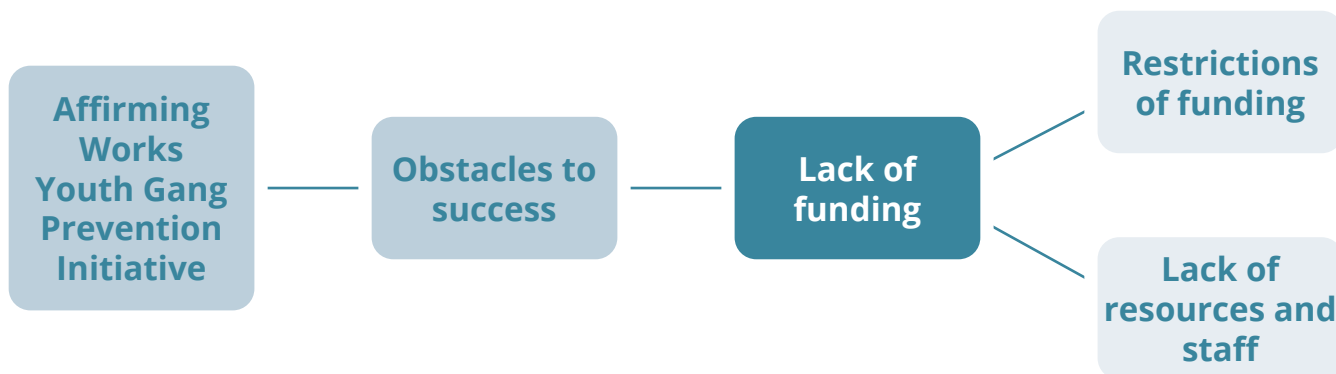
“

...that balancing act is funding... whenever there's funding from government agency... there's a timeline, there's a reporting line, there's this line, there's that line and that sometimes can get in the way of what we're actually trying to do with what the community is trying to do. (NZP)

“

I haven't had the time to facilitate anything else. I've only got a very small team, across the country, of about five people. And currently, no one based in Auckland. So that's very, very challenging to try and sort of manage all those things and, and do justice to the work that our provider partners are doing with the community (MSD)

CAPTURING A MOMENT IN TIME



SNAPSHOT: AW PACIFIC PLACE-BASED YOUTH-GANG PREVENTION INITIATIVE

At the very core of the AW place-based youth gang prevention is **community**. As highlighted in our review of research and literature, Pacific youth are in an identity crisis, and the rise of Pacific youth in street gangs can be attributed to this collective crisis of identity. The AW youth gang prevention initiative focuses on the collective by providing a strategy that focuses on relationships that bind community responsiveness together.



the sustainability, so I think I actually think my boss is very ahead of everything in the time, and she's amazing. So she's actually created the cafes as a way to sustain the work of AW so all the profits from the cafes, go back into AW. So yeah, I think like, funding, like, Man, I think with AW they've always... used every cent to make meaningful impacts. Like there's so many programmes I don't even think I've mentioned, half of it... it's kind of hard to measure the success of prevention initiatives. But I think funding would be key to sustaining AW... I just think the support from not only governments but other

organisations and - would be key for AW to kind of sustain this approach of providing alternative prevention to youth gang recruitment. (SV)



Look at our ramraids incidents at the moment, they're all over the place... it comes down to knowing what piques their interest, and I think that's what makes Affirming works so successful, their community engages, (they) know the young people they know what they're looking for. They know what they're after (NZP)

MEASURES OF SUCCESS

The long game investment is not in measures of success that are tied to temporary budgets with short sighted vision. It is obvious from the extensive search of relevant literature and research that investment in youth gang prevention must be an **'ALL-IN'** response, meaning focused strategies on community development. This is crucial given the heart of community is: language, culture, values, and worldview.

CONCLUSION

Overall – Pacific youth are in an identity crisis and need help strengthening their identity and navigating the complexity of their environments that they are in or occupy (or complexity of life in all its form i.e., humanity and developmental life cycle that is unique to Pacific diaspora). Results of the *Talanoa participatory-impact evaluation* of Affirming Work’s place-based initiative highlight the unique approach to youth gang recruitment prevention as:

home and family focused with accessible activities that are provided through mentoring as an overall systemic means of early intervention.

This AW unique systems approach to early intervention provides alternate pathways as spaces for youth to engage in experiences not just programmes. Keys to their success have a flow-on impact that altogether make the difference. These are:

- being community-led through local knowledge.
- valuing young people
- having the right people for the job
- staff enabling youth to succeed.
- wraparound support that is holistic

For sustaining and growing this initiative it became evident that the obstacles of not enough funding and being restricted by funders would hinder further success. Therefore, All-in response (as in responsive strategies) requires less on suppression strategies (law and order), more on prevention strategies focused on language, culture, values, and worldview. Our final illustration in Figure 3 finds the ALL-IN collaborative response required for sustained effective change is the collective partnership found in Pacific leadership from AW, Police and MSD.

Effective Pacific youth gang prevention in New Zealand requires a comprehensive approach that addresses cultural identity, education, family support, and employment opportunities. As a community-led initiative AW together with the Police who share a focus on prevention for youth gang recruitment supported through MSD budget are an exemplar for collaborative efforts led by community organizations supported by government agencies with Pacific leaders at the helm. This combined collective effort is essential for creating a safer environment and brighter future for Pacific youth. The direct response to youth gang prevention that is an intentional systems approach is found in the place-based initiative that AW is leading. This report recommends continual funding and support for this initiative and acknowledgement that Pacific leadership within these organisations is key to driving and sustaining success in the future.

Figure 3. ALL-IN collaborative response

AFFIRMING WORKS
AW

COMMUNITY-LED

NEW ZEALAND POLICE
 Ngā Pirihi mana o Aotearoa

SHARED FOCUSED PREVENTION

MINISTRY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
 TE MANATŪ WHAKAHIATO ORA

SUSTAINED BUDGET

ALL-IN

OTARA 274 PREVENTING YOUTH GANG RECRUITMENT
 A PLACE-BASED INITIATIVE

FAITH-BASED OPPORTUNITIES

OTARA 274

PLANS FOR: JULY 01 2020- JUNE 31 2021

AW

SULLY PAEA
 Sully Paea is a legendary pioneer otherwise known as "The Otara Legend". Living and working as a community connector in Otara for over 40 years.

274 CHAMPIONS

TONY JOHANSSON
 Tony Johansson is an entrepreneur in Otara. Tony runs his own fruit and veggie market 4 times a week. Otara is the heart of Tony's world and also where a generation of his family reside.

RAISING CHAMPIONS

COMMUNITY CAFE/CICI FRESH GALLERY & FALE KOPI KIOSK

EMPLOYMENT FOCUSED

- The Community Cafe provides training opportunities for young people to train as baristas, ultimately working towards the goal of being able to manage the cafe themselves.
- Fresh gallery cafe currently provides full-time employment for Joan who is a Otara local resident owning her space. CC has also seen many other young Otara residents such as Lively and Sasa with further employment opportunities.
- There are also plans to open a coffee cart in Te Puke O Tara (TPOT) to provide further employment for residents of Otara.

TALANOA AKO

PARENTAL FOCUSED

- Talanoa Ako is a 10 week education programme based in Otara that aims to equip and empower parents, families and communities with skills, knowledge and the confidence they need to champion their children's education.
- Talanoa ako is now currently on it's third week.

KAINGA TU'UMALIE IKI

FAMILY FOCUSED

- Kainga Tu'umalie means 'prosperous family'. It is an innovative faith-based programme for the prevention and restoration of Family Violence within Tongan Churches.
- KI currently work with several families in Otara and aim to work with more.

CROSSPOWER

CHILDREN FOCUSED

Sully delivers various activities such as:

- Books and bikes
- Pizza & life issue discussions
- Spelling quizzes
- 1 on 1 reading
- Street B'ball

WELLBEING

TUPU'ANGA JUNIOR YOUNG FREE OCEAN (YFO)

Tupu'anga Junior is a program focus on delivering online epi well-being for intermediate age.

While YFO is a conference that focuses on delivering positive messaging through the creative arts medium to empower young women and men of Oceania.

TRAINING & DEVELOPMENT

AW wants to offer different development courses for starting with the following:

- Budgeting
- Drivers license

LEASING BUILDINGS

AW has leased the following buildings:

- Lovegrove Crescent, Otara
- Moa Street, Otahuhu
- Laidlaw, Manukau

COMMUNITY-LED

SHARED FOCUSED PREVENTION

SUSTAINED BUDGET

MAPPING THE LANDSCAPE

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH AND LITERATURE

By drawing on current research and literature this report provides an overview of Pacific youth in Aotearoa NZ as part of the broader history of Pacific peoples migration. The review brings to light current socio-cultural challenges experienced by new generations of the Pacific diaspora living in Aotearoa and how Pacific-Indigenous cultural values can help to resolve tensions such as identity development, that is at the core of Pacific youth wellbeing. A deep dive into Gangs in Aotearoa is explored, highlighting the core element of criminality. The global influence of gangs is undeniable as is the history of NZ gangs with its impact on society. It highlights the rise of youth gangs with a specific focus on South Auckland and provides an overview of global and local gang prevention and intervention initiatives. It draws on books, publications, journal articles and grey literature to set the context of young gang prevention and intervention in Aotearoa New Zealand, within which the Affirming Works (AW) placed-based initiative is developed and situated.

PACIFIC PEOPLES HISTORY AND MIGRATION TO AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Since the 1840s Aotearoa NZ's government has aimed to build an empire including the surrounding Pacific Islands (Salesa, 2017). In the early twentieth century, Aotearoa NZ's prime minister took a party to the Pacific nations of Niue, the Cook Islands, Fiji and Tonga in hopes of annexation, succeeding with only Niue and the Cook Islands (Mackley-Crump, 2016). The events of the first World War would ignite the flame that would see the beginning influx of Pacific people moving from their homelands, to aid with the war efforts or migrate to Aotearoa NZ to aid with domestic or missionary work. During and after World War II, an increase of Pacific students migrated from Samoa, Tuvalu, Papua New Guinea, and the

Solomon Islands (Mackley-Crump, 2016). All of which would become the foundation for continually increasing migration in the following decades. The presence of Pacific people in Aotearoa NZ would grow exponentially post World War II due to the notion that New Zealand was looked upon by the Pacific people as 'the land of milk and honey' and the 'land of opportunity'. Better opportunities were available for Pacific people in the forms of education, employment, healthcare and housing (Sin & Ormsby, 2019). In the 1950s the industry and service sectors within the New Zealand economy were booming, leading to massive departures from the Pacific Islands of people with specific skills and education in search of employment (Leaupepe & Sauni; 2014, Yamamoto, 2021). This mass exodus from the Pacific Islands to Aotearoa NZ was initially welcomed due to the major effects of the Second World War, including huge reductions in the Aotearoa NZ male population thus creating labour shortages that needed to be occupied (Mackley-Crump, 2013). By 1966 the Pacific population in Aotearoa NZ numbered just over 26,000 where Niuean's, Cook Islanders, Samoans, Tongans, and Tokelauans were the main migrants and would continue to increase into the 1970s (Salesa, 2017). This population growth was especially significant in Auckland suburbs such as Otara, Mangere, Glen Innes, Otahuhu and Ponsonby (Salesa, 2017, Tanielu & Johnson, 2013). Increases of Pacific people during this period were met with great enthusiasm by the government at first, however, these attitudes shifted when economic downturn occurred. This led to a recession causing job shortages and government became strict with Pacific people overstaying on their visas (Yamamoto, 2021).

INTERGENERATIONAL IMPACT OF DAWN RAIDS

One of the most drastic actions by the government was labelled in history as the 'Dawn Raids' which caused separation of families and the displacement of many (Leaupepe & Sauni, 2014). The dawn raids began in 1974 and continued until 1980 which saw

police and immigration officers raid Pacific people's homes and checking those work visas (Asafo & Tuiburelevu, 2021). It is significant to note that prior to this the government tolerated overstayers and employers encouraged Pacific people to stay on due to low wages and demand for labour. Additionally Polynesian-looking people were stopped on the streets whether born in Aotearoa NZ or not and passport checks were conducted by the police, adding "overstayer" to the stereotype attached to Pacific Islanders. These actions were done despite the majority of overstayers being from America or the UK (Etherington, 2022; McCarthy, 2022). These actions would birth a Pacific activist group called the 'The Polynesian Panthers' dedicated to fighting against injustice, racism, and marginalization towards Pacific people in Aotearoa NZ (Yamamoto, 2021). The Polynesian Panthers along with other civil rights groups, were a central figure in the eventual stoppage of the dawn raids combined with increased media exposure and outcry from the public (Mackley-Crump, 2016; Shilliam, 2015).

In the early to mid 1980s a consistent wave of migration to Aotearoa NZ continued, but despite efforts by the government - the economy remained stagnant (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013). Jobs were disestablished where there was a high concentration of Pacific people working, and free services became monetized. This intensified into the early 1990s as another recession impacted Aotearoa NZ causing negative and long-lasting effects to the already marginalized Pacific and Māori people (Goodyear, 2017; Mackley-Crump, 2016). Despite the deteriorating state of the economy, the Pacific people firmly maintained their cultural identity through social values such as family, customs, ceremonies and church (Yamamoto, 2021). They established themselves mainly in Auckland's urban city suburbs, transforming them into Pacific environments where expressions of their culture were seen in everyday life (Salesa, 2017). The mid 1990s to early 2000s saw a new generation of Pacific people coming of age, getting married or giving birth which would see an immense population increase. There was also intermarriage within or between Pacific, Māori, and European communities. The rich history of the migration, settlement and growth of Pacific people gives insight into how the Pacific diaspora

in Aotearoa NZ began (Mackley-Crump, 2016; Sin & Ormsby, 2019).

PACIFIC PEOPLE TODAY AND THE REALITIES OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CHALLENGES

According to the 2018 New Zealand census, Pacific peoples make up 8.1% (381,642) of the total population, this is an increase from 7.4% in 2013 (New Zealand Statistics, 2018). The Pacific population in Aotearoa NZ are made up of the main ethnic groupings: Samoan, Cook Islands, Tonga, Niue, Tokelau, Tuvalu, Fiji and more recently Kiribati. It is a fast growing, youthful population where one in three births is of Pacific heritage and the median age is 22 years compared to 38 years for all New Zealanders (Ministry of Business Innovation and Enterprise [MBIE], 2015). Further, it is estimated that by 2026 Pacific peoples will be a significant proportion of the New Zealand labour force (Ministry of Business Innovation and Enterprise [MBIE], 2015). As a term "Pacific" has been used to describe peoples who have migrated to New Zealand from the Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian islands (McPherson, 2012). In the early 1970s European New Zealanders started referring to this group as the *Pacific community*, a term that has continued to this day but does not reflect the depth and breadth of diversity within the peoples of Oceania (McPherson, 2012). Currently, Pacific people have steadily increased to form a rich and diverse community with the population numbered at 381,642 according to the latest census (Statistics NZ, 2018; see also Faletutulu, 2017). They are the fourth largest ethnic group in Aotearoa NZ coming after European, Māori and Asian groups (Statistics NZ, 2013, Lilo et al., 2020). Lilo et al. (2020) identified that the Pacific population consists mainly of eight Pacific ethnic groups which comprise of: Samoan (49%), followed by Cook Island Māori (21%), Tongan (20%), Niuean (8%), Fijian (5%), Tokelauan (2%), Tuvaluan (1%) and Kiribati (0.7%). Most Pacific people reside in the North Island (92.9%) and the main concentration of this population is found in Auckland (65.9%) (Statistics NZ, 2013, Aumua & Tominiko, 2016). With thirty percent residing in Mangere, Otara, and Manukau (Ryan et al., 2019). The Pacific population is growing and youthful with the median age being

23.4 years old compared to the general Aotearoa NZ population median age of 34 years old (Statistics NZ, 2018; Thomsen et al., 2018). The Ministry of Pacific People (2013) reported that Pacific people under 20 years of age made up 46.1% of the total Pacific population and 54.9% are younger than 25 years old. Pacific people face greater financial and housing challenges than NZ Europeans (Ryan et al., 2019) with Pacific people earning 34% lower incomes than the national average, and only 21.8% of the Pacific population owning their own homes compared with the national average of 53.2% (Aumua & Tominiko, 2016). These socioeconomic issues faced by Pacific people has impacted negatively on their lives here in Aotearoa NZ such as poor education outcomes and higher unemployment rates (Aumua & Tominiko, 2016).

PACIFIC YOUTH, IDENTITY AND PACIFIC-INDIGENOUS CULTURAL VALUES

Pacific youth that are NZ-born live in diasporic communities and forming their identity can be challenging for them. This challenge is due to Pacific values and behaviours contrasting with the dominant European culture in Aotearoa NZ (Ioane, 2017). Therefore, Pacific youth can have complicated identities and experiences which involve both the relational self and the egocentric self (Fa'alau, 2016). Identity formation is even more difficult for Pacific youth due to the numerous settings they live in as Manuela & Anae (2017) stated "Pacific youth in New Zealand grow up in a variety of cultural, social and environmental settings and the concepts of health, mental health and well-being in Aotearoa NZ society are diverse and complex" (p. 141). Their research indicates that Pacific youth reach a crisis point when negotiating complex identities and environments according to socioeconomic indicators, mental health, and unintentional/intentional risk-taking statistics (Manuela & Anae, 2017).

Some of the risk statistics that Pacific youth are represented in are poor education, family violence, poverty, and antisocial peers (Ioane & Lambie, 2016). For example, in education Pacific youth are leaving high school with minimal qualifications and few gain university entrance. At the university level

Pacific student dropout rates are high, completion of a qualification takes longer which all reduce chances of higher education and employment opportunities (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2014). Pacific children's exposure to family violence is increasing (NZ Human Rights Commission, 2020) which negatively impacts Pacific youth's relationships with parents, normalizes abusive behaviour and negatively impacts their health and well-being (Ministry of Social Development, 2019). Moreover, Māori and Pacific youth are more vulnerable to the effects of poverty which is related to under-achievement in education (Farruggia et al., 2013). Knowing the risks that Pacific youth are confronted with, **support is needed around strengthening the identities of Pacific youth in the Aotearoa NZ context.** This is crucial to ensuring they become healthy adults that feel like they belong and are accepted in their communities (Ataera-Minster & Trowland, 2018). Additionally, Pacific youth need to be taught a balancing of numerous roles and values with their identities as being Pacific in Aotearoa NZ to establish a sense of belonging within their cultures (Ataera-Minster & Trowland, 2018). To ensure the health sector and the wider Aotearoa NZ achieve positive health and well-being outcomes for Pacific people. Pacific cultural values are needed to be identified, understood, and implemented (Manuela, 2021).

DEVELOPING IDENTITY WITHIN PACIFIC YOUTH

The strengthening of healthy identities within Pacific youth is imperative to ameliorate the negative impacts of living within a westernized Aotearoa NZ while having contradicting Pacific Blues. Tautolo et al. (2020) highlights in their research that Pacific youth that engage with their ethnic identity, experience a greater sense of belonging, self-esteem and wellbeing. Fostering these identities is done through the role of family which emphasizes key values like collectivism and cohesion (Alefai, 2007; Havea et al., 2021). The collective make-up of Pacific families encourages Pacific youth that their identity and sense of belonging is formed through interpersonal relationships within the home. Additionally, having cohesive family relationships develops a strong, healthy and positive ethnic identity that provides

stability for Pacific youth (Alefaio, 2007). Pacific youth that have families that model cohesion and collectivism provide protection from poor performance in school, social exclusion and unemployment. However, if families do not provide these crucial values, then gang membership and involvement become an attractive alternative for Pacific youth (Nahkid et al., 2009; Macpherson, 2004). Further cementing the fact that Pacific youth need their identities strengthened and sense of belonging fostered through family. Alefaio (2007) writes Pacific families can be supported to achieve these aims through mentors and role models which can be found within church or wider community. These extended support structures can emphasize the importance of Pacific cultural values and help show Pacific youth how to live them out in Aotearoa NZ.

PACIFIC CULTURAL VALUES

Pacific people share similar values that form their identities and societies (Cammock et al., 2021, Kapeli et al. 2021). Values of collectivism, family obligation, and respect of elders are common among Pacific cultures (Havea et. al, 2021). Additionally, the Tapasā: Cultural Competencies Framework and Pasifika Education Plan identified respect, leadership, family, reciprocal relationships, belonging, and spirituality as important cultural values to Pacific students (Averill et al., 2020, Ministry of Education, 2018, Ministry of Education, 2013). A study by Tautolo et al. (2020) explored conceptualisations of success by Pacific parents living in New Zealand. They found the most important factors of success to be connection with God, embracing cultural identity (including speaking their ancestral language), supportive familial relationships, and communication. These factors of a successful family reflect the collectivist nature of Pacific culture. Family is not only a key cultural value, but the family unit is a crucial institution for Pacific people which includes extended family, villages, and churches (Matenga-Ikihele et al., 2021). Tautolo et al. (2020, p.217) state that a Pacific family “considers the important notion of ‘proximity of contact’, meaning the physical location and closeness of immediate and extended family households as integral to Pacific ideologies of family.”

As an example of Pacific values, Fa’alau (2016) described Fa’a Samoa (Samoan culture) as collectivist, hierarchical, and gerontocratic. Samoan youths are expected to respect, listen to, obey, and learn from adults. Responsibilities and contribution to family is a value central to the cohesiveness of Samoan ‘*aiga* (families) (Fa’alau 2016). Similarly, Havea et. al (2021) emphasised the importance of addressing the family together in a Tongan violence prevention program and pointed out the importance of utilizing Christian values within the program. “Christianity is now central to conceptualizations of Pacific cultural worldviews and is inseparable from Tongan and Pacific ways of knowing, being, and conducting relationships with others” (p.84, see also Fa’alau & Wilson, 2020)

These cultural values are integral to Pacific people identities, ways of life and worldviews (Huffer, 2017). However, Pacific values can result in difficulties when immigrant families adapt to the less hierarchical, more individualistic, and meritocratic institutions in Aotearoa NZ (Fa’alau, 2016). Empirical studies also suggest that these values can influence the mental well-being of Pacific individuals. Kapeli et al. (2021) found that individuals were more likely to experience psychological distress if there were differences in how much they valued community, family, land, culture, and spirituality (see also Fa’alau & Wilson, 2020). For example, individuals who valued family and land highly, but not culture, spirituality, and community. Similarly, tensions can arise within families due to the collectivist values of the parents in contrast to the individualistic experiences that the children are having within schools and other institutions (Fa’alau, 2016). In a study by Lautua & Tiatia (2022) 82% of participants believed that their conceptualisation of and belief in God helped them maintain mental wellbeing. Their beliefs about their relationship with God also appeared to be related to their relationships with others. Additionally, Fa’alau (2016) argues that maintaining family relationships around Samoan values is a key factor in the wellbeing of Samoans. Therefore, it is vital that youth at risk of involvement with gangs are given opportunities to strengthen their family and community ties and reconnect with Pacific cultural values.

GANGS IN AOTEAROA NZ

The definition of gangs has been debated in literature, but often uses criminality as a fundamental criterion (Wegerhof et al., 2019). Tamatea (2015) emphasises that this lack of clear definition is problematic due to the significant attention and resources that gangs draw from law enforcement worldwide. This lack of definition can result in policies which penalise gang association rather than criminal behaviour and undermines the development of a theory of gangs which could otherwise lead to more effective interventions. Wegerhof et al. (2019) criticise theories which use criminality in defining gangs as “the resulting theories amount to: criminal groups cause crime. Yet such a ‘revelation’ offers little value to practice” (p. 59). Defining gangs categorically based on criteria is flawed as it will always be either overly exclusive or overly inclusive, and criminality is a problematic criterion because it is based on the subjective social construct of laws and crime (Wegerhof et al., 2019). Gilbert (2013) also runs into the problem of definitions when describing newly formed gangs, and groups like Hell’s Angels because despite their importance and influence in NZ gang history - they lack overt criminality. A more objective approach of viewing gangs as social groups which allows better insights into their behaviour is proposed. For explanatory purposes, a three-tiered analysis (3-analysis) should be used rather than a strict *definition when defining gangs*. The tiers of 3-analysis are: **“listing examples of the phenomenon, describing common features of the examples, and explaining the common features, to generate an in-depth description of a phenomenon rather than a categorical definition.** For example,

- Tier one: Mongrel Mob, Black Power, Youth groups: e.g., YMCA and Boy Scouts etc.
- Tier two: two or more individuals, members interact with the shared understanding that they are a group and behave in a manner showing commitment to the group etc.
- Tier three: “...theories may include those relating to: cooperation and competition; reciprocity; conflict resolution; and social identity”; “... theories relating to: group structure; conformity, obedience to authority, deindividuation”

(Wegerhof et al, 2019, p.62)

By viewing gangs in this way and investigating similarities and differences between gangs and other social groups they can be understood as sharing characteristics with socially accepted groups. Thus, the emphasis should be on understanding where they differ and which elements give rise to their problematic behaviours (Wegerhof et al., 2019). **The emphasis needs to be on understanding gangs in order to effectively help the members and their families, rather than to otherize and criminalise them categorically** (Tamatea, 2015).

GLOBAL INFLUENCE

Research on gangs in Aotearoa NZ is scarce, and what is currently available is largely due to the extensive work of Jarrod Gilbert. One of his largest contributions has been his book ‘Patched: The History of Gangs in New Zealand’ (Gilbert, 2013). This book and other works of Gilbert’s have been drawn on extensively in the literature including government publications on gangs in Aotearoa NZ (e.g. Bellamy, 2022; Bradley, 2022; Ministry of Social Development, 2008; Tamatea, 2015). Gilbert conducted ethnographic and participant observation research with various gangs and commented in the preface of his 2013 book that “the relative dearth of research on New Zealand gangs means this study has had to be constructed largely from scratch” (p.ix). Gilbert is a senior lecturer at Canterbury University, and is consulted by media and government organisations as an expert on NZ gangs (e.g., Newbold, 2017). The historical and gang content of this literature review is largely based on Gilbert’s (2013) work, and whilst relevant should be reviewed in light of its timing given it is now a decade on.

Gangs have existed in Aotearoa NZ from as early as the 1840s, when gang members were transported to Aotearoa NZ from Parkhurst Prison in England (Gilbert, 2013). However, the size and structure of these gangs has continuously changed since then. There was no systematic study of these early gangs, and little is known about them (Gilbert, 2013). In the 1950s, a rebellious youth culture saw an increase in crimes, and loosely structured gangs arose, many of which were only active for a brief time (Gilbert, 2013). The 1950s economic boom

meant that it was easy for youth to find unskilled jobs which paid well, therefore youth were free to engage in gang activities at the expense of their job as they could always find alternative employment. Much of the 1950s gang culture in Aotearoa NZ was inspired by American music and movies, for example 'Black Denim Trousers and Motorcycle Boots' by Cheers, and 'The Wild One' (1954) a film inspired by biker gang events at Hollister, California. This type of content was banned from broadcasting in NZ as it was viewed as a corrupting influence (Gilbert, 2013). In 1961 Jim Carrico from America formed Hells Angels in NZ, based on Hells Angels in San Francisco with which he was associated (Gilbert, 2013). The group identified as a motorcycle enthusiast club rather than a gang and were known to aid members of the public through services such as roadside assistance. Hells Angels brought with it the organizational elements of the American group such as having a president, rules, membership fees and fines, prerequisites for memberships, and iconically, patches for group identification. Most NZ gang subcultures are built upon these features introduced by Hell's Angels Auckland. By the late 1960's influential films and books were published about the American Hell's Angels which further inspired the development and style of new motorcycle gangs. Many of the gangs formed during this period are still in existence. The formation of multiple gangs resulted in tensions and violence between gangs escalating from individual altercations to large group brawls (Gilbert, 2013).

In the 1990's youths particularly in South Auckland began mimicking LA-style street gangs, for example one group was reported in the *New Zealand Herald* to have been wearing bandanas and referring to themselves as the 'Tongan Crip Gang' (Gilbert, 2013). While many of the newer LA-style gangs are independent from existing Aotearoa NZ gangs, many have become associated with patched gangs. For example, youths with association to Mongrel mob wear red while those associated with Black Power wear blue, and the Killer Beez founded in South Auckland under the Tribesmen wear yellow (Gilbert, 2013). The LA-style gang is highly influenced by hip-hop and rap music. Many famous rap artists have been involved in gang violence, and famously Tupac Shakur and Christopher 'Biggie Smalls' Wallace were killed in 1996 and 1997 in

drive-by shootings, increasing the notoriety and youth appeal of gangs (Gilbert, 2013). "Glamorised violence and an emphasis on ostentatious wealth – typically, achieved via crime – is a potential driver of New Zealand's developing youth gang culture; and something that sets these gangs apart from the early formation of the traditional patched street gangs." (Gilbert, 2013, p. 257).

HISTORY OF NZ GANGS AND THE SOCIETAL IMPACT

During the 1950s gangs were predominantly European, however with the movement of Māori from rural areas to the urban environment, and the government encouraging immigration from the Pacific islands to fill labour shortages, the gang demographics changed from the 1960s onward to be dominated by Māori (Gilbert, 2013). Gangs tended to develop in newly urbanized areas which lacked community facilities (Gilbert, 2013). Throughout the 60's the public perception in NZ was initially favourable towards Hell's Angels, however they became notorious for unruly parties, rebellion against the authorities and violence (Gilbert, 2013). The police were proactive and heavy handed in targeting Hell's Angels (Gilbert, 2013). From delivering heavy charges for minor offenses to police brutality, the reaction of police and government to Hell's Angels was a major factor in consolidating their sentiment of rebellion to authority (Gilbert, 2013).

In Hawkes Bay and Wellington, the Mongrel Mob was formed as a predominantly European street gang. They were much less structured than Hell's Angels and more extreme in their violence and antisocial acts (Gilbert, 2013). Initiation involved fighting to prove their capabilities, and over time the gang introduced a law known as 'mongrelism' as well as a symbol, a salute, and a call to identify themselves (Gilbert, 2013). Through these developments the Mongrel Mob created a subculture. By the early 1970's due to the internal migration of Māori towards urban centres, gang membership became dominated by Māori rather than European. Gang attitudes were accepting of diverse cultures, as they valued attributes like loyalty and strength rather than education, wealth, or social standing (Gilbert, 2013). Once the

government encouraged immigration from Pacific islands to alleviate labourer shortages, Pacific islanders became involved in gangs especially in South Auckland (Gilbert, 2013). Gang membership in Aotearoa NZ has seen growth from 1980s to 1990s, followed by a decline (Bellamy, 2022). However, currently gang membership has been increasing since 2010, with a significant rise in gang membership following the deportation of gang members from Australia in 2012 leading to the establishment of new gangs (Bellamy, 2022). In April 2022, it was reported that 77% of gang members in New Zealand identified as Māori, while 12% identified as European, and 9% as Pacific Islanders (Bellamy, 2022). However, an accurate count gang membership is not available and there are some problems with the Police National Gang List. For example, it is easier to confirm an individual is a gang member than it is to confirm they are no longer gang affiliated, resulting in inflated numbers (Bellamy, 2022). There is also the problem of whether to include only initiated gang members or also associates, and gang prospects (Bellamy, 2022).

Most gangs currently present in Aotearoa NZ have their origins in the rebellious youth culture of the 1960's and 1970's (Gilbert, 2013). This places opposition to authority as one of the common characteristics of many gangs (Tamatea, 2015). Historically this has caused issues with police expending disproportionate resources attempting to quash gang activity, which has led to ongoing rivalry between gangs and police (Gilbert, 2013). Currently Aotearoa NZ has a complex gang issue that involves social, economic and justice issues which is creating a disproportionate amount of harm to society of Aotearoa NZ (Schlemmer, 2014). In the 1990's gangs became increasingly profit driven especially through the drug trade, which has also impacted communities (Gilbert, 2013). For example, The New Zealand Drug Harm Index 2016 estimated the harm to families of drug users nationwide to be 437.5 million dollars (McFadden Consultancy, 2016). Due to lack of research in Aotearoa NZ, this number was largely based on a study in Norway, however it gives an indication of the impact of illicit drug use on friends and family. Additionally, drug use causes personal harm, and impacts the community through drug related crime and deployment of community resources

(McFadden Consultancy, 2016). Aotearoa NZ Police are concerned about the number of gang members being deported from Australia over the last four years as their presence adds to the illegal drug trade and increases gang violence (Biddle, 2019). The Aotearoa NZ government and police have used suppression tactics through legislation to discourage gang membership and activities (Hipkins & Allan, 2022). However, this has contributed to intergenerational mistrust within Pacific communities towards police as there has been historical misuse of power in events such as the dawn raids (Donovan, 2021). As an example, Donovan (2021) writes that "Many young men in South Auckland have a story about being unfairly or arbitrarily targeted by police". (p.21) Faleolo (2016) discussed four areas that are impacted by gang activity within Samoa (but many of these will translate to the Pacific Island communities in NZ). These are social, economic, political, cultural. According to Faleolo (2016), when youth engage in gang activity, they bring a sense of shame to their immediate and extended family which causes a social strain. Economic costs for the family of a gang member include court fines and legal fees, hospital costs and costs for social services to support them. The cultural impacts for these youth are that *fa'a Samoa* is replaced with gang culture and identity. The political strain discussed was referring to Samoa. Faleolo (2016) mentioned that policies in Samoa were not robust enough to deal with gang issues. However, this is also true for New Zealand as Anti-social behaviour and violence (sometimes resulting in death) particularly between rival gangs has challenged the extent of policies, legislation, and enforcement (Gilbert, 2013). The persistence and robustness of gangs signifies that further efforts are required to properly understand and address the underlying issues. Effective policies are needed rather than increasing penalties for gang members and families and feeding further into the long-term marginalisation of gangs (McConnell, 2022). This is highlighted by Gilbert (2013):

Just as the rise of the patched gangs highlighted certain social and economic problems, so too does the rise of these new types of gangs. The gangs of the 1960s and 1970s arose out of social instability caused by rapid urbanisation; whereas recent LA-style gang formation has been driven by entrenched intergenerational poverty. (p. 293-294)

The Ministry of Social Development (2008) identified the following factors leading to gang activity and delinquency: Belonging to a community of economic deprivation (see also Gilbert, 2013). Those who have migrated to urban areas from rural areas and lost wider whanau or village support (see also Gilbert 2013). Disengagement of parents due to working long hours, lack of time and energy to engage with children (this arises from difficulties in adapting to parenting in an urban environment). Financial stress such as debt with high interest rates. Lack of engagement with services due to unawareness, lack of trust, and shame or pride (Ministry of Social Development (2008). Early studies in gangs found that 40% of gang members come from single parent homes (Gilbert, 2013). NZ mainstream media portrayals of gangs are overwhelmingly negative and have been for the last several decades. Bull (2017) discusses how media reports can influence crime rates, and contribute to the racialisation of crime, for example by stressing the Māori identity of criminals. She discussed media sensationalising reports on gang crimes and solidifying the association between gangs and criminality in the public mind. Bull (2017) also noted that minorities portrayed as stereotypically criminal in the media may be influenced to live up to the stereotype. As an example of media influence, Bull (2017) notes that due to Europeanisation and the efforts of Christian missionaries, the practice of wearing *moko* (facial tattoos) nearly ceased in the 1920s. However, during the decolonization efforts of the late 20th century, gang members were among the first to reembrace the *moko*. However, due to public perceptions, media portrayal, and the incorporation of gang motifs within the *moko*, this associated gangs with being Māori in the public mind rather than with social justice and decolonisation (Bull, 2017).

Aotearoa NZ gangs have become sophisticated organisations which offer benefits to their members primarily through mutual support of members (Gilbert, 2013). They may also feature clubhouses, organise recreational and community events, and provide employment opportunities both legal and illegal, including the trading of drugs (Gilbert, 2013). Tamatea (2015) discussed the difficulties of individuals with a gang history reintegrating into mainstream society. This could be through factors such as difficulty in finding

employment, or pressure and threats from the gang to discourage leaving. Gang members wanting to integrate into mainstream society can face alienation due to 'triple prejudice' against their ethnicity, socio-economic status, and anti-sociality (Tamatea, 2015).

SOUTH AUCKLAND GANGS AND THE PACIFIC COMPARISON WITH FAMILY

A Ministry of Social Development (2008) report described four types of youth gangs in counties Manukau. They labelled and differentiated them as follows:

1. Wannabes – Not an organised gang, similar dress and hand signs to gangs, may be involved in petty crime (not necessarily group organised), often mistaken for gang members. Likely to be the majority of South Auckland youth “gang” members.
2. Territorial gang – More organized than wannabes, maintain territorial boundaries, may be involved in opportunistic crime.
3. Unaffiliated criminal youth gang – Not associated with any adult gang, characterized by overt criminal intent for their own benefit. Highly organized.
4. Affiliated criminal youth gang – Is related to or under an adult gang, may have familial relationships with adult gang members, organized around criminal intent, may commit crimes on behalf of adult gangs. If apprehended, members discharged as minors.

The organization of youth gangs is fluid, and they often morph into other levels of gang organization, either becoming more organized and more overtly crime oriented, or becoming less organized or even disbanding (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). In 2018 there were reportedly 70 gangs with approximately 1000 members within South Auckland, though this number constantly fluctuates (Newbold & Taonui, 2011). Some Pacific youth gangs notable enough to have been mentioned within literature include Killer Beez, Bud Smoking Thugs, Troublesome, Black Power Youth, Junior Cripp Boys, Bloods, and Respect Samoan Pride

(Bellamy, 2019; Newbold & Taonui, 2011). In 2007, the Killer Beez established a record label, Colourway Records, which released songs and music videos promoting and representing their gang (Gilbert, 2013). According to the New Zealand Companies Register the record label has been officially defunct since 25 Feb 2014 (New Zealand Companies Office, 2023). However, this record label demonstrates how gangs use methods which are appealing to youth to promote themselves. The Ministry of Social Development (2008, see also Schlemmer, 2014) Identified several motivators for youth in South Auckland to join gangs. Gangs can act as a surrogate for families. There are opportunities for financial gain through illegal activities like robbery or drug dealing. Youth may gain status among their peers. Gangs offer a sense of security to members as they will fight to protect or retaliate for each other. Youth may be peer pressured into joining gangs, or actively prospected by adult gangs. Youth may feel bored and lack legal and healthy activities to engage in. They could be looking for excitement. Being out of school for a prolonged period is also a risk factor (The Ministry of Social Development, 2008). Additionally, youth may develop a sense of identity through gang activities (Schlemmer, 2014).

Aotearoa NZ's gangs share rebellion to authority and loyalty to the group as fundamental principles (Gilbert, 2013). However, they may have contrasting values, organisational features, and philosophies. For example, Hell's Angels and Black Power may be considered comparatively prosocial, with Hell's Angels initially engaging in activities like roadside assistance, and Black Power being associated with social justice (Gilbert, 2013). However, even the Mongrel Mob which initially was founded around violence and the reversal of social norms now promote family values (Gilbert 2013). "New Zealand gangs are forms of community with norms, values, processes and practices that possess an internal logic that is understood by members" (Tamatea 2015, para. 7).

Pacific youth from South Auckland were interviewed with a specific focus on gangs, family, and community (Nahkid et al, 2009). The study found that youth in gangs tend to see gangs as part of their family or as an alternative to their family. With participants reporting according to their gang, their immediate family comes first, and the gang

family second. One youth compared the gang members to their own family where members of the family work different careers or serve different roles in the family, but all contribute to the whole. One key difference between these two "families" is that while the youth may only see their parents and siblings briefly each day before and after work or school, they spend much of their time with their gang family on the streets. Additionally, if the youth find themselves in trouble due to their own poor decisions, they anticipate being judged and punished by their families, but trust that their gang family will come to their aid unconditionally. Some families estrange their children who have joined gangs, which may consolidate familial feelings towards the gang (Nahkid et al., 2009).

PACIFIC YOUTH GANGS IN RELATION TO FAMILY VIOLENCE

It is widely accepted that family violence is a problem in Aotearoa New Zealand. Family violence is a broad term which encompasses different types of violence that takes place within a setting of a family and extends beyond what is normally associated with the term – intimate partner violence (IPV) (Fa'alau & Wilson, 2020). This also includes child abuse, child neglect, intimate partner violence (IPV) and elder abuse. There is a wide range of behaviour associated with family violence including: physical, sexual and psychological abuse which may lead to fear, intimidation and emotional problems within familial relationships (Fa'alau & Wilson, 2020). For Pacific communities, it is important to note that the concept of family is not limited to a nuclear family but extends to all relationships that fulfil the function of family (Peteru, 2012). Peteru (2012) gives examples of such relationships as being those within extended families, or perhaps even between friends and de-facto villages which were created in New Zealand – churches. Family violence is a longstanding problem in Aotearoa NZ, family violence deaths made up between 31% to 47% of all homicides and related offences, reported from 2009 to 2015 (Ministry of Social Development, 2019). In other words, 194 people lost their lives to family violence during this time – 92 deaths were caused by IPV; 56 deaths were due to child abuse and neglect; and 46 were a result of intra-familial violence.

Family violence is a permeating issue for Pacific people. Even in studies that do not directly address the issue of family violence, it is a present factor. One example was found within the context of the Pacific Islands Families (PIF) longitudinal study, which follows a cohort of Pacific babies born during 2000 in Auckland, New Zealand. The sample that was used included 915 mothers and 698 fathers, of which 674 were couples. In this study, it was found that 85% of these individuals were either perpetrators or victims of verbal aggression, whereas 37% were perpetrators or victims of IPV (Schluter et al, 2017). This can also be seen in relation to studies dealing with issues regarding violent deaths, protection orders and incarcerated people (Fa'alau & Wilson, 2020).

Currently, the amount of family violence cases which the New Zealand Police deal with each year is steadily increasing. In the year ending 2020, the New Zealand Police reported that of all the 204,777 charges finalised in court, 15% (30,177 charges) were family violence offences and 85% (174,600 charges) were for other types of offences. The number of family violence charges in 2019/2020 increased by 5% compared to 2018/2019 (from 28,616 to 30,177 charges), despite the overall number of charges decreasing by 4%. It is clear, that family violence is an issue which is still prevalent within Aotearoa NZ and Pacific peoples are disproportionately represented in the statistics. This means despite being a relatively small proportion of New Zealand's population (8.1%), New Zealand Police in 2019/2020 report Pacific make up 11% (1,436) of those charged with family violence offences (13,358). These statistics highlight the alarming impact of family violence for Pacific peoples and is reflected in the burden of crisis-response many Pacific organisations such as AW experience on the ground. We highlight the overarching challenge of family violence for Pacific communities as within and alongside this sits the prevalence of youth gang and the need for effective prevention and intervention.

GANG CULTURE IN THE PACIFIC

It is common for Pacific families who migrate to New Zealand to fear that their children have lost a sense of their culture. When families are struggling,

and youth become involved in gangs, this can lead to parents sending their children back to the islands. The intent is that their extended family can instil cultural values in them and improve their behaviour (Faleolo, 2016). However, this often does not go according to the parents' intentions and has led to the spreading of gang culture from Aotearoa to the islands (Faleolo, 2016). For example, many youths who were sent back to Samoa experienced bullying at school there, which led them to further reject their identity as Samoan. Causing them to get into fights or befriend bullies by engaging in drinking and trading marijuana, or by recruiting a crew and spreading gang culture to Samoa (Faleolo, 2016). This was summarised by Faleolo (2016) as follows:

What they learned about being a Sāmoan in Sāmoa is that it is no different from being a Sāmoan in South Auckland. They took what got them into trouble in New Zealand to Sāmoa, from the street to the village and in the process transferred youth gang culture from New Zealand to Sāmoa (p. 60).

GANGS AND THE SOCIETAL IMPACT

GANG PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

Globally there have been numerous efforts through both prevention and intervention strategies that engage with gangs especially in Australia and the United States of America (USA). We have listed a few of these strategies below with a brief description of each one.

AUSTRALIA

The Queensland Police (QPS) and the Queensland Corrective Services have an intervention programme called 'Exit' where adult ex-gang members in Queensland that desire to cease involvement with outlaw motorcycle gangs (OMCG) (Queensland Police, n.d.). The QPS have also combined services with the National Anti-Gangs Squad (NAGS) to complement the 'Exit' programme where they provide an intervention strategy that showcases an online video series where family members that have been affected by OMCG as well as ex-gang members share their stories (Queensland Police, n.d.)

In New South Wales (NSW) there are over 66 Police Citizens Youth Clubs (PCYC) - a youth organisation that partners with the NSW Police to focus on early prevention to prevent and disrupt crime (Police Citizens Youth Clubs NSW, n.d.). The PCYC work with at-risk youth to break cycles of disadvantage through crime prevention, education and social responsibility programs to bring about positive life outcomes such as returning to education or preparing for employment (Police Citizens Youth Clubs NSW, n.d.).

USA

Sweeten et al. (2013) investigated crime desistance after leaving gangs in America, by analysing statistics relating to gang membership and criminality. They found that disengagement from gangs decreases criminality, however this is indirect. Group membership is not as important as group embeddedness, and there is a lengthy process of disengaging from gangs rather than a single event.

Sweeten et al. (2013) described various influences which reduce criminality. Disengagement from gangs can reduce criminal offences through spending more time with non-gang members such as family or spouses. Negative experiences from gang activities can deter individuals from persisting in risky behaviours. Gang members may also mature in ways that change their perspective on gang related activities. Sweeten et al. (2013) state gang membership is not necessarily criminal, however it results in social and situational influences that increase the probability of criminal offences.

The National Gang Center (NGC) is a project that engages and empowers local communities in the USA who encounter gang problems that are both chronic and emerging (National Gang Center, n.d. b). The NGC provides information, knowledge and outcome-driven practice that prevent gang violence, reduce gang involvement and suppress gang-related crimes which is done through strategies such as the Comprehensive Gang Model or the Gang Resistance Education and Training programme (G.R.E.A.T) (National Gang Center, n.d. a). The G.R.E.A.T. model is a framework that implements five core strategies to reduce the number of youths joining gangs: Community

mobilization, opportunities provision, social intervention, suppression, organizational change and development (National Gang Center, n.d. a). The NGC has been a huge support in providing resources to other gang prevention organisations nationwide in the USA, and individual cities have also been using a variety of strategies to prevent violence and gang recruitment of youth (Jennings-Bay et al., 2015).

In Denver, Colorado the Gang Rescue and Support Project (GRASP) is an intervention strategy that utilises peer groups modelled after Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) to facilitate interventions for youth affiliated with gangs (GRASP n.d. a). GRASP has a programme called Support/Healing circles where peers, staff and former gang members meet in an informal and educational group setting, to talk about issues that youth face within gang lifestyles (GRASP, n.d. b). In Chicago they implement a similar peer group model through the Cabrini Green Youth Programme (CGYP) which has now become the Chicago Youth Programmes (CYP) and the heart of what they do is improve the health and life opportunities of at-risk youth (Chicago Youth Programmes, n.d.).

Second Chances is another youth gang prevention programme that provides potential and current gang members with opportunities to witness a dramatization of a gunshot victim (Hughes et al., 2012). It is implemented as a group intervention held at the trauma resuscitation unit in the emergency department in North Carolina (Hughes et al., 2012).

Other gang prevention programmes in the USA provide more of a holistic approach by focusing on forming community groups to work together rather than individuals. Such as the Contra County Prevention Program implemented in Northern California, the Pulling Levers Intervention in Indianapolis, and the SAFER Project in Langley Park, Maryland, the little Village Gang Violence Reduction Project, and the Ceasefire reduction programme which are both in Chicago (Hughes et al., 2012).

NZ PREVENTION PROGRAMMES/ INTERVENTIONS

Since the early 1970s reports and strategies were developed in response to gangs in Aotearoa NZ due to them becoming a significant social problem (Tamatea, 2017). The increasing levels of youth crime became the social problem which was caused by social factors such as mass urbanisation of Pacific people and high unemployment levels (Polynesian Youth Forum, 1972). Reports and strategies of the 1970s, framed gangs as a consequence of socioeconomic factors such as poor education, which overlooked spatial and individual factors thus limiting their effectiveness (Tamatea, 2017). The government's most recent report (Office of the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor, 2023) addressed many of these social factors which significantly contribute to gang involvement. It also highlighted prevention as the most ideal strategy, and a pressing need for the improvement of intervention to be more effective:

Early intervention delivered within trusting, respectful relationships and that incorporates the wider whānau will help to support sustained change. We know that taking action with children and young people (up to 25 years) for the purposes of developmental crime prevention can make a significant difference in life course outcomes. And specific to NZ, interventions must be culturally informed and adapted. We can do much better here (Office of the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor, 2023, p. 94)

Strategies that have had the intention to reduce or eliminate problems associated with youth gangs over the years are grouped into three categories: prevention, intervention, and suppression (Bellamy, 2019). These strategies and interventions in Aotearoa NZ are facilitated by the Ministry of Social Development, NZ Police, Churches, and non-government organizations (NGOs) such as Affirming Works.

MINISTRY FOR PACIFIC PEOPLES

The Ministry for Pacific Peoples (2022) introduced the All-of-Government Pacific Wellbeing Strategy to promote wellbeing among the Pacific community in New Zealand through addressing the systems (especially government systems) which result in

inequalities Pacific people. This strategy is based upon the notion that the systems in place in New Zealand disproportionately challenge the wellbeing of Pacific People. "...Pacific peoples experience social and economic disadvantage that keeps repeating. When we see this happening, it tells us that there is something wrong with the system that we have created, and not with the people" (The Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2022, p.11). The strategy seeks cooperation across the various government sectors to bolster education, employment, housing, and Pacific languages spoken among Pacific People.

MSD

The Ministry of Social Development (MSD) know their role is to bring support to those in need however they recognise they cannot achieve this goal alone. Instead, they work and partner with community and NGOs to ensure New Zealanders are given the care they need (Ministry of Social Development, 2020). For example, MSD has been involved in gang prevention with such strategies as the 'Start at Home' community pilot programme focused on the reduction of negative social harm related with gang membership and to improve the social outcomes of individuals, whanau, and communities (Ministry of Social Development, 2018). As well MSD approved 66 grants via E Tū Whānau (E Tū Whānau, n.d.) to various community groups that work with people that are high-risk such as gang-affiliated families. Additionally, MSD provided funding via Pasefika Proud (Pasefika Proud, n.d. a) to give Pacific providers that help families in need (Ministry of Social Development, 2020).

POLICE

Carr & Tam (2013) explain that the main strategy employed by NZ Police and numerous government agencies was one of suppression, which resulted in a 'zero tolerance' policy when dealing with gangs. NZ Police were also given additional powers to monitor, arrest and separate gang members (Carr & Tam, 2013). However, this suppression strategy which uses law and order to counteract gangs has been largely unsuccessful (Lambie, 2018). According to Lambie (2018), the focus should be on seeing gang membership as being related to

various social factors and having a community-coordinated intervention that brings government and community agencies into collaboration with one another. The NZ Police in 2022 refreshed the 'Gang Harm Insights Centre' (GHIC), a multi-agency unit which supports the government's strategic response to harm caused by organized crime with a focus on New Zealand Adult Gangs (NZAG). The purpose of the GHIC is to provide a holistic understanding of harm caused by, to, and within NZAG (New Zealand Police, n.d.).

CHURCHES

There was no literature that looked at Aotearoa NZ church programmes for gangs however there has been many news articles highlighting churches work in this area. Such as a motorcycle ministry called the 'Passionate Sons' in Christchurch and Taranaki helps former gang members or addicts turn their life around to loving each other, sharing the gospel of Jesus and discipleship (Anderson, 2021). Luke Bowler the founder of the ministry states he started the ministry to help others who came from a past like his (drugs, partying and gang life) and those who struggled to connect with traditional support agencies (Anderson, 2021). Similarly, 'The Redeemed' is a Born-Again Christian motorcycle ministry in Auckland (Tagata Pasifika, 2011).

Destiny's Church provide a service called 'Man Up Tu Tangata' for men and its counterpart 'Legacy' for women where individuals are provided a non-judgmental space to talk about their issues (Elers et al., 2021). Although this service does not specifically focus on gangs it has had former gang members participate and change their lives around (Destiny Church, n.d.).

NGOS

Our search for NGOs in Aotearoa NZ that provided gang prevention and interventions was extremely limited. One NGO 'Mana' provides a gang prevention programme that target high-risk youth by providing compelling alternative experiences that are culturally relevant (Mana Services Aotearoa Limited, n.d.). Aside from Mana and Affirming works, it is likely that other NGOs are also involved in gang prevention but do not have an online presence.

SUMMARY

Aotearoa NZ gang culture originates primarily with Pakeha youth and was (and still is) spread via American media such as music, books, and movies (Gilbert, 2013). Gang culture quickly spread to Māori and later to Pacific People in Aotearoa NZ. Gangs have served functions in communities such as legal and illegal employment, providing venues, and organising events (Gilbert, 2013; Schlemmer, 2014). However, they also have negative impacts such as trading illegal drugs, putting a strain on government resources, and facilitating violence, and replacing cultural community values with antisocial gang culture (McFadden Consultancy, 2016; Gilbert, 2013; Faleolo, 2016). A 2018 approximation states 70 gangs with 1000 members in South Auckland, where most Pacific gang members are located (Newbold & Taonui, 2011).

There are several factors mentioned across the literature which contribute to Pacific youth joining gangs. The Pacific population collectively make up the fourth largest ethnic group in Aotearoa NZ (Statistics NZ, 2013, Lilo et al., 2020). They face socioeconomic challenges compared with pakeha, such as lower employment rates, worse education outcomes, and housing challenges (Ryan et al., 2019). Many of these challenges have been contributed to by the historical negative attitudes and discriminatory practices of the government towards Pacific immigrants (Asafo & Tuiburelevu, 2021; Leaupepe & Sauni, 2014) Pacific values are collectivist, and centre around 'aiga (family and close members of community), respect for elders, and spirituality (especially Christianity; Averill et al., 2020; Havea et. al, 2021; Ministry of Education, 2013; Ministry of Education, 2018). However, as an individualistic society Aotearoa NZ poses difficulties for Pacific youth due to the conflicting nature of Pacific worldviews which are based around the relational self (Fa'alau, 2016; Ioane, 2017). The contrast between Pacific worldviews and values in contexts such as home and church with the worldviews and values in contexts such as the Aotearoa education system and employment, cause difficulties in identity development among Pacific youth (Manuela & Anae, 2017).

These pressures increase the risk that Pacific youth will join gangs. Motivations for joining gangs also include financial gain, status among peers, security,

mutual support of gang members, peer pressure, excitement, surrogate family relationships, and increased sense of identity (The Ministry of Social Development, 2008; Schlemmer, 2014). Family is the crucial social unit among Pacific People, and there is evidence that gangs replace family among Pacific youth who have strained relationships with their biological families (Nahkid et al., 2009).

Police and governmental efforts to reduce or eliminate gangs through increasing the strictness of legislation law enforcement has proved to be largely ineffective (Lambie, 2018). An alternative approach is to alleviate the pressures on Pacific families and youth. Therefore, an emphasis on strengthening Pacific youth's identities is needed (Alefaio, 2007; Havea et. al, 2021; Tautolo et al., 2020). Families are central to Pacific identities and values and are important contexts for learning Pacific values and forming cultural identities (Alefaio, 2007; Havea et. al, 2021). Families can be assisted in this by having mentors and role models demonstrating Pacific cultural values in community organisations and churches (Alefaio, 2007; Ataera-Minster & Trowland, 2018).

This report has identified that very limited Pacific youth gang prevention literature exists within the Aotearoa NZ context. This evaluation contributes to the gap in literature on NGO initiatives for gang prevention in Aotearoa NZ. Particularly it will produce important information regarding the implementation of Pacific cultural values and strengthening cultural identity in gang prevention initiatives.

APPENDIX 1

OTARA COMMUNITY SCOPING EXERCISE

Towards the Prevention of Gang Recruitment

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Current State

There is a general feel amongst all those consulted that the Youth Gang activity is rampant and it is in the worst state that they have experienced with an increase in gun-related activity, turf war and Meths (Methamphetamine). It is believed that this increase in gang activity has largely been escalated by the impact of deportees (from Australia) who are involved with the notorious bikey gang Commonchero's in Australia that is causing the 'turf war' within the community. The Tribesman and Killer Bees continue to be the main senior gangs in the community. A large determinant of increased recruitment is the feeling of obligation of family members to be patched up due to circumstances such as owing of money. It is also believed that there is currently a large recruitment drive by these gangs.

Many personnel also mentioned the impact of 274 Youthcore during its time under the leadership of Crosspower Ministries – Sully Paea and Allan Va'a (2004-2008) being the most effective program combatting Gang Violence and recruitment. A key component was that outreach was conducted daily during after hour times i.e 5pm onwards and the set up of small youth clubs within the hotspots of Otago, ie Pearl Baker, Dawson, Penion, Lappington, and Vickerman Streets this created further engagement and supports for young

Intervention

There was general consensus that there is currently no one working directly with the youth gangs and no work being done towards the prevention of gang violence etc. TYLA was the only organisation mentioned to be currently working with Youth at Risk in the area. They also mentioned the closing down of two alternative education centres and since no other alternative education centre has been set up in the area.

However throughout some discussions there are individuals who are informally and voluntarily supporting young people. These groups/individuals are as follows:

- A Barber providing free haircuts to the young people and offering support.
- *Adullam Youth Club* which was set up 15 years ago (2006) under the banner of 274 youthcore and is currently still running at the Tupu Youth Library. The boys club continues to run on a voluntary basis organised and delivered by former members of the Club who were positively impacted by the clubs program. Approximately 25-30 boys are engaged weekly.
- *Last Stance Otago* is a fight club that teaches young boys the discipline of Muai Thai and Kick Boxing.
- The *Otago Scorpions Rugby league club* also continues to be a safe haven for ex-offenders demonstrated through their commitment to the running of the club.
- *Tumau Sports Team* – Engages over 120 children, youth and families annually across Auckland however based in Otago and primarily engages Otago residents.

One program in particular – 'Man Up' currently run by Destiny Church was said to be effective and making an impact with the current cohort of men that they are working with. However at the same time there was also mention of some concern regarding a negative effective on other participants.

It was also mentioned that there are currently two residential houses in Otago, however there was no consultation amongst the community about the houses and no other key stakeholders involved in the supports around the young people currently housed.

REFERENCES

- Affirming Works. (n.d. a). *What We Do – Affirming Works*. Retrieved February 1, 2023, from <http://www.affirmingworks.org.nz/what-we-do>
- Affirming Works. (n.d. b). *Our Story – Affirming Works*. Retrieved February 1, 2023, from <https://affirmingworks.org.nz/our-story/>
- Affirming Works. (n.d. c). *Kainga Tu’umalie Family Violence Programme – Affirming Works*. Retrieved February 1, 2023, from <https://affirmingworks.org.nz/what-we-do/kainga-tuumalie-family-violence/>
- Affirming Works. (n.d. d). *Community Cafe – Affirming Works*. Retrieved February 1, 2023, from <https://affirmingworks.org.nz/what-we-do/community-cafe/>
- Alefaio-Tugia, S., & Havea, S. (2016). *Formative evaluation of Pacific faith-based initiatives on family violence prevention and intervention*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/336134208_Formative_Evaluation_of_Pacific_Faith-based_family_violence_services
- Alefaio-Tugia, S., Afeaki-Mafile’o, E., & Satele, P. (2019). Pacific-Indigenous community-village resilience in disasters. In J. Ravulo (Ed.), *Pacific Social Work* (pp. 68-78). Routledge.
- Anderson, V. (2021, April 30). Motorcycle ministry: Bikers and addicts turn from gangs to God. *Stuff*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/124976351/motorcycle-ministry-bikers-and-addicts-turn-from-gangs-to-god>
- Asafo, D., & Tuiburelevu, L. (2021). Critical Race Theory and the Law in New Zealand. *Counterfutures: Left Thought & Practice in Aotearoa*, 12, 95-134. <https://doi.org/10.26686/cf.v12.7723>
- Ataera-Minster, J., & Trowland, H. (2018). *Te Kaveinga: Mental health and wellbeing of Pacific peoples: Results from the New Zealand Mental Health Monitor & Health and Lifestyles Survey*. <https://www.hpa.org.nz/research-library/research-publications/te-kaveinga-mental-health-and-wellbeing-of-pacific-peoples>
- Aumua, L., & Tominiko, F. (2016). Engaging Pacific in the Mainstream. *Journal of the Australian & New Zealand Student Services Association*, 47, 69–78.
- Averill, R., Glasgow, A., & Rimoni, F. (2020). Exploring understandings of Pacific values in New Zealand educational contexts: Similarities and differences among perceptions. *International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives*, 19(2), 20–35.
- Bellamy, P. (2022, July) *New Zealand gang membership: A snapshot of recent trends*. Parliamentary Library Te Pātaka Rangahau.
- Bellamy, P. (2019). *Youth gangs in New Zealand*. Parliamentary Service Te Ratonga Whare Pāremata.
- Biddle, D. (2019, July 21). Deported bikie outlaws are threatening to inflame gang violence in small town NZ. *Stuff*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/113545350/deported-bikie-outlaws-are-threatening-to-inflame-gang-violence-in-small-town-nz>
- Bradley, C. (2022). Hells Angels, Head Hunters and the Filthy Few: The History of Outlaw Bikers in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Deviant Behavior*, 43(3), 271-284. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2020.1824134>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021). One size fits all? What counts as quality practice in (reflexive) thematic analysis?. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 18(3), 328-352.
- Bull, S. (2017). Crime and Māori in the media. *The Palgrave handbook of Australian and New Zealand criminology, crime and justice*, 737-752.
- Cammock, R., Conn, C., & Nayar, S. (2021). Strengthening Pacific voices through Talanoa participatory action research. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 17(1), 120-129.
- Carr, J., & Tam, H. (2013). Changing the lens—positive developments from New Zealand. *XIX World Congress*, 14-19.

- Chicago Youth Programs. (n.d.). *Equal Access, Real Opportunity*. Retrieved February 5, 2023, from <https://chicagoyouthprograms.org/>
- Cousins, J. B., & Earl, L. M. (1992). The case for participatory evaluation. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 14(4), 397-418. Cousins and Earl make a compelling case for participatory evaluation.
- Cousins, J. B., & Whitmore, E. (1998). Framing participatory evaluation. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 1998(80), 5-23.
- Destiny Church. (n.d.). *Man Up Tu Tangata*. Retrieved February 7, 2023, from <https://www.destinychurch.org.nz/manupnz>
- Donovan, E. (2021, August 11). The Detail: Should we be arming our police force?. *Newsroom*. <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/podcast-the-detail/arming-the-police>
- E Tū Whānau. (n.d.). *Overview*. Retrieved February 7, 2023, from <https://etuwhanau.org.nz/>
- Elers, P., Dutta, M. J., & Elers, S. (2021). Engagement and the Nonprofit Organization: Voices from the Margins. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 35(3), 368-391.
- Etherington, B. (2022). "I think I believe in civil rights": Re-remembering Trans-Indigenous Political Activism in Pauline Vaeluaga Smith's Dawn Raid. *Studies in the Novel*, 54(3), 293-311.
- Fa'alau, F. (2016). Family communication patterns and wellbeing among Samoan youth in Aotearoa New Zealand. *New Zealand Sociology*, 31(2), 18-47.
- Fa'alau, F., & Wilson, S. (2020). *Pacific perspectives on family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand*. *New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse*. <https://apo.org.au/sites/default/files/resource-files/2020-07/apo-nid307303.pdf>
- Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. (2014). The interface of Pacific and other knowledges in a supplementary education site. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 44(6), 874-894.
- Faleolo, M., (2016). From the Street to the Village: The Transfer of NZ Youth Gang Culture to Sāmoa. *New Zealand Sociology*, 31(2), 48-73.
- Faletutulu, G. (2017). *What are young Pacific peoples understandings of leadership in Aotearoa New Zealand?* [Doctoral dissertation, Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington]. Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington. <https://doi.org/10.26686/wgtn.17068043.v1>
- Farruggia, S. P., Bullen, P., & Davidson, J. (2013). Important nonparental adults as an academic resource for youth. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 33(4), 498-522.
- Fetterman, D. M., Kaftarian, S. J., & Wandersman, A. (Eds.). (1996). *Empowerment evaluation: Knowledge and tools for self-assessment and accountability*. Sage Publications.
- Fetterman, D. M. (2002). *Foundations of empowerment evaluation*. Sage Publications.
- Gilbert, J. (2013). *Patched: The history of gangs in New Zealand*. Auckland University Press.
- Goodyear, R. (2017). A place to call home? Declining home-ownership rates for Māori and Pacific peoples in New Zealand. *New Zealand Population Review*, 43, 3-34.
- GRASP. (n.d. a). *Home*. Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://graspyouth.org/>
- GRASP. (n.d. b). *Programs*. Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://graspyouth.org/>
- Havea, S., Alefaio-Tugia, S., & Hodgetts, D. (2021). Kainga (families) experiences of a Tongan-Indigenous faith-based violence-prevention programme. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 17(1), 83-93.
- Hipkins, C., & Allan, K. (2022). *More tools for Police to tackle gangs and intimidating behaviour*. New Zealand Government. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/more-tools-police-tackle-gangs-and-intimidating-behaviour>

- Huffer, E. (2017). The Pacific Plan: A Political and Cultural Critique 1. In J. Bryant-Tokalau & I. Frazer (Eds.), *Redefining the Pacific?* (pp. 157-174). Routledge.
- Hughes, K. M., Griner, D., Guarino, M., Drabik-Medeiros, B., & Williams, K. (2012). A second's chance: Gang Violence Task Force prevention program. *The American Surgeon*, 78(1), 89-93.
- Ioane, J. (2017). Talanoa with Pasifika youth and their families. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 46(3), 38-45.
- Ioane, J., & Lambie, I. (2016). Pacific youth and violent offending in Aotearoa New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 45(3), 23-29.
- Jennings-Bey, T., Lane, S. D., Rubinstein, R. A., Bergen-Cico, D., Haygood-El, A., Hudson, H., & Fowler, F. L. (2015). The trauma response team: a community intervention for gang violence. *Journal of urban health*, 92, 947-954.
- Kapeli, S., Manuela, S., & Sibley, C. (2021). A latent profile analysis of Pacific health values. *Pacific Health Dialog*, 21(8), 531-544.
- Lambie, I. (2018). *Using evidence to build a better justice system: The challenge of rising prison costs*. Office of the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor.
- Lautua, T., & Tiatia, J. (2022). Impacts of religious faith on the mental wellbeing of young, multi-ethnic Pacific women in Aotearoa. *Pacific Health Dialog*, 21(10), 656-662.
- Leaupepe, M., & Sauni, S. (2014). Dreams, aspirations and challenges: Pasifika early childhood education within Aotearoa, New Zealand. *International Journal for Cross-Disciplinary Subjects in Education*, 5(3), 1711-1719.
- Lilo, L. S. U., Tautolo, E. S., & Smith, M. (2020). Health literacy, culture and Pacific peoples in Aotearoa, New Zealand: A review. *Pacific Health*, 3. <https://doi.org/10.24135/pacifichealth.v3i0.4>
- Mackley-Crump, J. (2013). The festivalization of Pacific cultures in New Zealand: Diasporic flow and identity within transcultural contact zones. *Musicology Australia*, 35(1), 20-40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08145857.2013.761098>
- Mackley-Crump, J. (2016). *The Pacific Festivals of Aotearoa New Zealand: Negotiating Place and Identity in a New Homeland*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Mana. (n.d.). *Gang Prevention*. Retrieved February 12, 2023, from <https://manaservices.nz/gang-prevention>
- Manuela, S. (2021). Ethnic Identity Buffers the Effect of Discrimination on Family, Life, and Health Satisfaction for Pacific Peoples in New Zealand. *Journal of Pacific Research*, 21(7), 390-398. <https://doi.org/10.26635/phd.2021.113>
- 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. <https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/handle/10092/13640>
- Matenga-Ikhele, A., McCool, J., Dobson, R., Fa'alau, F., & Whittaker, R. (2021). The characteristics of behaviour change interventions used among Pacific people: a systematic search and narrative synthesis. *BMC Public Health*, 21(1), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-021-10420-9>
- McCarthy, A. (2022). *Narratives of migrant and refugee discrimination in New Zealand*. Routledge.
- McConnell, G., (2022, Jun 12) 'It will not work': Ex-cop and National MP says party's gang policy is made for headlines. *Stuff*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/300610969/it-will-not-work-excop-and-national-mp-says-partys-gang-policy-is-made-for-headlines>
- McFadden Consultancy. (2016). *Research Report: The New Zealand Drug Harm Index 2016* (2nd edition). Ministry of Health.
- Ministry for Pacific People. (2022). *Pacific Wellbeing Strategy: Weaving All-Of-Government Progressing Lalanga Fou*. <https://www.mpp.govt.nz/assets/Reports/Pacific-Wellbeing-Strategy-2022/All-of-Government-Pacific-Wellbeing-Strategy.pdf>
- Ministry of Education. (2013). Pasifika education plan 2013-2017. <https://assets.education.govt.nz/public/Documents/Ministry/Strategies-and-policies/PasifikaEdPlan2013To2017V2.pdf>

- Ministry of Education. (2018). *Tapasā: Cultural competencies framework for teachers of Pacific learners*. <https://teachingcouncil.nz/assets/Files/Tapasā/Tapasā-Cultural-Competencies-Framework-for-Teachers-of-Pacific-Learners-2019.pdf>
- Ministry of Social Development. (2008). *Youth gangs in Counties Manukau*. <http://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/research/youth-gangs-counties-manukau/>
- Ministry of Social Development. (2018). *MSD's work to improve social outcomes for gang-connected populations*. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/official-information-responses/2019/march/r-20190315-all-reports-and-assessments-of-the-msd-seven-start-at-home-pilots-part-of-the-nz-police-led-gangs-action-plan.pdf>
- Ministry of Social Development. (2019). *Pacific Young People's Understanding of Family Violence*. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/research/understanding-of-family-violence/index.html>
- Ministry of Social Development. (2020). *Annual report 2019/2020*.
- Nahkid, C., Tanielu, R., & Collins, E. (2009). *Pacific families now and in the future: Pasifika youth in South Auckland*. <https://openrepository.aut.ac.nz/server/api/core/bitstreams/de0aa827-4a75-470e-b74f-ba71cb48e422/content>
- National Gang Center. (n.d. a). *What We Do*. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://nationalgangcenter.ojp.gov/what-works>
- National Gang Center. (n.d. b). *Who We Are*. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://nationalgangcenter.ojp.gov/>
- Newbold, G. (2017). Convict criminology. In R. Sarre., & A. Deckert (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Australian and New Zealand Criminology, Crime and Justice* (pp. 603-615). Palgrave MacMillan.
- Newbold, G., & Taonui, R. (2011, May). *Gangs*. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand (updated 1 Apr 2020), retrieved March 5, 2023, from <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/gangs/print>
- New Zealand Companies Office (2023, February). *COLOURWAY RECORDS LIMITED (1903535) Removed*. <https://app.companiesoffice.govt.nz/companies/app/ui/pages/companies/1903535/detail>
- New Zealand Human Rights Commission. (2020). *Talanoa: human rights issues for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand*. <https://apo.org.au/node/310600>
- New Zealand Police. (n.d.). *Gang Harm Insight Centre*. Retrieved February 22, 2023, from <https://www.police.govt.nz/about-us/structure/police-teams-and-units/intelligence/gang-harm-insights-centre>
- Office of the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor (2023). *Toward an understanding of Aotearoa New Zealand's adult gang environment*. <https://bpb-ap-se2.wpmucdn.com/blogs.auckland.ac.nz/dist/f/688/files/2023/06/Gang-Harms-Long-Report-V3-PDF.pdf>
- Patton, M. Q. (2011). *Developmental evaluation: Applying complexity concepts to enhance innovation and use*. Guilford Press.
- Pasefika Proud. (n.d. a). *About*. Retrieved February 22, 2023, from <https://www.pasefikaproud.co.nz/about/>
- Pasefika Proud. (n.d. b). *Affirming a Fresh Start*. Retrieved February 22, 2023, from <https://www.pasefikaproud.co.nz/stories/affirming-a-fresh-start/>
- Police Citizens Youth Clubs NSW. (n.d.). *About Us*. Retrieved February 23, 2023, from <https://www.pycynsw.org.au/about-us>
- Polynesian Youth Forum (1972). *The gang*. Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland.
- Queensland Police (n.d.). *OMCG Exit Program*. Retrieved February 23, 2023, from <https://www.police.qld.gov.au/initiatives/omcg-exit-program>
- Rifkin, S. B., Pridmore, P., & Brennan, R. E. (2012). Participatory impact pathways analysis: A practical method for project planning and evaluation. *World Development*, 40(3), 497-508.
- Rossi, P. H., Lipsey, M. W., & Freeman, H. E. (2004). *Evaluation: A systematic approach* (7th ed.). Sage Publications.

- Ryan, D., Grey, C., & Mischewski, B. (2019). *Tofa Saili: A review of evidence about health equity for Pacific Peoples in New Zealand*. <https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/handle/10092/15425>
- Salesa, D. (2017). *Island time: New Zealand's pacific futures*. Bridget Williams Books.
- Schlemmer, J. (2014). New Zealand gangs: A collaborative approach to reducing reoffending and the harms caused by gangs. *Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal*, 2(3), 3-42.
- Shilliam, R. (2015). *The Black Pacific: Anti-colonial struggles and oceanic connections*. Bloomsbury Academic.
- Sin, I., & Ormsby, J. (2019). *The settlement experience of Pacific migrants in New Zealand: insights from LISNZ and the IDI*. Motu Economic and Public Policy Research Trust.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2013). *Census QuickStats about families and households 2014: Wellington*. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/reports/2013-census-quickstats-about-families-and-households>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2018). *2018 Census ethnic group summaries*. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-ethnic-group-summaries/>
- Sweeten, G., Pyrooz, D. C., & Piquero, A. R. (2013). Disengaging from gangs and desistance from crime. *Justice Quarterly*, 30(3), 469-500.
- Tagata Pasifika (2011). *TAGATA PASIFIKA: Redeemed Motorcycle Ministry changing the normal ideas of bikie gangs*. Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://tpplus.co.nz/entertainment/tagata-pasifika-redeemed-motorcycle-ministry-changing-the-normal-ideas-of-bikie-gangs/>
- Tagata Pasifika. (2021, May 5). *Powerhouse: The New Hub empowering Otago youth and families*. Retrieved February 25, 2023, from https://tpplus.co.nz/community/powerhouse-the-new-hub-empowering-otago-youth-and-families/?fbclid=IwAR0GC-ngmgnR3Mv00554GpPw2aNUw9ysZlqokBwwss1o4XLjRE_kt8CSBM
- Tamatea, A. (2015). The problem with 'the problem with gangs': Reflections on practice and offender desistance. *The New Zealand Corrections Journal*, 3(1).
- Tamatea, A. (2017). The last defence against gang crime: Exploring community approaches to gang member reintegration-part I. *Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal*, 5(2).
- Tanielu, R., & Johnson, A. (2013). *More Than Churches, Rugby & Festivals: A report on the state of Pasifika people in New Zealand*. Auckland. https://www.salvationarmy.org.nz/sites/default/files/uploads/_archive/file/2013%20Pasifika%20SON%20-%20Web.pdf
- Tautolo, E., Faletau, J., Lusitini, L., & Paterson, J. (2020). Exploring success amongst Pacific families in New Zealand: Findings from the Pacific Islands families study. *Journal of Pacific Research*, 21(5), 216-225. <https://doi.org/10.26635/phd.2020.627>
- Thomsen, S., Tavita, J., & Levi-Teu, Z. (2018). *A Pacific perspective on the Living Standards Framework and wellbeing*. New Zealand Treasury.
- Vaiioleti, T. (2013). Talanoa: Differentiating the talanoa research methodology from phenomenology, narrative, Kaupapa Maori and feminist methodologies. *Reo, Te*, 56, 191-212.
- Wanganui District Council (Prohibition of Gang Insignia) Act, Local Act No. 1. (2009). <https://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/local/2009/0001/latest/whole.html>
- Wegerhoff, D., Dixon, L., & Ward, T. (2019). The conceptualization of gangs: Changing the focus. *Aggression and violent behavior*, 47, 58-67.
- Yamamoto, M. (2021). Heritage and identity: contemporary art practices of Pacific peoples in New Zealand. In W. de Jong., & E. Aoki (Eds.), *Arts in the Margins of World Encounters* (pp. 81-101). Vernon Press.