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What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?
An exploration of how young people and those who work with
them in positive youth development contexts perceive outcomes

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Abstract

This qualitative exploratory study sought to understand how outcomes, defined as gains made by young people, were perceived by youth and staff in a range of local positive youth development (PYD) settings, and whether or not the Five Cs model aligned and could function as an outcomes framework. The Five Cs include: Confidence, Competence, Connection, Caring, and Character, and are seen to lead to a sixth C of Contribution. Exploration included understanding how outcomes were defined, understood, experienced, operationalised, and prioritised in PYD settings; the similarities and differences in outcome perception; whether or not there was enough similarity to form an outcomes framework; and, if so, whether the resulting framework could align with the Five Cs model.

Interviews and focus groups with 110 youth and 17 staff participants in 14 PYD programmes across Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) informed the study aims. Data were analysed using framework analysis, and critical realism and PYD provided the theoretical frameworks.

Analysis indicated nine key outcomes. These were grouped under three themes: 1) Behavioural Outcomes, which included skills, achievement, giving back and agency; 2) Internal Outcomes, which included confidence, future focus and positive affect; and 3) Relational Outcomes which included connection and positive identity. Skills, agency, confidence, connection, and positive identity were seen as key outcomes, and the value of programmes for youth identity development was highlighted. Three key programme processes which supported outcomes to occur were a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours.

All of the identified outcomes were discussed in most programme settings, indicating sufficient similarity to form a broad outcomes framework using these outcomes. Suggestions for application of the framework to programme measurement were made. Current definitions of the Five Cs did not appear to capture the nuances of local outcome perception; and local definitions offering greater alignment were proposed.

Analysis through a critical realist lens identified recognition and agency as causal mechanisms, which combined to form ‘the magic of programmes’ and helped youth to meet their needs and goals. Critical realism is argued as a valuable tool for PYD research because of its ability to provide structural explanations for outcomes.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background: A Story of Unfinished Business

Over a decade ago, I worked in a youth development organisation offering a range of services aimed at helping young people to reach their potential. These services all aligned with a positive youth development (PYD) perspective, which proposes that all young people have strengths and can develop positively, particularly when their strengths are linked with supportive resources in their environments (Lerner, 2005; Lerner, Almerigi et al., 2005). Given the philosophical alignment of these services, it was questioned whether a shared outcomes framework and measurement tool could be used across the services to track the gains made by young people. This question remained unanswered in my time at the service.

During this time, I also happened upon the Five Cs model, which was not then as well researched as it is today. The Five Cs includes Confidence, Competence, Connection, Caring, and Character, which lead to a 6th C of Contribution (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005). The Five Cs are considered attributes that will be displayed by positively developing young people (Lerner, Fisher, & Weinberg, 2000) and can be seen as both PYD indicators and programme outcomes (Geldhof et al., 2015; King et al., 2005). I liked this model for its simplicity and use of everyday words that aligned with the key goals of the services where I worked. This model and its relevance to local programmes has remained an area of academic interest throughout my career.

In 2018, I decided it was time to return to study and my curiosity about a shared outcomes framework and whether or not outcomes could be described similarly in different places resurfaced. As it turns out, I was not the only person who wondered about this. Questions about whether shared descriptors of PYD and outcomes are possible, or desirable, is debated in the literature. Some PYD scholars argue that development can only be assessed individually, and each programme can only be assessed as a unique context (Lerner, 2019; Lerner & Chase, 2019; Overton, cited in Lerner & Kauffman 1985; Tolan, 2014; Tolan et al., 2016); whilst others argue that broad descriptors are possible (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016; Scales et al., 2016) and even necessary (Catalano, Berglund, et al., 2002).

In the intervening years, scholarship of the Five Cs has grown, and it is now acknowledged as one of the most empirically validated PYD models (Deane & Dutton, 2020; Heck & Subramaniam, 2009). A large-scale longitudinal study in America showed that PYD is comprised of the Five Cs and developed validated measures (Bowers et al., 2010; Geldhof et al., 2014; Geldhof et al., 2015; Lerner, Lerner et

al., 2005; Phelps et al., 2009). Research on the Five Cs is growing in other contexts including Europe (Conway et al., 2015; Dimitrova et al., 2021; Fernandes, Pivec, et al., 2021; Gomez-Baya et al.; 2021; Holsen et al., 2017; Kajokienė et al., 2015,); Canada (Strachan et al., 2018); Mexico (Dominguez Espinosa et al., 2021), South America (Manrique-Millones et al., 2021; Tirrell et al., 2019); Ghana (Fernandes, Pivec et al., 2021; Kabir & Wiium, 2021); and parts of Asia (Abdul Kadir & Mohd, 2021; Li et al., 2021) among others. A number of studies in Aotearoa New Zealand link programme outcomes with the Five Cs (Arahanga-Doyle et al. 2019; Deane et al., 2015; Harré, 2014; Jones, 2018). Since this PhD study began, two other local studies using the Five Cs have been published (Fernandes, Fetvadjev, et al., 2021; Mercier et al., 2019), and validation of the model in Aotearoa (New Zealand) is called for (Fernandes, Fetvadjev, et al., 2021). Given growing evidence and interest, internationally and locally, in the Five Cs, it seemed timely and appropriate to combine this with my interest in outcomes frameworks, thus leading to this PhD study.

1.2 The Justification for the Study

In Aotearoa, PYD and youth work are often linked (Beals et al., 2018), with many PYD programmes delivered by youth workers. Youth work emphasises the relationship rather than the role, activity, or modality (Martin, 2002); hence, it would make sense that outcomes may be similar in different places when positive and supportive relationships are the focus. An outcomes framework may be a useful starting point to show the range and depth of what programmes achieve, which could be different to what is currently funded, measured, or recognised as valuable. Many contracts for youth programmes are funded from the Ministry of Social Development, which uses results-based accountability (RBA) measures. An RBA model measures both outputs and outcomes and is flexible on how this is demonstrated, but prioritises what is easily quantifiable (Bullen et al., 2019). This quantifiable focus may not capture the nuances of young people's programme experiences or the value of PYD programmes to the community. The Ministry of Youth Development (2009) noted that without shared frameworks and consistent measures, it is difficult to determine the overall effectiveness of different programmes in different contexts.

In addition, not all programmes have the resources to measure their effectiveness (Bullen et al., 2019). Many published studies of local programme outcomes are linked with universities (e.g., Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2017; Furness et al., 2017; Grocott & Hunter, 2009; Hunter et al., 2010, 2013; Scarf et al., 2018). Relationships with university researchers may not be possible or desirable for all local programmes and, therefore, accessible approaches to understanding outcomes are needed. Investigating the possibility of a shared outcomes framework may alleviate capacity and

capability challenges for some programmes and provide a useful starting point for developing their own theory of change.

Recent government actions have made the investigation of a shared outcomes framework timely. The first of these is the Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy, which outlines a broad wellbeing framework for those aged under 25 years. Launched in 2019, this strategy includes six key outcomes: children and young people are loved, safe, and nurtured; have what they need; are happy and healthy; are learning and developing; are accepted, respected, and connected; and are involved and empowered (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2019). A number of these outcomes, particularly the last three, overlap with a PYD approach, which includes focusing on strengths, supportive relationships, and opportunities for leadership and contribution (Delgado, 2002; Lerner, 2004). Ministry of Youth Development (2020) funding requires that 85% of youth responding to evaluation measures report some improvement in wellbeing outcomes. The second key change is the introduction of the Public Service Act (2020), which seeks unified approaches to complex societal issues, such as poverty, and for all public services to align with shared goals and values (Public Service Commission, 2020).

Both of these government actions indicate an interest in shared outcomes and collective impact approaches which involve groups working together to address complex social problems, with agreed outcomes (Walzer & Weaver, 2019). A collective approach is less useful when there is a lack of agreed terms and definitions (Scales et al., 2016) or of agreed measures, as this cannot show the collective value of services to society (Jenkins, 2019).

As such, investigation of a shared outcomes framework is practically, theoretically, and politically relevant. It is also important that outcomes are identified by young people, staff, and programmes, and are not pre-determined by policy and funders, which may not align with either PYD or what young people gain from programmes. Identification of the range of possible outcomes may also highlight the role of PYD programmes in contributing to broad wellbeing outcomes and lead towards developing relevant, shared programme measures within the local sector.

1.3 The Study Context

This study is situated in Aotearoa, in the city of Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland), and is interested in PYD programmes which involve local youth. As such, it is important to understand the local context and young people in Aotearoa.

Aotearoa is a bicultural nation founded upon Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi, an agreement signed in 1840 between the British Crown and the indigenous Māori people of Aotearoa

(Orange, 2013). Te Tiriti has allowed the many peoples that call Aotearoa home to settle peacefully. However, this has not occurred without significant challenge and cost to Māori, who, through processes of colonisation, including loss of language, cultural practices, social structures, and land, have experienced disparities in all areas of wellbeing (Berghan et al., 2017; Ka'ai Mahuta, 2011; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Thom & Grimes, 2022). Many argue that Māori continue to pay these costs through systemic racism in the health, education, justice, and other government and private systems in Aotearoa (Hamley & Le Grice, 2021; Houkamau et al., 2017; Mane & Toki, 2019; Pihama, et al., 2019; Wilson et al., 2021). Disparities persist for Māori youth who also experience poorer health and wellbeing outcomes than their non-Māori peers (Clark et al., 2018; Cunningham, 2011; A. Williams et al., 2018).

1.3.1 Youth in Aotearoa

In Aotearoa, youth are those aged 12-24 years inclusive, as defined by the Ministry of Youth Development (n.d.). In 2021, youth made up nearly 17% of the total population of just over five million (Stats NZ, n.d., a). It is predicted that by 2038 the youth population will decrease to around 15% of the total population, with Māori making up 27% of the youth population, Asian 29%, and Pacific ethnicities 15% (Stats NZ, n.d., b).

Data from the most recent Youth 19 study provide a snapshot of life for young people in Aotearoa and insights into their experiences as part of various ethnic and cultural groups. The Youth 19 survey is the latest in a series of surveys in Aotearoa, which began in 2000. The most recent survey included 7,700 youth in schools and alternative education settings from Tāmaki Makaurau, Northland, and Waikato, with data statistically extrapolated to the national population (Fleming, Peiris-John et al., 2020).

Findings from this study indicate many positives for young people in Aotearoa. The majority (91%) of young people feel cared about by at least one parent and that their parents are interested in their whereabouts. Across all groups, 72% of young people feel they have enough quality time with family and 76% can discuss their worries with family (Clark et al., 2020). Similarly, 79% of young people feel their teachers care about them, and most young people (87%) feel safe at school; although only 59% feel safe in their neighbourhoods (Clark et al., 2020). These statistics are promising given the recognised role of family and other adults in supporting PYD (Ja & Jose, 2017; Zarrett & Lerner, 2008). In the study, 80% of young people belong to a group, club, or team, while young people show the highest levels of contribution, with around 50% helping others in their school or community (Clark et al., 2020). Participation in sport and community activities is shown to have positive outcomes for young people (O'Connor & Jose, 2012) and it appears from Youth 19 data that many

young people may be engaged in PYD opportunities or other similar activities. These statistics provide further impetus to understand outcomes in these settings and whether or not a shared framework is possible.

Despite these many positives, mental health and deprivation are key concerns. Youth 2019 data shows a decline in emotional wellbeing since the last survey from 76% to 69%, with 23% of young people experiencing clinically significant depressive symptoms (Fleming, Tiatia-Seath et al., 2020). Across all young people surveyed, 19% identify struggling to access help for emotional and mental wellbeing, whilst lower mental and emotional wellbeing levels are more prevalent in higher deprivation areas (Fleming, Tiatia-Seath et al., 2020).

1.3.2 The Tāmaki Makaurau Context

Tāmaki Makaurau is Aotearoa's largest and most diverse city with approximately one third of Aotearoa's total population. Census data from 2018 (Stats NZ, n.d., c) shows that Tāmaki Makaurau comprises European (53%), Māori (11.5%), Pacific (15.5%), Asian (29.2%), Middle Eastern/Latin American/African (2.3%), and Other (1.1%) peoples; and contains nearly one third of all Pacific and Asian peoples in Aotearoa (Stats NZ, n.d., c). Estimates from 2018 census data suggest that those aged 10-24 years make up approximately 20% of the Tāmaki Makaurau population (Stats NZ, n.d. d); and youth in Tāmaki Makaurau make up 35% of the total youth population in Aotearoa. Youth aged 10-24 make up 29% of the total Māori population in Tāmaki Makaurau and Pacific youth make up 30% of the total Pacific population. European and Asian youth make up 19% of their respective ethnic populations in Tāmaki Makaurau, whilst Middle Eastern, Latin American, and African youth make up 14% of their populations (Stats NZ, n.d., e).

Tāmaki Makaurau is also home to a diversity of experiences, containing some of the wealthiest and most deprived areas. Exeter and colleagues (2018) investigated deprivation levels by electorate across Aotearoa, using the New Zealand Index of Multiple Deprivation which considers 28 indicators across areas of employment, income, crime, housing, health, education, and access to services. The North Shore and East Coast Bays electorates in Tāmaki Makaurau were the least deprived nationally, whilst the four most deprived electorates of Kelston, Manukau East, Manurewa, and Mangere were also in Tāmaki Makaurau (Exeter et al., 2018).

In sampling programmes from Tāmaki Makaurau, it is likely that young people in the study may represent these experiences. Thus, the study may provide insight into the value of PYD programmes for a broad range of young people.

1.3.3 Researcher Reflexivity

My own position in the research influences both data collection and analysis, making it important that my background and worldviews are acknowledged as part of the research context (Berger, 2013; Johnson, 2019). I am a fourth generation Pākehā, of Irish, English, Welsh, and Swedish descent. I was raised in the Catholic church, but no longer attend services, and grew up in a single parent household. I am a parent of two school-age children. I began this thesis with over 15 years work in the youth sector in service delivery, management, and tertiary education and a professional identity as a psychotherapist. I have worked with a range of youth and communities and have been privileged to build relationships with diverse colleagues, clients, students, and young people. All of these experiences may position me similarly or differently to research participants and will shape the research processes (Berger, 2013). My position as a researcher and possible influence on data collection and interpretation is further considered in Chapter Five.

1.4 Research Questions and Key Terms

My interests in both a shared outcomes framework and the Five Cs were distilled into the following research questions:

Overall Question

How do young people and those who work with them in PYD settings perceive outcomes and can the Five Cs model of PYD be relevant in these settings?

Research Questions

1. How are outcomes defined and understood, experienced, operationalised, and prioritised by young people and those who work with them in a range of PYD contexts?
2. What are the similarities and differences in how outcomes are perceived in these settings?
3. Can the way outcomes are perceived in these settings form an outcomes framework?
4. Does the framework align with the Five Cs model?

To further frame the questions some key terms and assumptions are identified:

PYD: Describes a view of development, an approach to working with young people and programmes taking this approach (Hamilton et al., 2004). It is based in systems theories which see development as occurring through mutually enhancing interactions between the individual and the environment (Lerner, 2005; Lerner, 2019; Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007). As an approach, PYD aims to create environments that facilitate these interactions through broad skill development, enhancing strengths, facilitating positive relationships with adults, and offering opportunities for youth

leadership and decision making (Benson et al., 2007; Damon, 2004; Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Lerner, 2005; Lerner et al., 2019). PYD programmes are key environments where this approach can be enacted (Lerner, Almerigi et al., 2005; Lerner et al., 2006; Mueller et al., 2011). PYD concepts are further explored in Chapter Two.

PYD Contexts: Within this study, the varied PYD settings/contexts are local Tāmaki Makaurau -based PYD programmes—the key unit of analysis. Because there are no agreed definitions of PYD programmes (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016), a definition from literature—The Big Three (Lerner, 2004, p. 127)—is used. This includes opportunities for participation in and leadership of activities that build skills in the context of youth-adult relationships. As such, programmes in this study are not focused on reducing risks or providing treatment. PYD programmes are further defined broadly in Chapter Two and locally in Chapter Three, whilst inclusion and exclusion criteria are described in Chapter Five.

Outcomes: Defined in this study as the gains made by young people from PYD programmes, which may include short-term benefits and longer-term impacts. This definition captures all possible outcomes and aligns with recommendations for results-based accountability reporting in Aotearoa (Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, 2017).

Programme Processes: Whilst investigating how programmes work is not a key research question, understanding outcome perception includes discussion of programme features that support outcomes. In the study, these features are referred to as programme processes. This is a broad term to capture the various actions, approaches, behaviours, and interventions in programmes. Programme processes can be enacted through programme design and activities, by adults and leaders through their approaches and interventions, and by young people through their behaviours within programmes.

Key Assumptions: This study is not an evaluation of programmes. It does not seek to identify how well programmes are performing, the extent to which outcomes are achieved, or areas for improvement. Rather, it seeks to explore how outcomes are perceived in different settings, the level to which they may be similar or different in these settings, whether or not there is enough similarity to form an outcomes framework, and if this can align with the Five Cs. Underlying these interests is an assumption that programmes do generate positive outcomes for young people, the nature of which may not yet be fully known or different to what is assumed.

1.5 Thesis Structure

Following the introduction, the thesis will introduce key literature in two chapters. Chapter Two examines PYD through the tripartite lens of development, philosophy, and programmes; as well as the Five Cs Model. Chapter Three similarly reviews PYD in Aotearoa. Chapters Four and Five describe the key theoretical frameworks—critical realism and PYD—and the study design and implementation, respectively.

The findings are presented in three chapters. Chapter Six outlines the conceptual framework for the findings and describes the programme processes which were linked to outcomes. Chapter Seven covers the nine key outcomes identified from the data. Chapter Eight summarises these findings and answers research questions one and two regarding outcome perception and similarities and differences.

Chapters Nine, Ten, and Eleven constitute discussion chapters. Chapter Nine reviews the outcomes identified in relation to the literature. Chapter Ten uses the findings and discussion to answer research questions three and four regarding the possibility of an outcomes framework and the relevance of the Five Cs model. Chapter Eleven assesses the programme processes identified in Chapter Six against the literature and analyses the findings through a critical realist lens. It identifies possible causal mechanisms and their value to PYD scholarship and local programmes.

Chapter Twelve concludes the thesis with a summary of the study, key findings and implications for practice, a reflection on the research process, limitations of the study, areas for future research, and concluding remarks.

1.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a background to the study and described its relevance to practice and policy in Aotearoa. The chapter has also described the context of the study, the research questions, and identified key terms and assumptions. The structure of the thesis was outlined. The next chapter will summarise PYD literature relevant to this study.

Chapter 2: PYD Overview

This chapter is the first of two literature review chapters examining PYD definitions and perspectives. A tripartite view of PYD as a developmental process, a philosophy and approach, and as instances of programmes is explored (Hamilton et al., 2004) and used to position the literature. The chapter then reviews literature on the Five Cs model, its history, and studies of the Five Cs outside of Aotearoa. Gaps in the literature are identified that this PhD study may help to address.

2.1 PYD History

Despite the recognised physical, emotional, and social changes occurring in the second decade of life, viewing adolescence as a distinct developmental period is recent. In pre-industrial Western society, the transition from child to adult was relatively unmarked as youth contributed to the community, entered work, married, and became parents relatively early in life. In modern times, increases in education and later entry to the workforce have seen a distinct transition period between childhood and adulthood emerge in Western countries, one that today is growing in length (Banati & Lansford, 2018). This transition period is known as adolescence.

Identification of and scientific interest in adolescence is largely attributed to the work of G Stanley Hall in 1904 (Arnett, 2006). In Hall's view, adolescence lasted from the ages of 14-24 years (Arnett, 2006), although it is often loosely referred to as the second decade of life (Lerner, 2005). Hall's influential work characterised adolescence as a time of 'storm and stress' which, Lerner (2005) suggested, set a deficit view of youth that would prevail for the next 80 years.

However, from the 1960s onwards, a counter-narrative of adolescent development emerged with theories that contrasted with the view of 'storm and stress' (Lerner, 2005). This new wave of theories included Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems theory which saw development as occurring in a set of nested systems, ranging from the individual to the societal and cultural (Neal & Neal, 2013), and developmental contextualism which described development as a series of complex interactions between the individual and the environment (Lerner et al., 1999). In highlighting the diversity of development, these theories did not support universal ideas of adolescence as struggle and promoted further interest in this period of life (Lerner, 2005).

Relational and systems theories fit within relational developmental systems (RDS) metatheory. This metatheory is an overarching conceptual framework which describes key elements that guide PYD theories (Lerner, 2019; Overton, 2015). The RDS framework eschews splits between mind/body, nature/nurture, biology/culture and simple cause and effect relationships, or reductionist

approaches to development, such as viewing genetics alone. Instead, RDS metatheory sees development as a whole that comprises a system of complex relationships, dialectics, and interdependent interactions between all aspects within an individual and the wider environment (Overton, 2013, 2015). The system is both organised and adaptive. It is organised by the interdependence of the different parts which cannot be considered individually, and it is adaptive because it is an open system that can be influenced by things within and outside of the individual (Lerner, 2019; Overton, 2013; 2015). Importantly, the individual is agentic and can consciously influence the system (Lerner & Chase, 2019).

It is within these broader developmental perspectives that PYD emerged in the 1990s as a counter to deficit views of adolescence. In North America, Pittman and Irby's refrain that "problem free is not fully prepared" (cited in Eccles and Gootman, 2002, p. 44) spearheaded the philosophical shift from youth as "problems to be managed" to "resources to be developed" (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003a, p. 94). It sparked interest in the inherent strengths, capabilities, and positive characteristics of all youth and what might be observable in and around youth developing well, rather than simply what should be corrected or prevented (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b).

2.2 PYD Definitions

As with any new paradigm, efforts were made to define and differentiate the field from others in both theory and practice. One of the earliest definitions of PYD developed by Pittman and Wright (1991) states that PYD is embedded in young people rather than institutions and is:

An ongoing, inevitable process in which youth are engaged and all youth are invested. Even in the absence of family support and formal or informal programmes, all young people will seek ways to:

- 1) meet their basic physical and social needs (some of which change considerably during the course of adolescence);
- 2) build the individual assets or competencies (knowledge, skills, relationships, values) they feel are needed to participate successfully and fully in adolescence and adult life and use them in self-gratifying and self-empowering ways (p. 20).

In these authors' view, the role of those around youth is to provide opportunities to meet needs and develop assets in positive ways.

Delgado (2002) explored a number of other definitions beginning with PYD as a universal process of needs-meeting, skill development, and connection forming. Later definitions focused on practice and outcomes (Delgado, 2002). These definitions include: providing services that support competency

development; community involvement; strengths and assets enhancement; involving youth in decision making; engaging youth; and preparing youth for adulthood through activities (Delgado, 2002). Many of these definitions highlight the role of adults in PYD, recognising contextual approaches to development and young people's inter-relatedness with adults. The definitions link PYD activities to policy, community development, youth participation, and youth programmes, whilst noting that PYD is not limited to these areas and is continually expanding (Delgado, 2002). The breadth and range of these definitions highlight PYD as a tripartite concept (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1

PYD - A Tripartite Concept

-
- 1) As a natural developmental process, which is shaped by young people*
 - 2) As principles, philosophies, and approaches to support young people to thrive*
 - 3) As practices and activities in programmes, organisations and initiatives which use the principles. (Hamilton et al., 2004 p.1)*
-

While Pittman and Wright's (1991) definition focuses on PYD as a developmental process, most definitions explored by Delgado (2002) cover two, if not all three, overlapping strands of PYD as a developmental process, an approach, and as programmes or interventions. This overlap can create confusion in theory and literature regarding which aspect of PYD is being defined, discussed, and measured. The following discussion explores PYD through each of the three aspects, as Lerner and colleagues (2011, 2012) have also done.

2.3 PYD as Development

Early descriptions of PYD as development drew on developmental contextualism, which describes an interactional process between individuals and their ecologies in ways that are mutually influential (Lerner, Almerigi et al., 2005). As such, individuals are engaged in bi-directional exchanges with their varied environments, including physical, familial, societal, cultural, and historical, referred to as individual—context relations (Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007). The individual interacts with each aspect of their ecology (e.g., individual, and cultural) and these ecologies interact with each other (e.g., familial, and historical). While most traditional developmental theories accounted for context either facilitating or hindering development; development was seen as a distinct process occurring within

the individual. Developmental contextualism suggests that the transaction itself between individual and environment is development (Lerner & Kauffman, 1985; Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007).

Because development is integrated within varied and dynamic contexts, it is plastic or open to influence and change, rather than following a linear and expected pattern. This potential for plasticity is an inherent strength within all individuals and systems (Lerner et al., 2019; Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007) and suggests that the environment and individual can positively influence each other (Lerner, 2004). However, plasticity is not without limits. Intra-individual change, time, socio-political context, and culture all influence the extent to which developmental trajectories can be altered (Lerner et al., 1999). Therefore, human development is subject to relative plasticity which may be different throughout the lifespan and history (Lerner et al., 1999).

Developmental contextualism and RDS metatheory assert that all of the rapid changes occurring in adolescence, including physical changes, are heavily mediated by the environment. Therefore, there are many possible trajectories for development and opportunities to influence development (Lerner, 2005, 2019; Lerner et al., 2019). Viewing development as an exchange between the individual and their environment and the scope for plasticity and change, underpin the PYD approach—that it is possible to positively influence young people’s development and for them to positively influence their own development (Lerner, 2004). As such, PYD is interested in the features, rules, and processes that regulate development (Ettetal et al., 2015; Lerner et al., 2019). When interactions between youth and their environment have beneficial results, they are termed ‘adaptive developmental regulations’ (Brandtstädter, cited in Lerner et al., 2011).

Because of the plasticity of development, young people can change in response to the environment and shape their own development through intentional self-regulation (ISR) (Gestsdóttir & Lerner, 2008). ISR refers to individuals’ use of their strengths and ecological resources to attain goals and adapt to challenges or changes in order to gain positive outcomes (Gestsdóttir & Lerner, 2008). Successful ISR is an example of adaptive developmental regulation.

Several PYD models describe developmental processes using these perspectives. These models have been summarised by authors such as Heck and Subramaniam (2009) and Lerner and colleagues (2011). A selection of models are considered below including Stage Environment Fit, Noble Purpose, the Developmental Assets Framework, the Circle of Courage, Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST), and the Five Cs (which will be explored in a separate section). These models provide an overview of the different ways the RDS metatheory is translated into the study and understanding of youth development.

2.3.1 Stage Environment Fit

An early explanation for different developmental trajectories was the Stage Environment Fit model which drew on the idea of individual–context interactions to suggest that thriving or challenge could be attributed to the level of fit, or not, between the individual and their environment (Eccles et al., 1993). Eccles and colleagues (1993) explored these ideas in relation to school and family, suggesting that young people are more likely to do well when the environment around them is responsive to their age, interests, expectations, values, and needs; such as, the need for appropriate challenge, support, autonomy, and decision making. By focusing on the ways contexts can provide fit, the model can help to identify strategies for influencing development (Lerner et al., 2012).

2.3.2 Noble Purpose

Damon's (2004; Damon et al., 2003) view of PYD describes the cultivation of a noble purpose as a key developmental task. A noble purpose is goal directed, individually satisfying, and contributes to broader community or societal aims (Bronk, 2012). This model is predicated on the idea that human capacity for empathy makes pro-social and moral behaviour hard-wired (Damon, 2004). In PYD these innate capacities are aligned with a young person's developing identity and interests to facilitate discovery, pursuit of a noble purpose, and a place in society. Those around young people support this process through appropriate expectations and guidance, while the young person is seen as a partner with value to offer the community (Damon, 2004). Noble purpose develops over time through deepening commitment to a cause or goal that is supported and encouraged by others (Bronk, 2012). This model takes a moral, spiritual, and identity focus. Developing purpose requires a sense of self, values, place in the community and potentially beyond, whilst the purpose needs to be owned and acted upon, thus incorporated into a sense of identity (Lerner et al., 2012).

Both Stage Environment Fit and Noble Purpose models are interested in motivation and engagement and the factors that can enhance young people's pro-social and goal directed activity.

2.3.3 Developmental Assets

The Developmental Assets Framework describes elements that support positive development (Benson et al., 2007; Leffert et al., 1998). Interest in these factors emerged from efforts to understand and counter predictors of problem behaviour and increase resilience in youth (Catalano, Hawkins et al., 2002; Leffert et al., 1998). Within this framework, 40 assets were identified from research and literature that describe internal assets—characteristics, attributes, and values within the young person; and external assets—networks, structures, and supports within the environment (Benson et al., 2007; Leffert et al., 1998). There are four categories of internal assets—commitment

to learning, positive values, social competencies, and positive identity; and four categories of external assets—support, empowerment, boundaries, and constructive time use.

The model has an accompanying measure, the Profiles of Student Life—Attitudes and Behaviours (PSL-AB), and is one of the most widely used measures with over five million youth worldwide completing it (Syversten et al., 2021). Assets have a cumulative effect; the more assets a young person possesses the more likely they are to thrive, including school success, purpose, positive affect, and citizenship (Scales et al., 2017). The model is designed as both a theoretical description of development and a guide for communities and programmes (Benson et al., 2007). Syversten and colleagues (2021) suggested the PSL-AB was designed as a PYD measure rather than a programme evaluation tool; however, it is used to evaluate in many contexts. The PSL-AB has been recently reviewed to develop more valid contemporary measures of asset categories including internal categories of academic engagement, positive identity, positive values, and social competencies; and external categories of support, mattering and belonging, boundaries and extra-curricular involvement (Syversten et al., 2021). These new shorter measures showed measurement invariance across age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and parent education when applied to a US sample of over 120,000 young people from between 2012 and 2015 (Syversten et al., 2021).

2.3.4 The Circle of Courage

The Circle of Courage is based on four key youth strengths and needs that are seen as essential for positive growth; belonging, mastery, independence, and generosity. These elements are based in positive psychology, neuroscience, and traditional culture, and are seen to apply in community, family, and programme settings (Brendtro et al., 2014). Belonging refers to the need for connections and social bonds with others, mastery to the need for achievement, independence to the strengths of responsibility and agency, and generosity to the strength of displaying care for others (Brendtro et al., 2014). Heck and Subramaniam (2009) noted that research validation of this model is limited, but it has been used for some programme evaluations. It is suggested that the breadth of these constructs makes them applicable to all young people across cultures, contexts, and programmes (Brendtro et al., 2005).

2.3.5 PVEST

The PVEST model adds a critical lens to systems theories, based on individual perceptions, inequality, racism, and cultural value systems (Lerner et al., 2012). It prioritises the different views and experiences that youth may have of the same event centred in their cultural and social context. It also considers development in relation to racism and inequality and the challenges these may present for youth of colour (Lerner et al, 2012). The PVEST model critiques PYD for ignoring

structural inequalities present in white dominant systems and for ignoring cultural variations to healthy development (Spencer et al., 2012). The model focuses on how youth perceive their development and construct identity, rather than how others appraise their development (Spencer et al., 1997; Swanson et al., 2002). Whereas other models might describe what PYD looks like, PVEST looks at what factors might mediate young people's experience of development. Whilst issues of race and inequality may be salient to many diverse contexts in which PYD is applied, the PVEST model is infrequently discussed, possibly providing evidence of the very structural inequalities to which Spencer and colleagues (2012) referred.

Whilst described here under PYD as development, these models overlap with PYD as an approach because descriptions of how youth develop positively can act as guides for how to enhance development.

2.4 PYD as an Approach and Philosophy

The embeddedness of PYD within RDS metatheory and interactional views of development, create a number of assumptions about PYD as an approach, which guide views about youth and how to work with them. The first assumption is that all youth have the potential and capacity to develop positively, regardless of circumstance (Damon, 2004) and, therefore, PYD is for all young people (Hamilton et al., 2004; Pittman et al., 2003).

Secondly, as RDS theories see possibilities to enhance positive development, a PYD approach focuses on strengths, capabilities, and potential, rather than problems or deficits (Damon, 2004; Lerner et al., 2019). As a result, PYD approaches address broad developmental goals and skills (Eccles & Gootman, 2002), rather than prevention or problem solving. However, many suggest that developmental and preventative or risk reduction approaches are not mutually exclusive (Catalano, Hawkins, et al., 2002; Eichas et al., 2019; Lerner et al., 2018; Pittman et al., 2003; Pittman & Wright, 1991; Tolan, 2014).

Thirdly, because development is a unique process resulting from bi-directional individual–context relationships, there are numerous paths to PYD and a range of ways and places this can occur. These paths are made possible through relationships and contexts that align with youth's strengths and support their development (Benson et al., 2007; Eccles et al., 1993; Lerner, 2005). Hence, a PYD approach focuses on building positive relationships and connecting to broader contexts, such as school, family, and community.

Fourthly, because RDS theories assume that individuals and their environments influence each other, PYD has a strong emphasis on youth as active participants in programmes and processes

(Benson et al., 2007; Lerner, 2004). This assumption places youth contributing to society as a central goal of PYD (Lerner, 2004).

Finally, because RDS theories assert that development is open to relative plasticity and does not have a fixed end point, PYD may look different for different people at different points in time (Lerner et al., 1999). As such, PYD can be tailored to specific communities (Delgado, 2002).

These approaches guide programmes and activities and are reflected in the models described above, with many outlining key ingredients for positive development. Within a tripartite view of PYD, many theories can act as both descriptors of development and guides to a PYD approach. This supposes that a set of actions described either explicitly or implicitly in models, frameworks, and theories about development, such as the Five Cs, can be applied in a number of settings to potentially broad ranges of young people.

2.5 PYD as Programmes

The third definition of PYD is as instances of programmes and organisations that provide activities aligned with PYD approaches (Hamilton et al., 2004). There is overlap between PYD as an approach and PYD as programmes. Whilst PYD approaches, described above, suggest varied ways to support development, efforts have been made to define PYD programmes in order to differentiate them from other youth programmes and demonstrate effectiveness (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003a).

2.5.1 Programme Characteristics

Eccles's and Gootman's (2002) seminal work identified the following characteristics of successful PYD programmes: physical and psychological safety; structure; supportive relationships; opportunities to belong; positive social norms; support for efficacy and mattering (i.e., responsibility); empowerment and challenge; opportunities to build skills; and integration with family, school, and community. However, they noted that underlying these attributes, success often relied on relationships with leaders or peers.

Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003a) examined the literature to differentiate PYD programmes from others. Three key components were identified: programme goals, programme atmosphere, and programme activities. Programme goals are positive, broad, developmental, and incorporate appropriate challenge. Programme atmosphere refers to safe, family-like, culturally inclusive spaces that foster exploration and challenge, balancing freedom with expectations and boundaries. Programme activities push young people to try new things, develop skills, and are different from school (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003a). These authors described PYD programmes as one of many

developmental contexts, also including family, school, and community. Therefore, programmes cannot be the sole provider of developmental opportunities for youth.

Lerner (2004) summarised both of these lists into what is commonly known as ‘The Big Three’ which includes:

- 1) Opportunities for youth participation in and leadership of activities that
- 2) Emphasise the development of life skills within the context of a
- 3) Sustained and caring youth-adult relationship. (p. 127)

These lists provide important guidelines for enacting PYD in programmes. They contain common elements; relationships that allow youth to feel supported, a positive and competency building approach, and a focus on youth empowerment.

In recognising the many contexts for development, Pittman and Wright (1991) referred to ‘PYD agents’, who can be any person, place, programme, or organisation that positively influence youth in any context. Agents meet developmental needs, including safety, belonging, self-worth, contributing, independence, closeness, and mastery; and support the development of physical, social, cognitive, vocational, and citizenship competencies (Pittman & Wright, 1991).

Building on the idea of PYD agents, the Search Institute has recently created the Developmental Relationships Framework (Pekel et al., 2018; Scales et al., 2020) which outlines the key features of any developmental interaction, including programmes and other relationships such as those with family, teachers, or peers (Scales et al., 2020). Features include: expressing care, challenging growth, providing support, sharing power, and expanding possibilities. Relationships that provide these features show young people that they are important, push them to improve, enhance access to resources, and connect them with new experiences and people. These relationships are respectful and give young people a role in decision making (Scales et al., 2020). Pekel and colleagues (2018) have developed developmental relationship measures and looked at their presence in family, school, programme, and community contexts in the US through different studies. Findings suggest that developmental relationships have a role in positive outcomes, such as social/emotional skills, academic motivation, goal setting, and skill development, as well as in buffering against stressors and risk (Pekel et al., 2018).

2.5.2 Programme Outcomes and Effectiveness

Numerous studies of individual PYD programmes show positive results. Systematic reviews and meta-studies have synthesised these results, with several examples discussed below.

Early on, Catalano, Berglund, and colleagues (2002) reviewed evaluations of 25 PYD programmes that were deemed effective. These programmes showed outcomes of interpersonal skills, quality relationships, self-control, self-efficacy, problem solving, school commitment, and academic achievement, evident in 19 programmes, whilst 24 showed reductions in problem behaviours. The authors noted that evaluations were limited by under-developed assessment tools; lack of clarity around links between programme aims, PYD theories, and outcomes; and a focus on problematic more than positive behaviours.

Durlak and colleagues (2010) investigated 75 after-school PYD programmes aimed at enhancing personal or social skills. The authors found that programmes that were SAFE (sequenced, active, focused, explicit) in their approach to skill development could positively influence affect, behaviour, academic achievement and problem behaviours, whilst those that did not feature SAFE elements were less effective.

Ciocanel and colleagues' (2017) meta-analysis included 24 (20 based in the US and four elsewhere, including one from Aotearoa) randomised control trials of out-of-school PYD programmes. Results found that programmes had small but significant effects on self-perception, emotional distress, and academic achievement, but did not show significant results for reduction in problem behaviours or increases in pro-social behaviours. The lack of impact on problem behaviours has been reported elsewhere in recognising the complex interactions between PYD and risk (Lerner et al., 2019; Lerner & Lerner, 2013; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016).

Holt and colleagues (2017) conducted a meta-analysis of qualitative studies of PYD sport programmes. This analysis identified three categories of outcomes across the 63 included articles. These were: personal outcomes (30 studies) which included confidence, self-esteem, academic performance, independence, decision making, and positive attitude; social outcomes (30 studies) including friendships, leadership, and communication skills; and physical outcomes (7 studies) including physical and active living skills.

Common outcomes across all reviews related to self-perception, affect, and academic performance, suggesting PYD programmes do have impact on these areas. Other outcomes are less consistently clear. Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2016) suggested that the lack of a PYD programme definition may contribute to some studies showing limited effects, as programmes that do not use a PYD approach may be assessed as PYD programmes. They note that there is still no one definition of a PYD programme, nor has research on programmes generated an understanding of which elements most contribute to PYD for who, when, and how. Others note that there is also a lack of consistency in

how terms are defined, which can make it difficult to compare programmes and studies or be clear about the meaning of outcomes or their measurement (Raposa et al., 2019; Scales et al., 2017).

A further critique is a lack of integration between theory, programme delivery, and evaluation, as programmes do not always clearly articulate their approach or evaluate based on a specific PYD model or theory of change (Eichas et al., 2019; Lerner, 2019; Lerner et al., 2012). A lack of alignment between theory, approach, and delivery, can make it harder to identify how and why programmes are effective. Further, evaluations often measure a single intervention, or outcome rather than the interaction of youth and context as suggested by PYD theory (Eichas et al., 2019).

Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2016) proposed that programmes need to be understood as “a distinct context influencing development” (p. 191). They described programme outcomes as resulting from the interaction and fit between participant and programme characteristics and further influenced by broader contexts. Thus, they argued that viewing programmes as part of systems may contribute to better evaluation and evidence of effectiveness.

Building on the idea of programme outcomes as a result of person-context interactions, it is suggested that individuals’ outcomes need to be understood and compared with those of other participants (Lerner, 2019; Lerner & Chase, 2019). This is because at an approach level, programmes are interested in enhancing development for each individual and in reducing gaps between different groups (Lerner, 2019). This type of exploration is based on the ‘specificity principle’ that development is about specific change for specific individuals in specific ways at specific times and places. Research would be interested in all of these interactions (Bornstein, cited in Lerner et al., 2018; Lerner, 2019).

2.6 Key Tensions in PYD

Understanding and measuring PYD programmes highlights key tensions for PYD. As a developmental theory, PYD encourages specificity because of person-context interactions and the ability of both people and context to influence each other (Lerner et al., 2018). These ideas assume vast scope for possible developments. However, PYD models offer broad descriptors of development and approach, suggesting applicability to a range of contexts. Thus, there is a tension between specificity in development and a search for universals through models and frameworks that can be applied in a different settings and potentially to diverse youth. This tension is apparent at the programme level which attempts to enhance individual development, often through structured, group-based approaches that may or may not be guided by broad models.

The tensions are further highlighted through efforts to understand and measure the outcomes and effectiveness of programmes. For example, Overton (cited in Lerner & Kauffman, 1985) suggested that the individual and contextual specificity implicit in developmental contextualism cannot form a basis for scientific research, which is concerned with orderly approaches to knowledge. Similarly, Tolan and colleagues (2016) argued that the nature of PYD as an interaction between individual and context, makes it “conceptually inconsistent to examine effects, specific program efforts and group averages within a PYD framework” (p. 220).

Others take a more balanced view. For example, Lerner (2019; Lerner & Chase, 2019) suggested that only longitudinal studies using change-sensitive measures could effectively show individual and interindividual change. Without longitudinal measures, there is a risk that individual growth may not be seen and differences between individuals and groups may be incorrectly attributed to characteristics such as age, when they could be about other experiences or variables, which will only become clearer over time. Syversten and colleagues (2021) argued for striking a balance between enough invariance in quantitative measures to validate models with expectations of some variance due to different experience perceptions and contexts of youth.

Despite the idea of specificity, it is also argued that there are common features of youth developing positively (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; King et al., 2005; Lerner et al., 2019; Scales et al., 2016). Within these views, the need for consistent evaluation measures has also been suggested (Catalano, Berglund, et al., 2002; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016; Scales et al., 2016). These perspectives suggest that specificity can still be described and measured in broad terms.

Questions of whether varied development can be described and measured broadly are increasingly pertinent as the PYD perspective spreads globally, and the fit of theories and models developed in the Western world to other contexts is tested. Lerner and colleagues (2018) suggested Western models may be operationalised differently, or PYD itself may look different in culturally different settings. In support of the latter, a global study of the Developmental Assets Framework noted that in more collective cultures, the measures of identity, which included elements of individual self-concept and efficacy, were less relevant than elements related to attachment and collective harmony (Scales et al., 2017). Differences have also emerged in global Five Cs research (discussed in the next section).

By investigating perceptions of outcomes in different programmes this study will explore some of the tensions between specificity and generality by understanding both similarities and differences in different contexts. Greater understanding of similarity and difference and whether a broad outcomes framework is possible will help to determine if assertions that individual development can

be described broadly hold in the local setting. Understanding similarities and differences may also point to future directions in measuring specificity.

2.7 The Five Cs Model

2.7.1 Development and Definition

The Five Cs model had its origins in a report by the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development (1989) which described a set of attributes of positive development. It outlined positive, as opposed to deficit-based, goals for development (Heck & Subramaniam, 2009; Pittman al., 2000). The report described characteristics of a 15-year-old who was well prepared for adulthood, including being intellectually reflective and possessing a range of skills; enroute to meaningful work; caring and ethical; a healthy person with a positive self-image and sense of efficacy (Carnegie Council, 1989). These attributes evolved into the Five Cs with areas of skills, relationships, values, and positive self-image still evident. Contribution is included in some definitions and is proposed as a sixth C, which will be present when a young person is developing well (Lerner, 2004; Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005). Table 2.1 outlines early and modern definitions of the Five Cs.

The Five Cs are posited as descriptions of positively developing youth and would be present in those who are experiencing PYD (Geldhof et al., 2015; Lerner et al., 2019). Thus, the Five Cs are seen as indicators of positive development and outcomes of PYD processes, including effective programmes (Lerner et al., 1999; 2000).

Table 2.1 shows the evolution and differences in Five Cs definitions over time. The biggest differences may be seen between Pittman and colleagues' (2003) definition and others. While Pittman and colleagues describe the Five Cs as general indicators of PYD across all domains, later definitions are frequently linked to PYD programmes. Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003b) used them to categorise various programme goals, whilst Geldhof and colleagues (2015) suggested use of the Five Cs as both a guide to programme content and an evaluation tool. Thus, the Five Cs can be linked to the tripartite definition of PYD. Primarily, they are evidence that positive development is occurring, but they can also guide approaches and show the success of interventions.

Table 2.1

Definitions of the Five Cs

The Five Cs	Little (cited in Blum, 1998, p. 372)	Pittman et al. (2003, p. 11)	Roth & Brooks-Gunn (2003b, p. 173)	Lerner, Lerner, et al. (2005, p. 23); Lerner & Lerner (2011, p. 6)	Geldhof et al. (2015, pp. 162-163)
Competence	Competence in areas that improve the quality of a child or youth's life, such as literacy, employability, interpersonal, vocational and academic skills, and a sense of being able to contribute to their community.	Knowledge: Developing and reflecting on one's knowledge and experiences. Skills: Developing a range of skills across developmental areas (health, civic, physical, social, emotional, cognitive, personal). Behaviour: Applying and practicing new life skills and new roles.	Enhancing participants' social, academic, cognitive, and vocational competencies.	Positive view of one's actions in domain specific areas including social, academic, cognitive, and vocational. Health added by Lerner & Lerner (2011).	Young people live in complex environments that include, but are not limited to, their schools, places of worship, families, peer groups, extracurricular programmes, and workplaces. Positively developing youth must competently navigate these contexts and make the most out of resources that these contexts provide.
Confidence	Confidence-building experiments to give hope, self-esteem, and a sense of success in setting and meeting goals.	Self-worth: The perception that one's ideas and contributions are meaningful. Mastery and Future: Awareness of one's progress in life and projecting into the future.	Improving self-esteem, self-concept, self-efficacy, identity, and belief in the future.	An internal sense of overall positive self-worth and self-efficacy; one's global self-regard as opposed to domain specific beliefs.	Youth gain a sense of confidence when they are able to successfully navigate their contexts. Confident youth believe they can overcome obstacles and can have a meaningful impact on the world around them.
Connection	Connection of youth to others through caring relationships manifest in mentoring, tutoring, leadership, and community service opportunities.	Safety and Structure: Having access to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and security, including protection from hurt, injury, or loss. Membership and Belonging: Being a participating member of a community. Being intimately involved in at least one lasting relationship with another person.	Building and strengthening adolescents' relationship with other people and institutions, such as school.	Positive bonds with people and institutions that are reflected in bidirectional exchanges between the individual and peers, family, school, and community in which both parties contribute to the relationship.	Positive development occurs when young people are valued, integral members of their communities. For instance, they must be positively connected to their peers, families, schools, and communities. These connections enable young people to improve their own lives and improve the lives of those around them.

The Five Cs	Little (cited in Blum, 1998, p. 372)	Pittman et al. (2003, p. 11)	Roth & Brooks-Gunn (2003b, p. 173)	Lerner, Lerner, et al. (2005, p. 23); Lerner & Lerner (2011, p. 6)	Geldhof et al. (2015, pp. 162-163)
Character	Character through values that give meaning and direction to youth, such as individual responsibility, honesty, community service, responsible decision-making, and integrity in relationships.	Responsibility and Autonomy: Accountability for one's conduct and obligations. Independence and control over one's life. Spirituality: Connectedness to principles surrounding families, cultural groups, communities, and higher deities. An awareness of one's own personality or individuality.	Increasing self-control, decreasing engagement in health-compromising (problem) behaviours, developing respect for cultural or societal rules and standards, and a sense of right and wrong (morality), and spirituality.	Respect for societal and cultural rules, possession of standards for correct behaviours, a sense of right and wrong (morality), and integrity.	Positively developing youth internalise and respect social norms, appreciate standards of proper behaviour, and have a well-formed sense of right and wrong. These youth act appropriately, even when nobody else is around.
Caring			Improving youths' empathy and identification with others.	A sense of sympathy and empathy for others.	Positive development means more than just acting in one's own interests; thriving youth also show empathy and sympathy for the feelings and experiences of others. Positively developing young people believe that caring for those around them is important.
Contribution		Participation: Assuming roles as participants and leaders in various settings (family, school, community). Influence: Making a difference, advocating for a cause, making meaningful decisions, and accepting responsibility for mistakes.		Contributing positively to self, family, community, and, ultimately, civil society (driven by belief in the need to contribute to self-and other).	Positively developing youth tend to internalise an other-oriented ideology and act in ways that strengthen the families, schools, and communities in which they live. The development of PYD, therefore, represents a reciprocal relationship between young people and their contexts.

Over time, elements within the Cs have changed. For example, the Pittman definition includes health, civics, physical knowledge and skills in Competence, and having basic needs met and safety in Connection (Pittman et al., 2003). While civics could be arguably captured in Contribution, health and physical competencies are generally missed in later iterations, and safety is not referred to again. Lerner and Lerner (2011) reintroduce health under Competence, including nutrition, exercise, rest, and fitness.

Recent definitions from Geldhof and colleagues (2015) have added a more agentic and relational component to Competence. Here, Competence includes the navigation of contexts and use of resources, as does the definition of Confidence. This is quite a shift from the Lerner definitions (Lerner et al, 2005, Lerner & Lerner, 2011) of Competence which focus more on self-appraisal of skills.

Character also appears to have changed over time. Earlier definitions refer to values and responsibility (Little, cited in Blum, 1998; Pittman et al., 2003), while Pittman and colleagues' definition also includes autonomy and spirituality. Later versions (Geldhof et al., 2015; Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Roth & Brooks-Gunn; 2003b) shift Character to be about respect for societal and cultural norms, morality, knowing right from wrong, and correct behaviour. It is unclear what may be considered as moral, correct, and right in different contexts and cultures. Spirituality does not feature in Lerner's versions (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005, Lerner & Lerner, 2011).

The concept of identity also differs across definitions. Identity is linked to Character by Pittman and colleagues (2003) and to Confidence by Eccles and Gootman (2002). Whilst not explicitly mentioned in Lerner definitions, identity is assumed to sit within Confidence. The original Five Cs measure, which included 99 items from the PSL-AB, (developmental assets measure), measured positive identity under Confidence (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005). Identity is also linked to Contribution in Lerner models (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005), in that a young person possesses an identity such that they wish to contribute, linking back to Damon's (2004) theory of noble purpose. These placements potentially represent important differences in whether identity is seen as an internal and individual construct, or one that is more collectively aligned. These distinctions may be important in different cultural settings (Scales et al., 2017). Lack of specificity about identity in the Five Cs is interesting, considering a number of models and theorists discuss the importance of developing a positive sense of identity (Benson et al., 2007; Catalano, Berglund, et al., 2002; Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Spencer et al., 2012). Arnold, (2017) argues that a lack of linkage between PYD theory and models of identity development is an oversight in PYD generally; the focus on measuring identity constructs related to self-perception may miss other important domains, such as identity development.

Links to self-efficacy are present in all definitions, except Pittman and colleague's (2003). Self-efficacy is about one's belief in the ability to successfully undertake and achieve one's goals (Bandura, 1995). Little (cited in Blum, 1998) and Geldhof and colleagues (2015) referred to belief in success, whilst Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003b) and Lerner (Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011) referred to self-efficacy directly. The concept of self-efficacy is seen to relate to agency, because perceptions about ability to influence can lead to agentic action (Sun & Shek, 2012; Zimmerman & Cleary, 2006). Agency and the ability to shape the world may be captured under Contribution to self and other. Agency is more clearly suggested in Geldhof et al.'s (2015) definitions through mention of a meaningful impact on the world in Confidence and through young people being able to improve their own and others' lives in Connection, as well as the ability to navigate contexts and resources in Confidence and Competence. These links to agency in recent definitions may recognise the role of intentional self-regulation in supporting PYD (Gestsdóttir & Lerner, 2007, 2008).

Overall, whilst Lerner's (Lerner et al, 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011) definitions are commonly referred to, it appears there is no agreed or final definition of what comprises each C. How these are experienced and defined may be culturally and contextually bound, making universal definitions difficult or irrelevant (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Lerner et al., 2019).

2.7.2 The 4-H Study

Richard Lerner and colleagues at TUFTS University undertook a longitudinal study of the Five Cs, consisting of eight waves of data from 2002 to 2013 with over 7,000 participants from 13 states in America (Bowers et al., 2015; Lerner & Lerner, 2013). This was a theoretical study confirming that the Five Cs operationalise PYD as a developmental process, and a programme study assessing the role of 4-H programmes in enacting PYD. The latter was measured by comparing the presence of the Five Cs in students participating in 4-H with students in other out-of-school activities (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005). Programmes in 4-H include a range of school, after school and camp programmes in the United States covering healthy living, STEM¹, and civic engagement (4-H, n.d.).

The first wave aimed to show that PYD is comprised of the Five Cs, and to show a relationship between the Five Cs and increases in the sixth C of Contribution and reduced risk. It also aimed to show the relationship between programme participation, PYD, Contribution, and risk (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005). A Five Cs questionnaire was developed and used 99 of the 156 questions from the PSL-AB (Benson et al., 1998). Other scales related to self-perception and empathy were mapped to the Cs, whilst ecological assets, risk, self-regulation behaviours, future hopes, demographics, pubertal

¹ Science, Technology, Engineering, & Maths

level, and activity participation were also measured. Parent questionnaires assessed ecological assets, parental education, salary levels, and parenting behaviours (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005).

Results from the first wave suggested that the measures used were reliable and valid, that the Five Cs fit the data, and that the Five Cs mapped onto a second order construct of PYD (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005). As such, the data were seen to support the hypothesis that PYD as a developmental process can be represented by the Five Cs. A number of correlations were noted between variables within some Cs, and covariance between other Cs, especially Confidence and Competence and between Caring and Character. The authors noted that these were not unexpected given the theoretical relationships between constructs; for example, between achievement (Competence) and self-worth (Confidence). However, these relationships may also suggest that there are less than Five Cs or other constructs not yet defined. Results also showed relationships between PYD and Contribution and between programme participation and Contribution. However, a relationship between PYD when using the 5C measure and programme participation was not found (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005).

The authors concluded that the first-wave study demonstrated the existence of the Five Cs as indicators of PYD (as development). Further studies confirmed and validated the measure, including its fit for early adolescence (Phelps et al., 2009) and mid-adolescence (Bowers et al., 2010). Geldhof and colleagues (2014) developed and validated shortened measures of the Five Cs for older and younger adolescents. Other key findings from the 4-H study are described below.

2.7.2.1 PYD, Contribution, and Risk

The overall findings showed that the Five Cs and PYD scores were consistent over time. Average scores during early and middle adolescence tended to predict average scores later on, suggesting that a lot may be needed to shift an individual's developmental trajectory (Geldhof et al., 2015). There was also little difference in PYD scores between those involved in 4-H programmes and those involved in other activities, except at grades 8 and 11 (Lerner & Lerner, 2013). As such, the extent to which programmes are successful in influencing development (measured by the Five Cs) is unclear from this study, given that all participants were involved in something which may or may not contain PYD elements. Alternatively, it may be that the Five Cs are too broad to describe the outcomes of programmes (Arnold & Gagnon, 2019) or measures are not sensitive enough to detect the changes made in programmes (Kajokienė et al., 2015).

The study assessed the relationship between the Five Cs and the 6th C of Contribution. Jellic and colleagues (2007) used data from the first two waves to assess the relationships between PYD scores at Grade 5 (age 10 years) and Contribution scores and risk behaviours at Grade 6. PYD scores at

Grade 5 related to increased Contribution and lower risk and depression at Grade 6. In waves four and five, Contribution was predicted by both programme participation and young people's self-regulation skills, whilst self-regulation skills predicted PYD (Mueller et al., 2011). Zaff and colleagues (2011) looked at Contribution as active and engaged citizenship (AEC), comprising civic participation, civic duty, civic efficacy, and neighbourhood connection. Using data from waves four to seven, the study found that young people developed their sense of civic duty and efficacy over time, but that civic participation did not similarly increase, possibly due to lack of opportunity. The study also found links between programme participation and civic participation, suggesting that programmes can positively influence civic participation (Zaff et al., 2011). This was supported in the final 4-H study which showed that participants in 4-H programmes had higher Contribution scores than those in other programmes (Lerner & Lerner, 2013). However, this would suggest that PYD, as measured by the Five Cs, does not necessarily predict Contribution, given that 4-H youth had higher levels of Contribution but not higher levels of PYD than those not in 4-H programmes.

Regarding risk, the first wave found that relationships between PYD scores and risk scores were not directly inverse (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005)—findings borne out in later waves (Lewin-Bizan et al. 2010; Phelps et al., 2009), with the exception of Jelcic and colleagues' (2007) study which noted a relationship between PYD scores at Grade 5 and lower risk at Grade 6. Geldhof and colleagues (2015) asserted that when averages between PYD and risk scores and between PYD and depressive symptoms were compared, the two were inversely related. However, these relationships did not hold when looking at specific trajectories for different youth. Strong conclusions about the role of the Five Cs and PYD in reducing risk cannot be drawn; thus, evidence of positive development may not always mitigate risk.

2.7.2.2 The Role of ISR

As the 4-H study drew on RDS metatheory, it was also interested in how young people contributed to their own development through ISR. ISR is operationalised through Selection, Optimisation, and Compensation or SOC behaviours (Gestsdóttir & Lerner, 2008; Schmid et al., 2011; Weiner et al., 2015). Here, young people select a goal and an environment in which to achieve it, use the resources within that environment to achieve the goal, and correct their course along the way when faced with challenges (Chauveron et al., 2015; Gestsdóttir & Lerner, 2008). In the 4-H study, higher SOC scores were correlated with higher PYD scores (Lerner et al., 2012). Gestsdóttir and Lerner (2008) examined data from the first two waves of the 4-H Study and found that the presence of SOC as a global construct for early adolescents was positively related to both the Five Cs and PYD and, further, showed negative associations with risk and problem behaviour measures. Other studies have similarly found positive relationships between SOC behaviours and later PYD scores (Mueller et

al., 2011; Zimmerman et al., 2007). Schmid and colleagues (2011) looked at data from waves three to five assessing both SOC behaviours and hopeful future expectations. In this study, higher SOC behaviours related to higher PYD scores and Contribution levels, and lower levels of depressive symptoms and risk behaviours. However, in their analysis, hopeful future expectations, such as hopes for education, employment, and family, had a stronger predictive relationship with positive trajectories than SOC behaviours (Schmid et al., 2011). SOC behaviours may also interact with ecological assets. For example, a study by Urban and colleagues (2010) found that youth with higher SOC scores gained the most from PYD programmes in neighbourhoods with lower levels of ecological assets. This suggests that SOC behaviours may represent key youth skills in being able to make use of the assets around them to enhance their own development. All of these studies suggest that the ability to self-regulate and perform SOC behaviours plays an important role in PYD, Contribution, and reduced risk.

2.7.2.3 The Role of Ecological Assets

The 4-H study also looked at the relationships between ecological assets, the Five Cs, and PYD scores. Using a sub-sample from the first wave of the 4-H study, Theokas and Lerner (2006) found that collective family activity, measured by eating dinner together, and family physical resources positively impacted PYD scores to a greater extent than school and neighbourhood assets. School assets appeared to have the strongest relationship with Contribution, likely because the resources and activities in schools provided opportunities to contribute (Theokas & Lerner, 2006). The final 4-H report found that relationships with individuals, such as teachers, parents, and faith leaders, were the largest ecological asset in predicting PYD and Contribution; however, individual assets, such as ISR were more influential on PYD than ecological assets (Lerner & Lerner, 2013).

2.7.2.4 The Lerner and Lerner Model of PYD

The 4-H study proposed a model of how PYD as a developmental process is enacted: that the combination and alignment of individual and contextual assets lead to the Five Cs (PYD) resulting in Contribution and reduced risk (Geldhof et al., 2015; Lerner & Lerner, 2013). However, as noted above, these relationships are not always linear or clear and may be highly complex. The 4-H study has shown that the Five Cs can be a valid measure of PYD, that ISR when measured by SOC behaviours is related to PYD, that programme participation is related to higher Contribution, and that PYD and risk are not clearly inversely related (Lerner & Lerner, 2013).

2.7.2.5 Questions About the Five Cs

These findings pose a number of areas requiring further consideration, including:

- The extent to which programmes influence PYD scores and the Five Cs. It may be that programmes are one of many possible ecological assets (Pittman & Wright, 1991; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003a; Scales et al., 2016) and, as such, they may not show strong impacts when measured alone.
- The extent to which the Five Cs measure captures the PYD outcomes that occur in programmes and whether PYD is different for those in programmes as compared to those not in any programmes. The Five Cs may be too broad to accurately describe programme outcomes (Arnold & Gagnon, 2019), or measures may not be sensitive enough to capture changes that do occur (Kajokienė et al., 2015).
- The relationship between PYD scores and risk, and whether this relationship may be different for youth with higher risk, given that 86.6% of youth in the 4-H study had no or low levels of risk (Lerner & Lerner, 2013).
- The relationship between the Five Cs and Contribution. Contribution appears related to PYD, programme participation, and SOC behaviours (Lerner & Lerner, 2013). A predictive relationship between the Five Cs and Contribution has not been consistently shown. Thus, it is unclear whether Contribution is an overarching impact of PYD or another construct similar to the other Cs.
- Whether the Five Cs model and measure translates in different cultural contexts, as 65% of study participants were European Americans (Lerner & Lerner, 2013).

2.7.3 The Five Cs in Other Contexts

To help address some of these questions Five Cs research has expanded to other countries. Some studies have looked at the relevance of the Five Cs as a general measure of PYD within a population, whilst others have looked at the Five Cs in relation to programmes. A number of these studies are summarised below.

Conway and colleagues (2015) tested the Five Cs measure on a sample of 672 adolescents (11-19 years) in post-primary schools in Ireland. Results showed that the Five Cs model was an adequate fit to the data, that the measure appeared suitable for both older and younger groups, and that the Five Cs related to increased Contribution and reduced risk. Covariance was seen between Character and Caring, suggesting, as did Lerner's work (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005), that these may represent the same or another construct.

A Lithuanian study (Kajokienė et al., 2015) looked at the Five Cs as indicators of programme effectiveness by using the Positive Youth Development Inventory Measure, a different measure from

that used in the 4-H study. This study compared results of youth from two high schools participating in a school based PYD programme with those from the same two high schools who did not participate in the programme. The study did not find any differences in PYD and Contribution scores between programme participants and non-participants. The authors suggested that broad Five Cs measures may not adequately capture programme outcomes and other specific measures may be more relevant, such as self-efficacy, spirituality, or more culturally specific measures. The authors also noted that Lithuania's unique cultural context, and the historical influence of Soviet occupation, may influence results (Kajokienė et al., 2015).

Holsen and colleagues (2017) used the Five Cs short measure on a sample of nearly 1,200 Norwegian adolescents in a school-based programme promoting mental health and empowerment and compared this to the results of a sample from the 4-H study. They found that the Cs were largely similar across the two samples, suggesting similarity in PYD across these cultures. They also found a relationship between higher levels of Caring and higher levels of anxiety and depression. This relationship between Caring and anxiety was also seen in a study looking at the Five Cs and anxiety in Portugal, Slovenia, and Spain (Kozina et al., 2021).

Tirrell and colleagues (2019) described part of a larger longitudinal study looking at PYD approaches in three nations delivering faith-based programmes from a global aid organisation, Compassion International (CI). This study measured thriving, spirituality, and hope for youth in El Salvador participating in a CI programme compared with those not in the programme. PYD was assessed using the Five Cs Short Form measure (Geldhof et al., 2014). The study aimed to test the measurement model and the differences in PYD between programme participants and non-participants. Youth in the programme showed higher levels of spirituality and Character than those not in the programme. There was also a link between Connection and Character for CI participants that was not present for non-CI youth. The authors concluded that the measure shows promise but requires further testing for such a culturally and socioeconomically different context to previous Five Cs research.

A recently published book researching PYD outside of North America presents findings from a range of studies that are part of a larger project, PYD Across Cultures, involving over 30 countries (Dimitrova & Wiium, 2021). This project draws on both the Five Cs model and the Developmental Assets and proposes a new 7Cs Model. A number of the Five Cs studies included in this project and the new model are summarised below.

Dimitrova and colleagues (2021) tested the validity and reliability of the Five Cs measure for youth in Bulgaria, Italy, Norway, and Romania, providing a comparative study of the Five Cs in different countries. They found the Five Cs measure to be reliable and valid in all groups and linked the Five Cs

to PYD. In another comparative study, Fernandes, Pivec, and colleagues (2021) investigated the Five Cs in over 4,000 students aged 15-25 years from Ghana, Norway, Portugal, Slovenia, and Turkey. This study found differences in the Five Cs between groups, with Ghanaian youth possessing higher levels of Confidence and Character, and those from Ghana, Kosovo, and Turkey having higher levels of Caring and Connection, with participants from Slovenia and Portugal having lower levels of Connection. Cognisance of these differences may help to tailor PYD interventions for different populations (Dimitrova et al., 2021).

In another study, the Five Cs measure was found to be reliable and valid for a sample of 243 youth in Mexico aged 12-19 years (Dominguez Espinosa et al., 2021). This study also found the Five Cs to be related to healthy lifestyle behaviours such as physical activity and fruit and vegetable intake (Dominguez Espinosa et al., 2021). The Five Cs have also been assessed in relation to other constructs and variables such as mathematical ability in Slovenia (Kozina et al., 2019); environmental concerns in Ghana (Kabir & Wiium, 2021); subjective happiness in Spain (Gomez-Baya et al., 2021) and hope and life satisfaction in Aotearoa (Fernandes, Fetvadjev, et al., 2021) and Malaysia (Abdul Kadir & Mohd, 2021).

Li and colleagues (2021) tested the fit of the Five Cs model to a PYD model based on the PATHS programme that was developed in Hong Kong and later adapted in China. Their study mapped the 15 constructs of PYD measured in PATHS to the Five Cs and found that emotional confidence, cognitive competence, and self-efficacy mapped to Competence; behavioural competence, self-determination, and clear and positive identity mapped to Confidence; bonding spirituality and beliefs in the future linked to Connection; and social competence, resilience, and recognition for positive behaviour linked to Character. Moral competence, prosocial norms, and involvement linked to Caring (Li et al., 2021). This study highlights where the same constructs may mean different things in different cultures (Lerner et al., 2019). For example, social competence, which may be attributed with the C of Competence in North America, was associated with Character in this setting because social competence was important for maintaining harmony within a collective culture (Li et al., 2021). Similarly, in the Chinese setting, Connection was wider than relationships and included spiritual and future components, suggesting that Connection spans time and place.

These studies help to understand some of the contextual variables of PYD in different contexts and provide evidence of the applicability of the Five Cs model and measures to different cultural contexts and age ranges. Many of the findings suggest that the Five Cs model and measure is valid in diverse settings and highlight the growing interest in the relevance of the Five Cs as a global PYD model. Whilst some of the summarised studies have relatively small samples, combined they suggest that

the Five Cs measure is understood similarly in different contexts. They also highlight where concepts may be contextually specific or more widely applicable (Dimitrova & Wiium, 2021).

2.7.3.1 The 7Cs Model

Some studies in the PYD Across Cultures project have proposed an additional C, forming a 7Cs model. In this model, Contribution is seen as an overarching C as per the Lerner model (Lerner & Lerner, 2013), with Creativity forming an additional C (Dimitrova et al., 2021). Creativity is defined as “novel-original and useful-adaptive, problem-solving ability meaningful within a social and cultural context” (Dimitrova et al., 2021, p. 20). These skills are seen to enhance development by providing enjoyment and opportunities for confidence development and connection with others. Creativity is also seen as key to identity development because adaptation and problem-solving skills provide opportunities to test out different ways to be (Dimitrova et al., 2021). This C is seen as particularly important for young people from disadvantaged environments because it helps in successfully navigating challenges (Manrique-Millones et al., 2021). The addition of this C and its links to identity formation potentially address some of Arnold’s (2017) critiques that these elements are underexplored in PYD studies.

Dimitrova and colleagues (2021) tested the 7Cs model with 852 young people in Indonesia, Pakistan, and India—all lower-and middle-income countries which have some of the largest youth populations in the world. Their study used the Five Cs Short form measure (Geldhof et al., 2014) and measured creativity with 9 items from the Reisman Diagnostic Creativity Assessment (Reisman et al., 2016). These items measured solution development to challenges and brainstorming skills. The study also measured developmental assets and hope. The results showed that all 7Cs related to PYD and that the Five Cs and Creativity related to Contribution (Dimitrova et al., 2021). The study also found that the Cs and developmental assets related positively to hope and Contribution (Dimitrova et al., 2021).

The 7Cs model has also been tested in Colombia and Peru with older adolescents aged 16-18 years and emerging adults aged 19-29 years (Manrique-Millones et al., 2021). The same measures were used as in Dimitrova and colleague’s (2021) study and similar results were shown, where the 7Cs loaded onto PYD and the 6Cs (including Creativity) loaded onto PYD leading to Contribution. This particular study also looked at relationships between the 7Cs and risky behaviours, with PYD scores negatively related to risk behaviours of alcohol and drug use, violence, and suicide attempts. A further study in Malaysia used the same measures of the 7Cs and, again, found validity and reliability for the model with this population (Abdul Kadir et al., 2021).

The addition of a 7th C raises a number of areas for further consideration. All of the 7Cs studies described above showed that the model was valid in the studied settings (Abdul Kadir et al., 2021;

Dimitrova et al., 2020; Manrique-Millones et al., 2021). As these are early studies, it is unclear whether the presence of Creativity as an indicator of PYD represents something unique about the experiences of young people in these settings or if it is a construct of PYD more broadly. It can also be questioned whether other contextually specific or universal Cs are yet to be identified.

2.7.3.2 Qualitative Five Cs Studies

There are relatively few qualitative studies of the Five Cs. Two qualitative programme studies have looked at the Five Cs as programme outcomes using semi-structured interviews with small samples (Fuller et al., 2013; Mercier et al., 2019). In both these studies, the Cs were identified as programme outcomes. However, both studies used deductive coding strategies based on the Five Cs, which means that researchers may have been biased towards seeing these outcomes whilst potentially missing others.

Qualitative studies may help to understand cultural nuances of the Five Cs (Lerner et al., 2018). One such study explored indigenous youth perceptions of the Five Cs in three Canadian cities. It involved 43 youth participating in a sport or physical activity programme who self-identified as belonging to First Nations, Metis, and Inuit peoples (Strachan et al., 2018). Data were gathered using talking circles; a sharing process embedded in First Nations culture, and participants were asked about their views of each of the Five Cs in sport. The analysis identified similarities and differences in the way these youths expressed the Five Cs compared to generally accepted definitions. Competence was difficult for participants to describe, which may be attributable to disparities in wellbeing for indigenous youth (Strachan et al., 2018). Connection included cultural concepts of connection to land, while Confidence included concepts of bravery and freedom. The authors noted that for these youth, the Five Cs were related to conceptions of the 'self' which may be different to Five Cs definitions in literature and other studies. This study points to the importance of understanding the Five Cs in different cultural contexts (Strachan et al., 2018). Qualitative Five Cs studies can play an important role in broadening concepts or identifying where existing definitions do not fit young people's experiences. The lack of qualitative Five Cs studies represents a gap in the literature and an opportunity to supplement knowledge from the increased global use of the Five Cs measure with experiential accounts.

2.7.3.3 The Five Cs – Utility and Uncertainties

Overall, the Five Cs model provides an easy to understand and well-known way to conceptualise indicators of PYD. There is growing interest in its application internationally, as evidenced by the studies summarised above. The Five Cs may have utility as global shorthand for PYD with language and measures through which to understand similarities and differences in both development and

programme outcomes in different settings. Recent studies from the PYD Across Cultures project (Dimitrova & Wiium, 2021) suggest exciting developments in understanding different contextual and cultural experiences using the Five Cs.

The addition of Creativity as a 7th C (Dimitrova et al., 2021), combined with covariance between some Cs in other studies (Conway et al., 2015; Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005) raises questions about whether the Five Cs and existing measures fully capture PYD and whether there may be other constructs.

In addition, the role of the Five Cs as a model and measure of programme outcomes is still uncertain. Geldhof and colleagues (2015) suggested the Five Cs measure can be utilised as a programme evaluation tool; however, the 4-H study did not show large differences in PYD scores between 4-H participants and others. There is also limited understanding of differences in Five Cs scores for youth in programmes compared to youth not in programmes, as studies assessing this have shown mixed results (e.g., Kajokienė et al., 2015; Tirrell et al., 2019). Thus, the question remains whether the Five Cs are developed in PYD programmes, to what extent and whether they can act as useful tools to measure programme outcomes. Further exploration of these relationships is required (Lerner et al., 2018).

There are also no agreed definitions of the Five Cs; however, the Lerner definitions (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005) are frequently cited. This is possibly due to the use of the Five Cs measure to which the definitions are linked, in many other studies. It is unclear if standard definitions are useful or warranted. The Cs may be both universally relevant and contextually different (Eccles & Gootman; 2002; Lerner et al., 2018). Thus, the Five Cs, like PYD, hold a tension between universality and specificity. Lerner and colleagues (2018) suggested that qualitative approaches can help tease out contextual differences.

2.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of literature on the PYD perspective, with particular focus on a tripartite view of PYD as development, philosophy, and programmes. In exploring these aspects, the chapter has identified RDS metatheory as an overarching developmental theory as well models and approaches that guide both views of development and approaches to intervention. The chapter also assessed definitions of PYD programmes and evidence of their outcomes, noting that there are currently no clear definitions of PYD programmes or detailed understandings of how, when, and for whom they are most effective (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016). From describing this tripartite view of PYD, the chapter highlighted a key tension in the field of PYD between universality and specificity;

namely that development is specific and unique but attempts to describe and influence this development are often more broadly applied. These tensions are particularly evident in attempts to understand programme outcomes and in translating PYD models to other contexts where questions about the interplay of individual experience and universal indicators arise.

The chapter then provided an overview of the Five Cs model, which is of particular interest in this study and growing in use internationally. The chapter examined various definitions of the Five Cs, the longitudinal 4-H study from the United States which validated the Five Cs, and subsequent studies from around the world which further advance Five Cs scholarship. Unanswered questions about the Five Cs were highlighted, including the level to which they may be similar or different in various cultural contexts, their utility as a programme measure, and whether or not there may be more as yet unidentified elements of the Cs or PYD.

These uncertainties emphasise the need to explore the relevance of the Five Cs model and its relationship to the perception of programme outcomes in the local context. Exploration will help to address some of the next steps identified by Lerner and colleagues (2018) in understanding whether and how the Five Cs are experienced in PYD programmes in different contexts by using a qualitative approach. Seeing whether there is alignment between young people's views of outcomes in programmes and the Five Cs model may help to identify unique features of PYD programmes in Aotearoa compared to other contexts and understand similarities and differences within and between programmes. The following chapter will explore PYD and the Five Cs from an Aotearoa context.

Chapter 3: PYD in Aotearoa

This chapter explores PYD in Aotearoa using a similar structure to Chapter 2. First, it considers PYD as a developmental process from Te Ao Māori², Pacific, and Aotearoa-centric perspectives, recognising that these are my interpretations of this literature as a Pākehā researcher. Second, it looks at PYD as an approach, reviewing local PYD models. Third, it explores PYD as programmes, focusing on how outcomes of local PYD programmes are perceived in the literature and links between this perception and the Five Cs model. It concludes with a discussion of the Five Cs in the local context.

3.1 PYD as Development

This section examines differing views of youth development in Aotearoa, starting with Te Ao Māori perspectives, examples of Pacific views, and local Western views. These position PYD within the local context.

3.1.2 Views of Development in Te Ao Māori

Māori had been in Aotearoa approximately 600 years before the arrival of Pākehā (Broughton & McBreen, 2015). Māori society had clear and complex societal systems, customs, and processes, including views about development and the roles of young people (Caddie & Ross, 2011). While different iwi³ have authority over their own affairs (Durie, 1995), a number of authors highlight commonalities in Māori views of youth in pre-colonial times, including: children and youth were highly valued (Caddie & Ross, 2011; Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2015, 2016; Ware, 2009); children and youth had clear roles within their whānau⁴, hapu⁵, and iwi (Caddie & Ross, 2011; Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2016; Keelan, 2014; Ware, 2009); and a key part of development was learning these roles and preparing for other roles that they would hold later in life (Baxter et al., 2016; Keelan, 2014). Keelan (2014) noted that young people were seen as taitamariki⁶ until adulthood, and the idea of youth as a distinct period was a later construct. Transition to adulthood occurred when the young person's parents or siblings of parents died, or when they became a parent themselves (Ware, 2009).

² The Māori world view

³ Tribe – large group of people descended from a common ancestor and from a distinct area (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

⁴ Family/extended family (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

⁵ Subtribe – several whānau descended from a common ancestor (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

⁶ Young, young people (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

According to MacFarlane (2004), distinct developmental phases do not exist in Te Ao Māori; rather, there is an ongoing connection and relationship between the living and the dead, past and present, physical, and spiritual, and that development is embedded in Māori values and tikanga⁷. Whilst different authors prioritise different values and aspects of tikanga, key threads of whakapapa, whanaungatanga, mana, and mauri help to build an understanding of youth development from a Te Ao Māori perspective.

Whakapapa is about genealogy; understanding where one has come from to appreciate one's place and role (Borrell, 2005; Eketone, 2013; Hamley & Le Grice, 2021). Whakapapa is important to understanding interconnectedness with people, the environment, and the cosmos because it is through whakapapa that Māori trace their connections to ancestors, land, traditions, and values (McFarlane, 2004; Rameka, 2018). It is also through whakapapa that Māori trace their connections back to the gods and to pūrākau⁸ which inform values and tikanga (McFarlane, 2004). In early times, all youth had a right to know their whakapapa and were taught this from an early age (Caddie & Ross, 2011).

It is in the context of interconnectedness between past and present that the value of children and youth can be appreciated, as they represent the continuation of a cycle of generations and realms. They are future ancestors (Hamley & Le Grice, 2021). Edwards and colleagues (2007) noted that the term 'mokopuna' or grandchild, which translates to an image reflected in a pool, shows how children were seen as a reflection of the grandparents. Traditionally, grandparents played a key role in raising children and guiding young people, whilst parents focused on taking care of the physical and economic needs of the whānau overall (Caddie & Ross, 2011; Edwards et al., 2007). Wider whānau were also responsible for the development of youth (Hamley & Le Grice, 2021; Stuart & Jose, 2014). Smith (1995) defined whānau as extended family, often spanning several generations, and the values and practices therein, which support the learning and development of children.

The role of whānau links to the second key concept of whanaungatanga. In youth development, whanaungatanga speaks to the interdependence of connections and of an individual's role within a wider group (Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). Roles, responsibilities, and what young people learned about could be determined by birth order, place in the wider whānau, or status (Caddie & Ross, 2011; Edwards et al., 2007). Thus, both whakapapa and whanaungatanga influenced the direction of youth development. Caddie and Ross (2011) described how young males would learn skills such as house building and fishing from their fathers, could be apprenticed to an elder carver or tattooist, be

⁷ Customary values and practices (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

⁸ Stories and legends (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

dedicated as warriors, or learn agriculture, whilst sons of chiefs and priests were given additional education by birth-right. Three key processes are described for how young people were supported to develop in traditional Māori societies: Pukengatanga, mentoring from an elder; Whare wānanga, schools for specialist learning; and Urungatanga, learning from observation (Baxter et al., 2016; Caddie & Ross, 2011).

Whanaungatanga highlights how young people had roles to play in society that contributed to the functioning of the wider whole. Keelan (2014) noted that young people were not responsible for whānau outcomes but were expected to contribute to them. Young people, like all members of Māori society, saw how they both contributed to and benefited from their connections as part of reciprocal relationships. Rameka (2018) positioned whanaungatanga more widely to connection with people, place, environment, spirituality, and language, showing how youth development in Te Ao Māori cannot be separated from wider contexts.

A further key concept in Te Ao Māori that links to all of these areas is mana. Often referred to as power, authority, or prestige mana is more complex than that. It is about one's standing in relation to others and the measure of one's actions for the good of others (Ware, 2009). Mana can be inherited from the gods/deities (mana atua), from ancestors (mana tupuna) and can be enhanced by actions (mana tāngata). Mana also comes from the land (mana whenua) (Eketone, 2013). Mana can exist within groups and be collective, such as mana tāne (mana of males) or mana wāhine (mana of females) (Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2015).

Eruera and Ruwhiu (2015) suggested that mana links the human, natural, and ideological/spiritual dimensions of life. The concept of mana is a dynamic system, one does not simply have a certain amount of mana that is static over a lifetime; rather, mana is enhanced or diminished by interactions and relationships with others and with the natural and spiritual worlds. Eruera and Ruwhiu (2015) described mana as the 'cement' that guides these various interactions. Care and maintenance of these systems can be expressed through manaakitanga, which is about caring and hospitality towards others such that both parties' mana is enhanced (Eketone, 2013). Care for the land is shown by kaitiakitanga, which relates to the reciprocal relationship with the environment that supports whānau, hapu, and iwi, and the responsibility to ensure the relationship is sustainable (Eketone, 2013).

Mana as related to identity is both inherent and developed. As an inherent characteristic, mana links with tapu—the sacredness and potential of the person, the mauri or life energy of the person, and the wairua or spirit, which, together, make up essential parts of who one is (Rameka, 2015). In Rameka's (2015) view, mana is the physical manifestation of a person's sacredness or potential; and,

therefore, has links to self-perception. As something that can be developed through actions, mana can also be related to self-worth, agency, values, and social roles (Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2015; Royal, cited in Webber & McFarlane, 2020).

The final key concept of mauri relates to life force and energy which is in all people and things (Keelan, 2009). Mauri is seen as a binding force that gives shape to who one is, linking a person's wairua or spirit with the body (Ngawati et al., 2018). Thus, mauri, along with mana, wairua, and tapu, is also related to identity (Keelan, 2009; Ngawati et al., 2018). Mauri is a connecting force that links all people and things (Marsden, 1992); again, highlighting the importance of interconnectedness between people, whakapapa, spirituality, and environment in Te Ao Māori. Mauri, like mana, can also be maintained, enhanced, or diminished through different actions and experiences and can be collective; for example, the mauri of a group or experience (Keelan, 2009).

It is easy to see how Western views of development may feel incompatible with a Te Ao Māori worldview. Western approaches often compartmentalise different domains or life stages, which does not fit with the sense of interconnectedness in Te Ao Māori (MacFarlane, 2004). It is also easy to see how the processes and tools of colonisation disrupted these systems in which youth traditionally developed. As described above, youth development was firmly embedded in the contexts of whānau, hapu, iwi and understood through whakapapa, whanaungatanga, mana, and mauri. Divesting Māori of their lands, banning cultural practices, forcing Māori youth to assimilate into Pākehā culture through education and banning of Te Reo, disrupted processes of learning, development, and identity formation (Edwards et al., 2007; Ware, 2009). As land was lost and Western cultural and economic practices overtook traditional approaches, many Māori were forced to move to urban areas for work, disrupting whānau, hapu, and iwi structures, and reducing the contexts and relationships in which Māori developed and thrived (Keiha & Moon, 2008; Rameka, 2018). These losses from colonisation have been key in contributing to wellbeing disparities for Māori and Māori youth (Clark et al., 2018).

Contemporary views of youth development in Te Ao Māori propose that young people navigate two different worlds concurrently: in both Māori and Pākehā contexts and in youth development and Māori development (Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). In exploring these intersections, Ware and Walsh-Tapiata (2010) sought young Māori views of PYD from a cultural perspective. Participants identified the importance of tikanga, whanaungatanga, mana, and manaakitanga. In this context tikanga was about common sense and social norms, whanaungatanga was about the importance of connections in young people's lives, and mana was about interdependence with whānau and communities and their individual and collective success. Manaakitanga was about the importance of

respect and kindness in relationships. Four important characteristics for youth were also identified: maia (confidence), manawanui (resilience), ihumanea (innovative), and mahaki (humility) (Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). This study provides an indigenous youth perspective on PYD and highlights both internal and external contributors. Interestingly, the identification of innovation as an important internal characteristic may link to the 7th C of creativity as proposed by Dimitrova and colleagues (2021).

Keelan (2009) further explored PYD through a Te Ao Māori lens including relationships that enhance development, a strengths-based orientation, and a participatory approach. For Māori youth, relationships are those within wider whānau, hapu, and iwi that enhance mana and are reciprocal (Keelan, 2009, 2014). A strengths-based approach relates to celebration of what it means to be young Māori; high-expectations about equity for Māori and that young people can have a hopeful orientation towards their future (Keelan, 2009). Keelan (2009, 2014) described participation as young Māori engaging in Te Reo⁹ and their cultural practices as Māori, having Māori mentors and role models, and preparation for future leadership within Māori contexts. The idea of PYD for Māori youth as engaging in Te Ao Māori links to one of the central ideas of youth development; namely, the interaction of the strengths of the young person with the strengths in their various contexts (Lerner, 2005).

3.1.3 Views of Development in Pacific Contexts

It is important to acknowledge that the Pacific is made up of numerous diverse peoples and cultures including, but not limited to Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau, and Fiji (Boon Nanai et al., 2022). Thus, the idea of a single Pacific view of development is incorrect (Anae, 2010), and Tupuola (1994) in her research with young Samoan women, noted that the concept of adolescence was not relevant for these participants. However, some key Pacific concepts will be discussed which help to position Pacific views of youth and development. Understanding PYD through a Pacific lens is important because 2018 census identifies 15.5% of the population in Tāmaki Makaurau as Pacific (Stats NZ, n.d., c) and youth make up 30% of this group (Stats NZ, n.d., e).

Development in Pacific cultures cannot be separated from the context, including family, land, spirituality, language, and interconnectedness with others and the environment. These relationships shape both the individual and society (Mila-Schaaf, 2006), while connections to environment, ancestors, stories, and culture are deeply spiritual (Toso, 2011). From a Samoan perspective, Toso (2011) argued that spirituality provides a backdrop to values, navigating challenges, finding one's place in the world, and identity development. Connections with land and sea further help to locate

⁹ Māori language

the Samoan person within physical, historical, and spiritual worlds (Tamasese, 2002). Thus, development is inherently connected to all of these aspects and the self is collectively, relationally, and contextually oriented (Mila-Schaaf, 2006; Tamasese, 2002).

The pan-Pacific concept of *va* helps to understand relationships between self, other, and context. It refers to the relational and spiritual space between people, places, ancestors, the cosmos, and time (Airini et al., 2010; Anae, 2010; Anae et al., 2002; Ioane, 2017; Matapo & McFall-McCaffery, 2022; Tuagalu, 2008). In Samoan culture, *va* acknowledges *va tapuia*, the sacredness in these relationships; *va feooa'i*, the spaces between relationships; and *teu le va*, the maintenance of these spaces (Anae, 2010). These aspects of the *va*, prioritise collective wellbeing and guide actions, etiquette, language, boundaries, and social processes (Anae, 2010). *Va* is not a static concept. As relationships and context change, so do people; and within this system everyone has responsibility for *teu le va* (*tauhi vā* from a Tongan perspective) and creating harmonious relationships (Mila-Schaaf, 2006). The *va* is important for young people's development and wellbeing, because it is within this space that identity is formed (Mila-Schaaf, 2006).

Relationships are also guided by values, which form a frame for development. Respect in particular is seen as key to maintaining the *va*: respecting others, obligations, and relationships (Mila-Schaaf, 2006); for young people respecting authority and elders (Boon-Nanai et al., 2022; Ioane, 2017); and, in Samoan culture, brothers caring for sisters (Matapo & McFall-McCaffery, 2022). Toso (2011) described a number of additional core values which are seen as key to children and young people's development: "From a Samoan cultural perspective the values of *feafaasoaai* (collaboration) *fetausia* (reciprocity) love, *tapuia/va fealoai* (respect) and *tautua* (service) *tofa autasi* (consensus) *ava fatafata* (protocol) enable young children to develop a sense of being and belonging" (p. 130). For some young people, these values may be enacted through service to family and ensuring one's actions reflect well on family, such as through educational success (Samu, 2011; Tuagalu, 2008).

From a Tongan perspective, core values of *faka'apa'apa* – respect, *loto tō* – humility, *tāuhi vā* – maintaining relationships with other, *mamahi'i me'a* – loyalty, and *ofa* – love are highlighted (M. Koloto, 2021; Mafile'o, 2019). Love can also be expressed through service to others (Mafile'o, 2019). Values guide the Tongan way of life, as well as family relationships, hierarchies and obligations, Christianity, and education (M. Koloto, 2021). In Tongan culture, children are viewed positively and may be raised by wider family. Propriety between males and females is important during adolescence (A. Koloto, 2004); whilst Feki (2015) described additional responsibilities for the eldest female child in caring for siblings, parents, and the household.

Diasporic youth navigate both these traditional values and Western culture in Aotearoa, and must adapt to various cultural contexts (Ioane, 2017; Mila-Schaaf, 2010; Tupuola, 2004). In this way, Pacific and other youth of colour navigate multiple and fluid identities in different contexts (MacDonald, 2011; McIntosh, 2005; Milne, 2013; Rata, 2012; Sibley & Hukilau, 2013; Tupuola, 2004). Because of the ways young people adapt to different contexts, and because of the relational and collective values systems present in many Pacific cultures, it is easy to see how Western ideas of development may not fit. Tupuola (2004) suggested that neither traditional views nor linear Western models may be useful because of the ways Pacific young people navigate multiple spaces, cultures, and identities. Thus, the experiences of Pacific people can only ever be understood in context (Anae, 2010).

3.1.4 Views of Development in Other Cultures

Local literature related to views of development for the various ethnic and cultural groups that make up Asian youth, or refugee and migrant groups, appears to be scarce. However, it would seem that these youth also navigate multiple cultures, identities, and views of development. A report regarding child and adolescent mental health with Asian, Middle Eastern, and African families (Mortensen & Lim, 2017) described how these young people adapt to cultural differences in Aotearoa, and that differences between life in Aotearoa and home culture can cause intergenerational conflict. The report noted that many Asian, Middle Eastern, and African cultures are collective, with the family forming the primary social unit. Respect and duty to parents and the meeting of family expectations is important (Mortensen & Lim, 2017). The report further suggested that academic achievement and conformity may be prioritised, while Chinese adolescents may also have many home responsibilities such as caring for children or cleaning the home (Mortensen & Lim, 2017). A lack of literature about development for these youth may be a significant local gap, given Asian youth are the second largest youth population in Tāmaki Makaurau (Stats NZ, n.d., e).

3.1.5 Western Views of PYD in Aotearoa

A seminal literature review by McLaren (2002) marked the beginning of PYD thinking in Aotearoa. The review advocated for promoting positive development through key PYD ideas, including acknowledging the contexts and relationships around young people; recognising young people's capacity to positively influence their own development; and focusing on building capacity and strength, rather than simply removing challenges (McLaren, 2002).

McLaren (2002) positioned Aotearoa as a Western country and described Western views of adolescent development including becoming independent; developing strong peer-relationships; managing cognitive, physical, and sexual development; navigating education; employment; and

negotiating a sense of stable identity. The review drew on stage-based identity theories including Erikson (1950) and Marcia (1966), both of which suggest that a stable identity is achieved following a period of crisis or uncertainty during adolescence.

At the time of writing, McLaren (2002) noted that local literature was scarce and highlighted an assumption about the similarity of developmental processes across all cultures and ethnicities. The report, therefore, assumed that enhancing local youth development could be based on overseas approaches. These assumptions have been critiqued locally (Beals, 2015; Beals et al., 2018; Keelan, 2014; Tupuola, 2004) and discarded by contemporary PYD scholars, who are now interested in contextual nuances in PYD across cultures (Lerner et al., 2018; Strachan et al., 2018). McLaren's review formed a backdrop for the creation of the government's Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa, which guided PYD approaches, numerous programmes, and the practice of youth work in Aotearoa for nearly 20 years.

3.1.6 A Place of Common Ground?

As noted previously, individualised, and linear views of development do not fit with collective Māori and Pacific views of development where individuals cannot be separated from family/whānau, ancestors, land, and spirituality. Developmental tasks are further complicated for diasporic and colonised youth who navigate multiple worldviews and identities and may be displaced from known cultural and geographical contexts.

In Aotearoa, Western views of PYD have been critiqued as insensitive to the uniqueness of different cultural contexts (Beals, 2015; Keelan, 2014; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). Keelan (2014) argued that systems theories, whilst acknowledging broader contexts, still place the young person at the centre, preferencing the individual over the group, which may serve to remove young people from whānau, hapu, and iwi. These critiques have been useful in assessing the relevance of PYD in Aotearoa and filled a much-needed gap.

Despite critiques and the importance of not homogenising views of youth development, there may be a strong confluence between Te Ao Māori and Pacific views of development and PYD. All three prioritise the contextualised nature of development. Whilst not all cultural perspectives agree with the construct of 'youth' or share agreed developmental tasks or milestones, all of these views do see youth development as occurring in the interactions between young people and the ecologies around them, and between those ecologies, as described by Silbereisen and Lerner (2007). The ecologies in which these interactions occur may also differ, as will the extent to which different ecologies are given priority for their role in development. For example, in Te Ao Māori, connection to land is a significant context that shapes development (Keelan, 2014). The gulf between PYD and different

cultural views of development may be further reduced when recalling that the interaction itself between the individual and context is development and that development is bi-directional (Lerner & Kauffman, 1985; Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007). The concept of bi-directional exchanges is echoed in indigenous and Pacific views through ideas of interconnectedness, reciprocity, and collective and relational development.

Several authors highlight similarities between PYD and Te Ao Māori approaches (Anae et al., 2002; Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Deane et al., 2020; O'Toole et al., 2020). Further, Antony (2019) draws parallels between processes of Māori development *pukengatanga*, mentoring from an elder; *whare wānanga*, schools for specialist learning; and *urungatanga*, learning from observation (Baxter et al., 2016) to Lerner's (2004) Big Three components of successful PYD programmes—relationships with adults, opportunities for skill building, and opportunities for participation/leadership. The work of Māori academics in PYD, such as Keelan (2009, 2014), Ware and Walsh-Tapiata (2010), Caddie and Ross (2011), and the development of local PYD models, discussed below, suggest that PYD is locally valid when aligned with cultural approaches and positioned first through local lenses, particularly that of Te Ao Māori (Beals, 2015; Deane et al., 2019; Keelan, 2009). These two views may sit alongside one another rather than merge or compete.

Further, PYD is relevant because of its focus on young people. Youth see themselves as a distinct group and, as such, their developmental experiences need to be considered (Ware, 2009), particularly to inform youth programmes and practice. Aligning PYD with other perspectives fills this gap.

3.2 PYD as an Approach

As identified in Chapter Two, PYD models are theoretical understandings of how young people develop, and guide approaches to working with young people. As such, this section will look at local PYD models that have been developed and applied in Aotearoa.

3.2.1 The Youth Development Strategy

The most well-known of these, the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (YDSA), represented an attempt to adapt PYD to the local setting and was a government-led strategy. It was informed by McLaren's (2002) literature review and from consultation with young people, those who worked with them, and advisory groups. It was designed to support young people to “develop the skills and attitudes they need to take part positively in society, now and in the future” (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002, p. 4). It outlined six key principles for youth development:

- Youth development is shaped by the big picture
- Youth development is about young people being connected
- Youth development is based on a consistent strengths-based approach
- Youth development happens through quality relationships
- Youth development is triggered when young people fully participate
- Youth development needs good information (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002)

The first two principles identified the contexts of youth development (Baxter et al., 2016) and the first principle recognised The Treaty of Waitangi¹⁰ as part of the big picture in Aotearoa (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002). The following four principles identified actions to enhance development.

Chapter Two described how PYD's embeddedness in RDS metatheory creates several assumptions about PYD as an approach to working with young people including:

- PYD as relevant to all young people
- A focus on strengths and broad developmental goals
- Occurring in a range of ways and places and thus fostering connections in varied contexts
- Youth being active participants in interventions
- Being tailored to specific communities

Many of these assumptions can be seen directly in the YDSA, including a strengths-based approach, youth participation, building connectedness, and the big picture, which encourages responsiveness to young people's different contexts. The Strategy's aims, which identify connections and development opportunities for all young people (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002) reflect the view that PYD is for all youth. However, despite broad links to strengths and being for all young people, the YDSA was critiqued as being largely bereft of any relevance to Māori, due to a lack of specific Māori content and a focus on Western views of development (Beals, 2015; Ware, 2009). The YDSA was further critiqued for failing to provide any practical alignment to the principles of The Treaty of Waitangi¹¹ (Keelan, 2013).

The purpose of the YDSA was to inform youth policies in areas such as justice and health, although the extent to which it had meaningful impact on other government policies is questionable (Deane & Shepherd, 2016). The YDSA's second purpose was to inform the non-governmental-organisation (NGO) and voluntary sectors about best practice for working with youth. It is here where the YDSA

¹⁰ The YDSA refers to The Treaty of Waitangi only and not Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The two versions have different meanings.

¹¹ Keelan refers to the Treaty of Waitangi in English, noting that this is the only document to which the government refers.

was most successful and formed a strong backbone for youth-work in Aotearoa (Baxter et al., 2016; Beals et al., 2018; Deane & Shepherd, 2016). The YDSA principles provided a structure for the Youth Worker's Code of Ethics and could be argued as a successfully unifying model in this sector (Baxter et al., 2016). It is interesting that a government-developed model was adopted and owned by a group of practitioners who, as Beals noted (2015), often saw themselves as a grass-roots group. Possibly, as a strengths-based strategy, it ran counter to many other deficit focused policies and was felt to fit with youth workers who offered a youth-centred approach.

3.2.2 E Tipu E Rea

A Māori youth development strategy was developed and released as a companion to the YDSA. This was also driven by the New Zealand Youth Suicide Prevention Strategy (Ministry of Youth Affairs et al., 1998), which recognised a need to increase opportunities for young Māori to participate in Māori communities (Keelan & Associates, 2002). Led by Keelan, through a range of wānanga with young people, this strategy outlined activities and approaches for engaging with young Māori. The strategy was based around a whakatauki¹², E Tipu E Rea, which encourages young people growing and thriving in their own time, drawing on the tools of Pākehā and the values of Te Ao Māori (Keelan & Associates, 2002) implying a synergistic partnership between the two cultures.

The strategy had four objectives:

- To involve taiohi¹³ Māori in activities that are important to them
- To integrate contemporary issues into any development project for taiohi Māori
- To provide opportunities for taiohi Māori to integrate tikanga of their ancestors into their activities
- To ensure the soul of taiohi Māori is nurtured in all activities

Each objective identified indicators and a set of activities to support their achievement (Keelan & Associates, 2002). Behind this were a set of principles for practitioners to follow, including being aware of and responsive to the time and place of young people, having the right tools and resources, and maintaining cultural and spiritual integrity throughout (Keelan, 2014). By providing indicators and activities, the model was highly practice focused.

3.3.3 Pacific Youth Development Strategy

In 2005 a Pacific Youth Development Strategy was released as a companion to the YDSA. This strategy focused on Tāmaki Makaurau, recognising that the city was home to the majority of Pacific

¹² Proverb, significant saying (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

¹³ Youth, adolescent (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

people in Aotearoa (Ministry of Social Development, 2005). The strategy identified aims to address disparities in educational achievement, health, and poverty and to increase future social and workforce participation. The Strategy evolved from talanoa¹⁴ with Pacific youth and an external reference group. Three key areas of parents, education, and church were seen as a focus for development, with actions described that could support each area to be responsive to young people. Whilst other strategies focused on actions to engage and support young people, such as opportunities for decision making, this strategy focused more on strengthening young people's contexts. Suggestions included reducing family violence, providing clearer pathways into employment from education, and creating a network of caregivers for elderly and young children (Ministry of Social Development, 2005). This document reflected the connected and collective nature of Pacific views of development.

It is also of note that E Tipu E Rea and the Pacific Youth Development Strategy appeared to be driven by the risk reduction aims of government, namely suicide prevention and addressing educational disadvantage, whilst the YDSA took a strengths-based approach to support skills and attitudes for positive development.

3.3.4 The Circle of Courage and Maia Models

The Circle of Courage model, based on the traditions of the Lakota Sioux, described previously, gained popularity in the local youth development sector, possibly because an Aotearoa-based training provider ran workshops based on the model (Praxis, n.d.).

In 2009, Te Ora Hou, a network of Māori, faith-based youth, family, and community organisations, developed the Maia model based on both the Circle of Courage and the Whakapumau Whānau model (Durie, cited in Baxter et al., 2016). The model considers youth development in the context of family/whānau and community and is depicted by concentric circles. Whanaungatanga/belonging sits at the centre, with the next layer incorporating three further concepts: pukengatanga/mentoring, leading to mastery and competence; mana motuhake/independence and responsibility; and ohaoha/generosity and contribution. The outer layer refers to six broader concepts that apply at whānau and community level: manaakitia/whānau care; whakatakato tikanga/future planning; whakamana/empowerment and participation; whakawhanaungatanga/whānau consensus and cohesion; whakapumau tikanga/cultural integrity; and pupuri taonga/resource management (Te Ora Hou, cited in Baxter et al., 2016). This model was distinct from the YDSA because it framed PYD practice approaches from a Māori perspective and

¹⁴ Conversation (Ioane, 2017)

included whānau and community development, recognising that young people cannot be considered outside of these contexts.

3.3.5 Te Kete Whanaketanga Rangatahi

Simmonds et al. (2014) explored concepts that contribute to PYD for rangatahi using literature, Māori data from the national Youth 07 study, and focus groups. The resulting Te Kete Whanaketanga Rangatahi identified contributors to PYD as healthy lifestyles, individual characteristics, socio-historical factors, relationships, education/work, cultural factors, and activities. Collective responsibility, navigating the world, cultural efficacy, health, and individual strengths were identified as indicators that PYD is occurring. Overlaps can be seen between the contributors to PYD in this model and the PVEST model, which looks at mediators of development, such as cultural experiences and values (Lerner et al., 2011). Simmonds et al.'s model differs from others in that it does not appear to be as practice focused (e.g., enhancing participation or encouraging strengths). Instead, it looks at broader processes that may contribute to PYD, such as education, and the resulting indicators that may be seen in positively developing youth, such as good health.

3.3.6 Mana Taiohi

In 2018, the government announced a focus on child wellbeing and released the Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy in 2019. The Strategy takes a cross government approach and identifies six wellbeing outcomes related to safety, basic needs, health, and happiness, learning and development, connection, and empowerment (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2019).

The creation of the strategy triggered funding to review and evolve the YDSA or develop a national youth strategy that could align with cross-government priorities and a wellbeing approach (Centre for Social Impact, 2018). The youth development sector was also interested in reviewing or redeveloping the YDSA to better fit local practice contexts. The review spanned two years and included a scoping review of the youth development ecosystem (Centre for Social Impact, 2018); a review of local PYD literature (Deane et al., 2019); hui with youth workers across the country; engagement with young people; and an online survey (Ara Taiohi, n.d.). The result was a new framework called Mana Taiohi which centred PYD in Te Ao Māori to avoid simply adding a Māori lens to a Western style model and suffering the same critiques as the YDSA. The Mana Taiohi Framework describes itself as a set of interdependent principles to guide practice with young people (Ara Taiohi, 2019); thus, identifying firmly as a practice tool. These principles are housed under the over-arching concept of mana, which refers to the authority young people are born with, and that which they accrue, thus centring youth agency. Acknowledging young people's inherent mana also recognises

key strengths in young people and their contexts with recognition that these may vary within individuals (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Deane et al., 2019). The mana and strengths of youth include:

- Mauri – lifeforce, spark, and identity;
- Whakapapa – genealogy, history, life experiences, and connection to the land, including recognition of the impact of colonisation;
- Hononga – connections to peers, whānau, community, school, environment, land, resources, spirituality, and the digital world;
- Te Ao Taiohi – the world of young people, including social, economic, and cultural contexts, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and other systemic influences. (Ara Taiohi, 2019)

It is recognised that those who work with young people seek to explore and develop each of these areas and the second part of the framework describes specific practices of youth development that enhance mana. These include:

- Whanaungatanga – the process of relationships which focuses on being authentic, reciprocal, and fosters belonging;
- Manaakitanga – acting with kindness, respect, being accountable, and ensuring young people are supported by adequate resources and safe and ethical practice;
- Whai Wāhitanga – participation, self-determination, and empowering young people to use their voice and choose their level of engagement in decisions;
- Mātauranga – having knowledge, skill, and wisdom, including both cultural/customary knowledge and evidence-based knowledge, and reflecting on practice. This is seen to support young people to make meaning of their lives and encourage positive choices. (Ara Taiohi, 2019)

This approach has been endorsed by Ara Taiohi the umbrella organisation for youth development and Korowai Tupu the professional body for youth work. Whilst the development of this framework was triggered by and partially funded by government, it has not been adopted by government and, at the time of writing, the Ministry of Youth Development website still refers to the YDSA.

Mana Taiohi represents an integrated local approach to PYD that is centred in Te Ao Māori and aimed at all young people. However, it is unlikely that this could have occurred without the prior developments described above. It is precisely from unpacking and critiquing Western models, examining the cultural context and values base, and proposing alternatives, that new frameworks which apply the strengths of both, can emerge.

3.3 PYD as Programmes

3.3.1 The Context of Programmes in Aotearoa

As well as the formal and informal processes described in pre-colonial Māori society, structured youth development programmes appeared in Aotearoa soon after the arrival of British Settlers. For example, the first YMCA began in Aotearoa in 1855, St John's ambulance in 1885, and Scouting began in 1908 (St John, n.d.; Te Ara, n.d.). Harrington (cited in Korowai Tupu, 2020) noted that many of these early programmes were embedded in deficit views of adolescence at the time, and thus focused on providing discipline. Many of these organisations had a strong Christian frame, and church-based youth groups continue to form part of the youth development landscape. These historical roots also embed a strong volunteer component to youth development in Aotearoa, through having volunteer leaders and engaging young people in various forms of community service.

The Centre for Social Impact (2018) mapped the ecosystem of youth development programmes. They noted that as well as youth and community interests and needs, programmes are guided by three key factors: the organisations and individuals providing services; philanthropic funding; and government policy and funding. Within this ecosystem, the report identified a continuum of youth development services including:

- Risk interventions targeting specific and multiple risks, such as youth justice and alternative education. These are less aligned with the YDSA and often government funded.
- Universal services, which aim to be free and available to all young people such as schools and some activities attached to these (e.g., sports and arts programmes). These may draw on some aspects of the YDSA and are often government funded, with additional philanthropic funding to support risk-based interventions.
- Youth-directed approaches, which may or may not be accessible to all young people and aim to enhance wellbeing and development, with opportunities for youth input, such as mentoring programmes, skills, and arts programmes. These align with a strengths-based approach and the principles of the YDSA and are often funded by the philanthropic sector.
- Youth-led approaches, which engage youth as programme designers or leaders, such as youth parliaments and youth led-social change movements (e.g., those focused on the environment). These are most closely aligned with the YDSA and are funded by the philanthropic sector or the Ministry of Youth Development. (Centre for Social Impact, 2018)

The report noted that the government predominantly funds risk-focused interventions and measures deficit-based indicators (Centre for Social Impact, 2018), which suggests that despite the YDSA being aimed at all young people, in practice this has not consistently occurred. It also means

that many youth-directed and youth-led programmes rely heavily on philanthropic funding and may not be freely accessible to young people. As such, local PYD programmes may be shaped by funding from the top down, which may or may not accurately reflect the needs and interests of young people and their contexts.

As noted in the introduction, this research is interested in programmes that align with Lerner's (2004) Big Three, offering skill building, supportive relationships with adults, and opportunities for participation and leadership in the programme and beyond. It is not focused on those programmes that provide treatment or target risks and is instead focused on programmes which sit at the youth directed and youth led end of the continuum.

3.3.2 The Effectiveness of PYD Programmes in Aotearoa

Locally, there are a large number of programmes that align with a PYD approach and growing evidence of their effectiveness (Deane et al., 2019). Table 3.1 shows the outcomes identified in 27 local studies, reports and articles about PYD programmes, at the youth-directed and youth-led end of the continuum. Each study may link to several outcome theme or mention more than one aspect of a particular theme (e.g., mentioning both social and academic self-efficacy). Where studies were initially from a PhD or master's thesis, where available, the resulting academic journal publication is referenced. Appendix A provides more detail of these studies by summarising the programme, the nature of the study, and the programme outcomes identified in the study. As the research is also interested in the Five Cs, outcomes have been aligned with their relevant Cs and will be discussed under the section on the Five Cs in Aotearoa.

Table 3.1 shows that there are many PYD programmes in Aotearoa which show positive outcomes. Of these studies nearly half of the programmes have a strong focus on adventure/outdoor education. Two of these programmes, Project K and the Spirit of Adventure/Spirit of New Zealand sailing voyages, have been the most well-researched and represent 11 of the reviewed studies (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Chapman et al., 2017; Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2017; Furness et al., 2017; Grocott & Hunter, 2009; Hollis et al., 2011; Hunter et al., 2010, 2013; Jones, 2018; Scarf et al., 2018). The two programmes may be strongly represented in the literature because they have partnerships with universities which support evaluation and research practice. Both Project K and sailing voyages appear to show consistent within-programme results in various studies, particularly regarding self-efficacy for Project K (Chapman et al., 2017; Deane et al., 2017; Furness et al., 2017) and self-esteem for sailing voyages (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Grocott & Hunter, 2009; Hunter et al., 2013; Scarf et al., 2018). Many studies of these two programmes are quantitative, possibly reflecting a psychological focus of PYD measurement (Deane et al., 2019).

Table 3.1

Local Studies by Outcome Theme

Outcome Theme	Studies Mentioning this Outcome
Confidence/Self-esteem/Self-efficacy (domain specific and global)	Confidence: Collie, 2014; Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Hollis et al., 2011; Jones, 2018; Mercier et al., 2019; Smit, 2016; Smith & Benseman, 2019; Turner et al., 2014; Worley, 2015 Self-esteem: Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Grocott & Hunter, 2009; Hunter et al., 2013; Scarf et al., 2018 Self-efficacy: Chapman et al., 2017; Deane et al., 2017; Furness et al., 2017; Hunter et al., 2010; Noonan et al., 2012
Skills (broad and specific including task-based skills, leadership, goal setting, communication, self-management)	Chapman et al., 2017; Collie, 2014; Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Hollis et al., 2011; Jones, 2018; Mercier et al., 2019; Noonan et al., 2012; Smit, 2016; Turner et al., 2014; Turner & Schoder, 2015, 2017; Wheaton et al., 2017
Connections (peers, school, adults, community)	Chapman et al., 2017; Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2017; Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Hemphill et al., 2019; Hollis et al., 2011; Jones, 2018; Mercier et al., 2019; Noonan et al., 2012; O'Connor & Jose, 2012; Smith et al., 2010; Smit, 2016; Turner et al., 2014; Turner & Schroder, 2015, 2017; Smith & Benseman 2019; Wheaton et al., 2017 – this study also includes connection with nature
Values/Attitudes (positive outlook, motivation, care for others, responsibility)	Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Collie, 2014; Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Jones, 2018; Turner et al., 2014; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Mercier et al., 2019; Hemphill et al., 2019; Smit, 2016; Smith & Benseman; 2019
Empowerment/Independence/Influence	Collie, 2014; Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2015. Dickinson & Joe, 2012; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Smit, 2014 Worley, 2015
Resilience	Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Furness et al., 2017
Contribution	Collie, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Hollis et al., 2011; Mercier et al., 2019; Noonan, et al., 2012; Smith & Benseman, 2019
Wellbeing/Physical health/Mental health	Deane & Harré, 2014; Furness et al., 2017; O'Connor & Jose, 2012; Smit, 2016; Turner & Schroder, 2015, 2017; Worley et al., 2015
Activities	Fouche & Deane, 2015; Smith et al., 2010; Turner & Schroder, 2017; Wheaton et al., 2017
Future preparation	Collie, 2014; Deane & Harré, 2014; Dickinson & Joe, 2010
Support/Help	Dickinson & Joe, 2010; O'Connor & Jose, 2012; Smith & Benseman, 2019; Turner et al., 2014; Turner & Schroder, 2015, 2017
Identity development (Discovering and expressing identity)	Smith et al., 2010; Smit, 2016; Wheaton et al., 2017; Worley, 2015 Cultural Identity: Not identified as a specific outcome but discussed by Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Hollis et al., 2011; O'Connor & Jose, 2012

Of the 27 studies reviewed, outcomes relating to confidence (21 studies) skills (15 studies), connections (18 studies), and values development (11 studies), were the most frequently cited. Constructs such as identity development and contribution, which are also seen as key in PYD

(Benson et al., 2007; Catalano, Berglund, et al., 2002; Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Lerner, 2004; Lerner, Almerigi et al., 2005; Spencer et al., 2012) were less frequently mentioned. It may be that these aspects are not key outcomes of programmes, or that they are difficult to measure. Studies highlighting aspects of identity discovery and expression were largely qualitative, which may provide greater scope to explore the nuances of these constructs.

Whilst outcomes related to confidence including self-esteem and self-efficacy were frequently identified, these aspects appeared to be defined differently in different studies. For example, self-efficacy, which is related to beliefs about one's ability, was assessed in domain specific areas in some studies (Chapman et al., 2017; Deane et al., 2017) and globally in others (Hunter et al., 2010). Similarly, confidence was described as a broad sense of self-esteem in some studies, but was domain specific in others (e.g., Dickinson & Joe (2010) referred to parenting confidence).

Some studies linked constructs of self-esteem and self-efficacy. For example, Smit (2016) placed indicators that would appear to link with self-efficacy and self-esteem under the over-arching construct of 'psychological and emotional development'. Differences in definition and measurement can create challenges in identifying whether similar outcomes are being referred to in different studies, making programme comparison difficult (Raposa et al., 2019; Scales et al., 2017). Definition and measurement differences can also make it difficult to understand the impact of other variables, such as activities, contexts, or youth characteristics outside of individual programme contexts.

However, definitional overlaps and inconsistencies may also highlight that outcomes are interconnected and difficult to separate. For example, links between skills, mastery, and confidence are noted in a number of reviewed studies where mastery contributes to confidence and other outcomes (Deane et al., 2017; Furness et al., 2017; Hunter et al., 2010; Jones, 2018; Smit, 2016). These overlaps suggest that outcomes are inter-related, but how this occurs or between which outcomes has not yet been fully investigated. Similarly, outcomes may also overlap with the processes and features of programmes that are seen to make them successful. In the reviewed studies, some constructs were noted as an outcome in some settings whilst being perceived as a process in others. Connection appeared to function in this way most commonly; for example, relationships with programme peers and adults, or a sense of belonging, were considered as outcomes in some studies, but were seen to facilitate outcomes in the following studies: Arahanga-Doyle et al. (2019); Deane and Harré (2014); Dickinson and Joe (2010); Hemphill et al. (2015); Hollis et al. (2011); Hunter et al. (2013); Mercier et al. (2019); Scarf et al. (2018); Smit, (2016); Smith & Benseman, (2019); Turner et al. (2014); Worley, (2015). The role of a construct as either an outcome

or process may differ in different contexts and highlights the complexity and richness of programme experiences. This PhD study may help to understand some of these relationships more clearly.

Four studies noted that sub-groups with lower scores on outcome measures prior to the intervention or those who came from lower decile¹⁵ schools went on to make greater gains from programmes than other young people (Deane et al., 2017; Furness et al., 2017; Noonan et al., 2012; Turner et al., 2012). This may suggest that PYD programmes provide more benefit to those who need it most. This is an area worth further investigation, considering that the programmes summarised above were not specifically risk targeted.

Three studies from Table 3.1 are particularly informative for this research. The first is a master's study by Smit (2016) which used well-known models of PYD, such as the Five Cs and the Developmental Assets Framework, to develop a set of 25 PYD indicators. Indicators included "confidence in one's personal efficacy", "sense of personal autonomy", and "knowledge of life skills". This framework was then used to guide discussion about effective components of 24/7 youth work, a faith-based school youth work initiative (Smit, 2016). The study interviewed a school professional, youth worker, and a young adult (who had worked with a youth worker) in three different schools. At the beginning of interviews, participants were asked to rate the indicators in terms of how much or how little they were impacted by 24/7 youth work. Indicators which received high ratings by the most participants included elements such as "optimism coded with realism", "coherent and positive personal and social identity", and "sense of social place/integration" (Smit, 2016, p. 85). Smit noted that the most highly rated indicators generally fell under the broad outcome of psychological, emotional, and social development, whilst other categories of intellectual development and physical development were less highly rated. The young people involved in the study showed high levels of agreement on the indicators they rated most highly. This suggests that young people may have had similar experiences of having a youth worker in different settings.

This study is of interest because it presents a possible PYD outcomes framework, and the author suggested the framework could be used as an evaluative tool. This framework is limited, however, as it was only used in one context in a small sample and the framework was used deductively and was presented to participants, which may influence participant views of outcomes or not capture all outcomes. However, the study makes a valuable contribution to considering PYD constructs themselves as an outcomes framework in the local context, representing a better alignment between theory, practice, and evaluation as Eichas and colleagues (2019) suggested.

¹⁵ Decile is a measure of the socioeconomic status of the surrounding community (Ministry of Education, n.d.)

O'Connor and Jose's (2012) study provides useful insight, as it investigated participation in a range of programmes and across a five-year age range (10-15). These authors hypothesised that different activity types would significantly mediate outcomes. Activity type alone did not have significant effects, but ethnicity did have effect on activity type outcomes. Māori youth benefitted the most from non-sport activities, and New Zealand European youth benefitted the most from sport-based activities, while dual heritage youth did not benefit. The authors suggested that non-sport activities may enhance cultural identity for Māori (e.g., kapa haka), whilst for dual heritage youth they suggested that activity participation may highlight identity struggles. The fact that this study found little overall difference in outcomes for activity type suggests that programme type may not be a mediator of outcomes and, therefore, it may be possible to develop an outcomes framework that is relevant to a range of programmes. However, the results of O'Connor and Jose's (2012) work highlight the importance of being sensitive to ethnic and cultural mediators of outcomes.

The final study of relevance to this research used the Five Cs as an evaluative tool to understand the outcomes of an outdoor education programme for 11-13-year-olds and will be discussed below under the Five Cs.

Whilst these three studies are all useful, a key critique is that they have all taken a top-down approach to outcomes, either through the use of specific pre-determined measures and frameworks or by using deductive analysis approaches. Thus, it is difficult to tell if studies capture all young people's experiences of outcomes, the most salient parts, and if they accurately represent young people's perceptions of outcomes. The exception may be where measures are selected based on a theory of change, which has been informed by young people's views, such as in Project K (Deane & Harré, 2014). Thus, as Lerner and colleagues (2018) suggested, both qualitative and quantitative research is necessary in youth development to understand and measure young people's experiences across different contexts.

This study will help to address some of these gaps by seeing how young people perceive outcomes in a range of programmes, whether these outcomes appear similar in different programmes, and if they can be broadly grouped. This will directly address the gap of identifying whether there can be a shared framework for PYD programme outcomes locally. If a shared framework of outcomes is possible, it will allow for future studies to better understand how different contextual and programme variables impact these outcomes.

3.4 The Five Cs in Aotearoa

Despite increasing testing of the Five Cs model globally (see Chapter Two) the Five Cs have not yet been well investigated in Aotearoa, either for their relevance to the local context or for their value as an evaluative tool in a range of programmes. At the same time, the Five Cs are described in many local master's and PhD studies as a key model of PYD (Antony, 2019; Ballinger, 2015; Jones, 2018; Harré, 2014; Smit, 2016). Thus, the Five Cs may be well known as a theoretical model, but their local practical utility has only been minimally tested.

Three of the 27 PYD studies reviewed above, made links between programme outcomes and the Five Cs (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Deane et al., 2015; Jones, 2018). Both Deane and colleagues (2015) and Jones (2018), looking at the Stars Peer Mentoring programme and the wilderness component of the Project K programme respectively, concluded that the programme outcomes align with the Five Cs. Deane et al. (2015) used some items from the Five Cs measure, stating that full use of the questionnaire could be warranted. The questionnaire has since been used in one study in Aotearoa with 302 emerging adults aged 18-29 (Fernandes, Fetvadjev et al., 2021). The study which used the Very Short Measure of the 5 Cs (Geldhof et al., 2014) compared the Five Cs with hope and life satisfaction. The data showed a good fit to the Five Cs model and hope was seen to be positively associated with life satisfaction and the Five Cs. The authors suggested that the Five Cs and hope could form a framework for offering support to young adults. However, they noted that the Five Cs require further testing with younger and mid-adolescents, and with a larger and more diverse sample, given that 76% of participants were of European descent (Fernandes, Fetvadjev et al., 2021).

The relevance of the Five Cs to diverse youth in Aotearoa is still largely unknown. There may be links between the Five Cs and Te Ao Māori due to both taking an holistic approach (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Harré, 2014). However, Arahanga-Doyle and colleagues (2019) suggested that identity in Te Ao Māori is collective and situated in Connection, whilst the Five Cs model situates identity in Confidence, which is an individualised construct.

A qualitative study in a local outdoor education programme (Mercier et al., 2019) used all Five Cs and Contribution as a tool to understand programme outcomes. Results revealed that all Cs were present in the programme, with some local differences identified. For example, whilst Competence and Confidence appeared to fit with the Lerner (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005) definitions, Connection appeared to be both an outcome and a key feature of the programme that facilitated other outcomes. As noted above, this also appears to be the case in several other local studies, although the dual nature of Connection as both outcome and process is not always explicitly discussed. Contribution did not appear to be an over-arching outcome; rather an outcome resulting from

service components of the programme. Regarding Character, this study noted that a focus on morality and correct behaviour may be difficult to define in culturally diverse Aotearoa, but identified some key values developed in the programme. The study concluded that the relevance of the Five Cs to local programmes is promising but requires further analysis in other contexts. These results are similar to that of Strachan and colleagues (2018), who noted differences in the qualitative experiences of the Cs in Canadian youth, suggesting that they may mean different things in different contexts, as has been identified by Lerner and colleagues (2018).

A key limitation of Mercier and colleagues' (2019) study was the use of the Five Cs as a deductive coding framework, which assumed their fit and relevance, although the Five Cs were not asked about directly in interviews. Whilst there were no negative cases, the small sample size and single programme focus could not provide wider evidence of the relevance of the Five Cs. Hence, the current study attempts to test the relevance more fully, through the inclusion of several programmes and assessing the fit of the Five Cs model after an inductive analysis process.

To understand the Five Cs in the local context, the 27 outcome studies reviewed have been linked with the Five Cs definitions as outlined in Chapter 2 (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2

Outcome Themes in local PYD Programme Studies Linked with Five Cs

Outcome theme	Studies Mentioning this theme	Match to the Five Cs
Confidence/Self-esteem/Self-efficacy (domain specific and global)	Confidence: Collie, 2014; Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Hollis et al., 2011; Jones, 2018; Mercier et al., 2019; Smit, 2016; Smith & Benseman, 2019; Turner et al., 2014; Worley, 2015 Self-esteem: Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Grocott & Hunter, 2009; Hunter et al., 2013; Scarf et al., 2018 Self-efficacy: Chapman et al., 2017; Deane et al., 2017; Furness et al., 2017; Hunter et al., 2010; Noonan et al., 2012	Confidence (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005) Confidence/Competence (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005)
Skills (broad and specific including task-based skills, leadership, goal setting, communication, self-management)	Chapman et al., 2017; Collie, 2014; Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Hollis et al., 2011; Jones, 2018; Mercier et al., 2019; Noonan et al., 2012; Smit, 2016; Turner et al., 2014; Turner & Schroder, 2015, 2017; Wheaton et al., 2017	Competence (Pittman et al., 2003)
Connections (peers, school, adults, community)	Chapman et al., 2017; Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2017; Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Hemphill et al., 2019; Hollis et al., 2011; Jones, 2018; Mercier et al., 2019; Noonan et al., 2012; O'Connor & Jose, 2012; Smith et al., 2010; Smit, 2016; Turner et al., 2014; Turner & Schroder, 2015, 2017; Smith & Benseman 2019; Wheaton et al., 2017 – this study also includes connection with nature	Connection (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005)

Outcome theme	Studies Mentioning this theme	Match to the Five Cs
Values/Attitudes (positive outlook, motivation, care for others, responsibility)	Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Collie, 2014; Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Jones, 2018; Turner et al., 2014; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Mercier et al., 2019; Hemphill et al., 2019; Smit, 2016; Smith & Benseman, 2019	Character (Little, cited in Blum, 1998) Care (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005)
Empowerment/ Independence/ Influence	Collie, 2014; Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Dickinson & Joe, 2012; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Smit, 2014; Worley, 2015	Contribution (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005)
Resilience	Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Furness et al., 2017	Competence (Geldhof et al., 2015)
Contribution	Collie, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Hollis et al., 2011; Mercier et al., 2019; Noonan, et al., 2012; Smith & Benseman, 2019	Contribution (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005)
Wellbeing/Physical health/ Mental health	Deane & Harré, 2014; Furness et al., 2017; O'Connor & Jose, 2012; Smit, 2016; Turner & Schroder, 2015, 2017; Worley et al., 2015	Competence (Lerner & Lerner, 2011)
Activities	Fouche & Deane, 2015; Smith et al., 2010; Turner & Schroder, 2017; Wheaton et al., 2017	
Future preparation	Collie, 2014; Deane & Harré, 2014; Dickinson & Joe, 2010	Confidence (Pittman et al., 2003)
Support/Help	Dickinson & Joe, 2010; O'Connor & Jose, 2012; Smith & Benseman, 2019; Turner et al., 2014; Turner & Schroder, 2015, 2017	Connection (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005)
Identity development (Discovering and expressing identity)	Smith et al., 2010; Smit, 2016; Wheaton et al., 2017; Worley, 2015 Cultural identity: Not identified as a specific outcome but discussed by Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Hollis et al., 2011; O'Connor & Jose, 2012	Character (Pittman et al., 2003)

Many of the outcomes described in local studies align with the Five Cs. The Cs of Confidence, Competence and Connection align with the largest number of local studies, suggesting these Cs may be relevant in the local context. The C of Contribution appears relevant in studies where service or volunteering is a strong programme component. Thus, Contribution may not be an over-arching construct (Mercier et al., 2019) or, if it is, may not appear so in studies because many programmes do not assess long-term outcomes.

Character, when referred to as morality development and correct behaviour, as in the Lerner (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005) definitions, was relevant in very few studies. However, expanding the definition of Character to include values and identity development, as in some earlier Five Cs definitions (Little, cited in Blum, 1993; Pittman et al., 2003), links this construct to a larger number of studies. Some of the values identified in local studies, particularly those related to care and responsibility (Collie, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Hemphill et al., 2019; Jones, 2018; Mercier et al., 2019; Smith & Benseman, 2019) also link with the C of Care. Identity development related to

exploration and expression of identity was an outcome in four of the summarised studies (see Table 3.2) and matches to Pittman and colleagues' (2003) earlier definition of Character, which includes awareness of personality, but is not well recognised in other definitions. This is an interesting oversight given that identity development is seen as a key task in adolescence (Arnold, 2017; Benson, 2006) and may be particularly pertinent to those navigating different cultural identities (Catalano, Berglund et al., 2002; Catalano et al., 2004; Spencer et al., 2012; J. Williams et al., 2014; Wray-Lake & Abrams, 2020). Identity development is also a key component of the Mana Taiohi model (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Deane et al., 2019), and thus may be of particular relevance locally.

Programme activities as an outcome (e.g., going on camp) did not appear to fit any Five Cs' definitions. It may be that these are seen more frequently as vehicles for outcome development rather than outcomes. However, activities may link to Little's definition of confidence building experiments (cited in Blum, 1993) and to Pittman et al.'s (2003) Competence definition related to trying new things.

Only four of the reviewed studies had outcomes that linked to all Five Cs (Colle, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Mercier et al., 2019; Smith & Benseman, 2019). This may further suggest that the links between the Five Cs and programmes are not yet clear (Kajokienė et al., 2015, Lerner et al., 2018). Alternatively, it may suggest that few studies measure outcomes related to all of the Five Cs. The four studies that do link to all five Cs looked at outcomes broadly, rather than measuring specific constructs; and all of these programmes involved structured service activities.

Overall, outcomes in the reviewed PYD programmes in Aotearoa can link with one or more of the Five Cs. This is consistent with the findings of King and colleagues (2005) who noted that whilst the specific language of practitioners, parents, and youth, differed when discussing thriving, their discussions linked with the Five Cs. Both King's findings and the links above, suggest that the Five Cs may form a useful shared vocabulary to understand PYD; however, the identified links in Table 3.2 do not provide depth understanding about how these constructs are defined or experienced locally. As such, further investigation of the Five Cs is warranted, both to understand their relevance to local programmes and to better understand their meaning in the local context. Seeking to understand local perceptions of outcomes before reviewing alignment of the Five Cs will address a valid critique that Western ideas are often imported and applied without assessing their fit.

3.5 Chapter Summary

This literature review chapter builds on Chapter Two's outline of PYD by situating PYD within Aotearoa. This chapter focused on a tripartite view of PYD as development, philosophy, and

programmes. It provided a brief overview of concepts related to development and adolescence within Te Ao Māori, Pacific, and other contexts; and, in doing so, highlighted key worldviews and values which help to situate PYD in Aotearoa. In looking at PYD as an approach and philosophy, the chapter summarised models and frameworks that have been applied when working with young people in Aotearoa. The chapter then examined the context of PYD programmes in Aotearoa, followed by an analysis of outcomes identified in local programme studies. The outcomes identified in these studies were grouped into themes, which highlighted some similarity amongst local programmes and identified how different measures and definitions may not be analogous, thus pointing to the need to understand similarities and differences in outcome perception within a range of programmes.

Finally, the chapter discussed local Five Cs literature and aligned the outcomes reported in local programme studies with the Five Cs. Linking local studies with the Five Cs suggested that they may be relevant but highlighted the need for greater understanding of their meaning and fit in the local context.

This chapter has identified some of the knowledge gaps related to perception of outcomes; and the Five Cs and combined with Chapter Two provides a backdrop to this PhD study. The following chapter describes the theoretical frameworks of the study.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Frameworks

This chapter describes the critical realist research paradigm including ontological, epistemological, and axiological positions. The chapter outlines the tripartite view of PYD (see Chapter Two) as the conceptual framework and aligns this with a critical realist position and the study is described through these lenses.

4.1 Research Paradigm

A research paradigm is a philosophy about how to approach research and the underlying assumptions that sit behind decisions made. Within these assumptions are views about ontology—what is real; and epistemology—how we know and construct knowledge (Blaikie, 2011). Clear articulation of these assumptions helps justify research decisions.

4.1.1 Critical Realism – Ontology and Epistemology

This study takes a critical realist approach. Ontologically, this is a middle ground between a positivist view that an objective and independent reality exists, and a relativist view that reality is constructed through thought and thus numerous individual realities are possible (DeForge & Shaw, 2012).

Developed by Roy Bhaskar, critical realism differentiates between the world and people's experience of it (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). In this view, what is real can exist independently of our knowledge of it, but our awareness of reality is mediated by our experience and knowledge. Things that are real, including social structures, can exert influence on the world, regardless of our knowledge of them (Groff, 2004). Critical realist epistemology asserts that the way we observe and make sense of reality is embedded in our own perceptions and is influenced by social structures and systems and the theories we have to explain our experience (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). In this way, critical realism is said to subscribe to ontological realism, because reality can exist outside of our perception; and epistemological relativism, because it acknowledges the possibility of multiple perceptions and experiences of this reality (Groff, 2004).

To bridge ontological realism and epistemological relativism, Bhaskar's theory categorises reality into three different domains—the real, the actual, and the empirical (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012); and it is through these domains that we can understand both the natural and the social world (Groff, 2004). The 'real' are things which exist including physical objects, such as trees; social structures, such as racism; and psychological process, such as attachment (Levers, 2013; Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). Something is considered real if it has the ability to influence the observable world and thus has causal powers (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). For example, our attachment style can influence

the way we form social relationships. The causal powers of elements at the real level can be activated when they interact with other mechanisms at this level (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). For example, our attachment system is activated through interaction with others' attachment systems. Theories are considered transitive vehicles used to make sense of and explain the causal powers of what is real (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). For instance, attachment theory helps us to understand why different people have different relational patterns. Our theories may not always be correct and may change over time; thus, we may never discover the real as it actually exists, nor will we describe it objectively, and our descriptions are conditional (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012; Seal, 2016).

The 'actual' level of reality occurs when interactions at the real level result in observable events (DeForge & Shaw, 2012). For example, if a person's attachment system is activated and causes them to behave a certain way. However, events at the actual level may not be observed by the individual or others (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). The final area, the 'empirical', relates to what we observe and measure, which may only ever be a small piece of the actual (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). Epistemology is pertinent at the empirical level, as this is the domain of knowledge, which is filtered through human perception, and thus is only ever understood through a relativist perspective (Seal, 2016). For example, different cultures may perceive attachment behaviours differently.

Finally, all of these interactions and various levels of reality are seen to occur within complex systems and are contingent on each other (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012; Roberts, 2014). For example, young people's behaviour may be related to early attachment patterns, but these patterns may change over time based on interactions with others. Additionally, our repeated observation of attachment behaviours may further modify attachment theory and our conceptualisation of the real mechanisms of attachment inside the brain.

Critical realism is particularly interested in causal mechanisms or understanding how elements interact at the real level to form effects in actual domain. These interactions are not seen as linear or predictable because of all of the possible combinations of different variables (DeForge & Shaw, 2012). Thus, critical realism can help to understand why the same or different results may occur in different situations (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012; Roberts, 2014; Seal, 2016). The better we can understand causal mechanisms and how they interact, the greater our understanding of the domain of the real grows. Research seeks to uncover pieces of the actual and the real (Seal, 2016).

However, interest in causal mechanisms at the real level does not ignore individual or collective agency. Critical realism acknowledges that social structures and systems are created by humans but become real when they have influence. In this way, structure and agency interact. Human agency can create, reinforce, or change structures; and structures can shape agency (Fletcher, 2017; Scott,

2005; Seal, 2016). For example, different groups may have more or less agency as a result of institutional racism (structure), whilst changes in policy, practice, and behaviour (agency) may shift institutional racism. Agency is also relevant to a critical realist epistemology because our knowledge of reality is always filtered through experience and perception (Seal, 2016).

4.1.2 Axiology

A further component of a research paradigm is axiology—the philosophy of value; of what is good, right, and aesthetic, and, in research, what is held as important and ethical (Hiles, 2008). Hiles (2008) asserted that axiology is important because values underlie our assumptions and approaches. Articulating research values can help to frame research decisions, activities, and interpretations, and provide a lens to understand differences between researcher and participant worldviews and how these shape experience. Guba and Lincoln (2005) suggested that the role of axiology should be central to considering research paradigms, and that doing so would embed ethics within these paradigms.

Critical realism takes an emancipatory view towards axiology, with research seeking to understand the interaction of structure and agency (Deforge & Shaw, 2012; Seal, 2016). In doing so, researchers can understand causal mechanisms that enhance agency, human rights, and facilitate societal improvement (Deforge & Shaw, 2012; Haigh et al., 2019). Thus, critical realism broadly aligns with a social justice approach and a desire to understand and reduce structures which constrain certain groups or individuals (Deforge & Shaw, 2012). Seal (2016) suggested valuing the interaction of structure and agency is important for working with youth because it highlights the power of small actions and successes to create big change over time. This can inspire hope and action in both young people and youth workers.

In the present study, a critical realist axiology suggests interest in identifying mechanisms which enhance equitable experiences of programme outcomes and the ways programme outcomes and young people's actions within programmes can address wider inequities. Understanding similarities and differences in outcome perception may further social justice aims by identifying mechanisms that support outcomes to occur and whether these mechanisms act for different groups of young people.

4.2 Conceptual Framework: PYD and Critical Realism

This study sits within the field of PYD which provides a theoretical lens. The choice of this lens is based in my previous experience and research interests. Critical realism sees knowledge as ‘theory laden’ because theories are a key vehicle to describe causal mechanisms. Therefore, their articulation is important (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). Like Bhaskar’s view of stratified reality, PYD can also be stratified, which can help explain its role in both theory and practice. This stratification relates to the tripartite view of PYD as a developmental process, a philosophy and approach, and instances of programmes (Hamilton et al., 2004), described in Chapter Two. The tripartite view of PYD forms the theoretical structure for the study and is understood in relationship to critical realism.

4.2.1 PYD as Development

PYD as a developmental process sits within RDS metatheory which asserts that young people, their contexts, and wider systems interact in various ways to influence developmental trajectories (Lerner & Chase, 2019; Overton, 2015). These interactions are similar to Bhaskar’s description of the causative power of elements at the real level, including people, contexts, systems, and social structures which interact to produce effects in the actual domain (Longhofer & Loesch, 2012). In both theories, the possibilities of these interactions are numerous. Like critical realism, PYD as development is interested in relationships between structure and agency because young people are active participants in their own development and able to influence the structures around them (Lerner, 2004; Lerner & Chase, 2019). From a critical realist standpoint, development occurring during adolescence (physical, psychological, social) is real and influenced by other things in the real domain such as constructs of culture, socioeconomic status, and family/whānau structure. The various different developmental trajectories of youth are the actual where the different aspects of the real, such as the strengths in the young person, and in the context, interact to create developmental changes. In the domain of the empirical, we observe some indicators that these things have occurred, such as certain outcomes and behaviours.

Other PYD theories which sit under the RDS umbrella aim to describe these developmental processes and what will be observable in young people when PYD is occurring, such as the Five Cs (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005) and locally Mana Taiohi (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Deane et al., 2019). At this level we see the multiplicity of possible developmental trajectories described in more universal ways. From a critical realist standpoint, these theories may be thought of as our transitive descriptions of events at the real and are our best efforts to describe these complex processes (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012).

4.2.2 PYD as an Approach

As a philosophy and approach, PYD aims to describe how practitioners and communities can influence development for young people (Hamilton et al., 2004). From a critical realist standpoint, PYD, as an approach, may relate to the ways causal mechanisms can be activated by young people, programmes, and others around them in the domain of the actual and observed at the empirical level.

4.2.3 PYD as Programmes

PYD as instances of programmes relates to the actual domain, where we see PYD approaches actioned in specific settings to influence individual development. Programmes are a key vehicle for PYD and are where the ability to positively influence the many possible developmental trajectories of youth through broad approaches is tested (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner et al., 2006; Mueller et al., 2011). At the empirical level, PYD as programmes includes descriptions of what constitutes a PYD programme and evidence of their effectiveness.

4.3 PYD, Critical Realism, and the Study

Chapter Two highlighted key tensions in PYD between the myriad possibilities for development inherent in RDS metatheory and whether or not it is possible to: a) adequately describe these developments through broadly applicable models, and b) influence these complex systems through broadly applicable approaches. Thus, there is tension between PYD as a development, guided by specificity, and between PYD as an approach which is generalised.

This study sits within these tensions. The research questions seek to understand the multiplicity of possible outcomes in local programmes by exploring how they are perceived, whilst seeking to understand whether they can be adequately described in a framework and by the Five Cs model. Both critical realism and a tripartite view of PYD can provide valuable theoretical frameworks for the study to explore and manage these tensions.

4.3.1 The Value of a Tripartite View of PYD

As a conceptual framework, a tripartite view of PYD can provide both a descriptive account of PYD through outlining approaches and philosophies that support development, and an explanatory account of the mechanisms of development. Stratification of PYD helps to clarify whether it is development, approach, or intervention which is being referred to. This can help to differentiate between specificity and generalisability and between whether PYD is being considered ontologically, as a developmental process, or epistemologically as programmes' indicators and outcomes. As such, PYD is a suitable conceptual framework within a wider critical realist approach.

Through the tripartite lens of PYD, the study can be described as follows. At the level of PYD as development, this study is interested in the interaction of young people, their contexts, and different programmes to form outcomes. It uses a RDS metatheory which is interested in the interactions between individual, contexts, and systems (Overton, 2013, 2015) as the key theory to describe these interactions.

At the philosophy and approach level, the study will assess whether broad descriptions of outcomes are applicable across programmes, if an outcome framework can be developed, and if the Five Cs is relevant to the local setting. The key theory at this level is the Five Cs model (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005).

At the level of PYD as programmes, the study is interested in the programme's influence on development through supporting outcomes. Focus at this level helps to understand if young people experience similar outcomes within and between programmes, which can enhance theorising at the philosophy and approach level, and better understand PYD as development in the local setting. Lerner's (2004) description of the Big Three is used as the key theory to describe programmes. PYD programmes are those that offer skill development, sustained adult relationships, and opportunities for young people to participate in and lead activities (Lerner, 2004).

4.3.2 The Value of Critical Realism

Critical realism is seen as a useful tool to explore complexity, explain phenomena, and explore the interaction of people and contexts (Clark, 2008). In the present study, critical realism can help balance tensions between specificity and generalisability because of the assertion that what we observe at the empirical level is impacted by complex and contingent interactions at the real level (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012; Vincent & O'Mahoney, 2019). Critical realism does not ascribe to linear cause and effect relationships; rather, sees patterns as tendencies based on the interaction of various causal mechanisms (Vincent & O'Mahoney, 2019). Identifying tendencies allows space for both the individualised and the general, because we might observe similarity at the empirical level, but this may be as a result of different and complex interactions at the real level.

From a critical realist standpoint, the study can be described as follows. At an empirical level, this study seeks to explore and understand outcome perceptions of young people and those who work with them in PYD programmes, which will inevitably be filtered through the researcher's perceptions and theories about PYD. Exploring perceptions and their fit to theories and knowledge about PYD programme outcomes at the actual level can enhance their understanding and description.

Exploration of similarities and differences in outcome perception may help to uncover mechanisms at the real level. This may involve greater understanding of how interactions between young people, programmes, structures, and systems produce similar or different experiences of outcomes.

If there is enough similarity to form an outcomes framework, this framework may represent a transitive description of outcomes. However, that framework would not uncover any “essentialised truths” (Seal, 2016, p. 267) about programmes at the real level but could provide descriptions of what may be occurring. The study will also assess if the Five Cs can function similarly as a transitive explanation in this setting.

Finally, critical realism has value in Aotearoa. Local PYD occurs in a bicultural nation and in multicultural communities, where there may be tensions between varying worldviews (Pere & Barnes, 2009). A critical realist lens can see both Māori and Pākehā worldviews as real and valid (Martel et al., 2021) because both have causative powers and shape the actions of people and systems (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). Thus, critical realism allows for various explanations of phenomena, whilst noting that these explanations are relative because we may not fully understand what is occurring at the real level and our explanations are filtered through perception.

Both critical realism and a tripartite view of PYD provide suitable frameworks for the study because of their ability to manage tensions between individual development and broadly applied theories and approaches.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has identified the theoretical frameworks of the study. It has done so by outlining critical realism and the balance between an ontological view that real phenomena exist outside of our knowledge, and an epistemological view that we can only know pieces of this reality through our perception. As such, our knowledge is relative and may change over time. The chapter then described Bhaskar’s stratified version of reality into the real, the actual and the empirical (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). Critical realism’s axiological interest in the interaction of structure and agency and increasing equity was identified. The chapter described PYD as a conceptual framework and linked the tripartite view of PYD to critical realism. Finally, the chapter described the value of both of these frameworks to the research because of their ability to manage tensions between varied individual experiences and broad theories and approaches. Chapter Five describes methodology, methods, ethical orientations, data collection and analysis processes.

Chapter 5: Study Design and Implementation

This chapter describes how the study was undertaken and the processes used to answer the research questions. The study used a qualitative exploratory methodology, employing a mixture of interviews and focus groups across 14 different PYD programmes in Tāmaki Makaurau . Data included 39 interviews and focus groups, analysed using framework analysis.

The study aimed to answer the following research questions:

Overall Question

How do young people and those who work with them in PYD settings perceive outcomes and can the Five Cs model of PYD be relevant in these settings?

Research Questions

1. How are outcomes defined and understood, experienced, operationalised, and prioritised by young people and those who work with them in a range of PYD contexts?
2. What are the similarities and differences in how outcomes are perceived in these settings?
3. Can the way outcomes are perceived in these settings form an outcomes framework?
4. Does the framework align with the Five Cs model?

Approaches taken to answer these questions, the rationale for their use, and an account of how they were actioned are described in this chapter. Links are made between choices and the theoretical frameworks described in Chapter Four.

5.1 Methodology

A methodology forms a strategy for research design and methods (Crotty, 1998). This is a qualitative study because it is interested in people's perceptions and experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016); in this instance, perceptions of programme outcomes. It is not an evaluative study of programmes or their outcomes; rather, it seeks to understand how outcomes are perceived and whether these perceptions are similar or different in different programme settings. The research questions emerged from the knowledge gaps outlined in the introduction and literature review chapters regarding the similarities and differences of outcomes in different settings, the possibility of an outcomes framework, and the relevance of the Five Cs model locally.

When there are a number of unknowns, prescriptive methodologies may not be appropriate and more flexible approaches are needed (Sandelowski, 2010). A critical realist approach similarly recommends flexibility in order to study complex phenomena in social systems (Danermark, 2002).

Exploration in social science research is a discovery process that is broad, systematic, and purposive, leading to greater understanding, description, and generalisation of phenomena (Vogt, cited in Stebbins, 2001). An exploratory approach is also indicated when there is not yet a lot known about an area of research, if much of the research to date has been quantitative, or if it has been a long time since an area was investigated necessitating an update of the field (Stebbins, 2001). From a critical realist standpoint Raduescu and Vessey (2009) suggested that an exploratory approach is warranted when the relevance of domain-specific theory to the research issue is weak and the issue itself is unstructured.

An exploratory approach is indicated in this case. The literature review confirmed the unknown areas of similarities and differences of outcome perception in different settings and uncertainty about the possibility of an outcomes framework, making the research issue largely unstructured (Raduescu & Vessey, 2009). The literature review highlighted tentative links between programme outcomes and the Five Cs model in the local setting, and the gaps about how these concepts may be defined and applied. Thus, whilst the Five Cs is a domain-specific theory, its relevance is unknown. Further, much of the Five Cs research has been quantitative and more qualitative studies are called for (Lerner et al., 2018), further supporting a qualitative exploratory approach.

In exploring outcome perceptions and their similarity and differences in different settings, the study may develop tentative theories about programme outcomes and the Five Cs in the local setting. The development of theories for further testing is a key aim of an exploratory approach (Stebbins, 2001). Reiter (2013) suggested that tentative theories developed through exploration are only a slice of a much broader reality, thus linking to Bhaskar's description of theory as a transitive vehicle to describe the real. Reiter contended that exploratory research be clearly grounded in theory as this helps to narrow the scope of exploration and frames research decisions and interpretations. This view highlights the importance of foregrounding critical realism and a PYD perspective throughout the research.

5.2 Data Collection Methods

Exploratory studies require flexible data collection methods and emergent design (Stebbins, 2001). Sandelowski (2010) recommended similar flexibility in qualitative research suggesting "Emergent design, purposeful sampling, minimally structured and open-ended modes of data collection and textual analysis" (p. 81). In an exploratory qualitative study, data may include observation, interviews, focus groups, documents, and the researcher's processes, such as efforts to define a particular concept (Stebbins, 2001).

The study gathered the views of young people and staff in 14 PYD programmes using flexible methods including interviews, focus groups, and a drawing activity. These were supplemented with researcher reflection and notes. A description and rationale for these methods is provided in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Data Collection Methods

Method	What it included	When it was used	Benefits and rationale
Semi-structured interviews	One hour interview with questions and probes focused on programme outcomes These could be asked in order or used to follow the participant (Ayres, 2008)	Used with staff participants and youth where research participants were not part of a larger group or were members of different groups Interviews occurred at the programme premises	- Facilitate focused discussion whilst giving space to follow participants (Ayres, 2008) - Interviews support more depth exploration of participant experiences (Morgan, 2008)
Focus groups	Two-hour group session with activities and discussions focused on programme outcomes Included games and kai (food)	Used with youth when participants were all part of the same group within the programme Focus groups occurred at the same time and location as a usual group setting.	- Provide opportunities to discuss a topic and observe group interaction (Barbour, 2018); in this instance, an opportunity to discuss outcomes and observe how processes within the group and programme may operate and contribute to outcomes - Focus groups can engage those who may be harder to reach by survey or interview and are useful in exploratory studies through providing an informal, supportive, and open context for discussion (Barbour, 2018; Morgan, 2008) - Informal and active processes, such as drawing, games, and sharing kai align with a PYD approach and prioritise relationships with young people

Method	What it included	When it was used	Benefits and rationale
Participant drawings	Focus groups included a drawing activity which consisted of a blank head and shoulders which was an imaginary group member Young people could name the person (not the name of a current group member) and decorate the page with ideas about what the person gained from the programme	Used in focus groups Youth in individual interviews were also given paper and pens to draw if they wished	• The drawing activity acted as stimulus material to focus the discussion and create opportunities for interaction between participants (Barbour, 2018). • Drawing supported young people to safely share without personalising experiences • The combination of drawing and discussion helped ensure that participants were able to share their views and reduced the risk of dominance of one or two participants (O'Reilly & Dogra, 2017)
Researcher notes	Written or audio reflections on the process and key points from interviews/focus groups	Key points were noted during interviews and focus groups and reflective notes made after interviews and focus groups	• Researcher notes were used to supplement other data, particularly to note points of emotion, or reflections on group or interview processes and can assist in coding and analysis (Parkinson et al., 2016)

Schedules for both interviews and focus groups were discussed with supervisors and colleagues. Ayres (2008) recommended that interview schedules use neutral language. While this was attempted, the focus of the research as exploratory slanted the questions towards outcomes and assumed that some outcomes could be achieved from programmes. As such, both interviews and focus groups were structured around the broad question of “What do young people get out of this programme?”

The focus group schedule was tested with a group of youth-workers for its appropriateness and suitability, resulting in reduction of the original schedule. It was recognised that not every outcome could be discussed in-depth in focus groups, so I decided to focus depth discussion on outcomes most frequently named in any particular session. However, all named outcomes were recorded and included in analysis. Focus group and interview schedules are included with the ethics application in Appendix B.

Probes and reflections were used in addition to the schedules to encourage further exploration (Roulston, 2008); for example, “What is that like?” or “That sounds fun”. Reflections helped to facilitate a conversational feel, encourage elaboration, and to keep the research focused on the topic and the participants (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015).

Data collection methods in each setting were agreed at the organisation consent phase. At least one staff member and one young person were included per programme, with up to five young people interviewed in a programme where individual interviews were chosen. Focus group numbers were determined based on the structure and size of the programme. This flexibility in design and sample size aligns with both qualitative and exploratory methodologies (Sandelowski, 2010; Stebbins, 2001). By combining interviews and focus groups, the data captured both depth and range (Morgan, 2008). Flexibility also ensured that the methods used fit with each programme and aligned with their usual activities. O'Reilly and Dogra (2017) noted the importance of fitting around organisation schedules when conducting research with children and young people.

5.3 Participant Sampling and Recruitment

Sampling is a key consideration in an exploratory study which helps to enhance validity and Stebbins (2001) suggested a qualitative sample of 30-60, except where participants are being interviewed repeatedly. Sampling was a challenging part of design because it entailed defining what was meant by a youth development programme and as noted in the literature review, there is no clear definition (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016). Based on literature and discussions with supervisors, PYD programmes for this study were defined as programmes that focused on broad developmental outcomes and aligned with Lerner's (2004) Big Three; skills development, sustained youth/adult relationships, and leadership opportunities. Further inclusion and exclusion criteria were developed, summarised in Tables 5.2 and 5.3.

Table 5.2*Programme Inclusion Criteria*

Programme Inclusion Criteria			
Within greater Tamaki Makaurau, from Franklin to Rodney wards			
Provide mentoring, leadership, volunteering, or skills, or some combination of these. These categories were based on programme types defined by the Ministry of Youth Development (2017) at the time the study began, with the addition of skills programmes. Skills programmes were added in recognition that not all programmes develop skills through formal mentoring relationships.			
Mentoring programmes	Leadership Programmes	Volunteering Programmes	Skills Programmes
Involve ongoing relationships with adults or peers to build skills and achieve goals	Young people are involved in running initiatives or decision making	Young people contribute service, time, or skills to the community	Teach life skills or specific skills, such as dance, or outdoor skills
Self-identify as meeting the Big Three (Lerner, 2004), determined in discussion during the invitation stage			
Have open or broad entry criteria for young people, but may also work with particular populations (e.g., young people from the LGBTQI community or a young parents)			
Young people can choose whether or not to engage in the programme, even if referred by others			

Table 5.3*Programme Exclusion Criteria*

Programme Exclusion Criteria
Programmes with a specific treatment focus (e.g., reducing depression or treating addictions)
Programmes provided by government departments (e.g., Ministry of Justice or Oranga Tamariki the Ministry for Children, which includes care and protection and justice services)
Programmes where young people are mandated to attend by government (e.g., mentoring as a result of offending)

Inclusion criteria were determined for staff and youth participants. In this study, staff were defined as the leaders of programmes. Because of the nature of youth development programmes, often delivered by NGOs or voluntary organisations, staff could be volunteers and young people, given that many youth development programmes had leadership components. Included staff were those who delivered the programme and had a strong knowledge and experience of the programme. Inclusion criteria for young people are summarised in Table 5.4. Youth and staff participants were only excluded if they were my current students or supervisees, but no potential participants met this criterion.

Table 5.4*Participant Inclusion Criteria*

Participant Inclusion Criteria
Aged 12 – 24 at the time of programme participation
Completed the programme or completed 2/3 of the programme for a time-limited programme
Have been involved in an open-ended programme for six months or more
For focus groups of ongoing programmes at least one participant will have been involved for six months or more. This criterion was chosen as it would be difficult to exclude certain young people within a group setting.

5.3.1 Sampling Strategies

Because of the interest in similarities and differences between programmes, it was important to capture the diversity of youth development and the various settings and populations in which this can occur. A purposive sampling strategy was used for programmes, which selects participants in relation to the study purpose and is designed to provide ‘information-rich’ cases which can offer the most learning (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). A maximum variation approach was taken, which focuses on diversity in the sample rather than similarity (Daniel, 2012). Beyond the four categories of mentoring, leadership, volunteering, and skills identified in the inclusion criteria, programmes that represented diverse settings and population groups within youth development were sought. A list of different types of programmes that were likely to meet the inclusion criteria was made and included outdoor education, sport, creative arts, faith based, tikanga Māori, and Pacific focused programmes; youth advisory groups; youth events, peer mentoring, and adult mentoring programmes; programmes which worked with young people from the LGBTQI community, young people who experience disabilities, refugee and migrant youth, and young parents. Because PYD is a relational field, programmes that I had worked with previously on projects or through student placements were approached first and invited to participate. This strategy was enhanced by snowball sampling where participants recommended others (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) and was used to identify youth and staff participants who met the inclusion criteria, as well as additional programmes.

5.3.2 Invitation and Consent Processes

Once an organisation accepted an initial invitation, a meeting was held with a staff member or manager who was authorised to agree to the research. At this meeting, inclusion criteria for the organisation and participants were discussed and a research process agreement detailing the structure of the research in that setting and identifying potential participants was developed. Organisations were invited to identify any tikanga, processes, or criteria of which I needed to be

aware. For example, in some organisations their safety protocol required that a staff member must be present in the room during a focus group.

Staff and young people could be invited to participate at a meeting, such as a staff meeting or youth group. Staff could also be invited by phone or an email from me or another staff member (not a manager), and young people could be invited by the organisation or staff, with interested participants agreeing for me to contact them. The range of recruitment options accounted for different programme types and recognised that not all young people may feel comfortable to contact me directly. Each participant provided individual consent and young people under 16 years required parental consent. Consent forms were given at the information stage and returned at the time of the interview or focus group. Consent forms and the research process agreement form are included in the ethics application in Appendix B.

5.4 Youth and the Programmes

The study included 14 programmes with 39 interviews/focus groups completed consisting of 15 staff interviews, 11 youth interviews, and 13 youth focus groups. Organisations determined how they would like to be referred to in the research and these descriptors are used throughout.

Each programme was allocated an overall 'type' based on participant descriptions of activities and aims. Participant understandings of programmes may be related to their experience of outcomes, so it is of value to see programmes through their eyes. As described in the inclusion criteria, programme types were those from the Ministry of Youth Development's (2017) Youth Investment Strategy, current during the planning and recruitment phases of the research, with the addition of skills programmes. Programmes were numbered in the order in which data collection began.

Several programmes sat across a number of categories. For example, some programmes focus on skill development in earlier adolescence and move into leadership and/or volunteering, thus combining different types of intervention. This makes sense given that programmes were asked whether they saw themselves providing the Big Three (Lerner, 2004): skills building, relationships with adults, and opportunities to develop leadership in the programme and/or beyond. However, the allocation of broad category types to programmes is helpful for comparison and analysis and these were determined based on the main focus of programme activities. For example, in one programme, young people are mentees when they are younger, and return when older as mentors. The young participants in this research were current mentors and, as such, their focus was leading and supporting peers, so this programme is included under leadership. Programme types are summarised below.

5.4.1 Leadership Programmes (n=6)

In leadership programmes young people had an active role in planning, designing, and delivering events for young people or the community, or in providing activities and support for younger peers. This also included programmes where young people were involved in decision making or acted in advisory roles. Programme sessions usually focused on equipping young people with the skills, training, and time to undertake these tasks, with a number also including social outings or camps. Staff in these programmes often described their roles as resourcing, supporting, guiding, and providing relevant training rather than facilitating or leading. In three leadership programmes, young people had very high levels of autonomy for group and programme processes. In three programmes, young people had usually been recipients of peer leadership support, or part of the group before becoming leaders themselves. These programmes tended to have mixed duration, with some open to several years' participation and others having a fixed duration based on the nature of the leadership provided. In all programmes, young people self-selected but may have an interview before joining the group to assess their interest.

5.4.2 Mentoring Programmes (n=2)

These linked young people with an adult who could support them in achieving their goals. Both programmes provided a structured mentoring process with approximately monthly meetings between mentor and mentee. Both programmes facilitated events and activities to help build and sustain mentor/mentee relationships. One programme also included peer group skills and leadership components, and a camp led by the programme organisation. Young people self-selected in one programme; and in the other were recommended to attend but could choose not to be involved.

5.4.3 Skills Programmes (n=6)

Skills programmes aimed to develop specific skills and knowledge and usually provided a more structured curriculum, with clear ceremonies, events, and award structures to recognise achievement, which either guided the structure of the programme or acted as a culmination of the programme. The faith-based programme was included as a skills programme due to its primary focus on young people's personal development. Four programmes in the skills category had an open duration, usually coinciding with school terms, where young people could choose to engage for one term or for several years. Two programmes in this category had a set duration with a clear end point. In four programmes young people self-selected; while in two, young people could be recommended to attend but could choose not to participate. Of note, three skills programmes had strong leadership components, where young people could choose to lead groups of younger peers

and/or self-lead their own programme as they progressed, whilst others had mentoring or volunteering components, further highlighting the fluidity of programme types.

5.4.4 Volunteering Programmes

Many of the leadership programmes in the study could also be categorised under volunteering. Through leading activities and initiatives, and participating in decision making, young people contributed to the community. In practice, the two are difficult to separate. Programmes are listed under leadership because leading events and activities or involvement in decision making was usually the vehicle through which young people contributed and volunteered. Given the use of the Big Three (Lerner, 2004), it is not surprising that programmes contained a volunteer component. A number of skills programmes also included volunteering but, in these instances, skills were the main programme focus.

Table 5.5 summarises included programmes, data collection methods in each setting, and numbers of participants

Table 5.5

Programme Details

ID	Programme description	Programme duration	Programme type	No of locations included	Staff interviews	Youth interviews	Focus groups	Length of involvement
P1	A mentoring programme that supports young people with disabilities	One year mentoring with an adult	Mentoring	One	P1001 Staff	P1002		The youth participant was a current programme participant and had previously participated in the programme several years earlier
P2	A leadership, skills development and mentoring programme for young women	Four-year programme with 3 year's mentoring with an adult	Mentoring	One	P2001 Staff P2002 Staff (joint interview)		P2FG (n=10)	All youth participants were current programme participants in their third year of the programme
P3	A community-based youth leadership programme that creates events for-youth-by-youth	1 term – 5 years	Leadership	Two	P3001 Staff P3002 Staff		P3FG (n=11) P32FG (n=8)	All youth were current participants with 10 weeks – 3 years involvement
P4	Young mum parenting and life skills support programme	6 months	Skills	One	P4001 Staff		P4FG (n=3)	Youth participants had completed the 6-month programme
P5	A programme that works with diverse sexualities and genders providing peer support	Open	Leadership	One	P5002 Staff	P5001 P5003 (also staff) P5004 P5005		Youth were current and past peer leaders with 1-7 years involvement
P6	A uniformed youth development organisation (participants wear a uniform identifying them as part of the programme)	Open	Skills	Two	P6001 Staff (individual interview) P6208 Staff P6209 Staff (joint interview)		P6FG (n=4) P62FG (n=7)	All youth were current programme participants with 4-12 years involvement

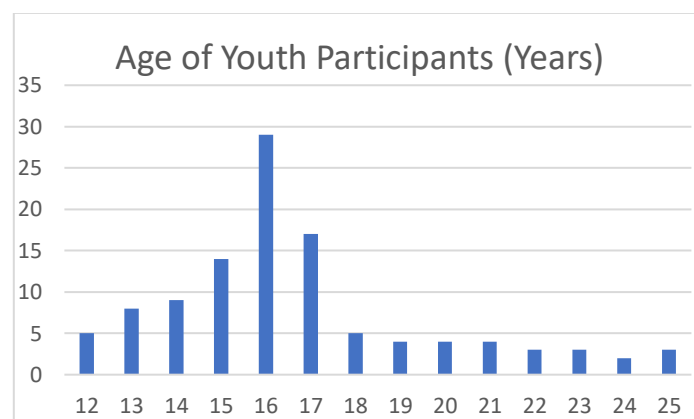
ID	Programme description	Programme duration	Programme type	No of locations included	Staff interviews	Youth interviews	Focus groups	Length of involvement
P7	A youth voice group	Open	Leadership	One			P7FG (n=8)	All youth were current programme participants with 4 months to 4 years involvement
P8	A youth creative arts programme	1 term – open	Skills	One	P8002 Staff P8005 Staff	P8001 P8003 P8004		All youth were current programme participants with 3 months to 14 years involvement
P9	A youth leadership and advisory group for organisations in the disability sector	Open	Leadership	One			P9FG (n=6)	All youth were current programme participants with 1 – 9 years involvement
P10	A camp and leadership programme for young people from refugee backgrounds	4-day camp + 5 weeks planning.	Leadership	One	P10001 Staff		P10FG (n=2)	All participants had attended one camp the year prior and completed leading the most recent camp
P11	A volunteer led youth organisation	Open	Skills	Two	P1120 Staff		P11FG (n=18) P112FG (n=4)	Youth were current programme participants from 3 months to 14 years involvement
P12	Indigenous values-based leadership	6 months	Skills	Three	P1201 Staff		P1202/P1203 (joint interview) P1204 P1205	Youth participants had previously completed the six-month programme
P13	A school-based peer mentoring programme	One year as a mentee and one or two years as a mentor	Leadership	One	P1305 Staff		P13FG (n=4)	Youth were current programme participants completing their second year of mentoring
P14	Faith-based youth group	Open (up to 5 years)	Skills	One	P1415 Staff		P14FG (n=13)	Youth were current programme participants with 2 weeks to 3 years involvement

5.4.5 Participant Demographics

Youth participant demographics are shown in Figures 5.1-5.3. In the study, 70% of participants were aged 13-17 years, reflecting that a number of programmes were aimed at high school age youth, with three programmes occurring in school contexts. Three participants were aged 25 during data collection. One had been involved in their programme at age 15 and again at age 24, the second had been involved in their programme for 9 years, and the third was 24 at the time of programme participation. A decision was made to include these youth in the study as they had a wealth of experience to share about their perceptions of outcomes in their time as youth.

Figure 5.1

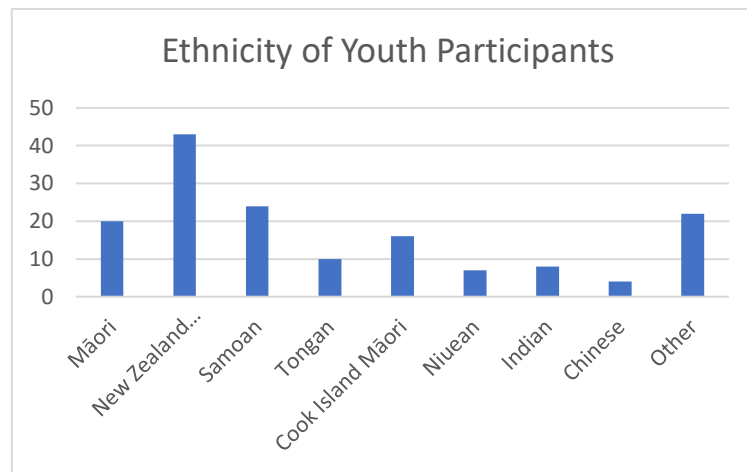
Age of Youth Participants in the Study



Participant ethnicity was recorded using New Zealand Census categories. Participants could choose any ethnicities they identified with and these are shown in Figure 5.2. New Zealand European was the largest single ethnic group (39%); however, just over half of participants (52%) identified with a Pacific ethnicity (Samoan, Tongan, Cook Island Māori, Niuean). Eighteen percent of participants identified as Māori and 11% identified as Indian or Chinese. Youth identifying as Other made up 20% of participants and included Filipino, Indonesian, Afghan, Sudanese, South African, and other European ethnicities such as Scottish. Percentages of Māori and New Zealand European participants are similar to those in the Youth 19 Study, 19.8% and 39.8% respectively. However, in the Youth 19 study only 12.2% of participants identified as Pacific (Fleming, Peiris-John, et al., 2020).

Figure 5.2

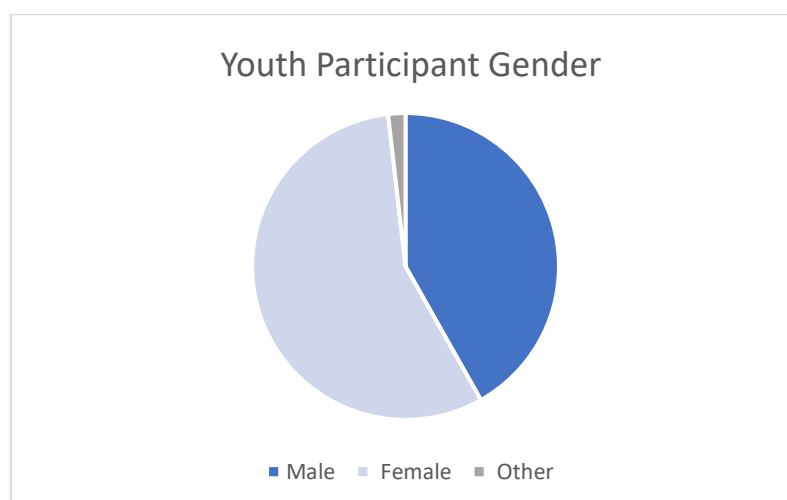
Ethnicity of Youth Participants in the Study



The gender section of participant details was left open for participants to describe themselves as they wished. Ninety eight percent of participants chose male or female, with two percent identifying with other genders such as gender diverse or trans, as shown in Figure 5.3. Some participants wrote words such as 'woman, man, or girl'. These were allocated to either male or female categories.

Figure 5.3

Gender of Youth Participants in the Study



A breakdown of demographics by programme is included in Appendix C.

5.5 Ethics

Ethics is both a philosophical and a practical concern in research and ensures the safety and wellbeing of participants. Guba and Lincoln (2005) suggested that ethical considerations should be embedded in research paradigms to guide overall approaches. As such, this section presents the

ethical values that guided the study and their application in design, data collection, and analysis. The study was approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, 29th June 2018, SOB 18/25.

PYD as an approach and its inherent values formed the overarching ethical framework for the project. First, the study took a relational approach, in recognition that development happens through strong, positive relationships between young people, their contexts, and those around them (Benson et al., 2007; Lerner, 2005). Second, the study prioritised young people, their experiences, and perceptions, taking a strengths-based approach (Damon, 2004). Third, the study sought to enhance and value the contributions young people make (Lerner, 2004). This relational and youth-focused approach informed research ethics in a number of ways, including focusing on valuing young people, acknowledging the context, and recognising issues of power, agency, and participation.

5.5.1 Valuing Young People

In prioritising young people and valuing their contribution, I was concerned to ensure that participants had a safe, comfortable, and, hopefully, enjoyable time. Value was shown to young people through the use of kai¹⁶ and a \$20 voucher of choice for individual interview participants. These practices acknowledged young people's time and that the benefits of the research were future oriented because many youth participants may have left programmes by the time the research was completed. Young people were framed as experts in the process who could inform me, programmes, and the sector about outcomes and their value from a youth perspective. Engagement occurred with existing groups in their spaces where young people already knew each other and felt comfortable. Focus groups used games and activities which helped young people to feel comfortable and relaxed.

For larger focus groups, students or colleagues took on research assistant roles. These people signed confidentiality agreements (Templates included in Appendix B), so the process was safe. Providing support options in all information sheets and options to pause or stop discussion, activities, and recording at any time also worked to ensure young people's comfort and safety. Confidentiality of programmes and youth was protected through not reporting names or identifying details, and data were stored safely in locked cabinets and password protected files. I transcribed all interviews and focus groups, bar one, and the transcriptionist signed a confidentiality agreement. Full transcripts of focus groups were not produced, as games and introductions were not pertinent to the research questions. Conversations about the research questions were recorded and quotations transcribed to ensure participant views were accurately captured.

¹⁶ Food

5.5.2 Acknowledging the Context

Recognising the contextual nature of development within PYD, it was important to consider the ethics of undertaking research in Aotearoa, how Te Tiriti o Waitangi would be given effect in the research, and my own position as a Pākehā researcher.

The articles of Te Tiriti can be summarised as kawanatanga, tino rangatiratanga, oritenga, and wairuatanga (Berghan et al., 2017). Kawanatanga, directly translated as governance, may be thought of as Māori engagement in decision making and Māori leadership. Tino rangatiratanga, or self-determination, may be thought of as Māori authority over their own affairs and the recognition that inherent racism in some structures and systems may limit this. Oritenga, or equity, relates to recognising and addressing areas of inequity for Māori; and, finally, wairuatanga, or spirituality, relates to respecting and acknowledging Te Ao Māori, mātauranga¹⁷ Māori, and tikanga, as well as assessing one's own values (Berghan et al., 2017). As I worked at Unitec Institute of Technology, a tertiary education provider, during the design and data collection phases, Unitec's (2001) Te Noho Kotahitanga values provided a process through which to enact Te Tiriti partnership and guided the research, as described below.

5.2.2.1 Rangatiratanga

Rangatiratanga recognises that Māori have authority over mātauranga Māori (Unitec, 2001). In research, this authority can be upheld by seeking cultural advice and taking care to accurately record and report participant experiences and ensure participant agency through informed consent. The research design ensured that organisations guided the nature of participation, whilst individual participants could control their levels of participation in activities. All interview and focus group schedules were shared with organisations and organisations determined their preferred processes for recruitment and data collection. Organisations could opt in to have the findings presented back *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi*¹⁸ at the end of the research, with all participants to receive a plain-language written summary. Informed consent and participant agency help to ensure balance between involvement in the research and different aspects of life and community (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2014; Meo-Sewabu et al., 2017).

Cultural advisors and supporters—academic and practice colleagues—were engaged and offered both formal and informal support and guidance via meetings at various times throughout the process. They assisted in considering ethical engagement with Māori and Pacific youth, and reflection on methodological processes and data analysis. From a Pacific ethics perspective, the use

¹⁷ Knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

¹⁸ Face-to-face (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

of cultural support aligns with recognition of a holistic approach and acknowledgment of different worldviews (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2014; Meo-Sewabu et al., 2017).

5.5.2.2 Wakaritenga

Wakaritenga recognises the legitimacy of all different experiences and, from a Te Tiriti partnership perspective, the legitimacy of Māori and all others to have a place in Aotearoa (Unitec, 2001). In research, this recognises the legitimacy of participants' experiences and research provides benefit to those involved.

Legitimacy comes to the fore in recruitment and whether organisations and participants see value in being involved. It requires a reflexive stance and recognition of my position in the research where this may be similar or different to that of participants. As noted in the introduction, I am a Pākehā who has worked in the youth sector for a long time. This is important in the research process because it can position me as an insider or an outsider in different contexts.

A relational approach was taken to recruitment, in keeping with PYD, and Te Ao Māori and Pacific approaches to research, which all prioritise relationships (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2014; Hudson et al., n.d.; Lerner, 2005). Recruitment began where relationships already existed. I did not have connections in faith-based or Pacific focused programmes which made it more challenging to find these programmes. As a Pākehā and someone not currently engaged in a church community, I may be considered an outsider with less legitimate value to offer in these spaces. An insider position as a member of these communities may have facilitated access (Corbin-Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

Possibly due to this outsider status, I was unable to recruit a programme that described itself as being Pacific focused, based explicitly on Pacific values, or catered to a specific ethnic community, such as Tongan or Samoan youth. I reflected later with one cultural advisor about what makes a Pacific youth development programme, and whether this is about how the programme is framed and explicit use of Pacific values, knowledge, and activities, or about having Pacific staff/leaders and Pacific participants who include these aspects in less formal ways (R. Haitoua-Haiu personal communication, 5th December 2019) If the latter definition is the case, then Pacific programmes were included in the study (P32FG, P7, P8). I have not found definitions of what constitutes a Pacific youth development programme. However, Anae (1997) noted that the term Pacific Islander is a construct that serves to collapse the distinct identities of peoples from Pacific nations.

While no programmes identified as Pacific, 52% of youth participants identified as belonging to a Pacific ethnic group. Ioane (2017) stated, "The reality is a non-Pasifika person will never look or talk

like a Pasifika person, however one can still personally and professionally engage successfully with Pasifika communities” (p. 41). The number of Pacific participants may be evidence of this engagement, but may reflect Pacific values of love and respect shown by these participants in their willingness to welcome an outsider into their space.

When forming new relationships, I considered what connections around values, interests, and shared networks might exist (Mafile’o, 2019). An important asset was my insider status regarding youth development and I used my passion for this area as a key connection point with new organisations. This helped to identify similarities and differences to create shared understanding (Johnson, 2017).

5.5.2.3 Kaitiakitanga

Kaitiakitanga recognises the role of guardianship, particularly of knowledge (Unitec, 2001). Strategies to ensure kaitiakitanga include seeking cultural advice, sharing findings, and treating data with care and respect through both confidentiality and analysis processes.

One cultural support person was particularly helpful by encouraging me to think about how kaitiakitanga flows through the research process and the ways data would be treated and respected in the writing and sharing (T. Reihana-Morunga, personal communication, 9th May 2018). Prioritising kaitiakitanga of data helped to hold in mind the context of participants in their meaning making of outcomes. As Karagiozis (2018) noted:

Manipulation of data can result from the researcher’s negligence to acknowledge and identify the cultural contexts in which research is conducted and data is gathered (Poupart et al., 2000; Barden & Boyer 1993). The implementation of a single-dimensional research approach to study diverse cultural settings and the imposition of a narrow-dimensional way of interpreting multidimensional data undermine the understanding of the research data. (p. 21)

These discussions were key in the choice of a critical realist paradigm, exploratory methodology, and the use of framework analysis, which all provide scope for reflexivity and examining underlying assumptions and beliefs. Glynn (2013) described how Pākehā values around knowledge and expertise may sit in contrast to Māori values of relationship and collaboration, whilst the dominance of a Pākehā worldview may position this as ‘normal’ and everyone else as ‘other’ (Glynn, 2013). Recognising these differences was helpful in reminding me to see outcomes in context, and to explore the different meanings outcomes may have for participants; thus, being a kaitiaki of what they shared with me. For example, some participants felt their programme achievements held

collective value and it was important to capture the contextual significance of these outcomes. This links to holism in Pacific research ethics and the idea of prioritising the common good, in terms of ensuring the wellbeing of participants throughout data collection, writing, and dissemination (Meo-Sewabu et al., 2017).

Kaitiakitanga also acknowledges that the interpretations and conclusions drawn from the data, whilst drawing on literature from Māori and Pacific scholars, is my understanding as a Pākehā, which cannot fully represent the experiences of diverse participants. The study is a co-construction of these experiences and the relationships I have held with participants. Different researchers would have different relationships and draw different conclusions (Finlay, 2002). Critical realism can help with recognising this difference between writing as a transitive vehicle to help explain what may be happening at the real level, while recognising that this will always be a relative description that is not objective (Seal, 2016).

5.5.2.4 Mahi kotahitanga

Mahi kotahitanga is about collaboration and working together (Unitec, 2001). It recognises research as a collaborative effort and the researcher's obligations to give back and enter into reciprocal relationships. Reciprocity is also seen as a key part of Pacific research ethics (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2014; Meo-Sewabu et al., 2017). With organisations, this collaboration and reciprocity was shown through organisations determining their preferred recruitment and data collection processes, while semi-structured interviews and focus groups allowed participants to co-construct the process.

In creating a collaborative space, whakawhanaungatanga¹⁹ was important. While I had relationships with some of the organisations, I was reminded that this process can take time with new organisations, especially Māori organisations, in order to build trust (M. Shepherd, personal communication, 12th December 2018). Guilleman et al. (2018) noted that indigenous research participants are more likely to form trust based on the person of the researcher. In diverse settings with young people, it was important to create opportunities for a more human connection. As Martel and colleagues (2021) stated:

Before research involving Māori can begin, respectful relationships need to be established between researchers and participants. This takes time, and researchers must be prepared to disclose personal information about their own whānau and connections, but without these relationships there will be no research. (p. 6)

¹⁹ Process of building relationships (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

Where focus groups were used, I went first to meet the group and introduce myself in either English or Te Reo using a pepeha²⁰ format, or other appropriate cultural greetings. For example, when visiting young people from refugee backgrounds I learned the greetings of all refugee communities in Aotearoa. Cultural greetings provided opportunities to ask if anyone's greeting had been missed and invited participants to feel culturally welcomed. Young people were encouraged to introduce themselves before data collection occurred. Introductions also built awareness of cultural differences throughout the process (Karagiozis, 2018).

A collaborative approach highlighted the importance of persistence, where delays and setbacks were taken as a normal part of the process, rather than disinterest (Sanders & Munford, 2017). I recognised that the research was my priority and being flexible to make participation as easy as possible was my responsibility. This flexibility could create opportunities for greater mahi kotahitanga. For example, in one organisation the invitation process to staff was combined with a presentation of a youth development approach. Focus group and interview schedules were shared with organisations and some identified these may be useful for future evaluation of their programmes. Permission was given for these to be used in this way. These actions demonstrated commitment and interest beyond what could be gained from the research (Johnson, 2017).

5.5.2.5 Ngākau Māhaki

Ngākau māhaki focuses on respect and humility in relation to others (Unitec, 2001). In research this relates to ensuring the comfort and wellbeing of participants and treating their experiences and worldviews with care. It also includes respecting tikanga and behaving in a way that is appropriate for participants. Humility involves being willing to learn from participants and behaving in a way that engenders respect by being honest, trustworthy, and acting with integrity throughout the process.

The organisation consent phase respected the organisation's role and relationships with young people and their processes to keep young people safe. This also links with Pacific research values around respect for relationships, authority, and cultural processes (Health Research Council, 2014; Meo-Sewabu et al., 2017). Organisation's guidance over the ways they chose to participate respected their positions as knowledge holders and enabled me to show humility in entering their spaces.

Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi processes and informed consent respected participants. Respect was further shown through introducing myself in each setting, offering the use of karakia²¹, sharing kai in focus

²⁰ A way of introducing yourself and where you are from (Takai, n.d.)

²¹ Prayer or chant (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

groups, and using semi-structured processes that allowed participants to lead the discussion. Some groups and interviews chose not to use karakia, whilst others used their own prayer or process. Karakia were used in all interviews in an indigenous values-based programme as agreed during the organisation consent phase.

Navigating tensions between each programme's tikanga and bicultural practices regarding karakia presented an interesting ethical dilemma. On the one hand, it was important to respect each group's normal processes and my role was not to change their tikanga; on the other hand, it may be important to role model bicultural practice. Pere and Barnes (2009) noted that even if the research is not Māori, Māori processes should be used if involving Māori participants. Some focus groups had Māori participants, but the normal group process did not necessarily follow Māori protocols. In this study, I respected participant choices not to use karakia if they did not wish to. Karagiozis (2018) noted that a one size-fits-all approach to engaging with participants is not recommended as people may express their cultural identities in various ways.

5.5.3 Power, Agency, and Participation

Youth development sees youth contribution as important and valuable (Lerner, 2004). However, young people's contribution and agency in situations is often limited by their age and status (Dewhurst et al., 2014). Young people find ways to navigate their agency within these limits, as was evident during consent processes and data collection.

Young people under 16 years in the study required caregiver consent to participate. If young people arrived at focus groups without consent, caregivers were phoned to gain verbal consent with the paper form obtained later. In one instance, the paper form was never received, and this young person's comments were excluded from the data. In hindsight, audio-recording parental consent at the time could have helped; however, it also highlights that consent can be a fluid process (Sanders & Munford, 2017). For example, it may be that the young person and parent had actually rescinded consent after the focus group occurred.

Young people exercised fluidity of consent in other ways; for example, some consented to the research but chose not to participate in activities. These processes were managed with leaders who were usually nearby in another room offering alternative activities. Moments of non-participation could also be interpreted as young people exercising their agency and finding their own ways of participating or communicating what was important, or not, to them (Davidson, 2017). These moments acknowledged different motivations for participation, such as wanting to be with friends, and different levels of consent (Davidson, 2017) and could also indicate time for a break or a game.

My role moved between that of researcher and youth-worker, at times foregrounding the topic and at other times the relationship (Davidson, 2017).

Staff could also impact young people's agency and participation. In six focus groups staff stayed in the room which was not preferable as this may have influenced young people's responses. The presence of staff was discussed during the organisation consent phase. In one programme which included two focus groups, staff presence was a condition of participation in line with their policy and procedures. Staff stayed in other groups due to there being no other space available, being asked to stay by young people, or choosing to stay themselves. In two groups, leaders wore headphones and completed other work; in another two, leaders completed other work with no headphones; and in two groups, leaders were actively involved in the group. Leaders who were present signed confidentiality agreements.

It is unclear how leader presence impacted data, particularly given that critique of programmes was not sought. However, data from groups where leaders were present did not appear significantly different from others during analysis and those who agree to participate in research may already be more likely to comment positively (Dennis, 2014). In most cases, the decision for staff to stay was not made by young people and highlights adults' role in young people's research participation—the influence they can have and the ways they can enhance or limit inclusion (O'Reilly & Dogra, 2017). Staff may also make these decisions to balance tensions between young people's autonomy and participation in research with a duty to ensure their safety (O'Reilly & Dogra, 2017).

Involving organisations as active partners in deciding how the research would unfold in each setting underscored these tensions. On the one hand, it showed respect for relationships and authority, which aligns with Māori and Pacific research values (Hudson et al., n.d.; Meo-Sewabu et al., 2017). On the other hand, it meant compromises were made in the field to preserve and maintain relationships. Davidson (2017) noted that power dynamics in research are fraught, because what is empowering for some may represent control for others.

5.6 Data Analysis

5.6.1 Framework Analysis Overview

Framework analysis originally developed in social policy research as a way to increase confidence in qualitative methods by making the analysis process more transparent to funders and other stakeholders (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994) and has been used more recently in health and social sciences (Parkinson et al., 2016). It is a structured approach, consisting of five stages: familiarisation, developing the initial framework, indexing, charting, and mapping and interpretation. During

familiarisation, some data are coded and, in the second stage, these codes are developed into a draft framework. Indexing involves applying this draft framework to the existing data and modifying as necessary. In charting, all data are summarised on charts and grouped into themes, which may, again, modify the framework. During mapping and interpretation, data are explained, patterns identified, and the research questions answered (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994).

Framework analysis is viewed as epistemologically free, can be used with inductive or deductive processes, and with a range of methodologies (Gale et al., 2013). It is seen to have a number of advantages including: being grounded in the data, being iterative and open to change, taking a systematic approach, including all data, allowing for easy referencing and retrieval of raw data, supporting data comparison within and between cases, and being transparent (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). These advantages help address issues of reliability, validity, and rigour by making the analysis process and the decisions and subjectivity of the researcher more visible (Kiernan & Hill, 2018). Thus, whilst the analysis may not be replicable, the process of meaning making is transparent. Furber (2010) noted that rigour is further enhanced by keeping close to the raw data during each stage of the process. Framework analysis is useful for large qualitative datasets, where data come from a range of sources and when there are both inductive and a priori interests (Gale et al., 2013; Parkinson et al., 2016).

Framework analysis was a useful choice for this exploratory study which had a large dataset and an interest in exploring similarities and differences in participant perception. By including all data, broad themes, as well as individual experiences and cultural and contextual nuances, could be identified. A structured approach which helps to show where analytic decisions are made is particularly important when assessing the alignment of a non-local youth development model (the Five Cs) to the Aotearoa context.

5.6.2 Framework Analysis and Critical Realism

No examples were found in the literature which linked critical realism and framework analysis; yet the two approaches align. Framework analysis is useful in studies that both describe what exists and seek to understand the causes of what exists (Gale et al., 2013; Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). This fits critical realism's interest in examining both empirical observations and the underlying causal mechanisms (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). Critical realism rejects a purely empirical approach to causality where *a* leads to *b*, because such concrete and simplistic assertions cannot be sustained in open and dynamic systems (Longhofer & Floersch, 2017; Fletcher, 2017). Fletcher (2017) suggested instead that these relationships may be noted as tendencies which, in qualitative studies, can be observed via coding methods. It may not be possible to say that programmes lead to certain

outcomes, rather than programmes tend to support certain outcomes. As a structured and transparent method that includes all data, framework analysis can help to identify these tendencies.

In order to understand causality, it is recommended that analysis in critical realist studies should move from concrete to abstract and back again (Fletcher, 2017; Radulescu & Vessey, 2009; Roberts, 2014). This involves using data (concrete) to hypothesise about underlying causal mechanisms (abstract) and describing how these may operate (concrete) (Roberts, 2014). Keeping close to original data sources in framework analysis can assist this back and forwards movement between theorising and empirical observation, whilst the inclusion of all data may increase the ability to look at different contexts and their potentially different causal mechanisms.

Causal mechanisms can be identified through researcher-driven processes of abduction and retroduction. In abduction, data are viewed through theoretical lenses which look beyond participant experiences to explore possible causal mechanisms (Danermark et al., 2019; Fletcher, 2017; Vincent & O'Mahoney, 2019). Because theories are transitive and open to change, abductive processes may serve to modify theory or generate new theories. As such, data which do not fit theory are equally important because these can help with generating other possible theoretical descriptions and re-contextualising what may already be known (Danermark et al., 2019; Meyer & Lunney, 2013). The inclusion of all data during the indexing and charting stages of framework analysis may assist this process. In this instance, inclusion of all data can help to identify similarities and differences in outcomes and alignment/misalignment to the Five Cs.

Retroduction seeks to identify the conditions under which something exists, or is possible (Danermark et al., 2019; Eastwood et al., 2014), such as the conditions that must exist for outcomes to occur in programmes. Retroductive inference is a more intuitive process that takes data and generalisations to an abstract level to describe the structures underneath. Strategies in this type of inferencing include: considering what conditions must be present for the observed phenomena to occur, looking at negative or extreme cases which can help to identify where these conditions are absent or amplified, and comparing cases to help separate universal conditions from contextual ones (Danermark et al., 2019). By including and charting all data, these comparisons can be more easily made.

Mapping and interpretation phases present opportunities to clearly describe both retroductive and abductive reasoning, while clear charting can help to show how these conclusions are arrived at. The use of clear stages in framework analysis can help balance between data driven, researcher driven, and theory driven processes. Critical realism suggests that the empirical perceptions of participants whilst accurate to their experience may not determine reality (Clark, 2008). However, critical realism

also holds that worldviews, theories, and ideas can be real when they have influence in the actual and empirical domains (Groff, 2004). This creates a challenge for researchers to hold tensions across participant perception, researcher interpretations, and theories and to differentiate between them, whilst also holding the fallibility of any conclusions drawn.

Balancing tensions between participant experience, researcher interpretation and theory are pertinent in this study given the various interests in outcome perception (data driven), outcomes frameworks (researcher driven), and the Five Cs model (theory driven). These are managed in this study through differentiating between inductive and deductive processes, and framework analysis is helpful in separating these steps. Inductive approaches are used at the familiarisation, indexing, and charting stages, where codes related to perception of outcomes emerge from the data. This helps ensure that participant perceptions lead answers to the first two research questions related to the perception of outcomes and the similarities and differences in these perceptions.

Theory driven processes are re-introduced at the mapping and interpretation phases, particularly in relation to the Five Cs. In order to assess relevance, it is important to test the fit of the Five Cs to the data, rather than fit data to the theory. Assessing pre-determined outcomes may not accurately capture all of or the most important outcomes experienced by young people. Further, the Five Cs is largely untested in the local setting and there are mixed views about its applicability as a measure of programme outcomes (e.g., Geldhof et al., 2015; Kajokienė et al., 2015). As such, the Five Cs are overlayed onto the findings in the discussion chapters, showing that this assessment is clearly researcher and theory driven.

5.6.3 The Framework Analysis Process

The five stages of framework analysis and their application in this study are described below.

5.6.3.1 Familiarisation

During familiarisation, transcripts, documents, notes, and other artefacts are reviewed and initial themes, key ideas, and codes are noted. Depending on the size of the dataset, a selection of data may be chosen for this process (Kiernan & Hill, 2018). The selection can be guided by the methods of collection, diversity of the sample, number of researchers, and timeframe of data collection to ensure a good range is represented (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). Coding can be done manually by annotating transcripts, digitally, or through discussion (Furber, 2010; Kiernan & Hill, 2018; Parkinson et al., 2016). Codes may be allocated 'line-by-line, or by looking at larger excerpts (Furber, 2010; Gale et al., 2013; Kiernan & Hill, 2018). Gale and colleagues (2013) suggested inductive coding should move beyond descriptive codes to include behaviours, structures, values, emotions, and process observations, such as points of discomfort.

Ten transcripts, including a mixture of individual interviews and focus groups, from four programmes, were familiarised manually and via spreadsheet in December 2018/January 2019. The programme types included two leadership programmes, a mentoring programme, and a skills programme. I was already familiar with the tone of data from collection and transcription. Some parts of recordings were listened to again and field notes were studied to enhance understanding of transcripts (Parkinson et al., 2016). Paying attention to interactions, agreements, and disagreements in focus groups can provide important data (Liamputtong, 2015). Comments in focus groups were not noted against particular participants, due to the nature and size of most groups, but each new speaker was indicated in transcripts. Coding for both interviews and focus groups followed Poland conventions (cited in Liamputtong, 2015) with pauses, coughs, laughter, and inaudible parts noted.

Selected transcripts were coded using emergent coding that was thematic in nature, aiming to develop descriptive labels that could speak to both individual experience and patterns in the data (Ayres, 2008). Codes related to the various outcomes that were described by participants. For example, some early codes included themes such as confidence, skills, belonging, and support. Broad a priori codes for other areas of the data had been developed in consultation with supervisors and literature to ensure focus on the research questions. These included PYD definitions, Programme features, Outcomes, Other, Interesting quotes, Not elsewhere coded. These latter two codes were not used during familiarisation because at this point it felt important to allocate all data to descriptive codes and everything appeared interesting at this early stage. Excerpts were allocated codes, rather than a line-by-line approach, to maintain the context and feel of data.

Some early reflective observations were noted, including that programmes appeared to be safe spaces to explore identity and young people appeared to perceive themselves as having a need or interest that programmes can meet. Already these pointed to potential causal mechanisms and represented some level of retroductive thinking about the conditions needed for phenomena to occur (Danermark et al., 2019). Some codes reflected these interpretations such as 'I can be me here'; highlighting the subjectivity of the researcher during the familiarisation stage (Kiernan & Hill, 2018). Early interpretations were discussed with supervisors and noted for later stages.

5.6.3.2 Developing the Initial Framework

In the second step, the initial list of themes and ideas are grouped to help determine a framework which can then be applied to remaining data (Parkinson et al., 2016). This initial framework is guided by the themes and codes from familiarisation and a priori issues, such as research questions, to ensure they are being answered (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). Each broad theme also contains an index, or list of sub-themes, which Ritchie and Spencer (1994) suggested should be simple, with deeper

interpretation to occur later. There is no guide to the size of this initial framework, but it is acknowledged as being a 'rough' or 'working' draft (Kiernan & Hill, 2018).

Codes from all familiarisation transcripts were noted in one spreadsheet. Initially 266 unique codes were identified from these 10 transcripts. The codes were grouped thematically to identify broader themes. Codes only identified once were noted and the original transcript reviewed to check coding and identify if these may be coded elsewhere. Within this initial framework, nine core outcomes and three key programme processes which supported outcomes were identified. These would remain throughout the analysis. Appendix D tracks the development of the framework.

5.6.3.3 Indexing

During indexing, the draft framework is applied to all remaining data. Alternatively, if all data have been reviewed during familiarisation, the framework could be applied back to the transcripts and other data sources (Kiernan & Hill, 2018). At this stage, it is important not to discard any seemingly irrelevant data, as this may generate new codes and themes and allow for greater exploration of similarities and differences (Furber, 2010). Overlap of themes may begin to emerge at this stage where several index codes apply to a particular piece of text (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). Furber (2010) noted the importance of being close to raw data so as divorcing the data from its context risks misinterpretation. As such, the framework is continuously tested and evolves, until all data are included and a subjectively determined saturation point has been reached (Kiernan & Hill, 2018). Framework development and subsequent indexing of data is acknowledged as both an analytic and intuitive process (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994) where the researcher is in control of authoring the data (Kiernan & Hill, 2018).

The initial framework was entered into NVivo and familiarised data were indexed first. Where an excerpt proved difficult to index, the original coding was revisited, which resulted in further refinement of the working framework. Kiernan and Hill (2018) stressed the importance of returning to initial familiarisation coding during the indexing phase. For example, some young people described increased ability to express and manage their emotions. The initial framework placed this under affect; but, reviewing initial coding identified a skills element in these experiences, relating to learning how to manage oneself and one's feelings. This resulted in the development of the code 'personal skills' under skills which would later include the ability to set goals, manage oneself, and be adaptable.

Some areas were able to be further streamlined; for example, the child node of 'ownership', under the node of 'connection', was removed as discussions related to either a sense of ownership of the space, which related to organisation connection, and youth ownership of their role in the

programme, which related to belonging or agency. New codes were developed; for example, 'unintended outcomes' which captured challenges, such as young people's uncertainty about taking on leadership roles. These changes, summarised in Appendix D, were often made as a result of moving back and forwards between the transcript and the original familiarisation coding.

Completed transcripts that were not included in the familiarisation process were indexed next and the remaining interviews and focus groups were indexed as they were completed from February–July 2019. The existing framework proved to be a good fit for additional data and some codes were further streamlined as described in Appendix D. During indexing, as Furber (2010) recommended, no written data were excluded. My questions were coded 'Not otherwise coded', to be reviewed during the Charting phase. The code 'Interesting Quotes' served as a tool to highlight excerpts that stood out, either due to their emotional salience in the interview or relevance to a particular theme or idea. This code may also help to elucidate some of the authoring processes of data analysis (Kiernan & Hill, 2018) by highlighting what I saw as significant and meaningful, and can act as a signpost for later abductive and retroductive analysis. An example of data coded to 'Not otherwise coded' and 'Interesting quotes' is shown in the chart samples in Appendix E. A decision was made to add my notes and reflections and visual data at the charting phase. Leaving notes until charting was done to ensure the indexing phase was driven by participant data, and to assist with focusing on the first and second research questions at this stage, which were more about participant perceptions than researcher interpretations. Visual data were not added during indexing, as much of what was recorded in focus group drawings was then discussed in the group and included in transcripts. Coding again with the visual data would result in double coding leading to overemphasis of certain ideas.

During indexing, it was noted that many quotations were relevant to several codes and were coded in all relevant places; for example:

P8002, young person: It [Programme] brings them in and then it's also, I think it's good for them to have friends from like out of their school groups as well. Just cause, it's not like they're your secret friends but like they're friends that like your other people don't really know and so you can be a different person if you choose to, which I think is a good opportunity for them to have if they need it.

This was coded under Outcomes: Connections: Peer Connections, because it described the special friends that people develop in programmes. It was also coded under Outcomes: Positive Identity: I can be me, because it described young people's ability to explore and express identity. Finally, it was coded under Programme Processes: Accepting Atmosphere: Ok to be Myself, because the excerpt

highlighted that it was the fact that these relationships occurred in an atmosphere which sat outside of other expectations and judgements and allowed the young person to explore different parts of identity. These overlaps were considered more closely during the charting phase, where data could be considered as a whole and pieces moved, or codes collapsed.

5.6.3.4 Charting

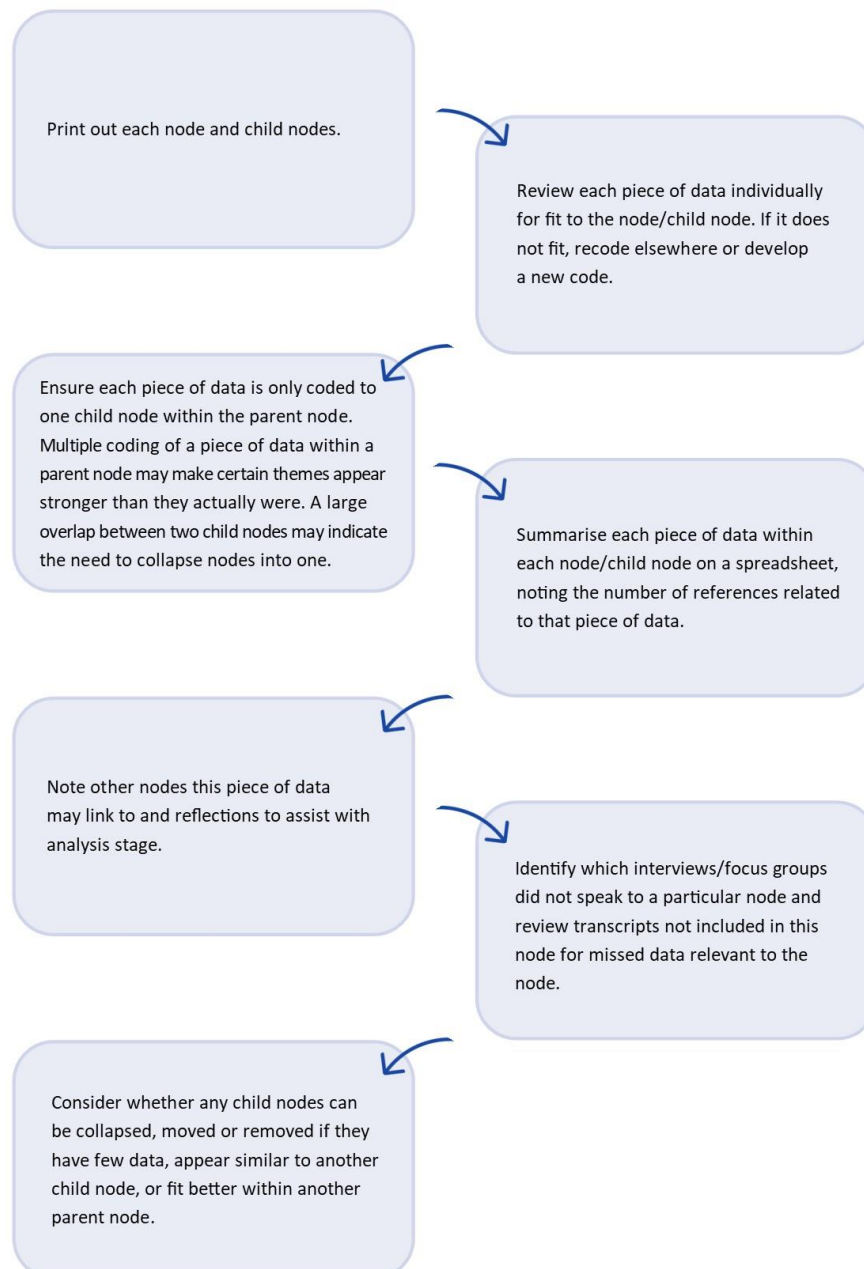
During charting, all data that have been indexed are summarised and grouped into a matrix of themes. Ritchie and Spencer (1994) described this as ‘lifting’ the data from the transcripts and grouping them into themes, which may come from the framework, research questions, or how the data should be presented in the final write up. During charting, data are summarised into manageable pieces, capturing participants’ viewpoints with illustrative quotations (Gale et al., 2013).

Data can be organised by theme with cases identified, or by case with themes identified (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). Here again, closeness to the original data is prioritised, and if matrixed by themes, the data must always be presented in the same case order to see the data in context and provide scope for comparison (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). As data are grouped, superordinate themes may develop, new themes occur, the framework is refined, and data re-indexed in a looped and iterative process, resulting in a more cohesive framework (Kiernan & Hill, 2018).

The first round of charting was done by theme. Each node and child-node in NVivo was carefully reviewed, and data summarised on a spreadsheet. Due to the size of the dataset, each node had its own spreadsheet. Whilst NVivo can create framework matrices automatically, this process was done manually to allow greater flexibility. Manual charting allowed each quotation to be summarised in a different cell and therefore, more quickly referenced back to raw data. Particular quotations could also be more easily moved in the chart if re-coded. A manual chart also allowed space to add notes about links to other nodes and reflections on the data. This modification of the charting process allowed space for links to theory and thoughts about what may be occurring behind the words, or possible causal mechanisms, which was helpful at the mapping and interpretation phase. For example, notes on these early charts helped to find evidence from the data about analytic ideas noted during coding, such as young people’s sense that they needed programmes to improve themselves or address a need. These processes served to make the analysis and the interpretation and shaping of meaning more explicit (Kiernan & Hill, 2018). Appendix E shows excerpts from some of these early charts, while Figure 5.4 shows the process that was followed during the charting of each node:

Figure 5.4

Charting Process



As data were reviewed, a number of changes were made to the framework. For example, the child node 'pride' was moved from 'achievement' to 'positive affect', as the data showed pride was both a result of achievement and related to a number of different experiences in programmes (e.g., pride from giving back). These changes were made to improve the fit of the framework to the data and ensure that child nodes/sub-themes were large enough to demonstrate their significance for

participants whilst ensuring that nuanced differences between programmes and participants were captured. Examples of changes and the revised framework at this point in the analysis are shown in Appendix D.

The chart spreadsheet was then checked to ensure that it accurately matched NVivo, as some data had been moved during the charting phase. Charted data were re-organised by participant and node onto one sheet, so that whole transcripts could be reviewed, referenced, and compared. This became the Master Chart. Written notes from groups and interviews were scanned again at this stage to check for any data not in the chart and to be added to the framework. For example, in some focus groups discussion about participant's length of time involved in the programme was part of an activity which was done before recording started. Notes and reflections were reviewed for comments about the emotional tone of the interview/focus group, and reflections about non/verbal cues and these were recorded on the Master Chart. For example, notes had identified where one staff member became tearful when reflecting on the changes the programme could make to young people's lives, highlighting the importance of these outcomes from this person's perspective. An example of how the Master Chart was structured is shown in Appendix F.

Notes about visual data were also added to the Master Chart. Visual data included head/shoulder outlines of a fictional young person that participants had named, decorated, and made notes around during focus groups about programme outcomes. Young people shared what they had noted down during recorded discussions. Visual data were checked against the chart and transcripts. Where visual data provided new information, this was noted under relevant nodes in NVivo. An overall description of points of interest from visual data was added to the Master Chart, such as the use of particular images, motifs, or colours. Visual data provided insight into young people's expressions of culture, identity, and interest in the ways they decorated and named their paper; for example, one young person was named 'Tamatoa' and decorated with koru²² and other Māori and Pacific designs. These were to become relevant in the mapping and interpretation phase and were noted on the chart where they occurred.

The charting phase is often a stage where reduction occurs and larger patterns emerge (Kiernan & Hill, 2018). In this instance, much of the reduction occurred at the lower levels, where smaller themes were merged and re-ordered. The larger themes of the nine core outcomes and three core processes remained the same, likely because the more descriptive nature of these themes helped to

²² Spiral motif (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

answer the first and second research questions related to understanding perception of outcomes and the similarities and differences in perception.

Throughout analysis, some super-ordinate themes emerged. Some outcomes appeared to be related to young people's behaviour and what would be observable in others, such as skills and giving back; whilst others related to young people's internal experiences, such as developing a future focus. A final group of outcomes related to connection and positive identity had significant overlap with the nodes which described programme processes, such as an Accepting Atmosphere and a Youth-Centric Space.

Overlaps between codes may, in some circumstances, indicate where codes could be collapsed into larger themes; but, in this instance, they appeared to indicate contingent conditions. For example, the following quotation coded to both Outcomes: Connection: Belonging and Programme Processes: Accepting Atmosphere: Supportive Group Environment highlighted the way belonging (an outcome) was dependent on the nature of the group as a happy, family-like space. The quotation goes on to discuss how this sense of belonging influenced values and attitudes development, another outcome:

P32FG young person: And [Programme] made them a happy person. As said before it was a very happy, family sort of place here, so having a place other than school and home where they belong is a big thing for them. This also gave them a pretty positive attitude.

5.6.3.5 Mapping and Interpretation

In this final stage, the researcher makes sense of the data as a whole; identifies patterns, similarities, and differences; develops explanations from the data; and attempts to answer the research questions (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). This stage is acknowledged as difficult to describe due to its interpretive and intuitive nature that is subjective to the researcher(s) (Parkinson et al., 2016; Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). However, Kiernan and Hill (2018) noted that previous stages help to elucidate this subjectivity; first, what is observed by the researcher is highlighted in the familiarisation phase and then again in the charting phase, which shows how the researcher is making sense of data through the inclusion and grouping of all data. In this way, the subjectivity of the researcher is acknowledged, aligning with critical realism's view that all knowledge is conditional (Seal, 2016). The advantage of framework analysis is that indexing and charting can make these subjective decisions more explicit (Kiernan & Hill, 2018).

As noted above, three broad categories of outcomes had begun to emerge during indexing and charting which developed into Behavioural Outcomes, Internal Outcomes, and Relational Outcomes. These three super-ordinate themes, along with the three programme processes of an Accepting

Atmosphere, a Youth-Centric Space, and Leader/Adult Behaviours, form the conceptual thematic framework through which the findings are presented. Identifying larger themes could be considered either part of the charting process and the development of superordinate themes (Kiernan & Hill, 2018), or part of the mapping and interpretation process where the researcher seeks to interpret and understand the dataset as a whole (Parkinson et al., 2016). In this case, they were both—occurring throughout the analysis and representing an intuitive linking process based on knowledge of the data. The ideas about superordinate themes and their relationships to each other and programme processes were tested in the data by running queries in NVIVO highlighting the overlaps between different outcomes and between outcomes and processes, which are described in the findings chapters; Appendix G shows coding overlaps. Whilst it could be argued that these overlaps simply highlighted coding decisions, they further serve to explicate their links to participant experiences and how the intuitive leaps were made.

Much of the mapping and interpretation occurred whilst drafting the findings. In describing the data, broader ideas emerged, such as considering identity in relation to identity exploration and expression. Questions behind the data also emerged such as:

- What is the reason for only some programmes discussing culture and others not?
- What might high numbers of Pacific young people in programmes say about programmes and the experiences of Pacific young people?
- What roles do young people play in navigating to programmes, programme values, and attaining outcomes?

These questions often developed from choosing quotations to include in the thesis, as it was here that the nuances of data were returned to and some of the early intuitive observations were revisited. When clues to these questions presented themselves, charts and original transcripts were revisited. The development and exploration of these questions represent some of the more intuitive processes of the analysis and retroductive inferencing where underlying conditions were considered (Danermark et al., 2019). For example, fieldnotes from one focus group conducted early in the research (P7) identified a strong sense that some of the young people had joined the programme to fill a need or a gap, both personally and in relation to their role in society, and then used the programme to help meet this need. This was exemplified in the following reflection from the drawing activity, where a small group presented back their ideas of what their fictional character Sara Lei Smith the 2nd gained:

P7FG: So, like before she joined the [Programme] she was shy she was close minded, she lacked confidence she had poor time management, she was awkward, she was timid, No

people skills and she was nervous. She was introverted and she was antisocial, and she was culturally inappropriate sometimes.

P7FG: And then after Sara Lei Smith the 2nd joined the [Programme], she found happiness, friendship, confidence, courage, leadership skills developed, self-discipline, networking skills, time management, team-work skills. Better understanding of community, better understanding of projects, professionalism, she became an extrovert um... became more social, personal development, morals increased values, ethnically aware, culturally aware, equipped for the real world and community and resilience and endurance.

Evidence of this sense of gap was sought and found in other programmes (P3, P6, P5, P4, P11, P9, P13), where young people appeared to believe themselves as lacking something without the programme. The programme could provide necessary skills to be prepared for the adult world, or vehicles to prove themselves and counter stereotypes about young people or particular groups. This underlying theme is assessed in relation to theory in the discussion (Chapter Eleven).

During mapping and interpretation, abductive reasoning was employed, evidenced in Chapter Nine where data are considered in light of theories. As recommended by Meyer and Lunnay (2013), this process moved beyond the original theoretical premise and considered data in light of other theories, such as identity development processes. This was also driven by strong links in data between identity, connection, and programme processes, which fit with the general theoretical premise of PYD that development occurs through the alignment of individual strengths and the context (Lerner, 2005), but also highlighted some more specific interactions between connection, process, and identity.

Charting and mapping and interpretation phases were assisted through discussion with supervisors and cultural advisors/support people regarding the overall grouping of the outcomes into three areas, the relationships between outcomes and processes, and the experiences of Māori and Pacific participants. Quotations from data were discussed with cultural advisors in relation to their meaning and interpretation. As one programme spoke explicitly about mana, this concept was explored with an advisor, including reflecting on the meaning of a karakia (see reflections in Appendix H). This helped to better understand the concept of mana as relating to interconnectedness, balance, and identity within Te Ao Māori (Webber & MacFarlane, 2020), and to consider the role of culture in programmes more carefully.

The number of Pacific participants was discussed, and the felt sense of family and welcome within Pacific predominant groups. It was noted that this may be related to values that young people bring

into programmes and concepts related to a Pacific worldview, such as va or relational space (R. Haitoua-Haiu, personal communication, 5th December 2019); the significance of which is explored in the discussion chapters. Advisors also helped to consider reasons why culture may be discussed in some groups and not others. It was suggested that this may occur in groups where leaders are cultural role models (R. Haitoua-Haiu, personal communication, 5th June 2019) or look after the tapu of the group (M. Shepherd, personal communication, 27th November 2019). This appeared to be borne out in the data, where programmes that explored cultural identity were those where leaders also discussed the role of culture in their interviews and saw this as important to young people's experiences. Cultural support helped consideration of data beyond my own worldviews as a Pākehā (Glynn, 2013), while acknowledging the analysis as my own interpretation.

5.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has described the qualitative exploratory methodology of the study and the use of interviews and focus groups, supplemented by participant drawings and field notes. The recruitment, selection, and data collection processes were outlined and summaries provided of the 14 programmes and broad demographic data of the 110 youth participants. Ethical approaches were outlined, with a PYD approach forming the key ethical framework, further enhanced by Te Noho Kotahitanga values from Unitec Institute of Technology. Framework analysis was chosen for data analysis due to its systematic and transparent nature which was well-suited to the large dataset and a critical realist perspective. The process of how data were analysed was described. The following findings chapters describe the study results.

Chapter 6: Conceptual Thematic Framework and Programme Processes

6.1 Introduction to the Findings Chapters

This chapter is the first of three that presents the findings from the 39 interviews and focus groups with young people and staff/leaders in 14 different PYD programmes across Tāmaki Makaurau .

Chapter Six presents the overall thematic framework developed during the data analysis, which incorporates the three superordinate outcome themes of Behavioural Outcomes, Internal Outcomes, and Relational Outcomes. These are summarised briefly. The rest of the chapter summarises the three programme processes identified in the data—a Youth-Centric Space, Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader Behaviours. This is done through the use of tables with descriptions and participant quotations. Outlining programme processes helps to explain the ways programmes operate and provides a foundation for understanding outcomes and the contexts in which they develop.

Chapter Seven describes the nine key outcomes, organised into the three superordinate themes. Each outcome is described with illustrative quotations which show how the outcomes were perceived, their value to young people, and their links to other outcomes and programme processes.

Chapter Eight brings the findings together to answer the first two research questions:

- How are outcomes defined and understood, experienced, operationalised, and prioritised by young people and those who work with them in a range of PYD contexts?
- What are the similarities and differences in how outcomes are perceived in these settings?

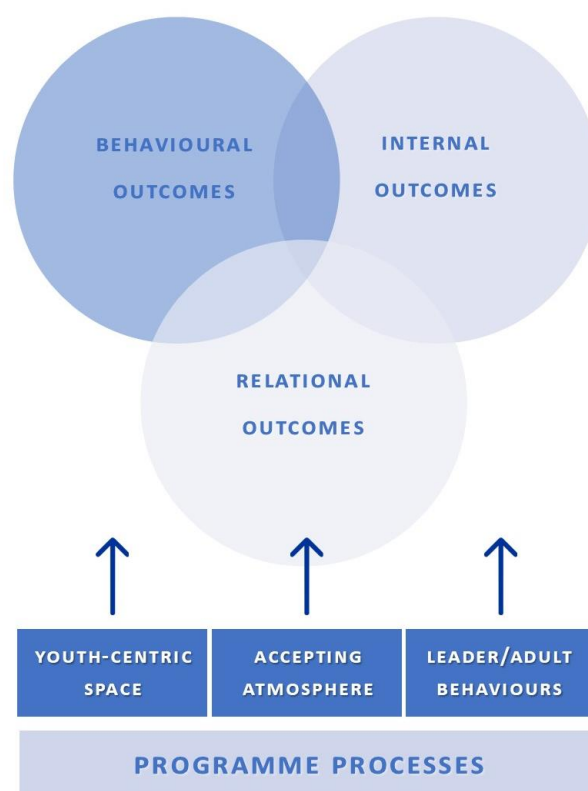
Answering these questions summarises the findings and grounds these two questions in the research data. The final two research questions related to an outcomes framework and the Five Cs are answered in the discussion chapters. The division of the research questions in this way helps to differentiate between data driven and theory driven analysis.

6.2 Conceptual Thematic Framework

As described in Chapter Five, during the charting and mapping and interpretation phases of the analysis process, a conceptual thematic framework emerged that distilled outcomes into three superordinate themes: Behavioural Outcomes, Internal Outcomes and Relational Outcomes. Within these themes sat the nine core outcomes identified from inductive analysis during the familiarisation, framework development, and indexing phases. Three key programme processes were also identified that analysis indicated linked to programme outcomes, including a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours. The thematic framework is presented visually in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1

Conceptual Thematic Framework of Outcomes and Processes



6.2.1 Outcomes

The first group of outcomes, Behavioural Outcomes, relate to observable actions and behaviours from programme participation, and includes the outcomes of skills, achievement, agency, and giving

back. The second group of outcomes, Internal Outcomes, relate to thoughts and feelings that young people experience from programmes including confidence, future focus, and positive affect. The final group, Relational Outcomes, includes connection and positive identity. These are described as relational because they appear strongly linked to programme processes and the relational environments of programmes.

The overlapping circles of the outcome groups and the arrows from programme processes to outcomes show that outcomes are not always distinct and are linked with each other and with programme processes. These links were identified during analysis by reviewing coding overlaps between different nodes. Rather than necessarily showing larger themes, these links often highlighted contingent relationships between outcomes and between outcomes and processes. These links appeared key to participants' perception of outcomes and are highlighted throughout the descriptions of outcomes in Chapter Seven. They show how outcomes occurred through contingent relationships in open systems, in line with the views of both PYD and critical realism (Lerner et al., 1999; Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). Contingent relationships were also evidenced in participants' discussion of the value of outcomes and how and why they were useful, which further served to highlight links between outcomes and helped to understand participant experiences.

The superordinate outcome themes, the outcomes, and a brief description are summarised in Table 6.1 and will be described further in Chapter Seven.

Table 6.1

Summary of Outcomes

Overarching Outcome	Outcome	Definitions, Understandings and Experiences	References made
Behavioural Outcomes	Skills	Task skills: specific skills learned on the programme (e.g., dancing, sailing, budgeting) Leadership: the ability to lead others People skills: communication, teamwork, social skills Personal skills: self-management, goal setting, emotion regulation, self-care (emotional and physical), adaptability, life-skills	Discussed by all interviews and focus groups with 455 references made
	Achievement	Completion of tasks and goals, post programme achievements (e.g., employment) and celebration of these	Discussed by 16 youth interviews/focus groups and 12 staff interviews with 84 references made
	Giving back	Helping and contributing to community and/or whānau in the programme and beyond	Discussed by 21 youth interviews/focus groups and 11 staff interviews with 122 references made
	Agency	Independence: young people doing things for themselves and being self-reliant Having a voice and making change: having a role to play and an influence in the community Having something to offer: young people's actions being valued by and valuable to others	Discussed by 14 youth interviews/focus groups and 12 staff interviews with 116 references made
Internal Outcomes	Confidence	Belief in one's abilities The ability to speak up, connect with others, and stand up for one's beliefs Assertive body language and posture	Discussed by 21 youth interviews/focus groups and 15 staff interviews with 201 references made
	Future focus	Preparing for the future: preparation for work, study, and adult life Hope: visions and expectations of a better future	Discussed by 21 youth interviews/focus groups and 13 staff interviews with 121 references made
	Positive affect	Pride: satisfaction and positive feelings about achievement, participation and recognition in programmes Fun: enjoyment and excitement Happiness: contentment and positivity	Discussed by 19 youth interviews/focus groups and 10 staff interviews with 105 references made
Relational Outcomes	Connection	Peer connection Belonging, including people and place Community and organisation connection Adult/leader connection Family/whānau connections, including whakapapa	Discussed in all interviews and focus groups with 405 references made
	Positive identity	Self-exploration: discovering and trying ways of being Self-expression: being and accepting oneself Cultural identity: locating oneself culturally and feeling cultural pride Self-worth: positive regard for oneself Attitudes and values development: respect, compassion and care, drive, commitment, and positive mindset	Discussed in all interviews and focus groups with 379 references made

6.2.2 Programme Processes

In Figure 6.1, programme processes are shown at the bottom of the diagram. These processes emerged from data analysis and were part of participant descriptions of why the programme works and how outcomes are achieved. Process descriptions were also woven through participant discussions of outcomes because participants often described how outcomes occurred as they discussed them. This shows how outcomes were part of contingent and systemic relationships.

The first programme process, a Youth-Centric Space, describes programme features that prioritised and valued young people, what they were interested in, and the ways they were interested in engaging. This theme included relevant activities; an accessible and youthful environment; being flexible and tailored to youth needs and experiences; being different to school; youth having opportunities to lead; and being valued.

The second programme process, an Accepting Atmosphere, relates to the ways programmes were places where young people felt okay to be themselves, were safe, where participants had shared goals and motivation and where the group was supportive.

The final programme process, Leader/Adult Behaviours, describes how leaders and programme adults were friendly and relatable, provided support to young people, and role modelled different ways to relate and be.

In Figure 6.1, the arrows from the programme processes towards the outcomes suggest the ways programme processes could contribute to outcomes. An Accepting Atmosphere is placed in the middle with the arrow intersecting Relational Outcomes because this process appeared very strongly linked to both connection and positive identity. These links are further described in Chapter Seven.

6.3 The Three Programme Processes

Programme processes are summarised in Tables 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5, with illustrative participant quotations which highlight how these elements were perceived and the role they played in programme functioning and outcome development. The identification and labelling of quotations is outlined in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2*Quotation Format*

Quotation Type	In Text Citation Format	Example
Quotation from staff member	Programme ID, Participant ID, staff	P1405, staff
Quotation from young person, individual Interview	Programme ID, Participant ID, young person	P5002, young person
Quotation from young person, focus group	Programme ID, young person	P2FG, young person
Quotation from more than one young person, focus group	Programme ID A different speaker is identified by having the programme ID in front of the quotation	P2FG P2FG
Question or comment from the researcher or a research assistant	Researcher initials Research assistant	JM RA

Programme process summaries help to further understand the context of programmes in the study and the environment in which outcomes develop. Programme processes also provide insight into participant perceptions of how and why programmes work and are useful for young people. Table 6.3 summarises A Youth-Centric Space, Table 6.4 An Accepting Atmosphere, and Table 6.5 Leader/Adult Behaviours. Each table identifies the overall theme, the sub-theme, its description, an example quote, and the outcomes that this element linked to, identified via coding links and analysis of data.

Table 6.3

Programme Process: Youth-Centric Space

Programme Process	Sub-Theme	Descriptions	Example Quotation(s)	Linked Outcomes
Youth-Centric Space Discussed by all participants with 318 references made	Relevant activities	Relevant activities engage young people and provide opportunities to form connections, build skills, give back, achieve, and have agency. Relevant activities are fun and help young people to feel motivated in programmes and explore their passions. Activities are structured, scaffolded, and purposeful to offer skill development. Camps, days away, and intensive time together are relevant for connection, learning, and identity development.	P1305, staff: <i>I guess, like the activity days we provide, the programme provides a fun way to build teamwork, confidence all those outcomes. We do it through activities as another way of learning them. As well like the community project, it provides them a space to learn to give back that care coming through that community sense, understanding through that community project what way they want to give back and how they can give back. It's a very important tool. And then the community adventure, is like what organisations are out there that can help them. They're all organisations that are out there for you, so that again, with the programme they can find out what's out there for them in the community.</i> P6FG: <i>Boats, boats, boats, boats</i> P6FG: <i>I could have joined any group. I chose [programme] because I've got such a history with boats and I really love sailing. I'm just amazing at sailing</i> P6FG: <i>I'm a water person</i> P3002, staff: <i>So, reflection time is to deepen, and the organising of their events and workshops there is a lot of operational stuff that can go haywire and those are the stuffs I really love to pause, especially debrief, you know, and this is where all this learning and things happen for them.</i> P14FG young person: <i>I think it's (day away at the beach) like, it's one of those things where you get to step away from everything else and sort of just relax a bit. It's about growing your faith, but it's also about having fun and it's a really good balance between the two. And it's with your friends and with people you know and it makes it real special sometimes.</i>	Skills achievement Giving Back Agency Connection Fun Positive Identity

Programme Process	Sub-Theme	Descriptions	Example Quotation(s)	Linked Outcomes
Youth-Centric Space	Accessible, and youthful environment	A physical space that is inviting, safe, youth friendly, and easily accessible gives young people a place to connect and belong. Kai and spaces that are vibrant and engaging and relaxed are an important part of young people's enjoyment. They create opportunities to connect and help young people feel valued. Being free, local and not having strict entry criteria makes programmes inviting to young people.	P3002, staff: Even outside of [programme] they come into this place. They feel it's their home you know, so when there's other things happening in the centre they feel that they can come to it. P5004, young person: I think a lot of young people come here because we have an Xbox, free Wi-Fi, and food. We do have tea and coffee and we try to keep some snacks around. You'd be amazed how many young people come along to groups because they have free food. It's part of the reason I volunteered for so long! P4FG, young person: But its free, too, that's like release stress.	Connection Best parts
Youth-Centric Space	Flexible and tailored	Programmes flex around individual needs which helps them to achieve outcomes and discover themselves. Programmes respond to wider changes in demographics and interests to provide relevant experiences. Programmes recognise different ways of learning and tailor their approaches so that young people can gain skills.	P1002, young person: The programme itself just moulds itself to help, like whatever tool is needed for the young person to be like. 'This is who I am, this is what I like doing'. P3001, staff: I think the cool thing about [programme] is that it's ever changing and because young people change and the culture of it changes, we have the opportunity to develop and meet whatever needs are of the generation. Um. And I mean if we were trying to do the programme that we did 5 years ago now, it would just not work. P1120, staff: Like I know some people that learn it all from writing everything down and rote learning and then they turn it into practical things, and I know a lot of people that can't do that, and they want to do thing hands on a few times and then they know it, so just teaching it but making sure you teach the right pieces the right ways.	Positive identity Connections with staff/adults Skills Future focus

Programme Process	Sub-Theme	Descriptions	Example Quotation(s)	Linked Outcomes
Youth-Centric Space	Flexible and tailored	Leaders change their style and approach to accommodate different youth.	P6208, staff: <i>We um, it's difficult to say what our leadership style is because mine is different for every single child and youth that comes through and it differs for their developmental stage as well</i> P6209, staff: <i>Yeah, each kid requires a different approach and you can't just blanket them. That is how you lose kids, they lose interest. And having that personal connection is...</i> P6208, staff: <i>It's vital.</i> P6209, staff: <i>It's vital yeah.</i>	
Youth-Centric Space	Not school	Programmes teach valued skills that are not available at school which helps young people to feel useful and important. Programmes offer flexible and relevant learning environments where young people have more freedom and choice about what and how they learn. Programmes provide an accepting environment whilst school can be full of judgement.	P112FG: <i>It's a lot of valuable knowledge because they don't teach all this sort of stuff at school.</i> P112FG: <i>Yeah you don't learn it at school.</i> P112FG: <i>And you're learning it from professionals so that makes it doubly worth it.</i> P112FG, young person: <i>We get more say in what we do and so we get more out of it because we're engaged in the process, it's not just them, at school, like them telling us, 'You have to do this. You'll get this out of it, but you have to do this'. We get to choose what we do and of course we still have to do the stuff, but we get to choose what order we do it in and we get to choose what we learn first.</i> P62FG: <i>You know you've got like the whole, obviously all of us here except (name) – sorry! are in high school, so it's kind of like an, I don't know what high school is like for you guys, but pretty much it's this huge judgemental place where people are just ...</i> P62FG: <i>Teenagers.</i> P62FG: <i>Trying to better each other and act as though they know everything, and you've got issues with 'this is not socially acceptable'.</i>	Positive identity Connection Skills Agency

Programme Process	Sub-Theme	Descriptions	Example Quotation(s)	Linked Outcomes
Youth-Centric Space	Not school	Programmes can deliver ideas in ways that are culturally meaningful and engaging.	P1201, staff: <i>We've got different ways of engaging and it's so against the norm of school and were not teaching them about specific subjects so they get into a profession or job, were teaching them about themselves, their family, everything that gets their energy and wellbeing up so they can perform in whatever their goals are. A lot of it is like, 'Wow why didn't I learn this at school?' that's all the way. "Why didn't we learn this at school? Why haven't we got, you know like I'm a learner, I'm you know, I'm smart, I still don't like reading and writing but I'm brilliant, I should be a manager 'cause I'm a harder worker than this person and I think like this'.</i>	
Youth-Centric Space	Youth lead and are valued	Programmes value young people and take their interests and ideas seriously which helps them to feel valued and capable. Young people are given freedom to find their own ways to do things and guide programme delivery, enhancing agency, positive identity, and enjoyment. Young people leading and having a say helps them to see their strengths and find their voice in other areas.	P1201, staff: <i>If you address them like youth, like kids, 'Ok you are kids, da da da', that's how they're going to behave. But if you address them like they're already leaders, they're leaders of the now, that's how they behave.</i> P5002, staff: <i>Like our young people in particular are just resilient and amazing and are keen to support each other and are keen to like.... They know what they want and what they need and were just here to give them the tools to do that, rather than be the adults that tell them what to do.</i> P1001, staff: <i>So, it would be that they have a safe space to use their voice, to talk about things that they really want to see happen. So, if they knew that together that they could achieve say making or breaking a world record then in their own lives they could achieve anything. So, I think having them fully engaged within an organisation, within a programme has multiple benefits. And that's one of the main things that pushes them forward is what I really think.</i>	Agency Positive identity Future focus

A Youth-Centric Space formed a backbone for many programmes because it related to the activities, structure, and attitudes through which programmes approached their work. By being relevant, accessible, and offering opportunities to lead, programmes engaged and motivated young people and gave them space to learn, connect, have fun see themselves succeed, and undertake activities that were valued by others. These experiences helped young people to feel good about themselves. Relevant activities and opportunities to lead also offered opportunities to feel prepared for the future, whilst informal and welcoming spaces helped young people to feel connected to leaders, organisations, and each other. Programmes were often described as like being at home because they were relaxing, safe, and welcoming, making them places young people wanted to be. Programmes were also responsive and flexible to the needs of individuals and groups and had scope to change approaches to remain relevant and engaging. These youth-centric features of programmes were often described as different from school, which was seen as more structured, authoritarian, and hierarchical. Differences between programmes and school helped young people to feel accepted and learn.

Table 6.4

Programme Process: An Accepting Atmosphere

Programme Process	Sub-Theme	Descriptions	Example Quotation(s)	Linked Outcomes
Accepting Atmosphere Discussed by 21 youth interviews/focus groups and 15 staff interviews with 209 references made	OK to be myself	Young people know they will not be judged or excluded and so are able to share themselves. Familiarity and small groups of the same people help contribute to this sense of acceptance. Young people learn that it is a space where it is okay to struggle and not be perfect, helping them to accept themselves. The programme provides a place to belong and express oneself that may not be available elsewhere.	P112FG: <i>At school I wouldn't speak my mind, but at [programme] I would do whatever.</i> JM: <i>What do you think's the difference?</i> P112FG: <i>I think its people, one it's the smaller group of people and also you do get to know everyone eventually. Like I go to a school, so like, what 3,400 people or something like that.</i> JM: <i>Wow.</i> P112FG: <i>Yeah, it's pretty big.</i> P112FG: <i>And it is really hard to go to a school with that many people and be yourself when there are so many people judging you.</i> P2002, staff: <i>When you come into this space you can be authentically you, you know, not apologetic. You know, sometimes you're going to have a crap day you know and it's okay to have a crap day in this space.</i> P5001, young person: <i>I think because as a young queer person, society kind of like makes us feel like isolated and kind of like alienated and we don't have a place sometimes. And if we feel like we're not able to be ourselves a lot of the times too. And it sucks, so having, especially the peer support groups, having that kind of space gives you that break from not having a place in society and it gives you that place.</i>	Positive identity Connection
Accepting Atmosphere	Safe	Rules and boundaries allow people to feel safe and open up.	P32FG, young person: <i>At first we build some ground rules, no swearing no putting down. That becomes something that we already think is normal. Like if we keep doing it we think, 'Oh we shouldn't put down other people,' we learned that from [programme] and I can apply it to just everything.</i>	Connection Positive identity Skills

Programme Process	Sub-Theme	Descriptions	Example Quotation(s)	Linked Outcomes
Accepting Atmosphere	Safe	Programmes create an environment where mistakes are okay and a lower-stakes environment to safely try new things and reflect on ways to be.	P3001, staff: I think it just means that they have a better chance of succeeding early on, like they don't have to make so many mistakes to try and figure things out. So, we try and create a safe environment for them so they can make those mistakes and figure that out before it actually means something.	
Accepting Atmosphere	Shared goals and motivation	Knowing others are there for the same reason, or have similar experiences, helps young people to connect and work together and push through challenges. In this way, programmes offer opportunity for collective action and collective benefit. Conversely, those who did not have shared goals and motivation were not seen to gain a lot from the programme.	P32FG young person: All of us, we're all here, we just want to be part of the community, we want to help the community, and it's always about having that same goal, so then no matter how much you disagree you're all working towards the same thing. P1205, young person: Yeah, you gotta kind of want to, you've got to want help in a way or want to seek information, learn more, to get stuff out of it.	Connection
Accepting Atmosphere	Supportive group environment	Young people feel heard which helps them to form deep connections with others and feel accepted and validated for who they are. Young people feel welcomed by peers and leaders which helps to combat anxiety and form connections.	P10FG young person: So, there were a lot of people listening to each other and understanding and relating and saying 'You're not the only one that's been through that. We're in this together'. P1202, young person: You pretty much go into the programme thinking you don't know anyone. You're going alone and you're just, you don't know what's going to happen. When you're there you get comfortable and welcomed. You feel welcomed. You meet other people it's just how fast you build a relationship with other people in the programme.	Connection Positive identity Confidence Skills

Programme Process	Sub-Theme	Descriptions	Example Quotation(s)	Linked Outcomes
Accepting Atmosphere	Supportive group environment	Programmes are encouraging spaces which support learning and sharing. People are caring, respectful, and kind and this helps different personalities come together, builds trust, and creates a space where young people can feel able to connect and express themselves.	P1205, young person: <i>Also, what I thought was another good part was like everyone was just, even though like people didn't know how to speak Māori, with them trying to speak Māori and um, you know encouraging each other, like you know, 'You got this,' kind of thing, I reckon that was really cool and there were a lot of, there were a few young ones who were encouraging some of the older people, which was really cool.</i> P7FG: <i>I felt that in all seriousness you won't get judged here, that's why we're so open with each other and why we feel so comfortable with each other. Like, we know that well probably get roasted once in a while but its all...</i> P7FG: <i>Once in a while!</i> (all laugh) P7FG: <i>They understand when you need it and we you're just really you're really, really feeling down, and they know how to deal with you and your different moods. We have some very different people within, like different dynamics in terms of the way that we work and you see people kind of sit together every meeting, but the you also see them comfortable interacting with the other members as well and yeah, that's what makes us work.</i>	

An Accepting Atmosphere related to young people's felt experience of the programme as a place that was safe, supportive, full of people that wanted the same thing, and a place that young people could feel secure in sharing and being themselves. Being able to be oneself was an outcome and part of a positive identity, as discussed in the next chapter. A sense of acceptance was important for developing deep peer connections, because young people trusted that others would not judge them. Knowing that others had the same motivations and were working towards shared or similar goals united people across difference and helped to create a sense of safety and camaraderie. Feeling supported by others meant young people felt able to express themselves and receiving encouragement for these expressions helped young people to value and accept themselves.

Table 6.5

Programme Process: Leader/Adult Behaviours

Programme Process	Sub-Theme	Descriptions	Example Quotation(s)	Linked Outcomes
Leader/Adult Behaviours Discussed by 18 youth interviews/focus groups and 13 staff interviews with 127 references made	Friendly and relatable	Leaders are open and friendly which helps to minimise power dynamics and creates a sense of welcome and belonging. Leaders being friendly and relatable helps young people to feel able to express themselves. Leaders/adults are intentional in being welcoming and friendly to help connect young people to the group and organisation.	P1204, young person: <i>Um, the way they just kind of treat you like, they don't treat you like you're a student, or yeah, they way that they approach you is kind of like, like [name's] like my mate. ...Yeah, It's not like he's like a stranger and (unclear) but he comes at you like, I don't know, it feels like I've known him for a while, so yeah.</i> P2FG : <i>Um the co-ordinators we get, they're nice and relatable, we're comfortable around them.</i> JM: <i>How does that help if the persons really relatable?</i> P2FG: <i>It helps you be more you.</i> P2FG: <i>Yourself.</i> P2FG: <i>Not afraid to...</i> P2FG: <i>Express..</i> P2FG: <i>Yeah, express yourself.</i> P8005 staff: <i>So, I think, I think that sense of yeah, fun and relationships and kinda instant, like, 'We accept you, come in,' and 'We want you here,' is really Important, because yeah, if a young person doesn't come back then how am I meant to do any of the independence building and like, yeah you're part of the whānau now. You can't be if you've gone. So, I think in that respect, that first kind of impression and environment is really important.</i>	Connection Positive identity
Leader/Adult Behaviours	Supportive	Young people know that leaders are genuinely interested and caring and will offer support at any time about anything.	P8001, young person: <i>Yeah [name], like the youth leaders [name] and [name]. Anybody can just tell them 'I wanna speak to you'. They can just tell them about what they're going through. They're able to give you good advice on what to do next.</i>	Connection Positive identity Future focus

Programme Process	Sub-Theme	Descriptions	Example Quotation(s)	Linked Outcomes
Leader/Adult Behaviours	Supportive	Leaders/programme adults encourage young people to do new things and push themselves, including having high expectations, which enhances achievement, self-worth and hope.	P3002, staff: So, they started to say 'Oh [name] we don't wanna... we don't think we should do this'. But I was looking for a real qualifying reason, not just for the easy way out, because what I was hearing was the easy way out. And so, I had explained to them afterwards, you know, and when they actually did it, they were so rapt. And so, I said, 'You know you can take this concept into any part of your life. You know, you dared to see a dream and you dared to plan for this dream and you're gonna go and do it'. And I said, 'Yeah I know that sometimes things don't work, but if you put everything into place, I want you to know you don't have to always take the easy way out'. You know. And that was just a perfect example of nailing that sort of message into the lives of these young people.	
Leader/Adult Behaviours	Role models	Leaders/adults role model how to be yourself which helps young people to form connections and be themselves in the group. Leaders/adults can connect with youth and show them different ways to be helping them to reflect on themselves and their values.	P10FG: I think most of the leaders, they knew how to be themselves around other people. P10FG: Yeah. P10FG: So, if you were weird you wouldn't worry about being weird around someone else. And if you were awkward you wouldn't worry about being awkward around someone else. And if you knew how to make people comfortable around you then they would just be comfortable around you, and it would help them to communicate with other people. P2FG, young person: She's not boring, she doesn't want to like talk about stuff, like we do stuff together like go to the movies and the arcade. And like we sometimes go to her house. Like for me she's something, she is something that I wasn't used to. I don't wanna say it, but I don't wanna share her stuff, but she's just something that I wasn't used to and me being able to be around that and like learning more about that.	Connection Positive identity Confidence

Programme Process	Sub-Theme	Descriptions	Example Quotation(s)	Linked Outcomes
Leader/Adult Behaviours	Role models	Leaders/adults role model being real by being both passionate and vulnerable which helps young people see that it is okay to be vulnerable and have reciprocal relationships.	P3001, staff: <i>I just think it comes down to the fact that we're all very passionate about what we do in the different areas, and I think to achieve anything with youth like you can't be half hearted, because they sense it. They know whether you wanna be there or you don't. So, I think it's just having that transparency and being like, We are here for you, we want to do well,' and like there are some days where I'll go into my meeting and I'll be like, 'Just so you guys know 'I'm really excited about what we're doing, not feeling super good today'. I've like had the flu over the last few weeks and I came in I was like 'Guys, honestly my head is foggy. I will do my best to contribute but I will just sit here and hope that you guys have got this'. And they were like 'Nah, nah its fine [name],' and they just kind of tend to take control and I think they respect you more when you're honest.</i>	

Leader/Adult Behaviours were important to programmes. Leaders were often the first connections young people made in programmes, and their friendly and relatable nature provided welcome. These behaviours were key to supporting connections because they helped young people feel comfortable and set a tone for how to be in programmes. Leaders and programme adults, such as mentors, also role modelled different ways to be which young people could reflect on and decide whether to try for themselves, such as being authentic and, at times, vulnerable. Seeing these behaviours helped young people know that being oneself was acceptable. Leaders were unfailingly supportive, and youth often described knowing that leaders and adults in programmes valued them, their interests, and would go the extra mile to support them with any issues even when they had left the programme. Having this support helped young people to feel confident to try things and also connected to adults and the wider organisation or community that the adults represented. Having high expectations was an important part of support because this communicated belief in young people. When these high expectations resulted in successful actions, such as delivering an event, they helped young people see what they were capable of in the present and future and supported the development of values and attitudes around drive and motivation. Although Leader/Adult Behaviours were discussed less frequently, leaders appeared to be very important to programme functioning because as well as being friendly, supportive, and acting as role models, leaders were also instrumental in creating a Youth-Centric Space through actions, such as monitoring groups and noting when to adapt to different moods and needs. Leaders communicated their valuing of young people by encouraging responsibility and leadership. They were key to an Accepting Atmosphere because they set the emotional tone of programmes by role modelling how to be and were key in upholding boundaries and expectations which kept young people feeling safe. While all programmes offered different activities and served different locations and populations, these three processes of a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere and Leader/Adult Behaviours were important to the functioning of all the programmes in this study.

6.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the findings by presenting the conceptual thematic framework which includes the three superordinate outcome themes: Behavioural Outcomes, Internal Outcomes, and Relational Outcomes, and the three programme processes of a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours. It included an explanation of the interaction between the elements of the framework. The chapter then summarised the programme processes through tables which highlighted each process, the elements within, sample quotations,

and the relationships to outcomes. The summaries of these processes provide a context for the participants' descriptions of outcomes in Chapter Seven.

Chapter 7: Programme Outcomes

This chapter discusses the nine outcomes identified in the analysis. These outcomes are grouped via the superordinate outcome themes of Behavioural Outcomes, Internal Outcomes, and Relational Outcomes which were identified during the mapping and interpretation phase of data analysis and described in the previous chapter. This chapter links the programme outcomes to the programme processes described in Chapter Six. Together this demonstrates how outcomes are perceived in different settings. In Chapter Eight, these ideas are drawn together to answer the first two research questions.

Each section in this chapter begins with a participant quote highlighting the overall theme, whilst illustrative quotations and drawings are used throughout to present participants' accounts. These are formatted as per the conventions outlined in Table 6.2 (p. 108). Examples from one or two programmes are discussed in most sub-sections as these either represent typical discussions or highlight important differences. Quotations and descriptions show how outcomes are perceived and highlight links between outcomes and between outcomes and processes. These links show the contingent nature of outcomes and point towards possible causative mechanisms at the real level, which are discussed in Chapter Ten.

7.1 Behavioural Outcomes

The first thematic grouping of outcomes relates to Behavioural Outcomes. These outcomes functioned in similar ways, in that they were all things that were observable by others in how young people acted or behaved either within, outside of, or beyond the programme. Behavioural Outcomes included skills, achievement, giving back, and agency. Each of these is described below.

7.1.1 Skills

RA: I see we've got a Bob over here.

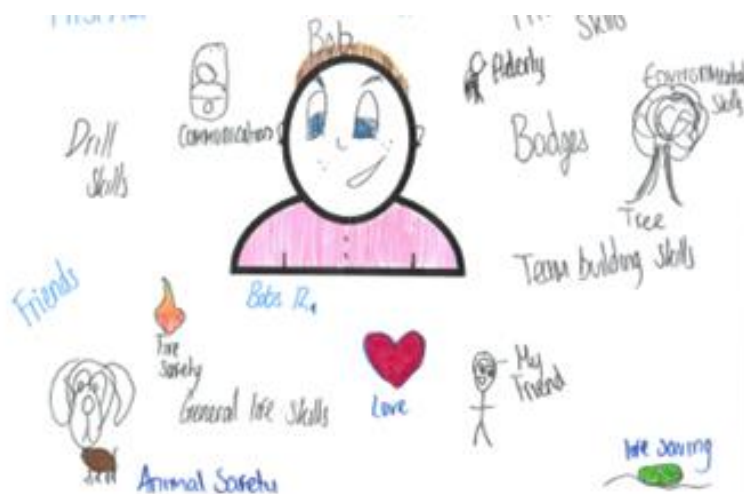
P112FG: He's very charming.

P112FG: He knows everything.

RA: How did Bob come to know everything?

P112FG: He went to [programme].

Bob (P112FG)



Skills was the largest of all nine outcome themes, with all participants talking to some aspect of skills and 455 references made. Catalano, Berglund et al. (2002) discussed skills building in programmes as promoting competencies which includes: social skills, such as communication with peers and adults; assertiveness and conflict resolution; emotional skills, such as identifying and managing emotions, self-soothing, and frustration tolerance; cognitive competence, including academic performance, goal setting, and decision making; and behavioural skills. This definition is similar to the skills discussed by participants which were divided into four sub-themes during data analysis: task skills, leadership, people skills, and personal skills. These are discussed below through typical vignettes from programmes.

7.1.1.1 Task Skills

Task skills related to specific competencies developed in programmes, such as dancing, sailing, event management, budgeting, and first aid. Nineteen youth interviews/focus groups and 11 staff discussed task skills. Task skills differed based on the focus of the programme and helped young people feel a sense of achievement and prepare for the future, which led to a sense of confidence and self-worth. Youth and staff comments from the young mum parenting and life skills support

programme highlighted these experiences and links. These participants discussed learning about their child's development, skills such as cooking and budgeting, and how these skills made them feel:

P4FG: You start from knowing a little to knowing a lot.

JM: Cool so know a little to know a lot.

P4FG: That was the main one for all of us here Jayne, cause we all walked in with knowing like nothing.

P4FG: And then we walked out with like, 'Wanna fight the world'.

JM: Wanna fight the world? Like what do you mean by that?

P4FG: Like um [name] got a job.

P4FG: Like walking out confident, some of us came in shy. Walking out with confidence, patience, being assertive with how you approach new situations, knowing that you've never been in it before, but getting skills from this helps.

This quotation shows how task skills helped young people to be prepared for and achieve beyond the programme. Skills learned in programmes set a template for other areas, such as developing a CV and gaining employment, and also helped build confidence to succeed in other areas.

Task skills were often described as not being taught elsewhere and felt relevant because they were either novel or useful, helping young people to feel valuable. Offering things that were relevant was part of the programme process of a Youth-Centric Space. For these young mums, having parenting skills helped them to be independent and feel confident and valuable. They wanted to prove themselves and show that their age did not mean they would be bad parents:

P4FG: Cause you're able to talk to yourself instead of letting someone else talk to you.

P4FG: You're just standing on your own two feet.

P4FG: I think it also shows other people that you're a good person.

This quotation shows how task skills could act as building blocks for other outcomes. In this instance, task skills helped the young people feel a sense of agency in their own lives, and a positive sense of who they were.

7.1.1.2 Leadership

Leadership was discussed by 11 youth interviews/focus groups and nine staff interviews. Young people learned how to lead through different methods—formally, as part of the programme structure or informally, through role modelling to others. In some programmes, leadership occurred from the beginning, whilst in others leadership occurred as part of programme progression. This could create important differences in how leadership was perceived.

Young people in a camp and leadership programme for those from refugee backgrounds were tasked with planning a camp for their peers. The young people learned about collaborative leadership and leading through example:

P10FG, young person: *I think how to lead without being a leader. You wouldn't have to be high status; you could always be wherever they are. They could be high status and you could be low status and still be a leader.*

Leadership early in programmes could represent a big growth curve, because it was not always comfortable and young people had to quickly develop new skills. The staff member from the programme above helped young people to consider and reflect on their leadership roles:

P10003, staff: *They talked about not wanting to be the bad cop in situations. Not wanting to tell their peers what not to do. I sort of had to explain to them this is the beauty of the co-development, co design, co-delivery workshop. It's not just you, it's the group, it's what you guys decide as a group, you know if something comes up, say for example somebody smoking, how do we deal with that?*

This quotation highlights the leader's role in offering support and ensuring a Youth-Centric Space that helped young people to lead. Young people were able to find their own solutions and did so with support. The combination of agency and support helped young people to feel confident and they described how their newfound leadership skills could help them step into leadership roles in other situations, such as group work in study contexts.

In other programmes, leadership occurred as a progression when young people's confidence grew. For example, one young person in a volunteer led youth organisation had recently stepped into a leadership role and was excited to be seen as capable:

JM: *And how does it feel then if a young person's trusted to lead?*

P112FG, young person: *(whispering) It's really good. It feels really good!*

Clearly the young person felt valued and important, and leadership acted as recognition of achievement and growth. The staff member from this group reflected how leadership was often a sign of developing confidence. In this way, leadership could help confidence develop, as in the camp and leadership programme, but could be supported by confidence as in the example above.

7.1.1.3 People Skills

People skills included communication skills, social skills, learning how to work with different cultures and personalities and conflict navigation. They were the most frequently discussed type of skill (34

interviews/focus groups) which is not surprising given that most programmes required working with others. Comments from a uniformed youth development organisation highlight how these skills were experienced and developed. These young people completed a range of tasks together during weekly meetings along with camps and other events with larger groups. The group was also learning to be self-leading which presented opportunities to learn people skills:

P6FG, young person: And you work out the best way to like get your message across eventually. Like if you're leading the group now, rather than just sort of waiting for them to be quiet, you just can't do that because they won't be, you have to be strong.

The idea of getting the message across was key for those who discussed communication skills, because this helped young people to meet their own and others' needs and feel impactful and heard. Leaders linked these skills to the workforce and the future, and staff from this programme commented on the importance of being able to communicate with adults:

P6208, staff: I do think that it gives the kids a better opportunity to interact with adults and gain more from them and I see them respond better to that, 'cause then they can go into the workplace and actually talk to what are now colleagues and things like that.

Programmes provided an important opportunity to develop people skills because of an Accepting Atmosphere that allowed young people to safely practice communication and receive feedback and because of Leader/Adult Behaviours, where adults were relatable and open to having conversations with young people.

Communicating with others could be a source of learning about difference, unexpected friendship or frustration. In some groups this included learning more about different cultures, while young people from the uniformed youth development organisation above commented that their connections with peers had helped them to develop skills to deal with different personalities:

P6FG: If you get put into a group of people that we wouldn't necessarily hang out with or just talk to in general, you definitely kind of get a taste of what different people, or like very different people are like.

P6FG: After you spend a lot of time with people you sort of figure out how different types of people work.

JM: And so, what do you learn about how to deal with those people? Like, say there was someone in your group that you're like, 'Oooh'?

P6FG: I think patience.

P6FG: You get a lot of these people.

P6FG: *And I think everyone has different ways of dealing with it, so like for example you learn the best way that you can if someone is being...*

P6FG: *A pain.*

P6FG: *Not annoying, if someone's being....*

P6FG: *A pain*

P6FG: *Annoying you, then you learn what's the best way that you can control yourself sort of.*

The comments above highlight people skills in action, in the way one member of the group kept respectfully sharing their own definition whilst another tried to interject with the words 'a pain'. Dealing with difficult personalities, was discussed in two of the larger skills-based programmes, where some young people and all staff reported that they could attract those who struggled to form connection in other areas of life or who experienced neurodiversity. Knowing that others were there to learn the same things or shared the same interests helped young people feel willing to push themselves and be more accepting of difference because they knew there was a common bond and value. This sense of shared goals and motivation was a key part of an Accepting Atmosphere.

Young people often stayed in the same group over a long period of time. Several youth from a volunteer led youth organisation discussed working with challenging people and that they were "*stuck with them*" (P112FG) which meant they had to learn how to work together. The benefit of being stuck with each other was that those who already had social skills had to learn to be more tolerant, while those who struggled socially could not be forced out. Young people who described themselves as struggling socially valued safe opportunities to learn and practice social skills. For these young people, programmes taught them how to build and maintain friendships, linking to the outcome of connection. Young people who did not have a lot of friends elsewhere valued these connections:

P6FG young person: *Did you put learning how to make friends in that?*

JM: *Ooh nice, friends are important.*

P6FG young person: *I'm gonna admit, I'm bad at that.*

This excerpt highlights how young people could gain different things from the same experiences. The young person above had used the programme to develop skills to make friends, whilst others in the group had learned skills to navigate difference. Programmes were able to provide opportunities for both to happen and, in the case of people skills, peer connections were key in facilitating these skills, highlighting the linked nature of some outcomes.

7.1.1.4 Personal Skills

Personal skills described young people looking after themselves, including goal setting, self-management, and generic life-skills. It also included self-care, emotion regulation, and adaptability. Personal skills were discussed by 19 youth interviews/focus groups and 13 staff interviews.

Personal skill development was clearly highlighted in the indigenous values-based leadership programme. This workplace-based programme focused on young people learning to care for themselves and set and achieve goals to benefit themselves and their whānau. Young people were encouraged to self-reflect and set personal and professional goals, linking with outcomes of achievement and future focus, and with the development of values related to growth and care for others (positive identity), as a young person in a joint interview explained:

P1202, young person: Yeah. I think, I mean, like in the beginning you start, and you don't know anything, and you come in and like, especially to work and that's where you're gonna sit most of your life. But then again, the programme teaches you your goals that you set yourself, how to use your money wisely and how to benefit yourself. And I think it's for that, you learn new skills you set your goals and I think it's probably how you pass it on later to the younger generation, for them to think, how to teach them how to do better for themselves and pass it on if they want to.

By focusing on self-management, young people learned how to express and manage emotions and the impacts this could have on their own wellbeing and on others, leading to more satisfying relationships. Thus, personal skills could positively influence connections within and beyond the programme. The leader of this programme referred to these concrete personal skills as young people learning to 'master their mauri' or to balance aspects of their lives which would then flow out to care of others, thus enhancing the mana of self and others.

Life skills appeared to be a catch-all phrase for how to care for and be responsible for ones-self and behave maturely. These skills frequently linked to ideas about successful adulthood, linking to outcomes of future focus and agency. Young people in a uniformed youth development organisation explored the idea of life-skills further, when discussing how the leader had shown one of the young people how to put petrol in a car:

P62FG: It's stuff that people overlook because you just know it a lot of the time.

P62FG: It's like when you're adult you know how to do it.

P62FG: It's not stuff you learn, it's just sort-of random.

P62FG: *'Cause you're like, no it's just common sense. No, its common sense for you because you've been doing it for years.*

JM: *And so why is it important for young people to get this stuff?*

P62FG: *Because otherwise they're useless.*

(all laugh)

P62FG: *Otherwise, they're useless adults.*

The fact that young people felt they would be 'useless' without these skills, suggests that they perceive they must be capable and independent in adulthood. Programmes provided safe spaces to develop and practice these skills that were not always available elsewhere, highlighted in the comments that these skills are assumed rather than taught. The fear of being a useless adult may encourage young people to navigate to programmes that teach skills perceived as valuable.

Staff from the uniformed youth development organisation above, discussed how life-skills development was a key part of the programme, because they were long-term skills. Staff supported this skill development through high expectations and feedback, part of the programme process of Leader/Adult Behaviours. Staff felt that high expectations were important to foster self-management and prepare young people for work linking personal skills to the outcome of future focus:

P6208, staff: *They can go into workplaces and talk, and they know how to do a job as well, and I know that sounds ridiculously simple, but at [programme] they're given jobs and they're expected to finish them.*

Personal skills were seen as highly transferrable because they helped young people to navigate life outside of the programme. As the quotation from young people in the uniformed youth development organisation highlights, these skills are often assumed but not taught, and programmes were valuable places for them to be learned.

7.1.2 Achievement

P1001, staff: *So, for me to know that that young person has succeeded and the type of things that I see is that they are still striving. That's the important thing. They are still striving, still reaching their potential. They're still doing all that stuff. I don't think that once they leave me they have reached their potential. I think they have realised their potential and they can go on to strive for it, because potential, you know it's never-ending.*

Achievement was discussed by 28 interviews and focus-groups with 84 references made.

Achievement relates to success and mastery and the ability to solve problems and meet goals (Brendtro et al., 2005). In this study achievement referred to successes both within and beyond the programme and how this was celebrated.

Young people discussed achievement within programmes, such as completing activities and reaching goals. For some young people, completion of activities was linked with the best parts of the programme and acted as a motivator to continue because they could see the value of their efforts, as a young person from a youth voice programme described:

P7FG, young person: Like when we're planning events were all working together to do it and then the actual day when the event happens and you get to kind of see what the work has done, and that's probably the best like being around people that have worked just as hard as you to create an event that is important and that is for our community. That's probably the best part for me personally.

This quote highlights the importance of the programme process of shared goals and motivation, part of an Accepting Atmosphere. Knowing that others were there for the same reason was important. For this group too, the sense of collective effort and collective gain made the process meaningful and enjoyable.

Staff and leaders were more likely to discuss post-programme achievements, such as gaining employment, likely because they had observed these in previous participants. Staff highlighted how achievement in the programme could set a template for future success, linking achievement with the outcome of future focus, as staff from a leadership, skills development and mentoring programme for young women explained:

P2001, staff: Also, having achieved something like doing well in school or having a prefect role or something like that means that they go into university with high expectations for what they can achieve.

The leaders went on to describe how young people's achievements were important for families/whānau and younger peers, because through their achievement young people acted as role-models for others. Events such as graduation offered opportunities for this to occur:

P2002, staff: So one of our schools they're a junior, intermediate, senior, and the big thing they do with their school is, when the year 13s graduate which they started last year, they do

a lap of victory and then they do that right through intermediate and right through junior schools and the junior and intermediate schools actually do little performances to recognise, holy crap you're over there you've done that, we look forward to doing that too.

Celebratory events supported young people to role model success, thus demonstrating the collective value of their achievements. It was often in programmes with larger numbers of Pacific participants where the flow on effects from programmes for peers, siblings, children, and community were identified. This may be reflective of Pacific values of love and service (Mafile'o, 2019) and collective approaches.

The value of celebration was most often expressed in programmes that held specific celebratory events which provided opportunities for young people to see their value recognised by others and space to pause and reflect on what they had gained. A young person from the indigenous values-based leadership programme described receiving a pounamu²³ which acted as a reminder of their success:

P1202, young person: *That trophy's like a reminder for me, just about everything, about everything I learned.*

Graduations and other celebratory events were important because they provided recognition of young people which was key to triggering feelings of pride and worth, linking to outcomes of positive affect and positive identity.

7.1.3 Giving Back

P5003, young person: *So, I wanted to get involved here because when I started coming here it changed so much for me in terms of how I felt about myself and how I felt about other people, so being able to keep the space going, because if we don't run the space who will? So, the ability to keep the space going and keep the support going for more people down the line is, I think, a really important part of growing community and strengthening the things that it gives people, 'cause community is a two-way street, if it gives to you, you have to give back, otherwise what happens to it?*

Giving back was discussed in 32 interviews and focus groups with 122 references made, and links to Contribution—the ability to make contributions to self, family, community, and civil society (Lerner, 2004). Giving back included young people helping and contributing in programmes, to

²³ Greenstone (Te Aka Māori dictionary, n.d.)

family/whānau or community, as a result of their participation, and the benefits these actions were seen to have for young people. Giving back did not include young people supporting each other within their immediate programme group because this was coded under peer connections and/or supportive group environment.

Participants described examples of young people helping others within the wider programme or community. Like leadership, giving back could be structured, such as helping younger peers or volunteering; or unstructured, such as contributing to whānau. Helping and contributing could occur early on in programmes or as part of programme progression, and was important for young people to see they had a role to play, as described by young people who were mentors in a peer-led youth mentoring programme:

P13FG, young person: *I think like now we're trying to teach the [younger group] to be sensitive to others, not to mock them about their opinions and stuff. We're trying to make them think on their own, come out of their shells and stuff. We're helping them prepare for the future, have more social skills and just to have fun.*

These young people provided mentoring support to younger students in their school and saw giving back as a good thing to do. Some members in the group wanted to give back to ensure that others had a different experience to theirs:

P13FG, young person: *I guess I didn't have a very easy transition into high school and got really overwhelmed with that and wanted to help people, so they didn't feel the same.*

Giving back helped these young people feel like valuable members of the school community, linking to other outcomes of connection and agency. It was important to young people that their efforts were recognised by others, especially teachers, because this helped them to feel mature:

P13FG: *It makes us feel like they trust us, they think we're responsible enough to have this role.*

P13FG: *Yeah.*

P13FG: *So, it makes us feel like grown.*

P13FG: *Yeah. Like we were in high-school but we're a lot more grown now.*

Knowing their contributions were valued, helped to build young people's drive to keep going. As the young people saw they were doing something right they recognised that they were part of something bigger and developed a sense of their role in the wider world, both at school and beyond, also linking to outcomes of pride and self-worth as the group explained:

P13FG: *There's a wider world that were a part of and that we have to take care of.*

JM: *And how does it feel to do that?*

P13FG: *It makes you feel good.*

P13FG: *Yeah.*

P13FG: *It really does.*

P13FG: *It makes you feel better that you're helping someone else, that you're doing something for someone else.*

In this way young people demonstrated a sense of reciprocity; that what they gave and received was part of a cyclical process. These reflections also highlighted relationships between giving back with values and self-worth, which are both part of positive identity. In this instance, young people brought community minded values to the programme, such as wanting to give others a different experience and these were enhanced by the programme through seeing their role in the wider community. The opportunity to express already held values and develop a sense of community mindedness helped young people to feel valuable and worthy.

The staff member in this programme reflected on the importance of care and community. In this instance, the leader of the programme described how care and the ability to give back was a key programme outcome:

P1305, staff: *Care, because living in a very fast paced society, and with care kind of encompasses community, which I think, yeah, we're starting to become in my opinion, very, to ourselves and individual, especially my culture, from my beliefs and I see that more so I think it's really important to continue that community and care for one another cause it's really easy to get caught up in our lives and I guess forget, cause there's so much to think about and so much to do. To want to give back and care for others cause that's what really creates a happy nice place to live in.*

This type of match between youth and leader discussions was common, particularly when discussing values, or things that were seen as important. It highlights how leaders influence the direction and values of programmes and are aware of the values that are important to young people.

7.1.4 Agency

P7FG, young person: I think [programme] really does make you feel levelled with decision making within an adult's and like a young person's perspective.

Agency was discussed in 26 interviews and focus groups with 116 references made. Zimmerman and Cleary (2006) defined personal agency as the “capability to originate and direct actions for a given purpose” (p. 45). In this study, agency included three sub-themes related to the ability to direct purposeful action which included: independence, having a voice and making change, and having something to offer.

7.1.4.1 Independence

Independence was about being able to do everyday things, make choices, be self-reliant, and have some control over life. Independence was discussed in 10 youth interviews/ focus groups and eight staff interviews.

Programmes offered opportunities for independence through skill development and practice, which helped young people to feel able to manage themselves and be more prepared for adulthood. Discussions from a programme working with diverse sexualities and genders providing peer support show how independence was perceived. One of the young people described how experiences of taking responsibility for others enhanced their independence and helped them be prepared for adulthood, linking to the outcome of future focus:

P5001, young person: I think that it helps with the slow transition to becoming an adult. Sometimes if you're teenagers and stuff, sometimes you wake up one day and you're like 'Oh my god, I'm grown up'. But if you do things like that and slowly get that exposure and learn these responsibilities through these experiences and everything, it slowly helps you to learn to become a functioning adult, instead of just waking up one day just absolutely afraid.

This comment further underscores the anxieties identified under skills about becoming ‘useless’ adults and young people’s perceptions that they must be independent and capable to function as adults. Programmes supported this preparation by providing opportunities to practice adult responsibilities. As the young person described, these opportunities felt safe because they were supported and controlled. Giving back was often a vehicle to develop independence because it was through helping others that young people also saw how they could care for themselves.

Staff fostered independence by encouraging ownership and decision making, and they too saw programmes as safe places for this to occur. A staff member from the programme working with diverse sexualities and genders providing peer support discussed how they encouraged independence by letting young people find their own solutions:

P5002, staff: Young people know what to do a lot of the time. But they feel like they need an adult to make a call or that they don't feel that they have the required experience, or they don't have the job skills or whatever, and so a lot of it is like in terms of me trying to build their capacity asking them, trying to get them to, in a helpful way, not just leaving them to it, solve problems for themselves and like having them feel empowered that they can make the right call and they can be decision makers and they can solve problems and it doesn't matter that they're only 16.

As the quote shows, staff were often able to balance support and guidance with stepping back when needed. This highlights how leaders facilitated the programme process of a Youth-Centric Space, by taking young people seriously and giving opportunities for leadership and freedom. These features helped young people to be more independent by acknowledging their capabilities and making them accountable.

7.1.4.2 Having a Voice and Making Change

Agency also included young people being able to use their voice in various platforms, either within the programme or in the wider community, and the ways this could then create change or challenge stereotypes. Young people saw these opportunities as valuable to themselves and others, also showing the collective value of agency. Eight youth interviews/focus groups and nine staff interviews spoke to this area. Having a voice and making change was discussed more frequently in programmes from lower socio-economic status (SES) communities, diverse sexuality and gender groups, and those from the disability community. Because these young people may sometimes struggle to have a voice due to marginalisation or discrimination, opportunities to have a voice may feel more important.

Young people from a community-based youth leadership programme that creates events for-youth-by-youth in a low SES community identified how having a voice through leading events helped them to feel heard by and connected to the community:

P3FG: They can start expressing their ideas openly.

P3FG: They feel more in the community.

Programmes facilitated youth voice by acting as a conduit between youth and the community. The

leader of the youth events programme above talked about how involvement in the programme could help young people to see their role and find their voice, and the importance of this culturally for Māori and Pacific Youth:

P3002, staff: They get a greater picture; a clearer picture of why certain things happen in their community and why certain decisions are made that way. And more importantly, I think, how important their voices are to be heard. You know, in this community, I think youth voice has been held down in a way. 'Cause it's part of Māori culture and Pacific Island culture; we don't speak up at our elders, we don't do that. It's disrespect in our culture. But we've come to learn that there is a way that you can speak without disrespect. There is a way you can bring your idea without disrespecting people in high places.

For this staff member, having a voice helped young people to see themselves as worthy and part of the community, linking to other outcomes of positive identity and connection. The programme had also taught young people to use this voice in ways that were culturally appropriate, by giving access to different modes and channels of communication that were respectful, such as through running events or speaking in community forums. Programmes such as this one helped young people find a platform to speak out by taking young people seriously and providing opportunities to be heard, part of the programme process of a Youth-Centric Space. In this instance, the leader was also attuned to the ways navigating cultural identity was essential to finding a voice for these young people:

P3002, staff: Again, I think in terms of themselves, it's about respecting them, knowing who they are first. We call it in, I'm not Māori, but I know Māori call it turangawaewae.²⁴ Them understanding who they are, where they're from and they begin to get respect for themselves and get strength in finding that. And then, in terms of how, I guess that you know, the how is, 'If I join the local youth council, maybe you know, I could have an influence on that. If I join the local rugby team, maybe I could help to change the drinking culture, so my dad doesn't come home drinking'. That sort of stuff. 'Maybe I could speak up about how many liquor stores there are in my community, do we really need them all?'

Data indicated that when programmes provided spaces for young people to explore themselves, their ideas, and be heard, it could increase their confidence to use their voices in other places. This quote also suggests a potentially important role for programmes from a cultural perspective; helping to tackle some of the effects of colonisation by supporting young people to find their place and value their culture, in order to use their voice in culturally relevant ways and bring about community

²⁴ Place of belonging through whakapapa (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

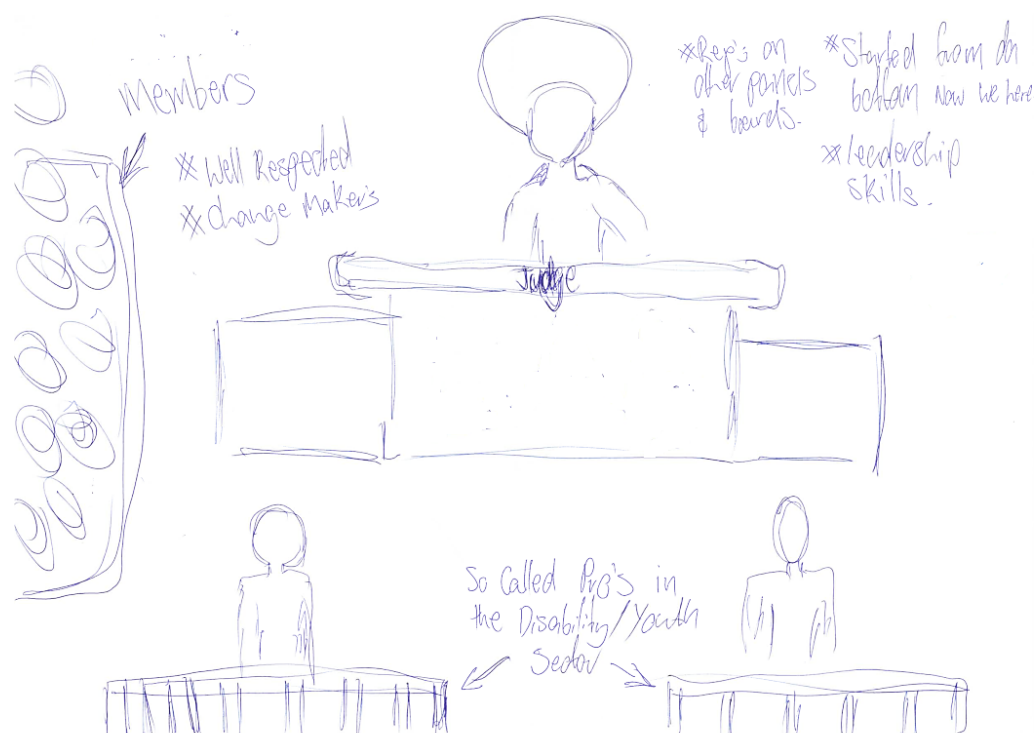
change. This may have been especially important for the group above, as eight of the 11 participants identified as Māori.

The quotations from this programme highlight how outcomes of agency and positive identity could function bi-directionally. Seeing themselves as able to make change helped young people to see themselves positively and enhanced self-worth, whilst at the same time feeling solid in one's identity, particularly culturally, could enhance the ability to have agency.

Young people described how having a voice was not always a given. For a youth leadership and advisory group for organisations in the disability sector, the young people saw the programme as an opportunity to share a perspective that was often missing. One member of the group used the drawing activity (Figure 7.1) to create an image of how they saw the role of the advisory group in relation to supposed 'experts' including the researcher.

Figure 7.1

The Role of the Advisory Group in Relation to Experts (P9FG)



P9FG, young person: *We do have a lot of people who come from government and other organisations who seek advice from the group, so we are kind of like the judge and the jury so whenever they step in our place, it's our house. And, you know how usually it is with*

disability you're always discriminated upon, so you're looked down on. So, when you enter into our space you're more respected and they don't see you as just a person with a disability, they see you as change makers, the judge.

The drawing and quote are a powerful representation of how this programme enhanced young people's agency and challenged stereotypes of what they were capable of, in the present and in the future. The group felt they were visible examples to others with disabilities to show what was possible, and participants discussed changing perceptions and mindsets within themselves, others with disabilities, and the wider community, as the following excerpts throughout the focus group demonstrate:

P9FG, young person: *It's like the world's already put you in that mindset (limitations) and you don't need to be in it.*

P9FG, young person: *Making life a lot easier for those who are up and coming, so for the younger generation, so they don't have to go through what we currently go through.*

P9FG: *Think of it as in a job description. I don't just wanna be a trolley boy, one day I would like to be say taken seriously like as a manager or something. So, kinda like that, just having a meaningful life at the end of the day, so not just ...*

P9FG: *Not settling for less.*

In this way, young people could use their increasing agency to enhance others and their own futures, through seeing different possibilities, thus linking to hope, part of the outcome of future focus. The programme was important to providing a platform for these young people that they would not have otherwise had. The leader supported young people to have a voice and see themselves as valuable by ensuring young people were visible in all aspects of the organisation:

P1001, staff: *'Cause we can sit in a room all day with people and be like we do youth development, we are co-created, co-designed, co-delivered and if I don't have a young person there, I'm just yapping.*

The way young people had opportunities to lead and be valued at all levels was further evidence of a Youth-Centric Space. This clear demonstration of young people's value from the leader and organisation helped the young people to see themselves as change makers.

7.1.4.3 Having Something to Offer

Young people wanted to be recognised and show that they were valuable. A sense of having something to offer was a key part of the discussions of agency. Feeling that their skills and

contributions were valued helped young people to feel agentic in their lives, whānau, and communities. Having something to offer was discussed in seven youth interviews and focus groups and five staff interviews. This is where the theme of agency acts as both a behavioural and an internal outcome. Whilst independence and using their voice to create change related to observable actions, having something to offer was more about young people feeling like they were valuable members of the community who could influence others. This sense of value often came from young people seeing where they could help and make change, linking to the outcome of giving back and, as a result, feeling respected, important, and part of the community. Young people from the community-based youth leadership programme that creates events for-youth-by-youth described the feelings they had from being able to lead events in the community:

P3FG: *Solid.*

P3FG: *They feel welcome.*

P3FG: *Like they know what they're doing.*

P3FG: *Solid like...*

JM: *Solid, nice.*

P3FG: *Successful.*

JM: *Successful.*

P3FG: *They feel welcome aye.*

JM: *Welcome, yeah?*

P3FG: *Yeah, welcome.*

JM: *Nice.*

P3FG: *Helpful.*

P3FG: *Successful.*

P3FG: *They feel blessed.*

Being taken seriously and given opportunities to lead, both part of the programme process of a Youth-Centric Space, helped the young people to feel solid, successful, and proud. It also provided opportunity for them to feel valuable for what they could do now, rather than what they may be able to do at some time in the future. The data suggest young people felt they needed skills and services they could offer in order to be taken seriously and feel valuable, which, for these young people, was about being 'solid'. It was these elements that made them feel 'welcome' in society. The comments also show how recognition from others is important to young people to help them recognise their own strengths and capabilities. Young people may enter programmes to fill these gaps in a sense of value and gain recognition.

A young person from a youth voice group discussed how taking positive action in the community could give young people a greater role and place in society:

P7FG, young person: I feel like in recent years youth haven't had a very good perception amongst those that are older than us and they think we're just teenagers who wanna wreck everything who don't care about anyone but ourselves so for them to see youth like us in [programme] that are actually trying to do something positive within the community it makes them a bit more open minded towards youth and a bit more accepting to what future youth have to say and I think it will give us more of a voice when it comes to politics. 'Cause I know, in my family at least, they always try to push their political values on to you, but then seeing how mature you can become through developing relationships, not only with youth but with those that are older than you, I think that will give them a bit more trust in whatever decision you choose to make.

For this young person, the programme provided an appropriate avenue to be valued and taken seriously in the community and in family. This highlights the ways programmes may help young people to navigate multiple contexts. As this group consisted of largely Pacific youth, the quote may be further evidence of the ability of programmes to support young people to find their voice in culturally appropriate ways. For this young person, programme involvement had respectfully demonstrated their maturity to family, enhancing their sense of agency in this space.

7.1.5 Summary: Behavioural Outcomes

This section outlined the first group of outcomes termed Behavioural Outcomes because they represented observable actions, growth, and changes for young people in programmes. Behavioural Outcomes included skills, achievement, giving back, and agency. The perception and value of each outcome and the way it linked to other outcomes and programme processes were described through discussion of programmes and quotations. These highlighted both typical responses and relevant differences. The next section will focus on Internal Outcomes, the second outcomes group.

7.2 Internal Outcomes

This section discusses the second group of outcomes, Internal Outcomes, which relates to thoughts and feelings and includes sub-themes of confidence, future focus and positive affect. This chapter discusses participant perceptions of each of these outcomes using examples which highlight how the outcomes were perceived and their links to other outcomes and programme processes.

7.2.1 Confidence

P4FG: I feel like real confidence is like believing in yourself. I dunno.

JM: Yeah, that's awesome. So, it's not just looking confident on the outside?

P4FG: 'Cause you can just be acting but really, you're not actually. Like I'm not talking about everyone else, like I'm talking about myself, like you can pretend that you're confident, but really deep down you're actually dying and wanna like... Not like that now, (laughs) before, like, you know. I feel like that's really good confidence.

Confidence was one of the largest themes, discussed in 36 interviews and focus groups with 201 references made. Confidence is linked in the PYD literature with self-efficacy (Catalano, Berglund., et al., 2002, Catalano et al., 2004; Eccles & Gootman, 2002) which relates to belief in one's ability to perform certain tasks and achieve results (Bandura, 1995). Young people discussed belief in themselves as efficacious in certain areas, such as socially, but also discussed a broader sense of self-belief as part of confidence. In addition, participants discussed confidence as behaviour such as speaking out and interacting more with others. In this way, confidence overlapped with both Behavioural and Internal Outcomes and appeared to be more than self-efficacy. These behavioural and belief aspects of confidence are described in this section, whilst broader theoretical definitions of confidence are addressed in the discussion in Chapter Nine.

7.2.1.1 Confidence as Behaviour

Confidence was readily and frequently identified by young people as a general outcome shown in the excerpts and Figure 7.2 below.

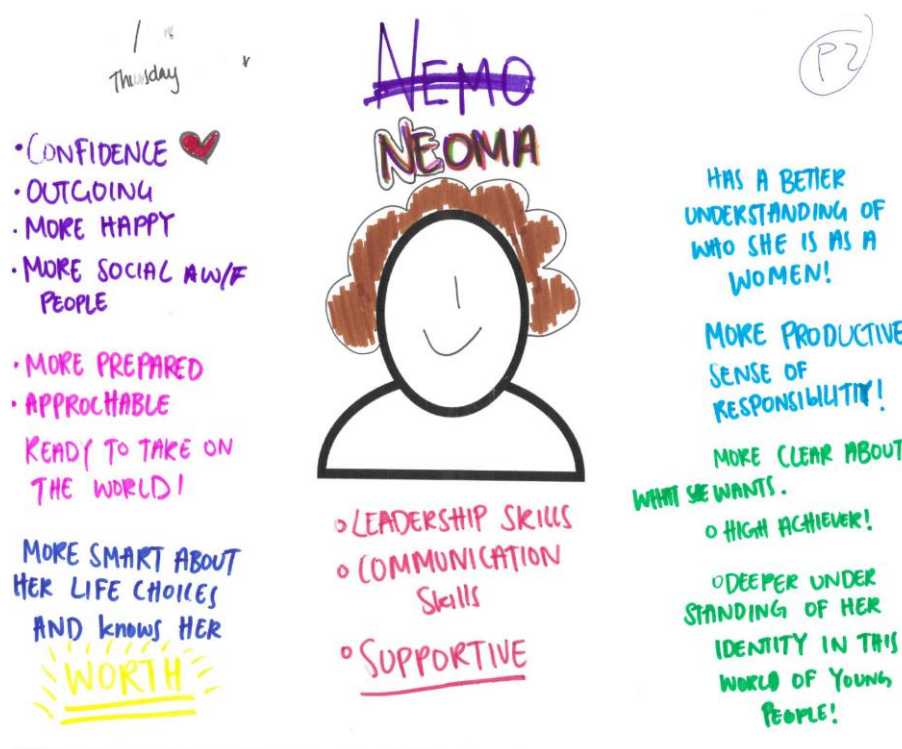
P13FG young person: My person, I don't know if it's a mentor or mentee, but I wrote confidence for both, because it helps them grow.

P2FG young person: I wrote down that she gained confidence and she's more outgoing.

P1205 young person: ...they're just being more confident, more open, I guess.

Figure 7.2

Group Drawing Highlighting Confidence (P2 FG)



Confidence was often related to being more outgoing, with phrases such as ‘more open’ or ‘opening up’ often used. Participants described confident young people as able to put themselves into new situations, open to connecting with different people, and not too shy to speak to others. In these ways, confidence could act as a Behavioural Outcome because confidence characterised how young people interacted with others. Young people from a youth voice group described their views on confidence. This group was involved in running events for youth in the community and providing feedback to local decision makers, requiring them to them to talk to a lot of different people, which they saw as evidence of confidence:

P7FG young person: *I think confidence is when you're able to step out of your comfort zone and engage with others you don't normally talk to, just being comfortable to share your personal experiences with people who you don't know that well.*

Discussions of confident behaviours were highly similar across programmes and between youth and staff. Confidence was described as being about speaking out, doing new things, and sharing oneself. Confidence was also often linked to physical presentation, such as being able to “hold your head high” (P8002, young person).

7.2.1.2 Confidence as Belief

An internal sense of confidence and self-belief was often seen to underpin confident actions. The youth voice group above went on to describe how confident actions could occur when young people had a level of comfort with their identity:

P7FG young person: *I think it's (confidence) being comfortable in who you are as a person and what you believe in and knowing that no matter what people say about you, or what happens to you that you're always gonna stand for what you said.*

Confidence as self-belief was strongly related to the outcome of positive identity because confident young people knew who they were and could hold onto their values. Holding onto one's values often increased agency and speaking out about injustice, highlighted in the quotation above around standing for what you said. Often confidence was related to not being fearful of what others thought, or doing things regardless of what others said, because confidence as self-belief gave young people the freedom to present themselves and their ideas.

While confident young people were seen as having self-belief, the distinction between confidence and cockiness seemed important. Cockiness was a sense of bravado or false pride, whilst confidence was about the ability to express oneself and have humility, as the group went on to express:

P7FG young person: *I feel like cocky is like you think you know everything and whatever you say is right and you're always gonna be right and you're not going to let people tear you down, which is a good thing, but it's also good to take feedback from people 'cause that's how you grow, you can't grow without feedback.*

In this way, confidence was linked to a balance of strength and vulnerability and accepting both as part of one's identity.

Peer connections were strongly linked to confidence because these were the relationships where young people tested openness and through this process enhanced self-belief. A leader from a faith-based youth group described the process of young people being more open and confident as they matured and found their place in the group:

P1415 staff: *When they come in they're often shy, very quiet, certainly not confident in sharing their faith or expressing their ideas, yeah. Um, mind you, that could just be that they're younger as well. And also, they come from different classes, so they don't necessarily know each other very well... but gradually as the group grows you see the faith development and the deepening of their thinking and their ideas.*

As the group bonded, young people felt more able to articulate their ideas and their faith. Peer connections helped young people know that there were people around them who accepted and liked them, which increased confidence about who they were and the value they could bring to relationships. Young people from this faith-based youth group described how the relationships in the programme had helped to develop confidence:

P14FG: We feel free to be who we are no matter what we are and where we come from. So, having that confidence just within us really helps us to be more confident outside of [programme].

JM: How do you think somebody gets that confidence from being here?

P14FG: 'Cause we allow them, and we accept them for who they are.

The quotations underscore how both peer connections and the programme process of an Accepting Atmosphere helped to develop confidence, because they let young people know that they were welcome and valued as they were. Having their value recognised by others helped young people to believe in their value and express it elsewhere.

Participant descriptions of confidence highlight how different types of confidence could build on each other. For example, in the faith-based youth group, experiences of interacting with others led to confident actions outside of the programme. Equally, actions such as opening up to others could enhance feelings of efficacy and self-belief, as another member of the group described:

P14FG young person: So, like some people don't discover who they are until they come into this group, they don't understand the purpose so like sometimes they find it here, like [name] said through going to [volunteering], through going to [away days] and spending more time with helping people. So sometimes you enter and you're not confident at all and you sort of leave confident.

Importantly, young people saw programmes as key places to boost their confidence that they may not have elsewhere, either due to the accepting nature of the environment, or because of the activities offered. In this group the programme provided an avenue to develop confidence in their faith, which was not always available elsewhere:

P14FG young person: I think it encourages us to bring out like our faithful side more and yeah, just to yeah, be a little more vulnerable.

This suggests the ways young people may navigate to programmes to fill perceived needs or gaps. For example, some young people in this group recognised that they may not feel confident and used

the programme to fill this gap, whilst others saw the programme as an opportunity to deepen their faith and used the programme to meet this need.

7.2.2 Future Focus

P3002, staff: Young people are not settling for second best, you know. Reaching, reaching, for the very best for their lives. So yeah, they are young people that are more knowledgeable, young people that are confident, strong within themselves, able to make decisions for their lives. Yeah, not afraid to face the future aye, and they're really confident about it.

Future focus was discussed in 34 interviews and focus groups with 121 references made. Eccles and Gootman (2002) discussed the concept of planfulness or planning for the future and future life events, whilst Benson and colleagues (1998) referred to youth optimism about personal future as a developmental asset. These ideas were reflected in the two sub-themes of preparing for the future and hope. Participants discussed the ways programmes equipped young people for positive futures and enhanced their expectations.

7.2.2.1 Preparing for the Future

Preparing for the future was discussed in 20 youth interviews and focus groups and 12 staff interviews. Young people predicted how programmes would be helpful to them with CVs and jobs. These perceptions often linked with the outcomes of skills and achievement, as highlighted by young people from a volunteer led youth organisation and from a uniformed youth development organisation:

P112FG, young person: The leadership side of things is really important as well, because if you go into a job field where your role particularly involves talking to a lot of people that leadership is good to have.

P11FG, young person: I think the soft skills is really relevant, like now days a lot of the time when you are at university like for jobs where you have to be sociable all the time, they really enforce that you have to teach those, have the soft skills at university, but if you do like [programme] you've probably got that foundation already.

P62FG, young person: The awards scheme definitely helps you get a good job because if you have [award] on your CV, I've heard that it can do wonders for finding jobs.

These quotations show how young people took a pragmatic approach to the future and had many ideas about the world of work and what they would need to be prepared. Several participants commented on programmes helping to equip young people for the ‘real world’, suggesting that their current experiences of life were somehow not ‘real’ enough. Programmes could provide an extra edge that would help them be prepared for the competitive world of work. Some staff provided examples of this edge. For example, staff from a uniformed youth development organisation discussed how the programme provided relevant, tangible skills and developed a strong work ethic in young people. In addition, they saw the programme providing social capital through the development of a network and association with the organisation’s reputation:

P6209, staff: *[Name] has managed to get a couple of jobs because of this.*

P6208, staff: *He’s got no educational qualifications.*

P6209, staff: *He didn’t pass NCEA²⁵ for anything.*

P6208, staff: *Just having [programme] on his CV was basically enough to get him in the door and then he was able to talk to people about his skills.*

Young people’s awareness of the need to be prepared for the future may be a factor in their navigation to programmes; some programmes showed evidence of matching young people’s desire to enhance future preparation, as a staff member from a community-based youth leadership programme that creates events for-youth-by-youth described:

P3001, staff: *Like they’re not just here to kind of chill and hang with friends, they want to be able to put stuff on their CVs and they wanna be able to show that they got something out of it.*

This programme was looking to link participation to credits or qualifications, a change driven by young people. Thus, young people could play a role in shaping programmes and programmes could flex around young people’s needs, part of the programme process of a Youth-Centric Space.

7.2.2.2 Hope

Whilst preparing for the future highlighted a sense of necessity to be ready for work, hope highlighted young people’s perceptions about possibility for a positive future. Ten youth interviews and focus groups and seven staff interviews spoke to this theme. Hope was most frequently discussed in programmes from lower SES areas, or where young people identified experiences of discrimination, such as those from programmes in the disability sector or those with diverse

²⁵ National Certificate of Educational Achievement – national qualifications for secondary school students in Aotearoa (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, n.d.)

sexualities and genders. For these young people, the future may sometimes feel more precarious, because they may have seen those with similar experiences struggle. The positive experiences and choices discussed under hope were things that young people saw programmes supporting.

Young people and staff from programmes in the disability sector shared their perspectives on hope. Developing hope was about the ability to dream, as a young person from a mentoring programme for youth with disabilities expressed:

P1002, young person: *You're able to actually talk with other people who have like mindedness about, not necessarily what you want to do as a professional, but just the fact that I have a dream and it's cool that you guys aren't going to bag on me for my dream.*

What had been important for this young person was how the relationship with the mentor gave them permission to dream without feeling foolish. Hope appeared to grow from programmes because they could offer a taste of an alternative vision for life by taking young people's dreams seriously and offering relevant experiences and achievements that could enhance possibility. These aspects were elements of the programme process of a Youth-Centric Space. The idea of possibility provided relief from anxieties about the future because young people could balance uncertainties about adulthood with some excitement which also allowed them to enjoy the present, as young people from a youth leadership and advisory group for organisations in the disability sector described:

P9FG young person: *Gives you a little, like a taste of what you could be. Like if you're happy in here you can be happy out there too.*

Recognition of possibility showed young people they were worthy of the futures they dreamed of. The staff member from both of these programmes described how young people could construct a vision that moved beyond stereotypes about disability:

P1001, staff: *So, they see their potential. And they see something outside of [programme] because [programme] is just a journey, it's just a blip along the way that hopefully pushes you over something to get you where you want to go.*

The programme was able to hold both present and future by valuing young people in the present and supporting dreams. Balancing both present and future was important; it generated positive energy for the future and alleviated some of the frustrations of not yet being adults. Programmes gave young people a space to shine and to experience a taste of who and how they could be, helping them to feel positive about themselves now and for the future. This created a sense of hope and possibility.

7.2.3 Positive Affect

P112FG, young person: *And they know what it feels like to enjoy an activity and to be happy with something that they're doing, so they're more likely to look for that in other activities and if they're doing an activity and it doesn't bring that, that sense of enjoyment and happiness, they're more likely to stop it and find something else instead.*

Positive affect was discussed in 29 interviews and focus groups with 105 references made. Positive affect is related to emotional wellbeing (Theokas et al., 2005) and, in this study, was expressed through discussions of pride, fun, and happiness.

7.2.3.1 Pride

Young people reported experiencing a sense of pride from experiences and activities within programmes. Pride was discussed by 12 youth interviews and focus groups and seven staff. It related to pleasure and a sense of value from success or recognition.

Pride usually resulted from programme achievements. Young people in a youth creative arts programme that provided experiences such as dance and photography, discussed feeling proud of their achievements, especially after performing for friends and family/whānau:

P8001, young person: *And it's so good because people will admire you because you know how to do all of these things, and people are just like, 'What, how can you do all of that?' and they just admire you so much. And it feels nice when somebody compliments you for all the things you've done and it's like, 'All my work has paid off. I've done this and this'.*

As the quotation highlights, a key part of pride was recognition. The fact that others saw the skills as impressive and valuable helped the young person to feel pride, showing how pride occurred in a context of connection with others. Activities being out of the ordinary and sometimes challenging, in this case dance, could further enhance pride because they made young people feel special and skilled.

In programmes where culture was explored, pride could also come from expressing one's cultural identity. A young person from the same programme described sharing their Samoan culture through dance, resulting in a sense of pride:

P8004, young person: *It's cool to show off, like be proud of where you're from.*

JM: *Yeah. Awesome. How is that for a young person to show off their culture to other people?*

P8004, young person: *It's, for some people they are embarrassed or can be a little shy, but it's really brave and like quite nice to show, 'cause some people don't know what like, so for me, I'm Samoan but some people might not know what my culture's like so to show them is to give them more meaning to see what it's like.*

For this young person, being able to share their culture helped them to feel pride, and to be understood by others who may not know about their culture. In this programme, the young person was able to express their culture and feel pride because this was welcomed and encouraged in the programme:

P8004, young person: *I feel like with different cultures as well, everyone can express their own and not feel ashamed of it, 'cause we're all like, we all support it.*

In this way, the programme process of an Accepting Atmosphere and connections with supportive peers helped the expression of cultural identity and pride. It also highlights links between outcomes of pride and positive Identity, in that feeling proud often overlapped with the expression of identity and feeling good about this. Pride was part of the process of young people developing a different and bigger picture of themselves which was supported by recognition from others.

7.2.3.2 Fun

Fun was discussed by 14 youth interviews and focus groups and five staff and was related to a sense of enjoyment and excitement. Experiences of fun were usually related to activities and times shared with peers. Fun had two key roles. Fun was an important condition for young people to learn and develop in programmes. In this way fun could be considered a programme process and part of a Youth-Centric Space. The second key role of fun was as an outcome on its own.

The role of fun as an important part of programmes was reflected by a young person in a uniformed youth development organisation who identified how fun kept them motivated and helped them to feel like they were doing something worthwhile:

P6FG, young person: *I've been doing [programme] from like 6 to 15 and I'm still going obviously. Those years are kind of part of your life when you're meant to really enjoy it and have fun and not have too much to worry about. And [programme] has obviously been quite a big part of my life as well, so if it wasn't fun then it would be I dunno, wasting those years I suppose.*

This comment suggests that young people need to find value and fun in programmes in order to

maintain engagement. A staff member from this programme similarly reflected that fun facilitated learning and was important because there are lots of activities that may compete for young people's time and attention.

Young people and staff highlighted fun as a valuable stand-alone outcome because fun and play is an important part of being young, can help balance challenging experiences, and sets an emotional tone for other parts of life as another young person from the group described:

P62FG, young person: Yeah. It (fun) can affect your life in other ways as well. If you have a really good weekend you sort of can have a different sort of perspective on other things I guess.

Fun represented the chance to do something novel and step away from everyday life, which could balance out other experiences and help young people see what was possible and enhance their expectations. Activities were often made more fun by the fact that they were done with peers, creating more opportunities for laughter and enjoyment.

Fun was discussed less often by staff, who may be more focussed on outcomes beyond the programme. However, for those who did discuss fun, it was seen as valuable as both a tool for learning and as an outcome in and of itself. Similarly, groups with young people over 18 generally did not discuss fun. The differences in discussions of fun, suggests that fun may be perceived differently or be less of a focus as young people enter adulthood.

7.2.3.3 Happiness

Happiness related to feelings of contentment and positivity. Like fun, happiness was discussed more by young people than staff, with 12 youth interviews and focus groups and four staff talking to this theme.

For young people happiness was often described as an overall outcome that resulted from other outcomes, such as developing skills, gaining confidence and connecting with others. For example, those from a young mum parenting and life skills support programme expressed how they felt happy as a result of the programme:

P4FG: They're happy.

JM: They're happy because?

P4FG: They're more understanding of what parenting is actually.

P4FG: They're not alone.

JM: So, they know skills about parenting, they're not alone. What else?

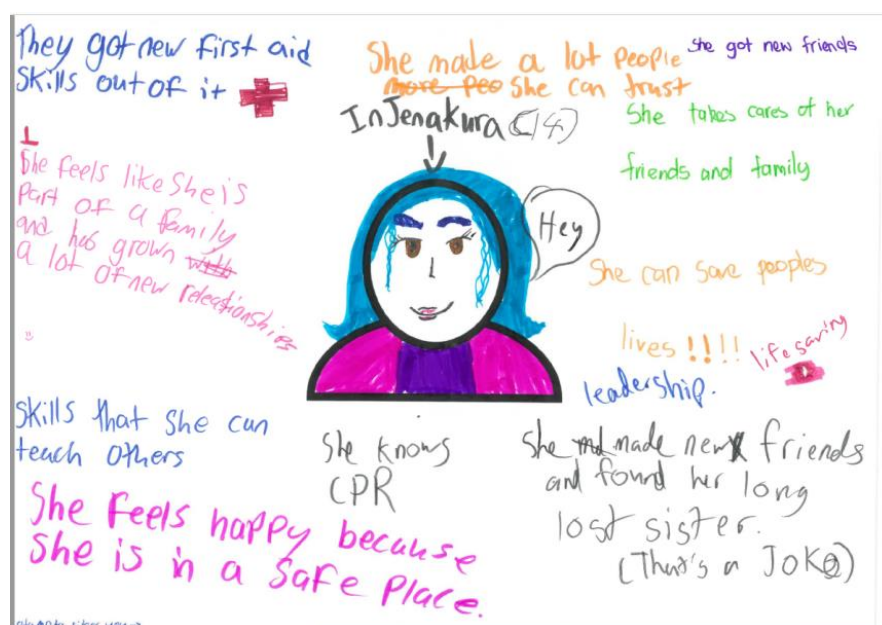
P4FG: *I think like coming from a bad place, of not knowing anything better than what you knew before to becoming a better person and knowing way more and the right way to do things.*

These comments show how happiness could be related to a number of other things. Youth felt happy because they felt useful and competent and happy that the programme had helped them fill perceived parenting skill gaps, again linking with young people's desire to feel valuable and useful. They also felt happy because they had connections with others in a similar space. These young people's link between happiness and feeling like a 'better person' also suggests links between happiness and positive identity, in the way that young people felt happier as they felt good about who they were.

Happiness was also related to the programme environment. Being in a place that was accepting, safe and supportive, all parts of an Accepting Atmosphere could help young people to feel happy, as highlighted in Figure 7.3:

Figure 7.3

Happiness in the Group as a Safe Place (P11FG)



Happiness featured as an outcome in a number of other focus group drawings (see Figures 7.4 & 7.5):

Figure 7.4

Feeling Happier as an Outcome (P9FG)

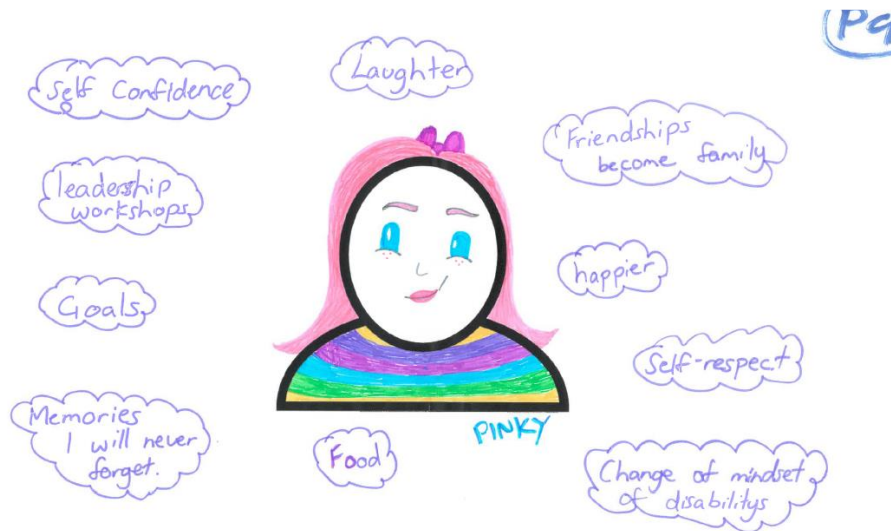
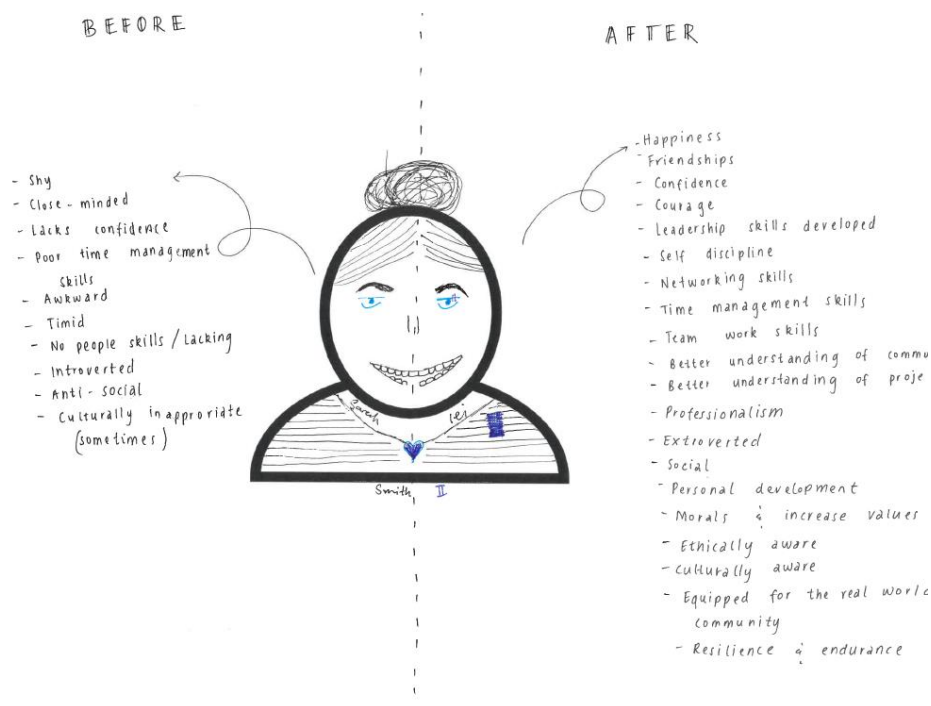


Figure 7.5

Happiness as an 'After' Experience (P7FG)



The examples described above, the use of the word 'happier' in one drawing and listing it as an 'after' experience in another, show how happiness may be a way for young people to describe some of the transformational experiences of programmes. The idea of being happier or developing

happiness sadly suggests that some young people may not feel particularly happy as they enter programmes.

Although ostensibly about feeling good and positive, happiness appears to occur at the intersection of a range of other outcomes such as confidence, skills, connection, and positive identity. Happiness is arrived at after some of these other outcomes are present and recognised by young people and is used as a way to capture a key aspect of young people's sense of the difference made by programmes.

7.2.4 Summary: Internal Outcomes

This section outlined the second group of outcomes termed Internal Outcomes because they related to thoughts and feelings. Internal Outcomes included confidence, future focus, and positive affect. However, whilst confidence was internal when relating to self-belief, it could also be behavioural in the way young people expressed confidence through actions. The perception and value of each outcome and the way it linked to other outcomes and programme processes were described through discussion of programmes and quotations. These highlighted both typical responses and relevant differences. The next section will focus on Relational Outcomes, the final outcomes group.

7.3 Relational Outcomes

This section presents the final group of outcomes, Relational Outcomes. This set of outcomes includes connection and positive identity. These outcomes were termed relational because they were strongly linked to the relational climate of the programme and overlapped strongly with the three key programme processes of an Accepting Atmosphere, a Youth-Centric Space, and Leader/Adult Behaviours. Connection and positive identity also had strong links with the other seven outcomes described previously, further suggesting their relational and contingent nature.

7.3.1 Connection

P4001, staff: Yeah, without some form of connection to something you're quite lost. And I think that's where young people then fall through systems and services until then you become the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff for them. But PYD shouldn't be like that, it should be prior to, way before that.

Connection was discussed by all 39 interviews and focus groups with 405 references made. In PYD literature, Eccles and Gootman (2002) referred to the overarching construct of social development

which includes connections with parents, peers, and other adults; attachment to institutions such as school, church, programmes, and organisations; a sense of belonging and being part of and valued by social networks. This definition is reflected in data analysis which highlighted sub-themes of peer connection, belonging, community and organisation connection, leader/adult connection, and family/whānau connection. The frequency and depth of discussion about connection suggests it is a key outcome of programmes.

7.3.1.1 Peer Connection

Peer connection was the largest sub-theme in connection. It was discussed by all participants, except a young person in an individual mentoring programme. Peer connection included making friends, having people to learn with and from, interacting with those both similar and different from oneself, and acted as a source of acceptance and encouragement. Peer connection was also a key feature of the programme environment; supportive and encouraging peer connections were part of the programme process of an Accepting Atmosphere.

Programmes were places where young people made friends, and this was noted and appreciated in discussions and participant drawings. Young people from a camp and leadership programme for those from refugee backgrounds described how friendship was a key outcome:

P10FG, young person: *The young person, usually they made a lot of friends. I made some, I found someone there. They made real friends, they exchange the contact numbers, now they're really good friends.*

Events and camps, in particular, provided opportunities to build deep connections, and friends helped make programmes enjoyable and fun. Friendships often developed from having to work and communicate together, linking to the outcome of skills. Connecting with peers was a vehicle for skill development, whilst skills to interact with others could help build friendships, as the young people from the programme above described:

P10FG: *'Cause there was, the bed you know the bed, they have two, bunk beds. They have to communicate.*

JM: *So they've got no choice!*

P10FG: *Yeah.*

(all laugh)

P10FG: *It's small and they have to manage it and that's how they make a lot of friends and how they know each-other.*

Peer connections helped to develop confidence in the ability to interact with others. Young people described how they started off shy but could build friendships as they gained confidence. Equally, the confidence gained in programmes could help young people form deeper connections as a young person explained:

P10FG young person: *It was also a lot of confidence, and it helped some people. Some people went in really quiet and came out ...great. Now most of them are in relationships, they are comfortable with everyone.*

In a number of programmes, the connections formed were very deep. In the programme above these connections were due to the intense shared experiences on camp and because the young people came to the programme with similar experiences:

P10FG young person: *I think they got out what it feels like to have your family with you. Because most of them are refugees and they came to a different country without their family and only their mum or father talk with them. So, it's really different for most of us going there. 'Cause we all kind of have the same background so it was relatable for all of us to be like a family.*

Peer connections provided a level of visibility, recognition, and emotional support that was not always felt elsewhere outside of family/whānau. The word family was often used to describe peer connections and the group environment which was often seen as different to peer connections at school. School was perceived by some as a judgemental place which made it hard to feel accepted and form meaningful connections, as a young person from a uniformed youth development organisation explained:

P62FG, young person: *I mean like with schools you've got that kind of like aggressive like love/hate relationship between your friends where you're just kind of like well this kind of sucks, my best friend just roasted me and but that's the way things go at schools.*

By contrast, peer connections in the group were accepting and open:

P62FG young person: *We're all very like open to new things and we're not judgemental in a way.*

This group was particularly close, having just been on an overseas trip together and some members had been together for many years. Staff commented on how this level of closeness was intentionally created because, for some, the group may be their most significant social relationship:

P6208 staff: *A lot of these kids they come from the background where they don't have friends at school, they don't have friends at home, and for a lot of them [programme] is their social scene and it's really important they feel completely safe with the people they're with. And so, for me I do everything I can to foster that kind of supportive environment.*

From the staff member's comments, it is clear that peer connection acted as an outcome for young people by providing friendships that they may not have elsewhere, but that the nature of these connections; that is, being safe and supportive, was intentionally created by leaders and maintained by young people and was a key part of the programme atmosphere.

7.3.1.2 Peer Connections as an Outcome and a Process

Peer connections were valuable both for the fact that they existed and because of their nature as being supportive and family-like, which was seen as important to making programmes work and helping young people to achieve outcomes. This supportive nature was often described in the programme process of an Accepting Atmosphere, because supportive connections helped young people to feel welcomed, safe, and accepted by others (See Table 6.5, pp. 117-119). In both the programmes described above, young people gained friendships and people to have fun with and learn from (an outcome); whilst peer connections were also a key part of an environment where young people could have positive experiences, learn, and feel seen (a process).

Another example of the dual nature of peer connections as an outcome and a process was shown in a leadership, skills development, and mentoring programme for young women. Here, the young women met weekly in a group with programme leaders and formed a deep bond. Staff gave an example of the group noticing when someone was upset and pausing the group to comfort that person. A staff member described the value for young people:

P2002, staff: *You're going to someone who's the same age group as you and being able to open up and say the things that you need to say and having that space for them not to attack you or to feel like they're judging you but just to be able to talk. I think as a youth you'd feel like, 'Holy crap this is what I need. This is a place where I can be myself and its safe and it's okay'.*

This quote highlights how peer connections were able to help young people relax and be themselves, and the supportive nature of these connections was a key to this process. A supportive group environment and being able to be oneself were the largest components of an Accepting Atmosphere and much of this was about interactions with peers. The fact that an Accepting Atmosphere was so dependent on the way young people interacted with each-other also shows how

they had a big role to play in building and maintaining the group environment and could impact the achievement of outcomes. By being affirming, responsive, and caring, young people created a space which helped peers to feel like they belonged and that they were accepted as they were, encouraging a sense of self-worth and the freedom to reflect on and explore identity, as a young person from the programme expressed:

P2FG, young person: *Being at camp, you kind of self-reflect and then you see the different characters and then I guess your own character kind of changes in a way, and you become more like the traits that you see and you wanna try and become or try and possess that trait yourself.*

While these young people enjoyed learning from what was different about others, they also valued similarity and noted that in the group “*people understand things that you might go through and stereotypes and stuff*” (P2FG young person). A level of underlying similarity, such as being from a similar community or culture, may help to create environments where it is safe to explore difference and new ways of being.

7.3.1.3 Belonging

Belonging was discussed by 12 youth interviews and focus groups and eight staff members. Whilst belonging often related to peer connection, it could also relate to a sense of being part of a community, organisation, or physical location. As such, belonging represented a broad sense of connection that programmes provided. A young person from a creative arts programme identified a sense of belonging as an outcome and explored this concept:

P8001 young person: *If you don't have the sense of belonging you just feel lost, you don't really feel like you belong anywhere, you don't feel like you fit in and your self-esteem goes down and you could just be in a world of depression and then from that depression you don't really study because you're just so depressed and then you end up getting bad grades and then your future is harmed by that.*

JM: *Sounds pretty serious. And so, what does belonging do instead? Like if not belonging is all that stuff what does it look like if a young person belongs?*

P8001 young person: *I mean like, belonging kind of fills a void, that um some people may... do you know what I mean? So, it's like people will just feel like everything is off their shoulders, a weight has been lifted and they can finally like be themselves and they can like fully focus on their study and stuff because they have someone who they know that cares about them and who loves them.*

This powerful quotation highlights how a sense of belonging could help young people feel accepted and loved, allowing them to be themselves, and shows how a sense of belonging linked with the development of positive identity. For this young person, belonging was the antithesis of low self-esteem and depression. The idea that belonging meant that young people could focus on other things, as opposed to anxieties about where they fit, shows how belonging related to confidence and not worrying about others' opinions. Later, the young person described how belonging emerged from the way the programme was run, and the types of people in it. The programme was different from school; it was youth-centric, without pressure and was fun and interesting:

P8001 young person: *Yes. Because I feel like school there's just drama at school. Like there's so much gossip and there's gonna be some mean people there, but here, I feel like there's not really any mean people. I feel like people like, people who have experienced that just come here. Because people who aren't really mean.... Okay. Start over. It is different to school because, because, because it just is. It just, I don't know how to describe it, but it is.*

JM: *Do you think it's different because it's different kind of people who come here, or different because it's just run different?*

P8001 young person: *Yeah, it's a bit of both. It's a bit of both. Yeah. The different people who come here may be similar to your personality like I said. Yeah. And like school you're just, you're just focussed on learning, here you're just focussed on having fun and like you're not so pressured to do anything that may harm your future or anything.*

JM: *It feels like you don't really have to worry about it so much.*

P8001 young person: *You can just like relax and your mind is free.*

JM: *And what's that like for a young person where they can just have that space to have fun?*

P8001 young person: *I think it's personally really nice because you just feel free and you can do anything and there's no one there to like to stop you I guess, not like you're doing anything wrong, but you're just there and you feel comfortable. Like no-one's gonna judge you. There's no-one in the corner just looking at you, taking notes on you saying, 'Don't be friends with that person,' because everybody's there and everybody's so nice. And so yeah, and even if mean people, people who may be a bit mean come here, like, they'll feel the different environment that it is and they'll be, I think, they'll be willing to change.*

The quotation notes how the programme may attract people who need a place to belong. This suggests interplay between young people's ability to navigate to programmes and the ability of programmes to meet young people's needs. The young person's comments show how belonging may not be a given in other contexts such as school, and how programmes were different by being less pressured and less judgemental, linking to both a Youth-Centric Space and an Accepting

Atmosphere. The fact that this young person discussed belonging in such detail may also be related to the values and approach of the staff, showing how leader behaviours could influence outcomes. One staff member from this programme saw belonging as a key outcome, especially for Māori and Pacific youth:

P8003 staff: I think for me belonging is a very massive word, I don't know if it's a cultural thing but to be able to say, 'This is my space. That is my friend. This is my family'. That's huge, that's an end goal for me. ... The majority of the young people that come through here are Pacific and Māori, without that connection back to their homeland we need a place as Pacific people. We need a place to call home and if your physical family isn't a home place, well how can we help for [organisation] to be that home for now? It can't be forever; we need you to take this sense of ownership this sense of belonging and then apply it to other spaces.

The cultural centring of belonging highlights how belonging may not only be related to a sense of connection to people, but also connection to a sense of place, that is particularly important for Māori and Pacific youth. Programmes could provide this combination of people and place, and this may be one explanation for the high numbers of Pacific young people in this study.

7.3.1.4 Community and Organisation Connection

Community connection was discussed in 16 youth interviews and focus groups and 10 staff interviews and referred to connections established with those outside of the programme. This may be people related to the organisation, the wider geographic community, different networks, and people in communities of which young people were a part. Connection with an organisation was discussed in eight youth interviews and focus groups and six staff interviews. This was about connections young people developed with the programme as a whole and the organisation.

Community connections formed as young people worked with members of the community on projects or events, or as they came to know people in programme organisations. Young people felt welcomed by and more comfortable in the wider community because they knew more people outside of their family/whānau and school. This sense of comfort helped promote belonging; learning how different parts of the community worked helped young people to see they were part of a broader system. Young people from a community-based youth leadership programme that creates events for-youth-by-youth described this throughout the focus group:

P32FG young person: They get more involved with the community, they can get more mature, like if they understand what happens outside of school.

P32FG young person: *I feel like if we make some mistakes or something they will be there for us, since we help them, show kindness and they show kindness to us.*

P32FG young person: *I think, after people like do something in the community or get involved in the community they feel good about it and they kind of like the feeling of doing something kind and being nice to the community so then they wanna do more.*

These quotations highlight young people's recognition that community was a 'two-way street' where they gave to and received from community. The comments also show links between giving back and community connection. Community connection could create opportunities to give back; and, equally, connections with the community could help young people to feel helpful and have something to offer, also linking with agency. Community connections could break down stereotypes between youth and adults as they developed a greater appreciation of one another. A staff member from this programme described how young people had connected with local police and library through their events which had improved wider youth/adult relationships in the community:

P3002, staff: *They get to meet the police, they get to work alongside with them and then they're starting to say to their friends, 'Oh they're not really like that'. You know, 'We worked with them'. And so that relationship and that view of who they are. And the same thing happened with the library. So now we've got a youth library programme that's working together with the library and we do that once a month and they've got a library youth staff and I work closely with him and now young people are signing up to get their library cards and things like that.*

In this instance, the community connection for the young people from the group had a flow on effect of wider community connections for other young people as those in the programme role modelled to their peers, evidence of their role as leaders.

Connections with organisations were generally discussed where the organisation itself was a community that offered a broad range of activities, programmes, and services; and when the programme had a physical location that was accessible to young people. In these instances, young people were encouraged to make the space their own and hang out beyond the programme, as described by a young person who was also a staff member in a programme working with diverse sexualities and genders providing peer support:

P5003, young person/staff: *But there's a group of young people who come and hang out in the centre quite often and most of them are around university age, who I've renamed the living room squad. Because they show up and they treat [organisation] like their living room.*

I was so proud of the people who came in last Friday and they were literally there to cram for their statistics assignment that was on Monday. But having those connections, you know you can see when people are meeting up and they know all about the things that go on in each-others' lives and they're yelling inside jokes that you don't understand and you're laughing and pretending that it's funny.

In this instance, the organisation connection helped to deepen peer connections, because young people were able to use the space in the ways that they needed. This reflects the relationship between an organisation connection and the programme process of a Youth-Centric Space. A Youth-Centric Space, particularly an accessible physical space, helped connections to form with organisations because young people could feel a sense of ownership and community and have a place to use in the ways they needed.

7.3.1.5 Leader and Adult Connection

Connection with leaders and adults was discussed in 13 youth interviews and focus groups and 10 staff interviews. It referred to the connections young people built with programme leaders and specific adults in or alongside the programme, such as external mentors.

Connection with adults was discussed in all programmes where young people had a formal mentoring relationship with an adult. Connection with adults outside of young people's normal sphere could help them learn new skills and approaches encouraging different ways of viewing the world, oneself, and one's future, as a young person from a mentoring programme for youth with disabilities described:

P1002, young person: I guess just you have someone to work with, especially like, I know from my own experience having a disability I always thought that I would just end up behind a desk and stuff and the fact that it, and it's all well and good for like others to tell you you're made for much more, um, the fact that you have someone right next to you who's actually helping you through that. For me it means a lot. I guess that would be the same for a lot of other young disabled people, just someone who's actually going on the journey with you.

This quote shows the value of the relationship in that the adult had the time and was on a supportive journey with the young person which helped them to feel valued and, therefore, value themselves. Similar relationships formed with programme leaders where young people knew that these people genuinely cared for and supported them. By offering support and often connections that went beyond the programme, relationships with leaders could be a key conduit for organisation and community connections.

Connections with staff and leaders could also provide consistency for young people and fill relational gaps. A young person who was a leader in the programme working with diverse sexualities and genders providing peer support described how leaders often acted as supportive elders:

P5003, young person: *They call like me and the other person who run it like, 'Big gay sister', or like 'My uncle' or something like that because they don't have family members who support them, so they kind of view us like that older family member in a way.*

Having ongoing relationships with supportive role models helped young people to feel that they were worthy as they were, and safe to experiment and try out new ways to be, linking to the outcome of a positive identity. Role modelling and support were part of the programme process of Leader/Adult Behaviours. Thus, relationships with leaders could act as both an outcome in the way that young people gained valuable mentoring connections with adults and these connections were also a key part of supporting other outcomes because of the ways in which leaders were relatable, supportive, and acted as role models. Several young people described having one staff member or leader who they saw as playing a big role in their programme experience and lives.

What seemed important across all of these connections with leaders and the organisation was that they were on a journey with young people. All of the programmes in this study had a way to journey with young people and the relationships could often be long term, either because the programme had an open duration or there were opportunities to stay involved after completion. Journeying with young people helped them to know that they always had a place, person, or community where there was acceptance and support and that young people did not have to navigate alone, as a young person from the programme working with diverse sexualities and genders expressed:

P5005, young person: *You know that you can always come back for the support. Even if you're over age they're still going to help you out if you need it.*

The ongoing nature of many of the organisation and leader connections, and the ways that young people used these as key supports and access points for further support, highlights an important role for organisations and PYD programmes not targeted at treatment or risk, such as those in this study. Programmes may play a preventative role by fostering ongoing connections with supportive adults.

7.3.1.6 Family/Whānau Connection

Family/whānau connection was one of the smallest components of connection and included descriptions of how the programme helped young people to connect with parents, partners, and children, and, for some, whakapapa. Family/whānau connection was discussed in nine youth

interviews and focus groups and five staff interviews.

Family/whānau connection was linked with communication skills and confidence. For younger youth who lived with family/whānau, these outcomes helped them to behave more maturely in their families, speak freely, and navigate potential conflicts, as a young person from the camp and leadership programme for those from refugee backgrounds expressed:

P10FG, young person: *Whilst at home it can just be something to do with your parents that, them not believing you, or them saying that you're going out late and not coming (home), but you probably have something going on. And you tell them and most of the parents they forget so they would probably be mad and then you have to sit down and explain things in a way that's not going to be in a bad manner, so respect, and a respectful way and just relaxing.*

For this young person, experiences of leadership in the programme had taught them useful skills in communicating respectfully that they were able to transfer to family relationships. Some young people also improved family/whānau relationships through recognising their own place as role models and the impact their actions could have on family/whānau. For younger youth, this could be about role-modelling to siblings and for youth who were parents, to their children. An example of these types of changes were expressed by a young person in the indigenous values-based leadership programme, where caring for oneself to better care for whānau was a central component of the programme:

P1203, young person: *They always said to you, 'Save a lot of time for family'. For me as well I don't really hang out with anyone here outside of work. I'm just like my time is usually just going to sleep. (laughs)*

JM: *Yup. Has it always been like that or is that something that's changed?*

P1203, young person: *It's changed actually. It was like that, like I'd go home, shower, eat, and then just go and knock out and I didn't think that there was anything wrong with it, 'cause my partner never said anything but when I started spending a couple of hours before I go to sleep with my daughter I got to see that my partner was happy as well, she got more, she was like happy. It's just a happy environment at home now.*

Young people's reflections on their roles in family/whānau, particularly as role models for present and future generations, helped them develop different values and attitudes around compassion and care for others and self. The young person above came to view family as a source of both support and pride, encouraging them to behave in ways that would enhance self and whānau, encapsulating

the mana enhancing approach of this programme. In the indigenous values-based programme, family/whānau connection also included links to whakapapa as young people reflected on where they had come from and their role for future generations. These reflections were explicitly integrated into the programme but may also reflect the life stage of these participants, as they were all in their 20s, in the workforce, and some were parents.

Family/whānau connections was a small theme that was infrequently discussed and may highlight this outcome as an untapped element in some programmes in this study.

7.3.2 Positive Identity

P10FG, young person: Because the world has many, many things, there are gangsters, drug dealers, rich people, poor people so you wouldn't know where to put yourself, so the [programme] says that you don't have to put yourself anywhere. You could think high as you want or low as you want, but it's up to you, it's your story and you can write it yourself, so you don't have to worry about it.

Positive identity was a large theme discussed by all participants, with 379 references made. Positive identity referred to discussions about aspects of young people's sense of self and how these were impacted by programmes. From a youth development perspective, Tsang et al. (2012a) stated that: "The development of clear and positive identity/identities involves building self-esteem, facilitating exploration of and commitment to self-definition, reducing self-discrepancies, and fostering role formation and achievement" (p. 2). In this study, these experiences of self-definition, self-esteem, and role formation were described in five sub-themes: identity exploration, identity expression, ethnic cultural identity, self-worth, and values and attitudes development. As with connection, positive identity could act as an outcome and a process, in that young people developed their sense of self, but the ability to be oneself was also an important part of the programme experience. Positive identity was also linked to the eight other outcomes described in the findings, in that they could either help young people explore, express, and value themselves; or, alternatively, the presence of a positive identity could enhance other outcomes. This section presents larger vignettes from the findings to better highlight the relational nature of these outcomes. The first vignette relates to self-exploration and expression; the second to ethnic cultural identity, self-worth, and values and attitudes development; and the third to the way self-expression functioned as an outcome and a process.

7.3.2.1 Self-Exploration and Self-Expression

Ideas related to self-exploration were discussed in 17 youth interviews and focus groups and 11 staff interviews. Programmes provided a space for young people to explore who they were through opportunities to try different things and ways of being. Self-expression was discussed in 20 youth interviews and focus groups and 13 staff interviews. Self-expression related to the ways young people felt able to be themselves and learned to embrace all parts of themselves, thus helping to accept themselves.

The first vignette is of a young person in a creative arts programme. This story describes the ability to explore and express oneself as a programme outcome and its relationship to connections with others, and the ways leader behaviours could influence a young person's experience. This story was chosen because it represents a powerful example of the ways programmes could enhance positive identity. This young person joined the programme aged around 15 years and stayed with the organisation over several years. At the time of the interview, the young person was involved as a tutor of the same programme they had attended when younger. The young person discussed how significant the programme had been in their journey to finding out who they were and feeling good about being that person.

The young person began by describing self-exploration through doing something new and exciting. The programme provided an opportunity to test out something that was not available elsewhere and discover a new passion:

P8002, young person: I was Year 11 when I came down here, so Year 12's when you can start doing photography at my school. So, I was instantly, 'I'm going to do photography and I'm gonna learn all these cool things,' 'cause I came here and I learned it all and it was super exciting. And so, it kind of become a massive part of me and so it's allowed me to find a part of myself that I didn't know was there as such. Like there was always hints that I was alright at taking photos but photography itself was not really something I saw myself doing and then I fell in love with it from being here.

This quotation shows how skills were a key vehicle for discovery. The programme provided this opportunity by offering activities and an environment that was relevant, accessible, and took young people's interests and explorations seriously, all elements of the programme process of a Youth-Centric Space. The staff member who co-ordinated these programmes described how this young person had been able to find themselves and "thrive a little bit" (P8005, staff), helped by a relaxed environment which supported discovery and agency:

P8005, staff: *'Cause fun is when you're most creative and I feel like it's that thing again of a young person's creativity has kind of been sucked out of them by school. Not being a hater about school, 'cause I do think school's really great. But everything's you've gotta fulfil or check these boxes and I think here there's no boxes, we're just doing, we're doing what you wanna do.*

As the staff member highlighted, this Youth-Centric Space helped provide an environment for discovery. Relationships also contributed to self-exploration through role modelling and support. The young person described several ways in which supportive connections with others, both an outcome and a key component of an Accepting Atmosphere, facilitated identity development. First, peers were welcoming and free from expectations because they were outside of the young person's normal sphere, providing opportunities to discover and test new ways to be:

P8002, young person: *They're friends that like your other people don't really know and so you can be a different person if you choose to, which I think is a good opportunity for them to have if they need it.*

Second, positive feedback provided encouragement for further self-expression and could be encouraged through role-modelling from peers and adults. The young person described that they had experienced low mood when entering the programme and started to go there four days a week after school. The young person spoke about observing the interactions of older peers and staff in the building that were positive and affirming. These helped the young person to reflect on their own ways of being and interacting and try out different ways to be. The role-modelling, encouragement, and support provided by the tutor, all elements of the programme process of Leader/Adult Behaviours, provided positive affirmation of these changes:

P8002, young person: *Having like that role model who encouraged me to be the person that I was, and to go off and try different things and then become who I am now, like that was, I cannot even begin to express how important that was for me in particular. And like through becoming yourself and finding all these new people that you need in your life more than the ones that were there prior, if they weren't helpful, so that also kind of ties friendship into that one as well, but you're finding people who are more like you because you've found you and I think that that's the most important.*

As the quotation highlights, relationships with peers and leaders that were supportive, encouraging, and positive helped the young person to find other connections that were supportive and healthy and express themselves in a way that felt congruent. In this way, connections and positive identity

could build on each other, where positive connections could help support identity development which could then encourage further, deeper connections that encouraged self-expression. The young person summed this up by stating:

P8002, young person: *When I was younger and I had, like a lot of issues at school and a lot of issues with myself and I came here and I found a version of myself that I liked that thrived here, that was a lot more confident, was a lot more happy, and had all these different people that were super amazing and were amazing role models for me and so then I could feel confident becoming that person, because I found that person here.*

The ability to explore and express identity in the programme, largely facilitated by relevant activities and connections with peers and adults, supported the young person to take that expression elsewhere, also linking to the outcome of confidence. By having an experience of a self that was accepted and encouraged, the young person was able to accept and like themselves and be able to transfer this self to other domains such as school and the community. From here, the young person returned to share this experience with others by becoming a tutor in the programme.

7.3.2.2 Values and Attitudes Development, Cultural Identity and Self-Worth

The second vignette relates to values and attitudes development, cultural identity, and self-worth. Values and attitudes development was the largest aspect of positive identity and was discussed in 20 youth interviews and focus groups and 12 staff interviews. Data analysis indicated that values and attitudes could be grouped into two categories. The first related to respect, compassion, and care, and the way young people developed regard and kindness for, and awareness of, self and others. The second related to drive, commitment, and a growth mindset, and the ways young people thought about their reasons behind their actions and developed more positive attitudes.

Cultural identity was a small theme and related to ethnic cultural identity, locating oneself culturally, and the ways these identities could be explored and expressed through programme participation. Cultural identity was discussed by five youth interviews and focus groups and two staff.

Self-worth was discussed in 14 youth interviews and focus groups and eight staff interviews. Self-worth related to valuing and having a positive regard for oneself. Terms such as self-esteem, self-belief, and self-respect were also used.

A strong example of these aspects of positive identity came from the indigenous values-based leadership programme, which this vignette draws upon. As described previously, this programme prioritised Te Ao Māori values, and concepts of mana and mauri. The programme was based in a workplace. It encouraged young people to learn to care for themselves, nurturing their mauri, in

order to succeed at work and better care for their whānau and future generations, which would enhance their own and others' mana. Because of this focus, values and attitudes were discussed frequently by participants. Young people in this programme described how they had started the programme focusing on day-to-day experiences and not reflecting on themselves, their attitudes, or their impact on others. Through learning personal skills, such as self-care, and reflecting on their identity, this started to change and they noticed their values and mindsets shift, which enabled setting goals and pursuing new possibilities:

P1204 young person: *Like they see everything different, like they see work different, and they kind of see life different and how they... their decision making gets easier.*

JM: *What would they start to see differently?*

P1204 young person: *Um, like just turning up to work, it's not just turning up to work if that makes sense. So, um giving everything 110%.*

For this young person, changing attitudes and focusing on growth and development made it easier to make decisions, set goals, and undertake actions which aligned with their values, linking also to skills and achievement. This young person's change in attitude resulted in them gaining a promotion.

These values were enhanced through a cultural lens, which began with the idea of mauri and self-care which could then flow outwards. By enhancing their own mana through self-care young people could then enhance the mana of their whānau, as the leader explained:

P1201, staff: *So, if our youth can go through and realise, 'Man actually, I do just need to look after myself and when I succeed that's going to be the best gift for everybody that I interact with,' changing their mind-set into that, putting restrictions and guidelines in place before other people do. There's just so many different um, these types of values of tapu, mana, mauri, are things that our ancestors used to do.*

The staff member discussed how the programme taught the relevance of these cultural values to modern life, such as getting enough sleep, managing time, budgeting, and learning to look after their wellbeing. As their life became more balanced, their mana grew, evidenced by changes in behaviours such as spending more time with whānau and focusing on work. Through these changes the young people were then more able to care for others around them, as a young person from a joint interview described:

P1203, young person: *You don't pretty much learn much about yourself until you know, someone helps you realise what's right, what's wrong and how you value your time, your*

family, you know, what you put first and then teaches, you know new things, like what can you do better. Helping out yourself, not only your friends but your family.

New learnings and personal values could also help young people enhance their care and compassion for others by reflecting on the impact of their actions on those around them. The leader summarised this drive and shift in mindset as being about young people determining their own success and committing to their goals:

P1201, staff: There's a quote that we're going through, 'What's the point of climbing the ladder of success when you get to the top you're on somebody else's building?' The big part is to know what their building is. And sometimes that ladder of success might be harder, but when you get to the top it's a lot more fulfilling, so a lot of our young people, they're, they don't realise that they're competing with society and what's put there, where actually you just need to make yourself better every day.

These quotations highlight the values of drive, commitment, and growth in this programme and the ways young people were encouraged to reflect on their own goals and put their values into action to enhance themselves and those around them. The accounts show a match between youth and staff. Both groups talked about growth, drive, and doing things to care for oneself in order to care for others. These types of similarities between young people and staff when discussing values were common and highlight the role staff can play in values development, particularly in being role models of ways to be; as well as the way staff may be attuned to values that are important to young people.

Within this programme, one of the tools to help explore values and focus on growth was the development of cultural identity. The leader described wanting young people to feel good about who they were culturally through the exploration of whakapapa and identity. These experiences were seen as helping young people to succeed in the workplace, one of the main aims of this programme:

P1201, staff: I think they get a little bit confused coming into our programme too, 'cause they've already been told all of these things about how you have to behave in the world, you know, so we've got, so we've got this thing in the Māori world when you're talking you've gotta have your Pākehā voice on, you know and stuff like that. So, then they're coming here, and they're being told, 'So what I can bring my Tongan self to work?' 'I can bring my Samoan self?' You know and they're just like, not even their parents are telling them that.

This programme consciously welcomed and encouraged young people to explore, express, and value their cultural identity and then use this to help identify and achieve their goals. One participant described how they felt about the experience of being culturally welcomed and having an opportunity to learn about and share their culture:

P1205, young person: *What I liked most was that our tutors were Māori and they spoke Māori to us, which I felt like I was with my own people kind of thing. And even, I think I was the only Māori in the group and just being around the other Islanders and them learning my culture which was cool. Yeah. I reckon that was probably like the best part of the course.*

Having leaders who role modelled cultural identity and who valued and prioritised Te Ao Māori helped the young person to feel good about this aspect of themselves. The young person felt proud of their cultural identity, highlighting links between cultural identity and positive affect. The young person above went on to express how they also saw this pride develop in others, through exploring their pepeha and their background and how this could lead to a sense of confidence. This young person's experience mirrors instances in other programmes where leader behaviour helped young people to express their identity. In this instance, the leader showed understanding of young people's cultural experiences and welcomed and validated these, which helped young people to see their cultural selves positively. This highlights the role of recognition from others in enhancing a positive identity and sense of self. When this happened from a cultural perspective, young people could feel proud of their culture and discuss this. Whilst all participants in the study did discuss aspects of positive identity, cultural identity only appeared to be discussed in programmes where this was explicitly welcomed and given space.

Pacific participants in this programme similarly reflected that thinking about their whakapapa helped them to recognise both a sense of dislocation from homeland, and reconnect with their cultural identity, particularly the courage and sacrifice from parents who had chosen to migrate to Aotearoa:

P1204, young person: *Everyone went back to their roots, 'cause in this modern kind of world, we've lost like a lot from our, we've lost a lot of, uh what's it called, of our culture and yeah as generations come, we kind of lose track of where we've come from the struggles of our parents coming from the islands and everything. So yeah, I reckon it was good that we all kind of got reminded and it kind of humbled us.*

The young person described these experiences as 'motivating' because they reconnected with their sense of family/whānau as central to all of their actions, which helped create a sense of purpose at

work and beyond. This shows how a sense of cultural identity was linked with the development of attitudes and values around drive and motivation.

Positive cultural experiences and shifts in attitudes also linked with self-worth. Through knowing and expressing who one was, especially culturally, young people could value themselves enough to care for themselves and pursue success as they defined it. The staff member in this programme linked self-worth with mana, and growing young people's beliefs in what they were capable of:

P1201, staff: So, you know when they're 5 and you ask, 'Oh what do you want to be?' and their dreams are to the moon, astronaut, teacher, fireman. The older they get a little bit of their mana gets lost every single day, their ability to dream gets lost every single day, reality and the negative sense, instead of reality that they can create, starts creeping in. That's because a lot of people, 'No, no, no, don't, don't, don't'.

So, all were doing is filling that mana back up, filling that possibility back up, so when we do ask them what they wanna be and you'll see at their graduation. One goes, 'I wanna be a CEO,' you know. And 'I wanna start my own business in shoe cleaning,' like you're hearing that type of conversation from guys who are just, 'Oh yeah, I think I can be better. But I'm at the grind everyday'. So that possibility, once we get that possibility, then we're on them. And we're, 'Okay cool, so now you want to be a CEO, what's the plan, let's do it'.

A sense of possibility and worth was about young people knowing themselves and valuing themselves enough to voice and pursue their dreams. Self-worth was about a mindset shift, from young people accepting paths that they thought were laid out for them, to defining new paths, linking strongly to hope and future focus. All young people in this programme talked about seeing a bigger future for themselves and not staying in situations that make them unhappy:

P1205, young person: You don't want to be stuck somewhere really unhappy. Better to go while you're young and find somewhere you'll be happy, where you can grow.

The way all young people in this programme talked about finding good opportunities and developing themselves highlights how they saw themselves as valuable and worthy of these opportunities. For a number of study participants, self-worth was seen as synonymous with confidence. Confident young people were those who believed in and had faith in themselves, saw that they were valuable, and were not afraid to express themselves in a range of contexts. This similarity between self-worth and confidence is exemplified by a young person in the programme who was able to speak up about a workplace accident:

P1202, young person: *You've got to just back yourself. 'Cause I broke my finger in [location] and there was a meeting, like a big brief and the whole company was there. I had to get up in front of everyone and just talk about the seriousness of my injury. I didn't want to, and I told them 'Nah, I don't want to do it'. And it was funny a couple of days later we had a course on the [programme] there was a class on, and I went and then I realised if I'm just gonna sit in here and not talk at the brief, this is just a waste of time, so I just contacted [name] and said, 'Oh yeah I'll do it'. At least if I say something I can like help everyone else from my experience.*

In this instance, the young person saw themselves as valuable enough to be able to offer something to others, exemplifying links between the outcomes of self-worth and giving back. The idea of valuing oneself as a means to better support others made sense to a lot of the young people in this programme, possibly because it fits with collective cultural values of service (Mafile'o, 2019) and acted as a motivator to enhance self-worth:

P1203, young person: *Like, you feel selfish like when you say, 'Me, me, me, number one'. But it wasn't to that, like he didn't say like 'Oh be selfish' like, you know, but just 'Take care of yourself, like look after yourself and then you can look after other people'.*

In the indigenous values-based leadership programme self-worth, cultural identity, and values were all linked. By prioritising the idea of mana enhancement of self and others, young people learned to care for and value themselves. As they learned about who they were and valued their cultural identity and themselves, they could act in values-based ways which further enhanced their growth and benefitted those around them. Through explicit use of values and culture, the programme positively linked cultural identity to young people's daily lives and help them bridge multiple identity domains.

7.3.3.3 Self-Expression as an Outcome and a Process

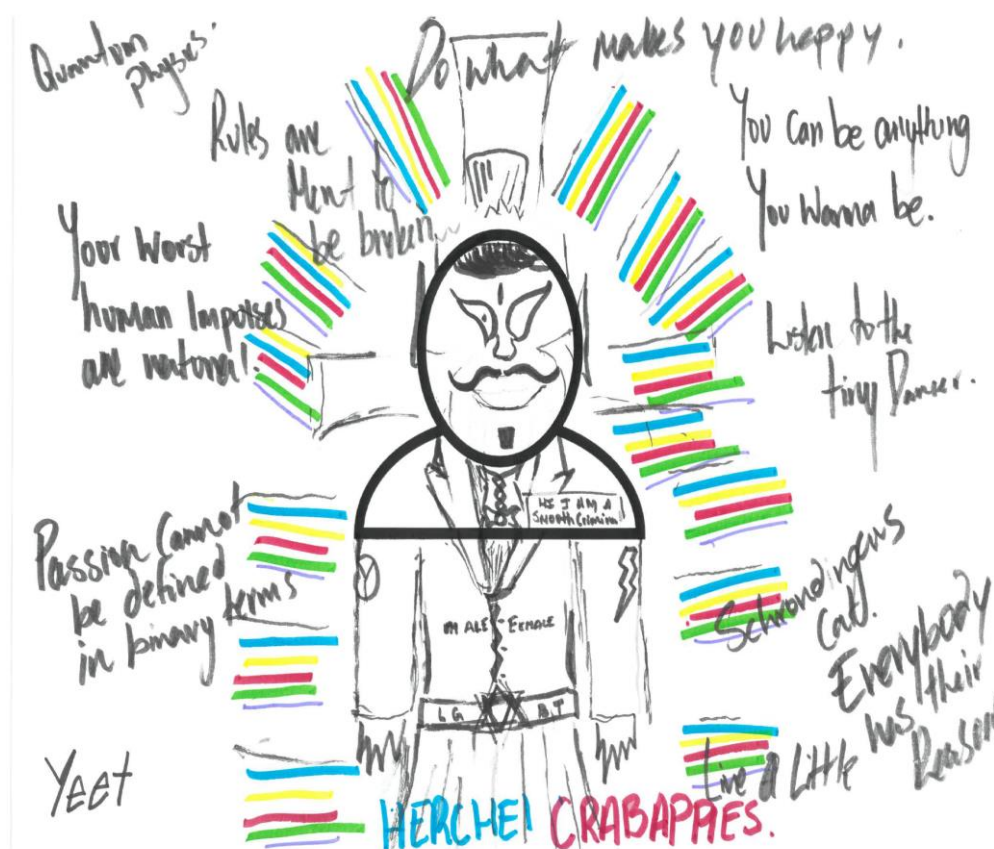
The final vignette of positive identity comes from a uniformed youth development organisation. This story highlights how the ability to express oneself was both an outcome and a central part of the programme process of an Accepting Atmosphere. Self-expression is an outcome because young people grew their ability to be themselves. It was also a feature of the programme process of an Accepting Atmosphere because the programme was a space that invited and accepted self-expression, which was key to having a positive experience, developing confidence, and feeling valuable.

The young people in this uniformed youth development organisation had been together for a long

time. They met weekly to learn skills and were self-led in their planning of activities. At the same time, the leaders were highly engaged in the relational processes of the group and creating a youth-centric and accepting environment. This group appeared to have incredibly strong bonds, evidenced by the amount of laughter and in-jokes in the session. The expression of self as a key outcome and part of the programme experience was highlighted in the following drawing, Figure 7.6, and the discussion that followed.

Figure 7.6

Being Whatever He Wants to Be (P62FG)



P62FG: So, I made this, this is Herchel Crabapples.

JM: Beautiful, love the name.

P62FG: So, I kind of just started off with literally just making him whatever he wants to be, and I realised that's like the biggest thing about [programme], 'cause this is like based upon our group and a lot of other groups that I've seen, well not a lot, but other groups that I've

seen and basically, so it's like you can be anything you want to be. You can listen to Tiny Dancer²⁶, Schrodinger's cat²⁷. Everybody has their own reasons, The Littles²⁸, Yeet²⁹. So basically, this person he's both Jewish and Christian at the same time I guess because religion is just a hodgepodge in this group. He's like half of him's male and the other half's female and there's like this crack in between, which kind of just shows that, it shows something, war and peace. He's got a bow tie and a tie 'cause he can't make up his mind. P6FG: He's two faced! P6FG: This is perfect! P6FG: He's got a beard, a moustache and he's also got lipstick and lips, I should have given him ... P6FG: Literally the only thing I want to change is by making him a Pastafarian. P6FG: Yes! He has a crown, but he also has whatever that is, like a bun thing. Um, he's just a whole bunch of things, because he can. JM: And it's all okay. P6FG: Yeah, and he has the opportunity to show it, which is this rainbow, which is like 'I'm here. Hello!'

The excerpt shows a number of important things that exemplify self-expression as both an outcome and a part of the programme. Firstly, self-expression was seen as one of the key gains from the programme, that it taught young people they could be anything they wanted to be. The character that the young person presented was able to express a range of different parts of self, without having to necessarily be fixed about any of them, highlighting a freedom to explore and express identity and the freedom not to know. This sense of freedom to express oneself linked to the outcomes of agency and the ability to choose how to be also highlights how self-expression was very much linked to the experience of the programme. The programme provided a Youth-Centric Space that valued and took young people's expression seriously and was flexible enough to respond to that expression.

The character in the drawing expressed all of these things because he could; showing a level of confidence in expression. For many participants confidence was strongly linked with self-expression because confident young people felt free to express themselves. The uniformed youth development group went on to describe confidence as not being afraid to do foolish things in front of others, such

²⁶ A song by Elton John

²⁷ A thought experiment used to describe an idea in quantum physics

²⁸ A book by John Peterson and an animated TV series from the 1980s

²⁹ Yeet is an exclamation of something being funny or exciting (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.)

as all trying to pile into a phone booth. As in the first vignette, it appears that a positive experience of self-expression in the programme supported young people to take this expression elsewhere, where it was described as confidence by being visible in different situations.

All of these aspects of self were welcome and valid in the group, supported by another group member's exclamation that this was 'perfect'. These comments demonstrate how an Accepting Atmosphere provided recognition and positive acknowledgement of self-expression, and thus the ability to be oneself was both an outcome and a feature of the group, that was supported through deep connections. For this group, rainbows were a key feature of all drawings and, while not discussed overtly, it was clear that group members had been able to explore and discuss their sexuality and were able to express this aspect of their identities. Further evidence of being oneself as a key programme process was observed through the group's use of in-jokes, discussions of physics, and even breaking into song at one point in the focus group. The young people clearly felt safe to be fully themselves and confident to steer the focus group, also evidence of agency.

Self-expression was also supported by the programme process of Leader/Adult Behaviours. Staff from this programme discussed how they prioritised self-exploration and expression through being open and relatable. This sent messages to young people that all aspects of themselves were welcome in the group:

P6208, staff: We're both open. We're both open in a way that I think a lot of them haven't met adults, no, they've probably met these adults, but I don't think these adults have ever been open with them and then open to talking with them about sexuality, gender, religion, spirituality, all these things their parents may not feel comfortable talking to them, because for a lot of them, this is the first. They forget this is the first time their parents have dealt with having kids at that age. I've been dealing with kids at that age for 25 years.

Staff also described how they were flexible and able to adapt their approach, and sometimes the whole programme, around the different experiences of young people or different groups. The combination of their active shaping of the group through focusing on being relatable to young people, combined with their flexibility and tailoring of the programme, again show the ways leader behaviours could be instrumental in young people's experiences by both setting the group culture and responding to young people's needs.

Being able to be oneself was a key feature of programmes that made them places that young people wanted to be. Being able to be oneself and express all aspects of self was an experience that was highly valued by young people and was discussed as an important gain from programmes, likely

because it was not experienced elsewhere. The function of self-expression as both an outcome and a process highlights the relational nature of a positive identity. Self-expression occurs in the context of relationships that encourage and welcome it.

7.3.4 Summary: Relational Outcomes

This section outlined the final group of outcomes termed Relational Outcomes. These outcomes were relational because they appeared to be intertwined with relational experiences in the programme. Relational Outcomes linked most strongly to all other outcomes. These outcomes and their links were described through discussion of programmes and quotations and in the case of positive identity through larger vignettes, which served to show the way this outcome was woven through programmes.

7.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the nine key outcomes grouped under the themes of Behavioural Outcomes, Internal Outcomes, and Relational Outcomes. It has used descriptions and quotations which highlighted typical responses and relevant differences. The chapter outlined how programme outcomes are perceived in the local context, including the ways outcomes were inter-related with each other and programme processes. These links show the complex and contingent nature of programme outcomes. The following chapter will draw these ideas and the findings together, by providing a summary of the nine outcomes. This will be used to answer the first two research questions which address the perception of outcomes in programmes and the similarities and differences in this perception.

Chapter 8: The Findings and the First Two Research Questions

Chapters Six and Seven situated the study's findings in a conceptual framework that described the three programme processes and the nine outcomes identified through the inductive analysis. Outcomes were organised under three key themes of Behavioural Outcomes, Internal Outcomes, and Relational Outcomes. Chapter Eight draws on those descriptions to summarise the findings. In doing so, it answers the first two research questions which are:

How are outcomes defined and understood, experienced, operationalised, and prioritised by young people and those who work with them in a range of PYD contexts?

What are the similarities and differences in how outcomes are perceived in these settings?

These questions are answered based on the inductive indexing and charting processes of framework analysis that focused on how participants perceived and understood outcomes. Answering the first two research questions as part of the findings, rather than in the discussion chapters maintains their relationship to the data and provides clearer separation from data driven and theory driven analysis processes. The second two research questions will be addressed in the discussion chapters.

8.1 How Were Outcomes Defined, Understood, and Experienced?

Participants' perceptions of outcomes were identified in the data. Their descriptions of what outcomes were, their relationship to the programme, and their value to young people, helped to understand how they were defined, understood, and experienced. These perceptions are summarised below in relation to each outcome group.

8.1.1 Behavioural Outcomes

Behavioural Outcomes included skills, achievement, giving back, and agency and were tangible benefits observed by young people and those around them. Skills were frequently discussed and developed in all programmes. Skills included those related to tasks, leadership, people and personal skills. All skills were seen as highly transferrable to study, work, and relationships, both in the present and for the future. They helped young people feel useful and impactful.

Achievement related to young people's completion of tasks and setting and meeting goals. Future achievement was also observed by staff, such as gaining employment. Celebration helped young people recognise achievements for themselves and showed them they were valued.

Giving back involved young people's help and support of others and contribution to programmes organisations, communities, and family/whānau. Giving back helped young people to see that they had an important role to play in the present and in the future and could be valuable members of society.

Agency related to the opportunities young people had to be influencers and decision makers in their own lives and in the community. Agency was discussed as being independent, having a voice, and making change. Agency also had an internal component through the value felt in having something to offer. Agency helped young people to see the impact of their actions on others. This helped them to feel useful in the present and ready for the future, particularly when their actions were valued by others.

8.1.2 Internal Outcomes

This group of outcomes included positive affect, future focus, and confidence. These outcomes related largely to feelings and beliefs that young people developed throughout programmes.

Confidence related to self-belief about one's abilities and reduced fear about other's opinions. This was distinguished from cockiness, which was seen as bravado. Whilst these were internal components, confidence was also expressed behaviourally through body language and the ability to speak up, interact with others, and try new things. Confident young people were described as those who were willing to put themselves into new and uncertain situations, particularly socially.

Future focus related to the ways programmes helped young people feel prepared for and hopeful about the future. Programmes were perceived as assisting young people in future study, work, and relationships, particularly through task-based experiences and people skills. Young people reported some anxiety about being ready for a future they could not always see clearly, compounded by the recognition that that they were entering a competitive and challenging adult world. Young people and staff saw that skills from programmes could provide them with an edge in order to access resources and opportunities. It may be these anxieties that propelled young people to navigate to programmes in the first place.

Hope was a more abstract concept related to a positive view about the future and one's possibilities in general. Hope was discussed more in-depth in programmes where young people identified facing adversity, such as discrimination about gender or disability or in programmes in lower SES communities. A hopeful future outlook could provide a positive vision and allay anxiety about the future.

Positive affect included feelings of pride, fun, and happiness which highlighted the emotional value of programmes for young people. Fun could act as a motivator to continue in programmes and was an important outcome in and of itself because it helped young people to enjoy being young. Pride helped young people to see their value and envisage success. In this way, pride directly linked to positive identity and future focus. Pride also included cultural pride, highlighting how programmes could support a positive cultural identity, when this expression was encouraged. Happiness acted more as an end-point or a feeling that signalled the presence of a number of other outcomes, for example confidence and achievement. Happiness was an important indicator that other outcomes had occurred.

8.1.3 Relational Outcomes

This group of outcomes included connection and positive identity. Relational Outcomes were intertwined with the relational experience of the programme through links with all three key programme processes of a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours. In addition, these outcomes linked to all other outcomes in the study in bi-directional ways, where they both supported other outcomes to occur and were supported by them. Connection and positive identity appeared to be key outcomes but, in some instances, were also key parts of programmes that made them valuable to young people.

Connection occurred in five domains: with peers, community and organisations, adults/leaders, and family/whānau. Connection was also discussed in relation to belonging. Peer connections appeared most salient to young people and provided a space to learn, reflect, and feel supported. The nature of these connections as supportive and non-judgemental was often what made them valuable and acted as a programme feature. The fact that peer connections were so important to the functioning of programmes highlights young people's active role in creating and enhancing the programme experience. Leader behaviours were also key to young people's experience of programmes through their relatability, support, and role modelling. Young people gained these new relationships with leaders but the nature of them was important to the programme's functioning and the development of other outcomes.

Positive identity included self-exploration, self-expression, cultural identity, self-worth, and values and attitudes development. Young people enhanced their sense of who they were by exploring interests and passions and having opportunities to express their personalities and try new ways to be. They reflected on and enhanced the values and attitudes that were important to them and developed their sense of value and worth through activities that were positively recognised by others. The ability to express oneself was also a key programme process; being able to be

completely oneself and be accepted for this represented a novel environment that was conducive to learning and development.

8.2 How were outcomes operationalised and prioritised?

8.2.1 Operationalisation

Data showed how outcomes were often operationalised through complex, bi-directional, and contingent interactions. Outcomes could build on each other and the presence of some outcomes helped others to develop. The three programme processes of a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours also linked with outcomes. The way data suggested each group of outcomes occurred is summarised below and Appendix G shows links between outcomes and between outcomes and processes through a table of coding overlaps.

8.2.1.1 Behavioural Outcomes

Programme activities and structures played a key role in supporting Behavioural Outcomes. Task skills often related to the provision of a Youth-Centric Space, particularly relevant activities, such as learning parenting skills in the young mum's programme. Some skills served different functions depending on their place in the programme. For example, leadership was a way to build confidence, or resulted from confidence depending on whether it occurred early or later in the programme. Relevant programme activities and structures supported agency, achievement, and giving back by providing opportunities for young people to practice independence, have a voice, achieve tasks, be celebrated, and give back to others. Giving young people opportunities to lead and valuing their contributions, both part of a Youth-Centric Space, helped to develop agency because young people could see that they could effect change and had something to offer others. Other aspects of a Youth-Centric Space, including being flexible and tailored, and different to school, helped skills and agency to develop because they offered novel opportunities in ways that matched young people's needs and interests.

Behavioural Outcomes showed bi-directional relationships with other outcomes. For example, people skills were developed through connections with others but having people skills helped young people to develop deeper connections and navigate conflict in the programme and beyond. A bi-directional relationship was observed with confidence, where skills, achievement, and opportunities to give back and have agency helped young people to feel confident and able to do more. Confidence also helped young people to develop leadership skills and be willing to take on roles in the community. Similarly, experiences of independence and challenging stereotypes helped young

people to develop self-worth and a positive identity, whilst equally knowing and valuing oneself helped young people to use their voice and exercise agency.

8.2.1.2 Internal Outcomes

Internal Outcomes appeared to develop in conjunction with other outcomes. Positive affect and future focus were enhanced through skills which helped young people to feel good and prepared for the future. Positive affect was also linked with connection because connections helped youth to feel happy and made things fun. Confidence was supported through connections which helped young people to feel able to interact and speak with others. Positive identity also linked with all Internal Outcomes because being able to know, express, and value oneself helped young people to feel positive, prepared for the future, and act with more certainty.

The programme process of a Youth-Centric Space, including relevant activities and being tailored and flexible to young people's needs, linked to positive affect and future focus. Relevant activities created opportunities to have fun and for achievement to be recognised. A flexible and tailored environment helped young people to gain needed skills and fostered future focus by offering different ways to engage and learn. Skills, relationships, and agency helped hope to develop by allowing young people to see themselves as more than they did when they entered the programme.

Confidence development was linked to connection and an Accepting Atmosphere because engaging with others and feeling accepted and liked by them helped young people to believe in themselves and reduced their worries about others' opinions which helped them to act more freely.

Experiences of confidence also built on each other; for example, feeling confident in the programme could enhance confident behaviours outside, whilst interacting confidently with others could enhance self-belief.

8.2.1.3 Relational Outcomes

Both connection and positive identity linked with all outcomes in the study, often bi-directionally. Connection, in particular, acted as a vehicle for other outcomes to develop, such as skills, giving back, agency, and confidence because young people learned and acted in relationship with others; and, equally, when these other outcomes were present, deeper connections could form. Many outcomes supported positive identity. Behavioural Outcomes especially provided the experiences that helped young people to explore, express, and value themselves and enhance their own values and attitudes; while Internal Outcomes, such as pride and happiness, were linked with self-worth. Confidence was often seen as synonymous with self-expression and self-worth.

Connection and positive identity were supported by all three programme processes. A Youth-Centric Space that was relevant, accessible, flexible and valued young people helped connections to form in a range of places and provided environments where young people could learn about and express themselves, feel valued, and reflect. This was often seen as different from school, which was perceived as judgemental by some participants and restricted self-exploration, expression, and the ability to form deep connections.

An Accepting Atmosphere was key in supporting both connection and positive identity. Knowing that the group was a safe space where others were supportive and kind and were there for the same reasons helped young people to open up and share themselves with others. This helped to form strong bonds and let young people know that they could explore and express themselves. At the same time, supportive connections and the ability to be oneself were key parts of an Accepting Atmosphere because it was these features that made the environment feel safe and welcoming. As such, aspects of connection and positive identity could function as outcomes and processes depending on the setting. Feeling connected and able to be oneself were key gains from programmes and helped make them work well. Supportive relationships with leaders/adults could also function similarly in that young people gained these new relationships, whilst having these connections in the programme were important to develop self-expression, self-worth, and enhance values development through role modelling and support.

Leader/Adult Behaviours played a role in connections and positive identity because leaders set the relational tone of the programme which was then adopted and adapted by young people. Leaders helped connections to form by being relatable and supportive and, in doing so, were key conduits to helping young people form connections in the wider organisation and community. Role modelling and support from leaders could be key in developing positive identity because role modelling offered choices about how to be whilst support helped young people to know they were accepted and valued no matter what.

Programme processes often described relational features, such as being supportive, safe, allowing young people to be themselves, leader role modelling and friendliness, taking young people seriously and being flexible. These all relate to interactions between people. The fact that these relational features so strongly linked with positive identity and connection shows how these outcomes occur in relational contexts.

Connection and positive identity also influenced each other, and again these could be bi-directional relationships. Connections, particularly peer connections, were a key vehicle for young people to

explore and express and value themselves. Young people who viewed themselves positively could form more healthy connections with others.

The bi-directional relationships between outcomes shown throughout the findings suggest that the way outcomes occur in these programmes may not be simply shown as a result of inputs and outputs; rather, is nuanced and contingent. In addition, the findings signposted that recognition from others is important to a number of outcomes, such as achievement, agency, and pride. Seeing others acknowledge gains helped young people to see them for themselves. Recognition from others, in the form of an Accepting Atmosphere, also seemed key in helping young people to develop strong connections and a positive identity.

8.2.2 Prioritisation

The prioritisation of outcomes can be inferred from the frequency with which participants discussed outcomes and their value, and two questions in focus groups and interviews related to the prevalence and importance of outcomes. Alignment between what was frequently discussed and what was seen as prevalent and important suggests that there are common outcomes across a range of programmes, and that these particular outcomes may be seen as priorities by some participants.

The outcomes most discussed by participants were skills, confidence, connection, and positive identity. When participants were asked which outcomes occurred most frequently, nearly half identified aspects of these four outcomes, often listing several and noting how outcomes fed into each-other. The other half identified that it depended on the young person, which is discussed further below. When asked which outcomes were most important, responses highlighted aspects of connection, confidence, skills, and positive identity. Agency was also identified in several responses as one of the most important outcomes, especially the ability to be heard and for young people to be able to voice their ideas and needs.

Young people also appeared to be influential in the operationalisation and prioritisation of outcomes through their choices to navigate to programmes and the ways they could shape the programme experience for each other by developing and upholding an Accepting Atmosphere and shaping values. Difference in some outcomes also suggested that young people were able to use programmes to meet various needs. Consider the example of those young people who used people skills to learn how to make friends, and those who used them to navigate conflict and difference.

Some participants identified that young people mediated what outcomes were achieved depending on what they needed and their level of engagement. These views were also expressed in the question about which outcomes were most frequently occurring, where approximately half of

participants did not feel that any outcomes were more prevalent than others because it depended on each young person. Comments from a community-based youth leadership programme that creates events for-youth-by-youth provide an example, where different young people highlighted how they had gained things that had matched their needs. For example, one participant identified belonging as their key focus:

P32FG, young person: *[Programme] is more of a home than home is, and [Programme] is something to look forward to every Wednesday.*

Another focused on people skills and learning to read others:

P32FG, young person: *Like understanding what they're feeling really helps me to be confident, because I know what I'm going to say isn't going to hurt them in any way.*

Whilst another spoke about preparation for the future:

P32FG, young person: *I feel like it helps you once you grow up as an adult, you make less mistakes because you're experienced from it.*

Woven through these quotes were common discussions of task skills, confidence, and connection, but it appeared that participants were able to meet individual needs and some of the more common outcomes of confidence, connection, skills, and positive identity in different ways. Both the group and the leader reflected on this ability to flex and adapt to different needs:

P32FG, young person: *I think it varies for the kind of person, the way they get the confidence, and they can be a different kind of confidence whether it's in speaking or just like knowing things.*

P3001, staff: *The way that we kind of look at it that each young person comes in with their own goals and their own objectives. Often we ask them what those are and kind of help them grow throughout the year throughout the time that they're with us.*

Outcomes appear to be influenced by the interaction between young people and their motivations, goals, needs, and values; and the programme and the way it is able to recognise and respond to these. Prioritisation of outcomes may come from both young people and programmes. What is prioritised by each may overlap or differ but it appears that young people are able to navigate to and use programmes to meet their needs. Young people's role in shaping programmes, the way programmes recognise young people's needs and capabilities, and the interaction between young people and programmes to facilitate outcomes may all represent causal mechanisms and will be discussed further in Chapter Eleven.

8.3 Similarities and Differences in Perception

Each participant had unique experiences, yet, similarities were evident between programmes in the ways data were able to be grouped into themes, the frequency with which different outcomes were discussed, and the recurrence of common ideas. In particular, discussions of confidence and positive identity were highly similar in different programmes. Skills, confidence, connection, and positive identity were discussed most often and, along with agency, were seen as important, suggesting that in particular these outcomes are common across programmes. Counts of codes which show the frequency of outcome discussions are included in Appendix G.

Young people and staff also appeared to share similar ideas, as reflected in quotations highlighted throughout the findings (e.g., discussions of giving back – pp. 132-133 and values and attitudes – pp.168-169). These similarities suggest a level of alignment between staff and young people. Staff may both influence young people through their role as leaders and reflect and respond to what is important to and needed by young people.

Young people and staff saw outcomes as valuable for the future and viewed programmes as providing preparation for adulthood. However, staff were more able to discuss concrete examples of future impacts and transition, likely because they had seen these from previous programme participants. Comparatively, young people expressed anxiety about being prepared for the future, highlighting a sense that they had skill gaps which they perceived programmes as filling.

Young people also tended to discuss their experiences of agency and achievement in the present, which may reflect their life experience and perspective. Young people's focus on the present may also highlight their desire to be valued as they are and that they see programmes as an important place to gain recognition. Young people were more likely to comment on fun and happiness than staff. Possibly staff were more concerned with programme delivery and longer-term outcomes and less focused on the value of positive emotions as outcomes.

Differences between groups of young people were largely seen where young people reported facing discrimination or adversity, including those of diverse sexualities and genders, those who experienced disabilities, and in groups from lower SES areas. These differences were seen in relation to future focus and agency, where these groups discussed aspects of having a voice and making change more in-depth than others. They also discussed hope more frequently. Possibly, these participants were more aware of stereotypes and discrimination and wanted to counteract these. Awareness of discrimination may also make the future feel more precarious, thus making hopes and dreams particularly important for envisioning a good future.

Differences were also seen in relation to people skills. Young people who self-identified as struggling socially described people skills as helping them to learn appropriate communication and build connections. Those who did not identify these struggles reflected on learning to work with others and navigate difference.

Some expected differences between age groups were noted. Older young people were more likely to be in work, living independently, or be parents. While this did not change the type of outcomes discussed (e.g., skills, agency, identity), it slanted the focus on topics relevant to their age, stage, and responsibilities, such as thinking about the impact of their experiences on their children or work. Programmes matched these stage differences by facilitating relevant skills and reflections, such as teaching budgeting skills or reflecting on parenting roles.

Some cultural differences were highlighted in the findings. Culture was discussed explicitly in programmes where leaders recognised the value of culture and invited these explorations. In these settings, young people were able to explore their cultural identity and feel proud about this. Staff who viewed outcomes through a Māori or Pacific cultural lens discussed the important role having a strong sense of cultural identity played in outcomes.

Programmes with high numbers of Pacific young people and the indigenous values-based leadership programme were also more likely to discuss the collective gain from programmes, such as the impact on whānau and future generations, the ways that young people could be role models in their whānau and communities and use their increased agency to help others. For some groups, programmes provided avenues to express agency in culturally appropriate ways, by speaking respectfully to and through correct channels with elders and those in authority. These differences could highlight how young people's own cultural values may impact their experiences and outcomes and how programmes can support outcomes in culturally relevant ways.

8.4 Chapter Summary

Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight have presented the findings in relation to the three super-ordinate outcome themes of Behavioural Outcomes, Internal Outcomes, and Relational Outcomes, and how they interacted with each other and the key programme processes of a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours. The findings have also addressed the first two research questions about the perceptions of outcomes and their similarities and differences.

The following three discussion chapters will analyse the findings. Chapter Nine will assess the nine outcomes in relation to PYD literature, Chapter Ten will answer the second two research questions related to the formation of an outcomes framework and the relevance of the Five Cs model. Chapter

Eleven will explore possible causal mechanisms of recognition, agency, and the interaction of young people and programmes.

Chapter 9: Outcomes and the Literature

Chapter Nine is the first of three discussion chapters. It considers how the nine key outcomes identified in the findings align with PYD literature and discusses the contribution this study makes to understanding PYD and programme outcomes in the local setting. These assessments provide a basis for Chapter Ten, which will answer the final two research questions regarding the possibility of an outcomes framework and the relevance of the Five Cs model to local programmes.

9.1 Links to Literature

The findings chapters identified nine key outcomes, grouped into three overarching themes: Behavioural Outcomes, Internal Outcomes, and Relational Outcomes. Three key programme processes that supported outcomes; a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours, were also described (Chapter Six). Table 9.1 shows where these nine outcomes overlap with international and local models of PYD, and with the local outcome studies identified in the literature review. These links are discussed and, where necessary, additional literature is used to further review the findings and their relevance to PYD and the local setting. Programme processes will be discussed in Chapter Ten.

Table 9.1 shows how the findings link to many outcomes identified in both local and international PYD models and local outcome studies. This suggests that the findings of this study are consistent with what is known about PYD at international and local levels. The similarity between the findings and the literature suggests that the nine outcome themes in this study represent both indicators of PYD and the outcomes common to a large number of PYD programmes. The following discussion reviews the outcomes identified in the findings and their connection with PYD models, local studies, and relevant literature.

Table 9.1

Outcome Link to PYD Models and Local Studies

Outcome	Sub-theme	<i>Eccles & Gootman (2002, pp. 6-7)</i>	<i>Catalano and Colleagues (Catalano, Berglund et al., 2002, Catalano et al., 2004, pp. 101-102)</i>	<i>Developmental Assets - internal assets (Benson et al., 2007, p. 907)</i>	Maia Model (Te Ora Hou, cited in Baxter et al., 2015, p. 168)	Mana Taiohi (Ara Taiohi, 2019)	Local Studies
Skills	Task skills People skills Leadership Personal skills	Knowledge of essential vocational skills Knowledge of essential life skills Rational habits of mind Critical thinking and reasoning skills Knowledge of skills needed to navigate through multiple cultural contexts Good emotional self-regulation skills Good coping skills Good conflict resolution skills Commitment to good use of time Ability to navigate multiple cultural contexts	Social competence Cognitive competence Behavioural competence Resilience Emotional competence	Interpersonal competence Cultural competence Peaceful conflict resolution Planning and decision making	Pūkengatanga – mastery/competence	Mauri Mātauranga	Task skills: Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Noonan et al., 2012; Mercier et al., 2019; Wheaton et al., 2017 Leadership skills: Collie, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Turner & Schroder, 2015, 2017 People and social skills: Chapman et al., 2017; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Hollis et al., 2011; Jones, 2018; Mercier et al., 2019; Noonan et al., 2012; Smit, 2016 Personal skills, such as self-management, emotion-regulation, and resilience: Deane et al., 2015; Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Mercier et al., 2019; Noonan et al., 2012; Smit, 2016; Wheaton et al., 2017 Broad skill development: Deane & Harré, 2014; Smith & Benseman, 2019; Turner et al., 2014

Outcome	Sub-theme	<i>Eccles & Gootman (2002, pp. 6-7)</i>	<i>Catalano and Colleagues (Catalano, Berglund et al., 2002, Catalano et al., 2004, pp. 101-102)</i>	<i>Developmental Assets - internal assets (Benson et al., 2007, p. 907)</i>	Maia Model (Te Ora Hou, cited in Baxter et al., 2015, p. 168)	Mana Taiohi (Ara Taiohi, 2019)	Local Studies
Achievement	Achievement Celebration	Mastery motivation and achievement motivation		Achievement motivation	Pūkengatanga – mastery/competence		Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Jones, 2018; Noonan et al., 2012; Turner & Schroder, 2015
Giving back	Helping and contributing Benefits to young people	Commitment to civic engagement			Ohaoha – generosity and contribution	Manaakitanga	Collie, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Hollis et al., 2015; Mercier et al., 2019; Noonan et al., 2012; Smith & Benseman, 2019
Agency	Independence Having a voice and making change Having something to offer	Sense of personal autonomy/responsibility for self Confidence in one's personal efficacy	Fosters self-determination Moral competence	Personal power Planning and decision making Equality and Social Justice	Mana Motuhake – independence and responsibility Whakamana/empowerment and participation	Mana Whai Wāhitanga	Independence: Deane & Harré, 2014; Dickinson & Joe, 2012 Autonomy: Fouche & Deane, 2015; Smit, 2014. Empowerment: Worley, 2015 Having value/influence: Collie, 2014, Deane et al., 2015
Confidence	Confidence as behaviour Confidence as belief	Confidence in one's personal efficacy	Fosters self-efficacy	Integrity – stands up for beliefs		Mauri	Self-efficacy: Chapman et al., 2017; Deane et al., 2017; Furness et al., 2017; Hunter et al., 2010; Noonan et al., 2012 Self-esteem: Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Grocott & Hunter, 2009; Hunter et al., 2013; Scarf et al., 2018 Confidence: Collie, 2014; Deane & Harré, 2014; Deane et al., 2015; Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Hollis et al., 2011; Jones, 2018; Mercier et al., 2019; Smit, 2016; Smith & Benseman, 2019; Turner et al., 2014; Worley, 2015

Outcome	Sub-theme	<i>Eccles & Gootman (2002, pp. 6-7)</i>	<i>Catalano and Colleagues (Catalano, Berglund et al., 2002, Catalano et al., 2004, pp. 101-102)</i>	<i>Developmental Assets - internal assets (Benson et al., 2007, p. 907)</i>	Maia Model (Te Ora Hou, cited in Baxter et al., 2015, p. 168)	Mana Taiohi (Ara Taiohi, 2019)	Local Studies
Future focus	Preparation for the future Hope	Planfulness -planning for the future and future life events Optimism coupled with realism	Fosters belief in the future	Positive view of personal future	Whakatakato tikanga/future planning - a community process in this model	Mātauranga Mauri	Future planning and direction: Deane & Harré, 2014; Dickinson & Joe, 2010 Career preparation and exposure to adult world: Collie, 2014 Questions related to future focus in their measures, but not identified as an outcome: O'Connor & Jose, 2010; Smith & Benseman, 2017 Hope: Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019
Positive affect	Fun Pride Happiness					Mauri	Pride: Jones, 2018; Mercier et al., 2019. Pride mentioned in youth comments by Collie, 2014; Smith & Benseman, 2019. Fun as an outcome: Deane et al., 2015; Smith et al., 2010. Fun as a programme process: Deane & Harré, 2014; Hollis et al., 2011; Noonan et al., 2012. Fun mentioned in young people's comments: Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Hemphill et al., 2019; Smit, 2016; Turner et al., 2014
Connection	Peers Belonging Community Organisation Adults/ Leaders	Connectedness Perceived good relationships and trust with parents, peers, and some other adults Sense of social place/integration	Promotes bonding	Bonding to school	Whānau – belonging/identity	Hononga Whakapapa Whanaunga-tanga	Peer connections: Chapman et al., 2017; Deane et al., 2017; Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Hemphill et al., 2019; Hollis et al., 2011; Jones, 2018; Mercier et al., 2019; Noonan et al., 2012; Smit, 2016; Smith, et al., 2010; Smith & Benseman 2019; Turner & Schroder, 2015, 2017; Turner et al., 2014; Wheaton et al., 2017

Outcome	Sub-theme	<i>Eccles & Gootman (2002, pp. 6-7)</i>	<i>Catalano and Colleagues (Catalano, Berglund et al., 2002, Catalano et al., 2004, pp. 101-102)</i>	<i>Developmental Assets - internal assets (Benson et al., 2007, p. 907)</i>	Maia Model (Te Ora Hou, cited in Baxter et al., 2015, p. 168)	Mana Taiohi (Ara Taiohi, 2019)	Local Studies
Connection	Family/Whānau	Being connected and valued by larger social networks Attachment to prosocial /conventional institutions, such as school, church, non-school youth programmes					Community connection: Chapman et al., 2017; Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Mercier et al., 2019; Noonan et al., 2012; O'Connor & Jose, 2012; Smit, 2016; Smith & Benseman, 2019; Turner & Schroder, 2015 Adult/leader connection: Fouche & Deane 2015; Hemphill et al., 2019; Mercier et al., 2019; Smit, 2014; Smith & Benseman, 2019; Turner & Schroder, 2015, 2017; Turner et al., 2014 Three studies identified general connectedness as a programme outcome: Collie, 2014; Deane & Harré, 2014; O'Connor & Jose, 2012 Connection to family/whānau: Mercier et al., 2019; Smith & Benseman, 2019 Connection as an outcome and process: Chapman et al., 2017; Deane & Harré, 2014; Dickinson & Joe, 2010; Hemphill et al., 2019; Hollis et al., 2011; Mercier et al., 2019; Smit, 2016; Turner et al., 2014 Connection as a process only: These studies looked at the role of group connection and belonging on outcomes in sailing adventure programmes Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Hunter et al., 2013; Scarf et al., 2018

Outcome	Sub-theme	<i>Eccles & Gootman (2002, pp. 6-7)</i>	<i>Catalano and Colleagues (Catalano, Berglund et al., 2002, Catalano et al., 2004, pp. 101-102)</i>	<i>Developmental Assets - internal assets (Benson et al., 2007, p. 907)</i>	Maia Model (Te Ora Hou, cited in Baxter et al., 2015, p. 168)	Mana Taiohi (Ara Taiohi, 2019)	Local Studies
Positive identity	Identity exploration Identity expression Cultural identity Self-worth Values and attitudes development	Good mental health including positive self-regard Mastery motivation and achievement motivation Coherent and positive personal and social identity Prosocial and culturally sensitive values Spirituality or a sense of a “larger” purpose in life Strong moral character	Fosters clear and positive identity Moral competence Fosters spirituality	Self-esteem Sense of purpose Achievement motivation Commitment to learning Caring Responsibility	Whānau – belonging/identity Whakapumau tikanga/cultural integrity and pupuri	Mauri Whakapapa Te Ao Manaakitanga	Identity exploration and expression: Smith et al., 2010; Smit, 2016; Wheaton et al., 2017; Worley, 2015 Cultural identity, not identified as a specific outcome but discussed by: Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Hollis et al., 2011 Self-worth: Grocott & Hunter, 2010; Smit, 2016 Values and attitudes, including drive, motivation, and a positive outlook: Deane & Harré, 2014; Jones, 2018; Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Turner, Schroder & McKay, 2014; Fouche & Deane, 2015; Mercier et al., 2019 Care, compassion, and a commitment to service: Collie, 2014; Hemphill et al., 2019; Mercier et al., 2019; Smith & Benseman; 2019 Other values including maturity, morality, integrity, responsibility, and honesty: Deane et al., 2015; Hemphill et al., 2019; Smit, 2016
Not discussed as an outcome		Physical development Good health habits In-depth knowledge of more than one culture	Provides opportunities for recognition Fosters pro-social norms	School engagement Homework Reading for Pleasure	Manaakitia/whānau care whaka-whanaunga-tanga/whānau consensus and cohesion		

Outcome	Sub-theme	<i>Eccles & Gootman (2002, pp. 6-7)</i>	<i>Catalano and Colleagues (Catalano, Berglund et al., 2002, Catalano et al., 2004, pp. 101-102)</i>	<i>Developmental Assets - internal assets (Benson et al., 2007, p. 907)</i>	Maia Model (Te Ora Hou, cited in Baxter et al., 2015, p. 168)	Mana Taiohi (Ara Taiohi, 2019)	Local Studies
Not discussed as an outcome		Good health risk management skills	Provides opportunities for pro-social involvement (These align more with programme processes)	Honesty Restraint Resistance skills	taonga/ resource management (These are seen to occur at community level)		

9.2 Skills

The data showed skills as a key outcome including: task skills, such as dancing and event management skills; leadership skills; people skills, such as making friends and navigating conflict; and personal skills including self-care, emotion regulation, and adaptability. People skills occurred most consistently across the different programmes. Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003a) similarly identified a strong focus on social competence in their review of the common features of PYD programmes. Competencies and skill development are present in all of the reviewed models in Table 9.1 with Eccles and Gootman (2002) providing the most detailed list.

The sub-themes within task, leadership, people, and personal skills are also seen in local outcome studies, particularly people and personal skills (see Table 9.1). The level to which skills feature in the findings, the reviewed models, and local studies suggests that a range of diverse skills are indeed key PYD programme outcomes.

9.2.1 The Value of Skills

The findings described the importance of skills to young people including: helping them to feel confident and valuable; supporting more satisfying relationships; and their transferability to future study and work. The value of skills, especially people and personal skills for employability, is supported in employment and education literature, where soft-skills, such as communication, teamwork, self-management, and leadership, are seen as key to gaining and sustaining employment in dynamic work contexts (Piercy & Steele, 2016; Zhao & Kularatne, 2020). These skills may be especially important in labour markets that are susceptible to rapid technical change or automation and are often lower paid (Piercy & Steel, 2016).

Skills also appeared to act as building blocks for other outcomes. For example, task skills helped young people to feel more confident (see p.124). These links are supported in the literature where, for example, mastery experiences lead to self-efficacy in various domains (Deane et al., 2017; Furness et al., 2017; Hunter et al., 2010; Jones, 2018; Zimmermann & Cleary, 2006). The role of skills as building blocks is also supported in the literature identifying the characteristics of effective PYD programmes (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Lerner, 2004; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003a).

9.2.2 Cultural Skills

Cultural skills, which include the ability to navigate different cultural contexts and confidently interact with different cultures (Benson et al., 2007; Eccles & Gootman, 2002) were not discussed in-depth in this study, but were mentioned in some programmes in relation to people skills. Inclusion of cultural skills in programmes may be important because the participants were culturally diverse.

Cultural competencies can help youth to feel positively about their own cultural identity, learn to interact with others, and recognise and address injustice (Richmond et al., 2018; Simpkins et al., 2017). As such explicit focus of these skills in programmes may be of value.

9.2.3 Additional Skills

Some skills identified in PYD models and local studies did not feature strongly in the findings, including those related to physical health/fitness and resistance/risk aversion skills (Catalano et al., 2004; Eccles & Gootman, 2002). Health related skills were mentioned in four programmes, and were coded under task skills, such as learning cooking; or personal skills related to self-care, including managing sleep and physical fitness. Other local studies have similarly identified physical skills and fitness as infrequent outcomes (Deane & Harré, 2014; Noonan et al., 2012; Smit, 2016). Programmes in this study did not actively combine prevention and promotion approaches so it is not surprising that skills to resist peer pressure and dangerous situations were not discussed.

9.2.4 Skills and Social and Emotional Learning (SEL)

The people and personal skills described in the findings overlap with SEL, which includes five core competencies of self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision making (Tolan et al., 2016). SEL has strong overlap with PYD (O'Toole et al., 2020; Tolan et al., 2016) and is important for wellbeing and school/career success, again highlighting the value of these types of skills for the future (MacFarlane et al., 2017; Taylor et al., 2017).

MacFarlane and colleagues (2017) identified SEL skills as particularly relevant for Māori youth when combined with cultural recognition as they reflect more traditional and relational learning methods. MacFarlane and colleagues used the concept of *manaakitanga* to describe a caring environment that is culturally safe, respectful, reciprocal, and individually responsive. These features were reflected in the data. For example, young people in the indigenous values-based programme were encouraged to learn self-awareness and self-management in an environment that was culturally responsive and relaxed (p. 112, pp. 115-116). More explicit linking of SEL to local PYD programmes may assist programmes to investigate the role of skills as a key outcome and incorporate more culturally-based elements into skill development.

9.2.5 Skills and Context

Study participants perceived programme learning environments and opportunities for skill development as unique and not always available elsewhere. This was either due to a Youth-Centric Space, which allowed young people to have greater responsibility and try new things; for example, the young people who were able to lead a camp for their peers (p.125) or because of an Accepting Atmosphere that supported young people to learn, practice, and make mistakes. For example,

programmes provided opportunities for those who may struggle socially to learn about friendship in a consistently supportive setting (p.127). Catalano and colleagues (2004) suggested that positive interaction opportunities were needed to develop interpersonal skills and social roles, whilst a meta study including 75 after-school programmes identified them as important places of social and personal skill development that could positively influence feelings, attitudes, behaviour, and school performance (Durlak et al., 2010). In this study, programmes that showed these gains were those that were SAFE—sequenced, active, focused and explicit; that is, they broke down skills into smaller parts, provided learning through doing, taught skills over time, and had clear expectations and goals. These elements were often present in the findings. For example, in a uniformed youth development organisation, youth practiced people skills repeatedly through team interactions and increased responsibility over time as they took on more leadership of self and others. These skills were made explicit by leaders who actively worked to foster strong relationships and self-management.

The findings about skills both support and add to the literature by showing the role local programmes play in skill development for young people and the value these skills have for them in terms of supporting other outcomes, such as confidence and preparation for the future. Despite differences in programmes and the characteristics of young people, the broad types of task, leadership, people and personal skills were common across the range of programmes studied, with people skills occurring most commonly. Because study participants identified programmes as unique contexts for skill development, local PYD programmes may provide useful exemplars of how SEL and other skills can be developed in different settings, such as schools.

9.3 Achievement

Achievement in this study referred to activity completion, post-programme achievements, and celebration. Achievement as an outcome is not noted in most of the models reviewed, except the Circle of Courage/Maia model where mastery includes the achievement of goals (Brendtro et al., 2005). Achievement is likely captured under skills and competencies in other models. For example, Catalano and colleagues (2004) included setting and achieving various goals under competencies. Achievement motivation—the desire to achieve—is noted in both Eccles and Gootman (2002) and Developmental Assets (Benson et al., 2007) models. In this study, the desire to achieve was coded under attitudes and values, part of positive identity, because it was about drive and attitude. A small number of local studies identified achievement as an outcome.

In some programmes, achievements were collective, where groups worked together to meet a shared aim with collective benefit, such as putting on an event for others. These opportunities may

be culturally relevant for Māori and Pacific youth where whakawhanaungatanga and collective action, collective responsibility, and service are culturally valued (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Toso, 2011).

The findings highlighted the importance of achievement recognition for young people. Recognition from others helped young people to recognise their own accomplishments. Both Eccles and Gootman (2002) and Mana Taiohi (Ara Taiohi, 2019) highlight the importance of young people being valued by others. Value and recognition appear to be key relational determinants of outcomes because they help young people to see their strengths. This will be discussed further in Chapter Eleven.

9.4 Giving Back

Chapter Seven showed how young people valued opportunities to help and contribute, which linked to a range of other outcomes, such as confidence and positive identity. Giving back is identified as a commitment to civic engagement by Eccles and Gootman (2002) and is referenced in local models in Table 9.1, under Ohaoha – generosity and contribution in the Maia model (Te Ora Hou, cited in Baxter et al., 2016) and Manaakitanga in Mana Taiohi (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Deane et al., 2020). The inclusion of aspects related to giving back in local models may reflect Te Ao Māori views of interconnectedness and reciprocity where one's identity and wellbeing are interwoven with that of others. Contributing to others is a part of maintaining self, whānau, and community (Eketone, 2013; Keelan, 2014; Ware, 2009).

Similar values of service are seen as important in Pacific cultures (Mafile'o, 2019; Samu, 2011; Toso, 2011). Thus, it may not be surprising to see giving back feature as an outcome in the study and may reflect the large number of Pacific participants in the sample. It may also highlight that young people navigate to programmes which provide opportunities that align with their values; for example, the young person who wanted to give others a different experience of transitioning to school by being a mentor (p.132). The opportunity to give back may be important to young people for countering negative stereotypes about youth or certain groups because they provide opportunities to be seen and valued by the community. Giving back was an important vehicle for agency; for example, the young person who wanted to change perceptions of youth by doing good in the community (pp.139-140).

Programmes may provide avenues for giving back that are not available elsewhere. Zaff and colleagues' (2011) analysis of civic engagement in the 4-H study noted that young people's sense of civic duty and efficacy grew over time. Whilst civic participation did not grow at the same rate as

civic efficacy, programme participation did enhance civic participation. This suggests that young people have interest in contributing but not always opportunities to do so. Programmes provide these opportunities. Programmes in this study met the Big Three (Lerner 2004), which includes opportunities for participation and leadership, and giving back appeared to be discussed more frequently when structured volunteering or contribution was included in activities. Six local studies identified giving back as an outcome (see Table 9.1) and these were also programmes which clearly included these opportunities.

These findings suggest some important points for programmes. First, giving back may be linked to conscious inclusion of relevant activities that provide these opportunities, and thus local programmes may consider how and when these can best be included. Second, these activities may provide key avenues for young people to enact their values and be seen as valuable. As such, it may be important for programmes to understand youth values, the local community, and how programme activities can enhance certain values and provide relevant contribution activities.

9.5 Agency

Agency relates to young people's ability to be influencers and decision makers in their own lives and in the community. Agency included behavioural components such as being independent and making change; and affective components through young people feeling they had something valuable to offer as a result of their independence and influence. All of the models in Table 9.1 show links to agency with terms such as autonomy (Eccles & Gootman, 2002), self-determination (Catalano et al., 2004), personal power (Benson et al., 2007), mana motuhake (Te Ora Hou, cited in Baxter et al., 2016), and mana (Ara Taiohi, 2019). Seven local studies referred to agency related outcomes, suggesting that agency may be an important theoretical construct but an under-explored outcome in local settings.

The findings showed how agency was linked to other outcomes, such as confidence, future focus, and positive identity. For example, the youth leadership and advisory group for organisations in the disability sector described a sense of power in their advisory role and the ways this role influenced their own beliefs about themselves, others' beliefs about them and the possibilities for themselves and other youth with disabilities in the future (pp.137-138). These links are discussed in the literature by linking agency with self-efficacy, positive identity, and hope.

9.5.1 Agency and Self-Efficacy

Agency is linked with self-efficacy because belief about ability is linked to actual ability and can determine agentic action (Sun & Shek, 2012; Zimmerman & Cleary, 2006). Equally, self-efficacy is

developed through mastery experiences and the ability to self-regulate in order to achieve desired goals (SOC behaviours) (Zimmermann & Cleary, 2006). Thus, agency and self-efficacy are mutually influential. For example, self-belief could fuel action, such as the young person from a youth voice group who described how self-belief led young people to stand up for what they believed in (p.143); whilst those from a faith-based youth group described how agentic experiences, such as volunteering, helped them to develop confidence, self-belief, and a sense of purpose (p.143). Local studies investigating self-efficacy, may implicitly consider agency to be part of these measures. For example, Deane et al., (2017) identified the theoretical links between self-efficacy and self-regulation.

9.5.2 Agency and Positive Identity

Agency is linked bi-directionally with positive identity. In the Developmental Assets Framework, a sense of personal control is part of positive identity (Benson et al., 2007). Agency can be seen as a pre-cursor to positive identity because self-exploration is a process of goal-directed action, requiring a level of self-determination (Schwartz et al., 2012). Agency also results from personal characteristics including self-esteem, life purpose, internal locus of control, and ego strength. These characteristics encourage agency because they support self-belief, goal setting, responsibility, and perseverance which are all critical to acting on the world (Cote, cited in Schwartz et al., 2012). These multi-level interactions were evident in the findings, such as the descriptions from a community-based leadership programme running events for-youth-by-youth, where young people feeling solid in their cultural identity formed a platform that enabled them to speak out (pp.135-136). Equally, seeing the ways they could influence and be of value helped young people see themselves as valuable (p.139).

9.5.3 Agency and Hope

The literature links agency bi-directionally with hope. Hope about a particular goal or outcome is driven by goals, planning, and agency (Sun & Shek, 2012); whilst hope fuels agency, because agentic actions require affective activation towards a goal and a positive view of the future (Nurmi, cited in Schmid et al., 2011). Again, this could be seen in the findings; for example, those in the youth leadership and advisory group for organisations in the disability sector hoped to change views of disability, whilst their experiences of agency helped them to feel more hopeful for their own and others' futures (p.138).

These bi-directional relationships were also enhanced through young people being seen as valuable by others. Positive recognition promotes agency and empowerment, and reinforces agentic behaviour (Law et al., 2012; Lerner et al., 2006), thus evidencing adaptive developmental regulation, where youth and context influence each other. In the findings, young people from the for-youth-by-

youth events programme recognised their ability to influence the world around them as they saw their efforts recognised, fuelling a sense of value; and the group described feeling welcomed in society and successful as a result of their efforts (p.139).

It appears that programmes are significant places for young people to exercise and enhance agency, which is important to many other outcomes, such as positive identity, hope, and confidence through bi-directional relationships. As such, agency is a key programme outcome and increased focus on how to support youth to build a sense of their own agency may be important for future local studies.

9.5.4 Agency and Context

Agency was supported in programmes by Youth-Centric Spaces that took young people seriously, provided opportunities for leadership, and offered flexibility in their approach. Again, this was different to other environments in young people's lives. For example, comments from staff in a community-based leadership programme running events for-youth-by-youth, discussed how the programme provided opportunities for young people to make change and use their voice in ways not otherwise available (pp.135-136). These experiences show how the environment can either enhance or constrain agency (Maynard & Stewart, 2017; Schwartz et al., 2012) and the ways programmes could be enhancing environments because they valued young people and provided new opportunities.

In this study, agency was often linked to giving back because it was through experiences of contributing to others that young people grew their independence and influence. This could then spur further giving back and contribution. As such, participants saw growing agency as an asset, one that could positively influence whānau, communities, and future generations. For example, young people in the indigenous-values-based leadership programme discussed how their enhanced ability to self-manage and make choices could enhance opportunities for their family/whānau. This is important because it highlights how agency is both an individual and collective asset that may be viewed differently by collective cultures (Schwartz et al., 2012). Connections in local models between mana and agency further highlight this collective view, where the ability to be self-determining as a group, or for the benefit of the group, is an expression of mana (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Ware, 2009). In this way, agency is related to definitions of Contribution in the Five Cs, which include having influence (Pittman et al., 2003) and making positive contributions to self, family, and community (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005).

The collective value of agency may be particularly important for Māori and Pacific youth where colonisation and/or dislocation from land and culture may limit more traditional forms of agency, such as holding responsibilities at the marae (Finlay-Robinson et al., 2019). The findings noted that

those who identified experiencing discrimination discussed in more detail the ability to challenge stereotypes and make change than other participants. This suggests that programmes are an important vehicle for providing these opportunities for agency that youth may otherwise not have.

Young people's use of agency for collective gain is an important finding from this study, as it suggests that local PYD programmes may have a broad community impact. Combined with opportunities for collective responsibility, collective achievement, and opportunities to serve and give back, the findings suggest programmes provide experiences that young people see as relevant to themselves and others. This mix of individual and collective value may help explain the high numbers of Pacific participants in the study. Programmes can provide activities that are interesting to young people and may align with collective values by helping to develop skills that have wider benefit, such as enhancing family/whānau through service and achievement which is seen as important in Pacific cultures (Samu, 2011; Tuagalu, 2008). For Pacific young people, a space outside of family/whānau, school, and other social structures may be important to express their ideas whilst adhering to cultural values related to respect of relationships and elders (Boon-Nanai et al., 2022; Ioane, 2017). However, because these are my reflections as a Pākehā researcher, greater culturally located understanding of the value of programmes to Pacific youth may be warranted. Siataga (2011) noted a lack of culturally oriented evaluation of programmes for Pacific youth.

9.6 Confidence

Nearly all participants discussed the Internal Outcome of confidence and analysis indicated it had both behavioural and internal components. Internally, confidence related to self-belief and self-worth such that young people could then perform behaviours like speaking up, communicating with others, helping others, being vulnerable, and displaying confident body language, all of which fuelled further self-belief. Confidence increased as young people built positive relationships with others, developed skills, and had opportunities for success and recognition.

9.6.1 Confidence and Self-Efficacy

In the models in Table 9.1, the word confidence is not frequently used. Eccles and Gootman (2002) and Catalano and colleagues (2004) referred to self-efficacy, which is about belief in one's ability to perform certain tasks, which may be seen as analogous to confidence. For example, Five Cs definitions describe confidence as global self-efficacy and self-worth (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011). A number of local studies have also measured self-efficacy increases from programme participation (see Table 9.1). For example, Deane and colleagues' (2017) study of the

Project K programme showed increases in participants' academic and social self-efficacy at the end of the programme and after one year, as compared to the control group.

Differences in terms such as self-efficacy and confidence may represent differences in language between young people and academics, and it is important to understand if they are perceived similarly. Discussions of confidence in the study related somewhat to self-efficacy, in that confident young people saw themselves as likely to be successful in other endeavours. This was particularly evident socially, where young people described confidence as being more outgoing and willing to engage in new situations with new people (pp.141-142). Self-efficacy is supported through mastery experiences (Deane et al., 2017; Furness et al., 2017; Hunter et al., 2010; Jones, 2018; Zimmermann & Cleary, 2006) and is a precursor to agency (Sun & Shek, 2012; Zimmerman & Cleary, 2006). The data support these ideas, where experiences of skills and success enhanced self-belief, which resulted in the ability to speak to others, stand up for beliefs, and express oneself in a range of settings. The fact that participants also discussed examples of behaviour resulting from feeling confident suggests that confidence may be about the interaction of belief (internal) and action (behavioural); thus, being broader than self-efficacy alone.

9.6.2 Cognitive, Affective, and Behavioural Components

A definition of confidence that captures these internal and behavioural components suggests that confidence includes cognitive, affective, and behavioural aspects (Uglanova, 2014). Cognitive aspects of confidence relate to self-perception and the accuracy of that perception. Affective components relate to a sense of control and value; and behavioural aspects refer to a readiness to engage in activities. Confidence can also be global or domain specific (Uglanova, 2014). These descriptors appear to match the perceptions of participants in the study. Many talked about cognitive domains through a belief in oneself and one's abilities, both globally and in specific areas. Participants addressed accuracy of capability perception by differentiating confidence from cockiness which was more about bravado. Confidence also linked to affective domains where young people felt efficacious and influential in their various contexts. Behavioural aspects were seen through young people's descriptions of speaking up, communicating with others, and being oneself. Recall, for example, the experiences of young people from the faith-based programme. Being in the group and volunteering in the community led to a belief in their skills to interact with and help others (cognitive) which helped the young people feel that they could positively impact others and helped them to develop a sense of purpose (affective). These internal experiences encouraged them to take more social risks, such as showing their vulnerability in the group or acting to empower others (behavioural) (pp.143-144). These experiences fuelled further self-belief, positive feelings, and confidence to engage in further activities which facilitated deeper relationships with others within

and beyond programmes. Thus, confidence linked strongly to connection, and, although supported by mastery experiences, confidence often occurred in relational contexts, such as interacting with or helping others, which supported young people to believe in themselves and behave more confidently.

9.6.3 Upward Spirals

Confidence seemed to create an upward spiral, where experiences that developed confidence led to a willingness to engage in other experiences, further developing confidence. This upward spiral links with 'Broaden and Build theories' in positive psychology. Here, positive affect and positive coping mutually influence each other and predict further positive affect and coping (Frederickson & Joiner, 2018). Mercier et al. (2019) described similar upward spirals in their study of an outdoor education programme for 11-13-year-olds where global confidence grew, often from repeated, smaller confidence building interactions. In a qualitative exploration of confidence using focus groups with 17- and 18-year-old leaders in Aotearoa, Fagan et al. (2012) described spiral like processes, where self-belief helped young people take advantage of new opportunities which bolstered confidence, described by participants as including a sense of self-belief and self-love. Programmes may enhance existing confidence and develop confidence in new areas and these spiral-like processes suggest relationships between confidence in certain domains, with a more global sense of confidence.

9.6.4 Confidence and Self-Worth

In addition to self-efficacy, which is related to particular situations, confidence is also linked to self-esteem, which is about one's overall sense of worth (Uglanova, 2015). Local studies also identify self-esteem as an outcome (see Table 9.1). Self-esteem may relate more to affective components of confidence, describing feelings about overall self-worth (Zimmermann & Cleary, 2006). Both self-esteem and self-efficacy may be part of the larger construct of self-concept, which relates to self-worth, competency, personal identity, and sense of self (Tsang, et al., 2012b; Zimmermann & Cleary, 2006).

Links between self-efficacy, self-worth, and self-confidence can help to understand why self-worth appeared to be both part of confidence and part of positive identity in the study. Self-worth linked to confidence because a global sense of belief and value could fuel confident action and experiences of confident action could help young people see themselves as valuable and worthy. For some, confidence led to self-worth; for others, confidence was an expression of self-worth. For example, in the young mum parenting and life skills support programme, increased confidence in parenting through new skills helped to enhance self-worth (p.124); whilst for a young person from the indigenous values-based leadership programme, self-worth led to the confidence to speak up about

a workplace accident (pp.171-172). This, again, highlights the affective, cognitive, and behavioural aspects of confidence, which may function in different ways for different young people. Some young people may prioritise behavioural elements of confidence, whilst others prioritise cognitive and/or affective components. Whilst local studies have looked at self-efficacy, self-esteem, or confidence more broadly, combinations of these constructs and the relationships between them are not well documented in local programme studies. It may be important to fully understand experiences of confidence development and the interaction of cognitive, affective, and behavioural components.

This study adds to current local studies looking at self-esteem, self-efficacy, and confidence in a number of ways. It confirms that confidence appears to be a key outcome in many local PYD programmes because it was discussed in all but two interviews and focus groups in this study. Second, it shows that perceptions of confidence in these programmes match with confidence definitions which link to both self-efficacy and self-esteem. This suggests that confidence may be an overarching construct encompassing these other outcomes and that it is a meaningful descriptor of these outcomes to young people and staff. Third, considering confidence as a broad outcome that contains behavioural, cognitive, and affective components (Uglanova, 2014) suggests important directions for future study. Finally, the fact that confidence is not referred to directly in a lot of PYD models may highlight differences between academic and youth and staff descriptions of some outcomes. Academic terms such as self-efficacy may not be used by young people and staff; and, importantly, the findings show how participant definitions of confidence were broader than self-efficacy alone.

9.7 Future Focus

Elements related to future focus—preparation for the future and hope—were discussed in the findings and are present, to some degree, in the outcome models reviewed, suggesting that readying young people for the future is an important part of PYD. It is also reflected in PYD literature which identifies preparation for and smooth transition to adulthood as a key goal (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Lerner et al., 2006; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b). Few of the local studies reviewed evidenced preparation for or hope about the future as outcomes (see Table 9.1). However, several local studies looked at the outcome of self-efficacy, and this is related to beliefs about future performance (Bandura, 1995). It may be that the presence of self-efficacy stands as a proxy for future preparation.

9.7.1 Preparation for the Future

The findings of this study highlighted that young people felt a level of anxiety about being prepared for the future. Programmes were seen as providing skills to allay this anxiety. Much of participants'

discussion about preparation for the future was related to future study and work, suggesting young people were aware of the potential precarity of employment. These worries may not be entirely unfounded; as Cochrane et al. (2017) described a growing group of 'The Precariat' in Aotearoa which dis-proportionately includes young people, Māori, and Pacific peoples. The Precariat comprises those who experience persistent employment insecurity, characterised by temporary, low-income work with little scope for career development (Standing, 2011).

Young people appeared to see programmes as important places to help them prepare for the future of work and potentially combat precarity, because they provided skills not seen as available elsewhere or available in a relevant way. For example, young people spoke about flexible, self-directed, and respectful learning environments within their descriptions of a Youth-Centric Space (pp.109-112). The combination of relevant skills delivered in a youth friendly way may act as a key motivator to attend programmes. The fact that only one local study referred to career preparation (Collie, 2014) suggests this may be an under-explored area that is valued by young people. Further investigation of local programmes' role in future work preparation may be warranted, particularly given that skills developed in programmes, including self-management and people-skills, overlap with SEL skills, which have been shown to impact academic and future success (McFarlane et al., 2017; Taylor et al., 2017).

9.7.2 Hope

The findings highlighted the relevance of hope as an outcome, especially for those who may face some struggle or marginalisation, such as those from lower SES areas. In the 4-H study, hopeful future expectations were a key predictor of PYD and a driver of goals and action (Schmid et al., 2011; Schmid Callina et al., 2015). Hope may be important for young people where certainty about the future feels more precarious. Programmes engendered hope because they offered new skills and opportunities for success that could present different options. For example, youth from programmes within the disability sector noted how programme experiences offered new possibilities for the future (p.147).

A local study investigating the experiences of Māori and non-Māori youth in a sailing adventure programme looked at hope. Here, positive outlook was an outcome which measured aspects of future and hope (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019). Hope and positive beliefs about the future may be an overlooked area in local youth development studies, but important because of links to both agency and PYD.

9.8 Positive Affect

Chapter Seven identified positive affect as an Internal Outcome including pride, fun, and happiness. Although positive affect was not frequently discussed, positive feelings were perceived as valuable by young people. The models in Table 9.1 do not explicitly highlight positive affect, but it is touched on in the Mana Taiohi model, under Mauri, where young people's passion and spark is encouraged and supported (Ara Taiohi, 2019). A small number of local outcome studies also refer to aspects related to pride, happiness, and fun; although fun is more frequently referred to as a programme process than an outcome in local studies.

9.8.1 Pride

Findings connected pride to achievement, completion of activities, and, for some, the ability to share and express their ethnic culture. Pride was often supported through recognition by others; especially leaders whose acknowledgement could help young people feel proud of their actions and see themselves positively, linking to self-worth. Cultural pride, in particular, was developed in settings where culture was welcomed and affirmed by leaders; for example, the young person who felt proud to share their culture through dance (pp.148-149) and the way the staff member highlighted the important role of the programme as a space of belonging for Māori and Pacific youth (p.159). This is supported in local literature for Māori youth; for example, Te Kete Whanaketanga Rangatahi (Simmonds et al., 2014) identifies cultural efficacy, including cultural pride, as a key indicator of positive development, and culturally supportive environments as key to developing this efficacy. The way culture was discussed explicitly by participants in programmes where leaders were aware of cultural difference and welcoming of cultural exploration suggests that the level to which culture, outside of Pākehā norms, is able to be explored and affirmed, is related to the level of confidence and motivation leaders have to engage with culture (Reihana-Morunga, 2020). Similarly, Hollis and colleagues (2011) noted that Māori participants in the Project K programme experienced some culturally mis-matched interactions with non-Māori leaders that they did not experience with Māori leaders. Richmond and colleagues (2018) suggested that leader professional development focused on cultural competence and cultural humility could assist leaders to incorporate relevant cultural content aligned with participant, family and community values. In programmes, the ability to give back and engage in activities that have collective value may reflect participant values; however, the fact that cultural pride did not appear as an outcome in all programmes, despite a culturally diverse sample, suggests that the explicit welcome and exploration of culture may be a gap in some programmes. Given the role that cultural pride can play in affirming identity and countering negative stereotypes (Spencer et al., 2012; Swanson et al., 2002; Webber & MacFarlane, 2020), enhancing the ability of programmes to positively explore and express culture is important.

9.8.2 Fun

The findings build on the role of fun in programmes by highlighting fun as an outcome as well as a programme process. Young people valued fun because it was an avenue for self-expression and acted as a guide for other experiences; it was, therefore, valuable by itself. Fun is linked to wellbeing in Aotearoa's Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy (O'Toole et al., 2019), suggesting that it is a valuable component for positive development. Only two local studies linked fun to outcomes (Deane et al., 2015; Smith et al., 2010). Participant quotes in other studies mentioned fun, but it was not identified as an outcome. Fun, as an outcome, may represent differences in how young people and evaluators/academics perceive programmes. For young people, fun may be a key gain and worthy of greater attention to explore its meaning and relevance as an outcome, particularly due to its role in wellbeing.

9.8.3 Happiness

Data showed how happiness was used by young people to signify their overall sense of change and development. It was also linked to positive identity because it related to feeling good about oneself. Happiness was not directly identified as an outcome in local studies, although Collie (2014) referred to 'warm fuzzies' from helping others, while young people in Turner and colleagues' (2014) study of 24/7 youth work identified feeling 'more happy' as a result of the programme. Like fun, happiness may be an under-explored programme outcome. Park (2004) described happiness as a key component of subjective wellbeing, mental health, and an indicator of PYD and PYD programme effectiveness. Positive emotions can enhance open-mindedness which can lead to further positive experiences and emotions (Park, 2004). Positive emotion can also motivate action (Schmid et al., 2011). These links were suggested in the quotation from a young person which discussed how experiences of happiness in the programme could help young people to increase their expectations for other areas of life (Introductory quotation, p.148).

Overall, positive affect may be an overlooked programme outcome. The findings showed that positive affect played an important role in young people's appraisal of their programme experience and acted as an important stepping-stone to or indicator of other outcomes. Because of this, positive affect could be explored further in future studies.

9.9 Connection

The findings identified connections in six different areas: peers, leaders/adults, community, organisation, family/whānau and belonging. Connection was a key outcome, evidenced by the regularity and depth with which it was discussed, and the variety of connections developed by young

people. Programmes facilitated new connections with peers, with other adults and the community and with leaders and organisations. These different connections could provide avenues of support, linking, and networks that could be useful to young people in offering help or facilitating opportunities such as employment.

Connection was categorised as a Relational Outcome because as well as gaining new relationships, connections were the relational glue that made programmes work well and facilitated a range of other outcomes. Connections were seen as key sources of learning, support, enjoyment, opportunity, confidence, and positive identity. For example, participants from a camp and leadership programme for young people from refugee backgrounds described how the connections they made were sources of skill, learning, fun, confidence, and support (pp.154-155); whilst for a young person from a creative arts programme, connection was a source of confidence and sense of self (pp.166-167).

All of these findings are supported in the literature. The centrality of connection as an outcome and its links to other outcomes is highlighted in the models in Table 9.1. Eccles and Gootman (2002) referred to social development including: connections with parents, peers, and other adults; attachment to institutions such as school, church, programmes and organisations; a sense of belonging; and being part of and valued by social networks. They described connections as important for skill building and success, self-regulation, confidence, mental health, and positive identity. Catalano and colleagues (2004) referred to bonding, which they linked to attachment behaviours and described the role of connection in building trust in self and others, thus linking connection with positive identity. Connections to peers, adults/leaders, and community also featured strongly in local studies, whilst some also identified connection as a programme process. Taken together, the findings of local studies and the findings of this study strongly support the role of PYD programmes in helping to generate connections for young people.

9.9.1 Connection and Te Ao Māori

Local models incorporating Te Ao Māori further enhance understanding of the role of connection in programmes. The Mana Taiohi framework (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Deane et al., 2019) and the Maia model (Te Ora Hou, cited in Baxter et al., 2016) both relate connection to whānau, ancestors, and place which are central to identity in Māori and Pacific worldviews (Borrell, 2005; Eketone, 2013; McFarlane, 2004; Tamasese, 2002; Toso, 2011; Tuagalu, 2008; Ware, 2009). Links between connection and identity fit with the findings of this study, where connection was central to a positive experience of self and could be broader than connections to people. Recall, for example, reflections

from a young person and staff member about the role of belonging and connection to peers and the organisation to a positive sense of self and wellbeing (pp.157-159).

Connection to a physical location may be important for Māori and Pacific youth if dislocated from ancestral lands. The Te Ao Māori concept of *turangawaewae*, and the corresponding Tongan concept of *tu'ungava'e*, highlight the relevance of place and space, where communities can create a sense of belonging when traditional markers of homeland are not present (Brown Pulu, 2002). In the current study, connection to the organisation represented a sense of home, community, and a place to return, either to contribute or access support. None of the local outcome studies reviewed identified connection to organisation, while one study referred to connection with nature as an outcome (Wheaton et al., 2017) and others looked at the role of belonging in mediating other outcomes (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Hunter et al., 2013; Scarf et al., 2018). The role of organisation connection may be important to the local setting and is an area for further exploration.

Whānau connection was not frequently discussed in the data and was only identified as an outcome in two of the reviewed local studies (Mercier et al., 2019; Smith & Benseman, 2019), with neither of these looking at broader links to whakapapa. Given the importance of family/whānau and ancestry to Māori and Pacific identity, it may be important for programmes to consider how to balance family/whānau with young people's needs for autonomy.

9.9.2 Programmes as Sites of Social Capital

Data showed that programmes facilitated connections that were not always available elsewhere, such as school. Supportive connections with peers and adults acted as an adjunct to family/whānau and were often described as family-like. Connections provided links to support and the wider community. In this way, programmes broadened access to networks and resources and created a range of different relationships that young people could use as they needed, acting as a vehicle for social capital, a programme role which may be under-explored (Scales et al., 2020).

Programmes could provide opportunities for bonding, bridging, and linking capital (Scales et al., 2020). For example, in a programme for diverse sexualities and genders providing peer support, bonding capital was provided through a link to a community of similar people to which young people did not always have access. This helped young people form a positive identity. Bridging capital, or resources and relationships from those who were different (Scales et al., 2020), was evident in connections with leaders, adults, and the organisation and could broaden young people's perspective and offer support. Young people were able to leverage these resources in other areas of their life, such as those who used the building as a space to study (pp.160-161). Links to leaders and

adults provided additional resources of information, skills, and other networks, thus offering linking capital through new connections.

Linking could place young people in the paths of community members with whom they would not otherwise connect, due to accessibility or power imbalances, such as community decision makers or police. Thus, as Barker and Thomson (2015) suggested, leaders could provide linking across power differentials. Young people reflected on how these new relational resources helped them to perceive themselves, their role, and the community differently; for example, the young person from a youth voice group who described themselves as 'levelled with decision makers' (Introductory quotation p. 133). For some, this opened up new possibilities for the future, especially for those potentially constrained by social systems, such as those who experienced disabilities. For others, these links created tangible benefits, such as job opportunities. Programmes leaders facilitated these links because they knew young people and were trusted by them (Barker & Thompson, 2015). Young people were also active in their development of social capital (Varga & Zaff, 2017) through their navigation to programmes, engagement in activities, and use of resources.

9.8.3 Connection as a Programme Process

The findings identified connection as a key feature of programmes, because connection was both something young people attained from programmes and an important part of the programme experience that facilitated other outcomes. For example, those from a leadership, skills development and mentoring programme for young women described how it was the supportive nature of connections, part of an Accepting Atmosphere, that helped young people to be themselves, and learn from each other (pp.156-157).

Viewing connection as an outcome and a process is inherent in PYD because an ecological view of development looks at the individual within the system of connections and contexts and the ways these influence each other (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007). The Lerner (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005, Lerner & Lerner, 2011) definition of Connection in the Five Cs emphasises bi-directional exchanges, with people and institutions, where both parties contribute. The idea of mutual contribution suggests that connection is, indeed, both an outcome and a process that can positively enhance all parties.

The role of connection as a programme process is also highlighted in models of effective programme components. Eccles and Gootman (2002) discussed supportive environments, opportunities to belong, and positive social norms, along with supportive relationships with adults and leaders. Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003a) outlined family-like, culturally inclusive spaces, and Lerner's Big Three (2004) referred to ongoing supportive relationships with adults. In local outcome studies,

connections were both an outcome and a process and the two may not always be distinguishable in young people's programme experiences. Recent local research has offered an operational definition of whanaungatanga as participation in and belonging to social groups, and includes reciprocal knowledge sharing, responsibility, caring, and planning (Greaves et al., 2021). This definition highlights a sense of connection as both a state and a process and may be useful for programme measurement. Investigating how programme processes and outcomes alternate and inter-relate would enable a fuller understanding of outcomes and how they are achieved.

This study enhances current literature by showing the role of programmes in facilitating a range of connections and highlighting the value of organisation connection and the ways this may be particularly valuable for Māori and Pacific youth. The findings show how programmes can provide social capital through links to peers, adults, and to networks and resources in the wider community. Finally, these findings help to describe the way connection functions as both an outcome and a process in the local setting.

9.10 Positive Identity

The final key outcome theme was positive identity. It was one of the largest outcome themes, was discussed frequently and in-depth, and linked to all other outcomes in the study. Positive identity was a Relational Outcome because it linked strongly to the experience of the programme and appeared relationally constructed, in that the ability to form a positive identity occurred within the context of relationships that were welcoming and supportive of these processes. Positive identity in this study related to five different elements, including self-exploration, self-expression, cultural-identity, self-worth, and values and attitudes development. Elements of positive identity are captured in all of the reviewed models and in many of the local studies in Table 9.1.

9.10.1 Self-Exploration and Expression

Self-exploration and self-expression referred to young people learning about themselves in programmes, discovering their passions and interests, and finding a place where they fit. Concurrent with this discovery, young people were able to be themselves, express different aspects of self, and show vulnerability, comprising self-expression. Self-expression was one of the largest aspects of positive identity in the findings.

Elements related to self-exploration and self-expression are not well covered in the reviewed Western models. Both Eccles and Gootman (2002) and Catalano and colleagues (2004) referred to identity development broadly, whilst the Developmental Assets framework linked positive identity with self-esteem, sense of purpose, and a positive view of the future (Benson et al., 2007). The local

Mana Taiohi framework links to identity exploration and expression through the concept of Mauri, which includes exploration and development of passion and life spark (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Deane et al., 2019). Whilst local programmes are seen to play an important role in identity development (Deane et al., 2019), identity exploration and expression are not highlighted as outcomes in many local studies. These may be inferred in other outcomes or processes; for example, through discussion of the self-reflection and learning that occurs in programmes (Deane & Harré, 2014; Hollis et al., 2011). Arnold (2017) suggested that despite acknowledgment of identity formation as an important developmental task, this has not been a focus of many contemporary PYD theories, nor has there been in-depth exploration of how the theories and processes of PYD and identity development overlap. Aspects of identity development are also more difficult to measure than appraisal of functioning, such as self-efficacy and self-esteem, and so may not be given due attention in PYD programmes (Arnold, 2017).

The attention given to identity exploration and expression by participants in this PhD study suggests they are important outcomes that may be under-explored in programmes. The study adds to our knowledge by describing how these occur in local programmes.

Chapter Seven provided an example of a young person who explored their interest in photography, discovered this as a passion, and tested out different forms of expression and ways to be. Through these experiences, the young person found a version of self that they liked and then consciously took this identity into other life domains (pp.165-167). This example shows how the programme provided opportunity for both identity discovery and identity creation (Arnold, 2017; Eichas et al., 2015). Identity discovery is about the recognition of a 'true self' (Arnold, 2017) and the development of innate potential (Eichas et al., 2015); whilst identity creation suggests that identity can be constructed in relation to the environment through the selection of available options in any given context (Eichas et al., 2015). In this example, identity discovery occurred through the young person's exploration of photography, and identity construction occurred through testing out different versions of self with others.

Processes of self-discovery and self-construction occur at the interface between the individual and the context and the ways they respond to each other, and thus are evidence of adaptive developmental regulation (Eichas et al., 2015). Making choices around how to be in response to the environment links positive identity to agency (Arnold, 2017; Schwartz et al., 2012). Arnold (2017) referred to the "intentional and purposeful trying on of possible selves" (p. 11), which the young person did through exploring different ways to be with others and noting the feelings and responses this generated.

The combined processes of self-discovery and self-creation resulted in a transformational experience for the young person, who consciously found avenues to display mastery of photography and use relational patterns learned in the programme in other areas of life. These resulted in improved relationships and a more positive and cohesive sense of identity across different domains. The experiences of the programme spread to other aspects of this young person's system and resulted in structural, organisational change within that system (Eichas et al., 2015). These processes can also be linked to Marcia's (1966) Stage Identity Theory where young people explore identity through skill and value development and trying out ways to be. This trying on process leads to commitments to particular values, paths, beliefs, or ways of being. It is important that these commitments are allowed time and space and are self-directed to avoid diffusion, where little exploration is made; or foreclosure, where commitments are made too early (Tsang, Hui & Law, 2012a). In the example discussed above, the programme allowed time for exploration and the relationships held the young person's initial awkwardness and discomfort. For this young person, the process occurred over several years and, in the interview, they were able to reflect back on this identity commitment in a way they may not have been able to do at the time. This was evidence of the ability of the programme to tolerate the anxiety of moratorium without an expectation of identity commitment (Arnold, 2017). Programmes provided a venue in which identity commitments did not need to be rushed.

Connections with others played a role in identity development. Participants described programmes as places where youth felt safe to be themselves and to try different ways to be, which was part of the process of an Accepting Atmosphere. This was often contrasted with school, where peer connections were seen as more judgemental (p.111, p. 114, p. 158). Programmes provided Youth-Centric Spaces that encouraged exploration, whilst Leader/Adult Behaviours consciously created strong bonds, role modelled being oneself, and balanced self-expression with expectations for effort. As such, programmes provided relational environments that were conducive to identity exploration and expression. Others have similarly identified programmes as more suitable places for identity exploration than school because of their accepting and relaxed nature (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Smith et al., 2010).

Findings from this PhD study confirm the role of programmes in identity development and show how this occurred. The extent to which these opportunities were discussed and valued by youth suggests that a greater focus on the value of self-exploration and self-expression and the role of programmes in identity development is warranted. This is particularly important considering that young people identified programmes as one of the few spaces where they felt comfortable to reflect and explore in this way.

9.10.2 Cultural Identity

The ability to explore and express cultural identity was particularly apparent in programmes where culture was explicit and welcomed. This could include acknowledgment of the different ethnicities of the group and practices that supported these, such as prayer, karakia and kai, but also where there were opportunities to positively express culture, through dance, events, activities and discussion. Cultural identity was discussed in a small number of programmes, suggesting that local programmes could include more invitations for cultural expression. Cultural identity is not identified in any of the Western models in Table 9.1, but cultural competency is included in two (Benson et al., 2007; Eccles & Gootman, 2002). Cultural identity is included in Mana Taiohi under mauri (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Deane et al., 2019).

For youth of colour, the development of a coherent and positive personal identity is linked to the development of a positive ethnic identity and is important for promoting PYD (Catalano et al., 2004, Spencer et al., 2012; Williams et al., 2014; Wray-Lake & Abrams, 2020). Positive ethnic and cultural identity is seen as particularly important for Māori, where having positive experiences as Māori can help to counteract negative stereotypes and enhance wellbeing (Borrell, 2005; Greaves et al., 2021; Hollis et al., 2011; Webber & MacFarlane, 2020). PYD programmes can play a role in enhancing cultural and ethnic identity by providing positive cultural experiences (Brittian-Loyd & Williams, 2017; Hollis et al., 2011). Beals and colleagues (2018) described a key task of youth development as supporting Māori and Pacific young people to value their stories, and through this challenge inequities and form new definitions of success. The ability of programmes to help young people explore and expand their stories, developing a more positive identity and higher expectations was shown throughout the findings. Recall how the indigenous-values-based leadership programme encouraged youth to see their culture as an advantage and a strength that could support success (pp.169-171).

Hollis and colleagues (2011) noted in their study of Māori experiences in a PYD programme that many were pleased that they were not treated differently as Māori, because this was often a negative experience. However, the authors suggested that programmes could highlight the positive aspects of culture, rather than simply providing a culturally neutral space (Hollis et al., 2011). A small number of the local outcome studies reviewed discussed cultural identity (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Hollis et al., 2011), again suggesting this area could benefit from further attention and research.

9.10.3 Navigating Multiple Identities

Non-Western scholars propose that identity development is not about finding a consistent identity but is far more fluid and dynamic across different domains and time (Borrell, 2005; Mila-Schaff, 2006; Rata, 2012; Tupuola, 2004). Māori and Pacific youth experience multiple identities as they navigate different contexts (MacDonald, 2011; McIntosh, 2005; Milne, 2013; Rata, 2012; Sibley & Hukilau, 2013; Tupuola, 2004). For Pacific youth, this may include whakapapa to several places and the need to navigate the identities associated with each (Tupuola, 2004); whilst Māori youth may be dispossessed from their turangawaewae or traditional rites of passage (Pere, 2006; Ware & Walsh Tapiata, 2010). These ideas further help to understand young people's experiences of identity in programmes.

Programmes provided a place to explore and express personal and/or collective identities as part of the programme community. These identities felt authentic, highlighted by the idea of being oneself; whilst young people's discussion of the programme context as different from others, such as school, shows how they maintained other identities in other contexts. Programmes provided opportunities to explore identity aspects that may not be available in other contexts, such as finding new passions, having a voice in the group or community, and being a leader. For example, a participant from a group of mostly Pacific young people identified challenging stereotypes about youth through leadership, which then helped both the community and their family/whānau to take them more seriously (pp.139-140). These types of experiences may point to the multiple domains that youth of colour navigate in a Pākehā dominant culture, and the multiple identities they form to do so.

Brown and colleagues (2020) suggested that the ecologies through which young people navigate identity may be supportive or hostile. Programmes could help by providing opportunities that worked within young people's cultural structures and showing awareness of their various ecologies. Through this awareness, programmes could foster aspects of identity that were supported in the young person's system and/or offer scope to express aspects of self that were not always welcome elsewhere or that challenged systemic narratives. This balance was seen in a community-based youth leadership programme that created events for-youth-by-youth where the leader consciously explored cultural values of turangawaewae and actively challenged narratives around young people's roles in the community and what they could expect for themselves (p.118, p. 136). This is an example of development resulting from the interaction of young people and systems and between different parts of the system (Eichas et al., 2015).

9.10.4 Self-Worth

In the findings, self-worth related to valuing and believing in oneself. This was linked to knowing oneself, accepting oneself, and a sense that the self was worthy of good things, including a positive future. This aspect of identity is reflected in the Developmental Assets Framework (Benson et al., 2007) where positive identity is related to self-esteem, purpose, and future optimism. Self-worth was noted as an outcome in only two of the local studies reviewed, while a number showed related outcomes of self-esteem (see Table 9.1).

Data suggested self-worth was related to both confidence and identity, as discussed under confidence. Self-worth was linked with self-esteem and could lead to confident behaviours, thus aligning self-worth with the affective component of confidence (Uglanova, 2014). Self-worth was also about a global, positive appraisal of one's value, which links to the Lerner definitions of Confidence in the Five Cs (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011). However, in this study, confidence was often domain specific and not always global. This may represent some important local links and distinctions between confidence and self-worth. They may be synonymous when describing global confidence, but different when confidence is more domain specific. Further exploration of overlaps between confidence, identity, and self-worth may be relevant in the local context.

9.10.5 Values and Attitudes Development

Data showed that programmes played an important role in values and attitudes development. Hitlin (2003) proposed values as an important part of personal identity and a mediator between a sense of self and one's social roles. Values inform self-expression, self-worth, and a person's appraisal of themselves as an individual and in context.

Values and attitudes development was the largest sub-theme in positive identity and included values around compassion and care, drive, and positive mindset. For example, young people in the indigenous values-based leadership programme discussed increased drive, a growth-mindset, and enhanced self-compassion, which enabled them to better care for others. This was linked to the concept of mauri, or life force. To nurture one's own mauri meant being better positioned to care for others, thus enhancing one's own and other's mana. In this programme, values related to mauri and mana were central to and explicit in programme delivery. This explicit consideration of values appeared to be beneficial for young people because it helped them to link different aspects of life, such as between past, present, and future; family/whānau and work; and self and others.

Links to values and attitudes development are seen in all of the models reviewed including: links to morality and spirituality (Catalano et al., 2004; Eccles & Gootman, 2002); motivation and purpose

(Benson et al., 2007; Eccles & Gootman, 2002); culturally relevant values (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Te Ora Hou, cited in Baxter et al., 2016); and care of others (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Eccles & Gootman, 2002). The literature review also highlighted links between PYD and values/moral development which are both an important process and indicator of PYD (Damon, 2004; Lerner et al., 2000; Pittman & Wright, 1991; Theokas et al., 2005). Aspects related to values and attitudes development were the most common element of positive identity in local outcome studies, and these aligned broadly with the values identified in the data. Combined, the findings, theory, and local studies all suggest that values and attitudes are an important component of PYD and local programmes.

The findings highlight additional ideas about values and attitudes development in the local context. Firstly, values were facilitated via connection with others. Performing service and working together helped to foster values of compassion, care, and respect; while being part of a group helped to cement values by modelling and reinforcement. For example, one young person from the indigenous values-based leadership programme reflected how a shift in values came from the role modelling and learning from others (p.169). Hitlin (2003) described values as relationally constructed and shaped by family/whānau, culture, and society. Programmes may be important places for the relational construction and maintenance of values.

Secondly, the values discussed by young people often matched a leader's discussion of values. For example, both young people and staff from a peer mentoring programme discussed the importance of caring for others, and the leader acknowledged how they encouraged this behaviour in the group (p.132-133). Programme leaders may transmit their own values while being attuned to what is important to young people. The transmission of leader values reflects Krauss and Suandi's (2008) view that it is personal, political, social, and cultural values that bring people to youth work and guide the way they work.

Thirdly, the findings showed that young people were active in the development and maintenance of values in the ways they navigated to programmes and used the opportunities and experiences provided. For example, young people from the faith-based programme expressed how the programme provided an outlet for their faith (p.144). This may be evidence of adaptive developmental regulation and the ways young people use the contexts and resources around them to enhance their own development (Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007) by finding outlets to explore and express certain values and interests.

Values development in programmes may sit at the nexus of the values of the programme, the leader, and the young people. These different values frames may align or conflict; thus, being explicit about them is important for programme practice. Western/Pākehā values of individualism and

leadership, linked more with hierarchy and visibility, may conflict with Māori, Pacific, and other cultures' collective values, such as Pacific views of service to others (Mafile'o, 2019; Samu, 2011; Toso, 2011). It may be important for programmes to consider the level of match between programme, leader, and participant values to help enhance programme outcomes. For example, Noonan and colleagues' (2012) study of mentees in the Stars Peer Mentoring programme, noted that participants in schools with predominantly Pacific students rated the programme as more beneficial than others in the study. The authors suggested that this was due to a values match between collective values already held by Pacific participants and the collective nature of the group. Thus, programmes may be able to draw on already held values and use these to enhance outcomes. Considering values match is particularly important for youth of colour because people may experience the same events in different ways depending on their cultural lenses. These lenses can impact perception and thus outcomes (Spencer et al., 1997). Finally, being explicit about the type of values promoted in programmes may assist young people in their navigation to and choice of programmes.

9.10.6 Identity as Relational

The findings support views that identity is strongly relational and interwoven with connection (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Eichas et al., 2015; Theokas et al., 2005), a view that is also embedded in local models which link identity with whānau and whakapapa (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Te Ora Hou, cited in Baxter et al., 2016).

In the findings, this sense of identity as relational was highlighted by the ways that the outcome of positive identity linked with all programme processes. It was through a Youth-Centric Space that valued young people and what they could offer, that they could develop valuable skills, help others, be recognised for this and deem their own worth; for example, the experiences of young people in the youth leadership and advisory group for the disability sector (pp.137-138). Leader/Adult Behaviours provided welcome and role-modelling that created safe spaces for identity development and space to reflect on and enhance values; for example, in the indigenous values-based leadership programme (pp.168-170). Importantly, an Accepting Atmosphere, characterised by supportive connections and the ability to be accepted as oneself, created opportunities to explore and express identity. In this way, self-expression was both an outcome and a key part of the programme experience. Young people gained an ability to be themselves and this ability made programmes accepting and welcoming, such as in the example from a uniformed youth development organisation (pp.173-175).

Te Ao Māori and Pacific views of development help explain links between identity, relationships, experiences, and context more fully. The literature review highlighted how in Māori and Pacific worldviews, identity develops in the context of connections to family/whānau, ancestors, descendants, environment, spirituality, and time (MacFarlane, 2004; Mila-Schaaf, 2006; Tamasese, 2002; Toso, 2011; Tuagalu, 2008). In these ways, identity is both individual and collective and cannot be described without an understanding of the context and relationships between people and spaces. For example, the literature review noted that tapu, mauri, wairua, and mana, together, can make up the person (Rameka, 2015); but each of these concepts is multi-layered and connected to whakapapa, spirituality, and place. As such identity exists vis-à-vis various contexts and positions the person within wider systems. Eichas and colleagues (2015) similarly referred to the concept of the “embodied person in context” (p. 6) suggesting that identity is both internal and social.

Given identity is relational and shaped by context, programmes could consider how they promote positive identity experiences, include understanding of young people’s context outside of programmes and how the two can be bridged. For example, in the youth leadership and advisory group for the disability sector, much attention was paid to treating these young people respectfully, showing value through kai and transport and prioritising their views. These actions helped to counteract barriers these youth may face elsewhere and supported them to reflect on their strengths, explore themselves beyond the label of disability, use their experiences to role model to others, and, in the process, enhance their own sense of worth and value. Through enhancing opportunities to connect with each other and the community, the programme helped develop individual identity and mana of these young people and their collective identities and mana as part of the group, local community, and disability sector.

9.10.7 Contingent and Complex Outcomes

In the findings, all outcomes appeared to link to positive identity through supporting opportunities for self-exploration, expression, values development, and providing recognition that enhanced self-worth. Many other outcomes also linked and overlapped. Skills provided opportunities to feel confident and develop agency, whilst giving back provided opportunities for agency and self-worth. By highlighting how individuals are connected to others, nature, whakapapa, spirituality, and time, Te Ao Māori and Pacific worldviews can emphasise the contingency and complexity of programme outcomes and the relationships between processes and outcomes. Further exploration of programmes through these lenses may be useful to cement understandings of PYD in the local context, as suggested by local authors (Beals, 2015; Deane et al., 2019).

Conceptual overlaps in some Western models also highlight these contingencies. For example, Scales and colleagues (2019) suggested that although named differently, PYD constructs may not always be perceived as separate in practice. Similarly, the Five Cs measure identifies inter-relationships between constructs of Confidence and Competence (Geldhof et al., 2014; Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005) and Caring and Character (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005). Eccles and Gootman (2002) noted that relationships between constructs make it difficult to identify cause and effect because of the way different assets influence and build on each other. Given the definition of PYD as development is about bi-directional exchanges between individuals and their contexts (Lerner, 2005) we may expect these overlaps because outcomes are developing dynamically in an ever-changing system where the young person and the programme consistently influence each other. It is the transaction itself that is development (Lerner & Kauffman, 1985; Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007); thus, the complex relationships between outcomes may be evidence that PYD is occurring.

9.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter has highlighted how the nine key outcomes identified in the findings overlap with international and local PYD literature. This discussion demonstrates how the findings are supported in the literature and contribute to our understanding of PYD by providing current and local descriptions of how outcomes are perceived in programmes and where these link to other models and local studies. These descriptions and links provide evidence of PYD in local settings and highlight similarity in outcomes across different programmes, suggesting common elements.

The findings and the literature support skills, agency, confidence, connection, and positive identity as key programme outcomes, while highlighting additional and different elements that are not always discussed or measured. The findings show the importance of identity exploration and expression, and act as a reminder of the centrality of identity concerns for young people. By linking the findings with identity theories and explaining how these occurred in programme contexts, the discussion has addressed some of the gaps identified by Arnold (2017) in relation to exploring identity beyond self-perception and more clearly linking PYD and identity theories. Further, the findings highlighted a potential gap in programmes regarding cultural identity, where this appeared to be present as an outcome when leaders explicitly discussed and welcomed reflection on ethnicity and culture.

Other areas highlighted in the discussion that warrant further attention as programme outcomes include agency, future focus, positive affect, and the role of programmes in developing social capital. These findings provide important directions for future research and outcome measurement.

Finally, this chapter has discussed how outcomes were inter-related and supported each other. Connection and positive identity in particular linked to all other outcomes and were relationally constructed. Linking these ideas to Te Ao Māori and Pacific worldviews helps to locate them in culturally meaningful ways and these perspectives could provide further avenues for exploring how outcomes develop in local settings. Other places may wish to similarly consider relevant cultural links to PYD concepts and outcomes in programmes.

This chapter has anchored the findings in the literature, providing a basis from which to answer the third and fourth research questions, which are addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter 10: An Outcomes Framework and the Five Cs

Chapter Ten is the second discussion chapter which answers the final two research questions:

Can the way outcomes are perceived in these settings (PYD programmes in the study) form an outcomes framework?

Does the framework align with the Five Cs model?

This chapter builds on Chapter Nine, which discussed the nine key outcomes identified from the data in relation to the literature. It begins by looking at how the outcomes identified in the study could form an outcomes framework and possible measurement approaches. Based on this, a local outcomes framework is proposed. The chapter will then discuss how the findings align with the Five Cs model and an assessment of the Five Cs as a local outcomes framework. Local definitions of the Five Cs are proposed.

10.1 An Outcomes Framework and Measurement

The nine key outcomes identified in this study broadly represent the experiences of a range of young people and staff in 14 local programmes and, as such, highlight potential foci for outcomes frameworks and measurement. The extent to which these nine outcomes were present in the findings, the similarity with which they were discussed in different places, and their alignment with the literature, suggests there is sufficient similarity to form an outcomes framework. Careful consideration of the similarities and differences in outcome perception may help provide a more nuanced approach to how these nine outcomes could be used to form a framework and inform measurement approaches.

10.1.1 Core Outcomes

The findings suggested that the most common outcomes were skills, confidence, connection, and positive identity. These were discussed most frequently and were identified by participants as important outcomes likely to occur in programmes. Connection and positive identity are further identified as key outcomes because they linked to all other outcomes and were integral to the experience of the programme. Aspects of skills, confidence, connection, and positive identity are also most frequently noted in local studies, further supporting their role as key outcomes (see Table 9.1). The regularity of these outcomes across a range of different programmes is an important finding. It shows that different programmes serving different young people in different areas across Tāmaki Makaurau achieve similar outcomes, supporting the hypothesis that broad outcomes

frameworks are possible (Catalano, Berglund, et al., 2002; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016; Scales et al., 2016).

Although a smaller theme in terms of frequency, agency was also identified as an important programme outcome by participants. Agency's role as a key outcome is supported in literature with links to self-efficacy, positive identity, and hope (Schwartz et al., 2012; Sun & Shek, 2012; Zimmerman & Cleary, 2006). These links were shown in the data and discussed in Chapter Nine. Combined, outcomes of skills, confidence, connection, positive identity, and agency could form the core of an outcomes framework, with recognition that these outcomes will influence each other, and that connection is an important basis from which other outcomes can form, particularly when considering Māori and Pacific views of development as relational and interconnected.

10.1.2 Additional Outcomes

In the findings, other outcomes of achievement, giving back, positive affect, and future focus, were discussed in most programmes and were more dependent on programme and youth characteristics. For example, achievement was more likely to be discussed where the programme included achievement markers, such as celebrations whilst giving back was discussed more when the programme included structured processes for this. In these ways, certain features of the programme may mediate the possibilities for development, thus contributing to relative plasticity or limiters on positive developmental trajectories (Lerner et al., 1999). Things that were not widely discussed may still be important; for example, fun was an important outcome for some and preparation for the future appeared to be a key motivator to attend programmes. These findings highlight how outcomes frameworks and measurements need to match young people's language and perceptions to provide a fuller picture of the benefit of programmes.

Participants in most programmes discussed the same outcomes; however, differences were identified that reflected different youth characteristics and needs, suggesting that these also guide programme outcomes (Tolan, 2014, 2016). For example, those in lower SES areas discussed hope more frequently, whilst those who identified struggling socially gained different social skills to those who entered programmes more socially confident. These differences in outcomes show how youth agency is a key part of the PYD process (Tolan, 2014).

10.1.3 A 'Core and More' Approach

Tensions between the universality of PYD models and measurement approaches, and the specific experiences of young people were highlighted in the literature review. In highlighting both similarity and difference in outcome perception across different programmes, the finding show how these tensions are navigated in practice; that both universality and specificity can occur concurrently.

Outcomes can be broadly similar but the experiences of them and the pathways to get there may be different (Scales et al., 2016). For example, connection occurred with different people/groups and thus not everyone experienced the same form of connection. Similarly, whilst most programmes discussed values and attitudes development within positive identity, not all values were the same.

These findings suggest a balanced approach between specificity and universality rather than an either-or approach and this balance is useful when considering outcomes. Scales and colleagues (2016) applied this balanced view to outcomes measurement by suggesting a 'core and more' approach, where programmes measure a common core of elements with additional measures based on the programme goals and the organisation's vision and mission.

Applying this 'core and more' idea to the nine outcomes identified in this study could be used to determine what outcomes are included in an outcomes framework within a programme and when. For example, a programme which provides outdoor education, with opportunities to give back to the community at later stages, may focus their outcomes framework on specific skills and other key outcomes in the earlier stages of the programme and later may include giving back along with community minded attitudes and values, as these become more relevant to programme activities. Within any given programme, some or all of the nine outcomes identified in this study may form a core, depending on the programme setting, with some of the sub-themes further guiding the details of the framework and what is measured. What is included as core or more may differ between programmes; however, the findings suggest that skills, confidence, connection, positive identity, and agency would be common to most programmes.

10.1.4 Flexible Youth-Driven Outcomes

A 'core and more' approach could be further modified to take youth characteristics and contexts into account. Based on the PYD idea of multiple developmental trajectories and that youth are active in their own development, young people do not all have the same developmental experiences, nor do they need to (Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007). Therefore, not every young person in a programme may need to achieve the same outcomes for it to be seen as successful. Individual variance is already included in some measures, such as the Developmental Assets Framework, where it is the number of assets in total that predicts wellbeing, rather than specific assets (Scales et al., 2016). This provides support for the idea that PYD is different for different young people, and that different young people may need or gain different things at different times; but that overall, constructs guiding what PYD looks like can still be described similarly (Scales et al., 2016). The similarities and differences observed in this study show likewise, in the way that different programmes, groups, or individuals could prioritise different things, but the overarching outcome themes were still the same.

Differences in youth experiences could be applied as strength in outcomes measurement by letting young people guide the process. In practice, a 'core and more' approach could be further modified with 'pick a path' elements. 'Pick a path' would involve young people only responding to measurement of aspects that they found relevant at any given time. For example, some young people in a programme may focus on confidence and skills, while others may focus on connection and agency. Measures could be more culturally nuanced through this approach. For example, Sibley and Houkamau (2013) argued for different identity measures for different cultures, which may be particularly relevant in Aotearoa. Equally a young person's focus may change over time, with them identifying some elements earlier in their programme journey and others later. Capturing changes in focus over time would be helpful to understand which outcomes are most relevant during different stages of both programmes and development. This type of approach also balances a priori and a posteriori concerns regarding what constitutes good evidence in that it may be both theory driven through the use of a broad framework, but practice driven through adaptation to the context (Bullen et al., 2019).

A flexible approach would also help to address knowledge gaps about the contextual variables that contribute to outcomes. For example, a 'pick a path' approach could compare the outcome choices and experiences between young people of different demographics, between programmes, between locations, and between different leader styles; and more efficiently gather data about who experiences what outcomes and when. This approach could identify the priorities of young people and shape programme development. Data could be supplemented with triangulation from leaders, family/whānau, or others who may see additional components. A triangulated approach could further demonstrate perceptual and priority differences between adults and young people. Triangulation is important given that it is often adults who design programmes and determine priorities for funding. Future research could further develop an outcomes framework by more deeply aligning the components to Māori and Pacific worldviews and identifying valid and culturally relevant measures of each outcome area.

The possibility of an outcomes framework represents an exciting development in local PYD and an opportunity to better understand the ways different young people use different programmes as well as the common outcomes across different programme types. The findings of this study suggest there is sufficient similarity between a range of programmes to form an outcomes framework, with the nine outcomes identified forming a flexible starting point that can be modified by both programmes and young people.

10.2 The Proposed Outcomes Framework

The proposed framework (see Table 10.1) consists of the nine outcomes identified in this study within the broader themes of Behavioural, Internal, and Relational Outcomes, which serve as a useful organising tool. The five outcomes of skills, agency, confidence, connection, and positive identity are bolded because the findings suggest that these are likely core outcomes in programmes, although this may differ in some settings. Each of the nine outcomes is divided into smaller areas based on the sub-themes identified in the study, which further help to define outcomes and what may be measured. The other columns in the framework are designed to assist programmes in identifying which outcomes are core to them and when in the programme certain outcomes occur, to assist measurement decisions. The final column has space for proposed outcome measures, and this represents an important area for future research, as well as opportunities to align existing measures.

Table 10.1

A Proposed Outcomes Framework

Outcome Area	Outcome	Area for Measurement	Core Outcome Y/N	When Does It Occur?	Proposed Measurement Tool
Behavioural Outcomes	Skills	Task skills			
		People skills			
		Leadership			
		Personal skills			
	Agency	Independence			
		Voice/Change-making			
		Having something to offer			
	Giving back	Contribution			
	Achievement	Academic/Work/Goal achievement			
		Completion and celebration			

Outcome Area	Outcome	Area for Measurement	Core Outcome Y/N	When Does It Occur?	Proposed Measurement Tool
Internal Outcomes	Confidence	Self-belief			
		Confident behaviours			
	Future focus	Feeling prepared			
		Hope			
	Positive affect	Pride (incl. cultural pride)			
		Fun			
		Happiness			
Relational Outcomes	Connection	Peers			
		Leaders/Adults			
		Community/ Organisation			
		Family/Whānau (incl. whakapapa)			
		Belonging (incl. place)			
	Positive identity	Exploration and expression			
		Cultural identity			
		Self-worth			
		Values and attitudes			

The nine outcomes identified in this study also link with some of the indicators in the Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy (The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2022), including social-emotional and self-management skills, ability to be themselves, social support, involvement in the community, and, in some cases, support for cultural identity. These indicators fall under the three outcomes of learning and developing; accepted, respected, and connected; and involved and empowered. Using and adapting the proposed outcomes framework could show how local PYD programmes contribute to wellbeing, thus demonstrating their value to young people and the community. The framework can also describe positive indicators of wellbeing; for example, feeling happy and hopeful about the future may impact mental wellbeing, which is only currently assessed in the Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy in relation to psychological distress (The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2022).

The proposed outcomes framework in this study represents an important contribution to theory and practice. The level of similarity of outcome perception within and between programmes suggests that broad constructs can describe outcomes for different youth (Catalano et al., 2002; Roth &

Brooks-Gunn, 2016; Scales et al., 2016). Importantly, this framework can be adapted to fit programme contexts and youth priorities, allowing a balance between specificity and universality. In practice, use of the framework could help to understand similarities and differences within and between programmes more broadly and build a greater evidence base of outcomes which are less well-documented locally, such as positive affect and future focus.

10.3 The Relevance of the Five Cs

The final research question assesses the relevance of the Five Cs model to the findings by comparing the fit of the nine key outcomes and various definitions of Five Cs, including Contribution and the proposed additional C of Creativity. As noted in the methodology section, the study did not start with the Five Cs, so as not to bias findings towards these constructs or potentially miss other constructs. Instead, the study has sought to assess the relevance of the Five Cs through first understanding how outcomes are perceived in local programmes, their similarities and differences, whether an outcomes framework can be formed, and then assessing this against the Five Cs. This assessment is important given increasing use of the Five Cs globally.

Table 10.2 uses the proposed outcomes framework and matches each area to relevant Cs and the authors whose definitions most closely align. Definitions of the Five Cs can be found in Table 2.1 (pp. 22-23).

Table 10.2

Alignment of the Five Cs with the Proposed Outcomes Framework

Outcome Area	Outcome	Area for Measurement	Match to the Cs	Relevant Definition
Behavioural Outcomes	Skills	Task skills	Competence	Geldhof et al., 2015; Little, cited in Blum, 1998; Pittman et al., 2003; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b
		People skills		
		Leadership		
		Personal skills	Competence Creativity	Dimitrova et al., 2021; Geldhof et al., 2015; Little, cited in Blum, 1998; Pittman et al., 2003; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b

Outcome Area	Outcome	Area for Measurement	Match to the Cs	Relevant Definition
Behavioural Outcomes	Achievement	Academic/Work/Goal	Competence Contribution	Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011; Little, cited in Blum, 1998
		Completion and celebration	Confidence	Little, cited in Blum, 1998
	Giving back	Contribution	Contribution Competence	Geldhof et al., 2015; Lerner & Lerner, 2011; Pittman et al., 2003
	Agency	Independence	Contribution Character Competence	Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011; Little, cited in Blum, 1998; Pittman et al., 2003; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b
		Voice/Change making	Contribution	Lerner & Lerner, 2011; Pittman et al., 2003
		Having something to offer		Geldhof et al., 2014; Lerner & Lerner, 2011; Pittman et al., 2003
Internal Outcomes	Confidence	Self-belief	Confidence	Geldhof et al., 2015; Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011
		Confident behaviours	Confidence Competence	Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b
	Future focus	Feeling prepared	Confidence	Pittman et al., 2003; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b
		Hope		
	Positive affect	Pride (incl. cultural pride)		
		Fun	Creativity	Dimitrova et al., 2021
		Happiness		

Outcome Area	Outcome	Area for Measurement	Match to the Cs	Relevant Definition
Relational Outcomes	Connection	Peers	Connection Caring	Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b
		Leaders/Adults	Connection	Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011
		Community/ Organisation	Connection Caring	Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b
		Family/Whānau	Connection	Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011
		Belonging (incl. Whakapapa)	Connection Character	Pittman et al., 2003
	Positive identity	Exploration and expression	Character Creativity	Pittman et al., 2003; Dimitrova et al., 2021
		Cultural identity	Character	Pittman et al., 2003
		Self-worth	Confidence Character	Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011
		Values and attitudes	Character Caring	Little, cited in Blum, 1998; Pittman et al., 2003; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b

The table shows that although matches occur, they are not necessarily with the commonly cited Lerner definitions. It may be that the Lerner definitions have been developed as more parsimonious descriptions over time, with the Five Cs measures adding greater depth to these constructs. Some earlier definitions align better to the local context and could be revisited in local understandings of PYD. However, the fact that the Lerner definitions do not always match well could suggest two other things. First, that the Five Cs are potentially defined differently in the local setting than elsewhere, supporting assertions that the Five Cs will be defined differently in different contexts (Lerner et al., 2018; Strachan et al., 2018). Second, the Five Cs in programmes may look different to the Five Cs as general indicators of PYD.

10.4 The Findings and Five Cs Definitions

10.4.1 Competence

In this study, Competence related to the skills developed in programmes and earlier definitions of Competence (Little, cited in Blum, 1998; Pittman et al., 2003; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b) aligned best with these findings. These definitions refer to academic, interpersonal, vocational, literacy skills, and contribution (Little, cited in Blum, 1998); knowledge and reflection of skills in health, civics, physical, social, emotional, cognitive, and personal domains, as well as trying and practicing new things (Pittman et. al., 2003); and enhancing competencies in social, academic, cognitive, and vocational domains (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b). These match with elements found in this study including task, leadership, people and personal skills, helping, and contributing and preparation for the future. Geldhof and colleagues' (2015) definition of Competence as relating to the navigation of contexts and use of resources to develop skills adds a dynamic component to Competence about the process of skill development rather than simply possession of a skill. This is reflected in the findings in young people's navigation to programmes to fill gaps and prepare for the future.

10.4.1.1 Competence and Self-Efficacy

The Lerner (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005) definition prefaces Competence with 'positive view of' linking competencies with self-efficacy. However, the possession of competencies may not always match beliefs about ability. For example, young people may reflect that their social skills have improved, but this improvement may not constitute feeling positive about navigating social situations. A positive appraisal of ability was more frequently related to Confidence. A difference between Competence and belief may also reflect the cultural phenomenon of 'tall poppy syndrome' in Aotearoa, which encourages modesty towards one's achievements (Kirkwood, 2007), and humility is also a key Pacific value (Mafile'o, 2019). A humble approach is seen to help build and maintain harmonious relationships by not placing oneself above another (Mafile'o, 2019). In this vein, local youth may not always speak highly of their abilities but prioritise respect towards others first when discussing their skills.

10.4.1.2 Competence and Recognition

In the study, the development of Competence was linked to the recognition and celebration of achievement. Recognition from others helped young people to acknowledge their skills and linked to pride and confidence. The importance of recognition highlights that for young people, process and experiential elements are often perceived as outcomes in and of themselves. These aspects are not well reflected in current Five Cs definitions. In this study, it seemed important that success was

recognised to help young people acknowledge their skills, further highlighting the importance of understanding local experiences of outcomes and the ways they relate to each other.

The findings of this study have highlighted three key points which build on Competence in the Five Cs model; first that competencies are varied and are important outcomes in and of themselves (Eccles and Gootman, 2002) which may be separate from appraisal of these competencies. Second, that Competence is related to other outcomes that may support its development, such as achievement. Third, in the local setting a cultural component of humility may also mean that others' recognition of Competence is especially important.

10.4.2 Confidence

Confidence was defined by participants as being related to self-belief and some described this as global, linking to the Lerner (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011) definitions of Confidence as global self-efficacy and self-worth. However, young people typically described Confidence in domain specific areas, particularly socially, such as engaging more openly with others and participating more fully in social experiences. Confidence was also strongly linked to agency because confident young people were willing to stand up for what they believed in and could speak out in the community. As such, Confidence had behavioural, affective, and cognitive components (Uglanova, 2014), as identified in Chapter Nine.

10.4.2.1 Confidence and Behaviour

Domain specific behaviours, such as speaking to new people, were important indicators of Confidence in the study but do not feature strongly in any of the definitions of Confidence in the Five Cs, except possibly to Little's (cited in Blum, 1998) definition of Confidence as process based, by creating experiments that lead to success. In Lerner definitions, domain specific beliefs are linked more to Competence, but these are seen to support global self-worth (Lerner, 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011). The findings of this study show ways in which Confidence overlaps with Competence in the local setting, in that young people feel more confident in areas where they have skills and competencies. Given these findings, Confidence may exist more strongly in some domains than others and may be related to efficacy beliefs in these domains.

10.4.2.2 Confidence and Connection

A number of participants described confident young people as aware of their weaknesses and not afraid to ask for help, linking with Pittman and colleagues' (2003) definition of Confidence as appraisal of development. Coupled with the fact that many behavioural experiences of Confidence related to social situations, the findings suggest a strong relational component to Confidence in the local setting. Whilst Confidence is related to internal assessment, these assessments are mediated

by relational experiences. Thus, Confidence is also strongly linked to Connection because interacting with or helping others supports young people to believe in themselves, feel valuable, and behave more confidently. Both Geldhof et al. (2015) and Pittman et al.'s (2003) definitions reflect this relational aspect more clearly by linking confidence with a sense that one's actions are meaningful, which is about one's sense of value in context.

10.4.2.3 Confidence and Future Focus

Earlier definitions of Confidence also include appraisal about the future and hope (Little, cited in Blum, 1998; Pittman et al., 2003; Roth Brooks-Gunn, 2003b). This fits with the outcome of future focus identified in this study. Participants saw programmes as providing experiences that prepared young people for their next steps in life. This helped them to feel prepared and hopeful, and allayed anxieties about the future, which appeared to be an underlying motivation for navigating to programmes. Thus, in the local setting, Confidence may include beliefs about future efficacy and a general sense of future optimism.

10.4.3 Connection

Elements of Connection in this study fit with the Lerner (Lerner & Lerner, 2011) definition of "Positive bonds with people and institutions that are reflected in bi-directional exchanges between the individual, peers, family, school and community" (p. 6). All these elements of Connection were present in the study and their bi-directional nature was highlighted in the discussion, particularly where young people were able to influence each-other and their experience of programmes.

10.4.3.1 Connection and Belonging

This study also highlighted belonging as an important element of Connection. This referred to an overall sense of fit and acceptance that young people gained from programmes that they may not experience elsewhere. This sense of fit helped young people to see themselves positively and feel valuable. It helped them feel willing to put themselves forward, thus being important to confidence and positive identity. Belonging also linked to other important elements of Connection; it was related to place and whakapapa, and a sense of fit to both one's history and the natural world. Connection to land was also identified in a qualitative Five Cs study with First Nations youth in Canada (Strachan et al., 2018). Pittman and colleagues' (2003) definition of Connection does mention belonging but refers to participation in a community and having at least one lasting relationship. Geldhof and colleagues' (2015) definition of Connection includes young people being valued, integral members of communities, which also reflects belonging; however, neither of these definitions capture all the nuances of belonging identified in this study.

In the local setting, belonging may be an important element to capture connections to people, land, sea, environment, and ancestors. In Te Ao Māori and Pacific world views it is through these connections that individual and collective identities are understood and developed (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Tamasese, 2002; Webber & McFarlane, 2020). These connections are also spiritual, with identity, spirituality, and belonging all closely linked (Tamasese, 2002; Toso, 2011). Thus, Connection may be more important and function differently in more collectively-oriented cultures.

Pittman and colleagues' (2003) definition of Character captures spirituality as "Connectedness to principles surrounding families, cultural groups, communities and higher deities. An awareness of one's own personality or individuality" (p. 11). This definition joins Connection with culture, and identity, through the C of Character, showing how all are linked. A recent study of the Five Cs in a faith-based youth programme in El Salvador identified links between Connection and Character for programme participants (Tirrell et al., 2019), which may be reflective of the interactions between self, other, and spirituality. Because of the centrality of these links in Māori and Pacific worldviews, they would need to be explicitly highlighted in local use of the Five Cs.

10.4.3.2 Connection as a Process

Both the findings and earlier discussion (Chapters Seven and Nine) highlighted how connections could function as outcomes and processes in programmes. Connections were key to creating accepting and supportive spaces, and many other outcomes emerged from relational experiences with others. Viewing Connection as a vehicle for development in Māori and Pacific worldviews helps to explain why this is. However, this function is not well identified in Five Cs definitions. In the local setting, other constructs such as belonging, may better capture these relationships. Belonging appears to be a combination of connection, acceptance, and the resulting positive sense of self. Thus, the findings of this study represent an important contribution to understanding of the Five Cs by highlighting the importance of belonging and the key role Connection plays as a process for other outcomes, especially identity development.

10.4.4 Character

10.4.1.1 Character and Values

In the findings, elements related to Character were seen largely within positive identity under values and attitudes development. Participants talked about values of compassion, care, drive/commitment, and positive mindset. These descriptions fit best with the Little (cited in Blum, 1993) definition of Character, which focuses on values development of individual responsibility, honesty, community service, responsible decision-making, and integrity. Pittman et al.'s (2003)

alignment of youth values with familial, cultural, and community and faith principles recognises the role of others in identity and value development.

In Lerner definitions (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011), Character is related to morality and right and wrong, which raises questions about which morals are desirable for young people to possess and how these are defined and agreed upon (Park & Peterson, 2006). Chapter Nine highlighted that programmes do not always explicitly describe their values frame and that both leader and youth values shape the programme. If Character is about young people subscribing to values that are desirable in communities, then it may be important for programmes to be aware of these and align their values to the cultural worlds of participants.

10.4.1.2 Character and Identity

Within the findings, positive identity was a key outcome which, along with values and attitudes development, also included identity exploration and expression, cultural identity, and self-worth. In some Five Cs definitions, identity is included with Confidence (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003), and this has been critiqued locally because of the links between Connection and identity described above. Pittman and colleagues' (2003) definition of Character includes awareness of personality and individuality, and these ideas align with positive identity findings related to identity exploration, expression and awareness of value through self-worth.

Character is also recognised as being socially and culturally bound (Lerner, 2005; Pittman et al., 2003; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). Therefore, when positive identity is considered as developing in relational, social, environmental, and cultural contexts, it fits better with Character definitions than Confidence. However, when adding local understandings of identity, including cultural identity, as inseparable from relationships, positive identity sits in the interaction of Connection and Character. Positioning positive identity within the Cs of Character and Connection represents a divergence, from the commonly held view of identity being located within the C of Confidence. This divergence shows what is unique about PYD in a local context, within an internationally understood framework.

Most Five Cs definitions of Confidence relate to self-worth and self-esteem; however, the findings and discussion suggest that in the local setting, self-worth straddles Confidence and identity. Self-worth links to Confidence through efficacy beliefs. It links to identity because it is about young people's sense of themselves as good and valuable people. This, again, highlights the inter-related and overlapping nature of outcomes, suggesting scope for further study of the concept of self-worth in the local setting.

10.4.5 Caring

10.4.5.1 Caring, Connection and Character

The C of Caring, described as sympathy and empathy for others, did not feature as an independent outcome in this study; rather, it was present as a feature of Connection, which described the types of relationships young people built, and Character as values and attitudes related to compassion and care for others. Values around compassion and care were often expressed through recognition of the need to help others and of interdependence in relationships with the community. Opportunities to show care also helped young people to feel valuable, linking to self-worth and positive identity. Other local studies have identified that Caring is embedded in experiences such as contributing or helping peers (Deane et al., 2017; Mercier et al., 2019). Caring emerges alongside Connection in programmes because relationships provide opportunities to express care and the Little (cited in Blum, 1993) definition of Connection describes relationships as caring. This fits the findings and further highlights the centrality of Connection in helping other outcomes to develop.

10.4.5.2 Caring and Cultural Values

There may be a cultural component to how Caring is viewed in local programmes. Mafile'o (2019) noted that love, which is also about care and compassion, is a central Pacific value, with the word embedded in most Pacific greetings. Love relates to showing care through actions, including giving, serving, and accepting others (Mafile'o, 2019). Care may also link to the idea of service as a key value in Pacific cultures. For example, Toso (2011) positioned fa'aaloalo (respect), tautua (service), and alofa (love) as core values central to Samoan spirituality and, by extension, identity and relationships. Thus, care related values may be central values that Pacific participants in the study brought with them and naturally expressed in their interactions with others. The expression of care in programmes was noted in the programme process of an Accepting Atmosphere. Feelings of unconditional acceptance, care, and support, helped young people to feel safe and positive about exploring and expressing themselves, thus linking to positive identity. These links between a caring atmosphere and a positive sense of self are further evidence of the relationships between values, self, culture, and spirituality, and their relevance in the local setting.

Statistical links between Caring and Character were also identified in the Five Cs study (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005); further suggesting that care may be part of broader value systems. The findings of this PhD study provide a qualitative description of how these two may be linked, by showing how programmes provide relevant opportunities to both develop and express values, which may or may not be values already possessed by youth. Again, this suggests that more research on the

characteristics and values that young people come to programmes with is needed (Lerner et al., 2013; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016; Scales et al., 2016).

10.4.6 Creativity

As identified in Chapter Two, an additional C of Creativity has been proposed (Dimitrova et al., 2021). It is defined as the ability to adapt and solve problems in culturally and contextually meaningful ways and like other Cs is seen to be part of PYD and lead to Contribution (Dimitrova et al., 2021). The ability to adapt and find solutions most aligns with personal skills identified in this study, which included young people's ability to manage themselves in a range of situations. However, the ability to adapt and solve problems was inherent in all skill development. Creativity is also linked to enjoyment (Dimitrova et al., 2021), potentially linking to fun in this study, and the two were linked in a staff member comment from a youth creative arts programme, who saw fun as fuelling creativity. Fun was seen as valuable to young people because it made things feel worthwhile and novel. The idea of fun is not well captured under other Five Cs definitions.

Although Creativity as problem solving did not feature strongly in this study, Creativity may warrant further exploration in the local setting, particularly in Te Ao Māori views of development. In Ware and Walsh-Tapiata's (2010) study of young Māori perceptions of PYD, a key theme was 'innovative', which related to the ability to be clever, navigate solutions, and learn from experience. Keelan (2014) similarly suggested links to Creativity by aligning PYD with stories of Māui³⁰, who she described as an entrepreneur and innovator, with these stories providing powerful metaphors for youth to learn from and to understand PYD.

10.4.6.1 Creativity and Identity

Creativity could also be of further relevance if defined more broadly. Outside of Five Cs research, it is noted that creativity is difficult to define and can have discipline specific definitions, but concepts of novelty and value are common (Weisberg et al., 2021). Martin and Wilson (2017) proposed that discovery is key to creativity, which involves "the discovery of new possibility and bringing it into being" (p. 423) and noted that this can occur in a number of domains, including of the self. Defining the C of Creativity in this way links well with ideas of identity exploration and expression in this study, and these aspects of positive identity may find a better home in Creativity than Character. Creativity as discovery, innovation, and expression also links well with the concept of mauri in the Mana Taiohi model, which is linked to a person's life spark, identity, and the importance of fuelling and developing passions (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Deane et al., 2019).

³⁰ An ancestor from Māori and Pacific myths, legends and history (Keelan, 2014)

10.4.7 Contribution

In the Five Cs model, Contribution is proposed as an overarching C, occurring as a result of PYD (Lerner, 2004; 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2013). Contribution was seen in this study in the themes of agency and giving back. Agency was about young people's ability to have influence in their own lives and in the world around them; thus, it linked to Lerner's (2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011) definitions of positive contribution to self, family, community, and, eventually, civil society. Giving back also aligns with Contribution and was about young people's ability to help and contribute to others and to the community and the benefits they received, such as increased agency, pride, and self-worth. These elements aligned with Lerner definitions above and with Pittman et al.'s (2003) definition of Contribution, which refers to participation and leadership in different domains, decision-making, influence, and accepting responsibility. In the findings, various contributions to self, family/whānau, community, and society, were interconnected and this adds to our understanding of Contribution in the local setting. For example, agency through independence, a form of self-contribution, could lead young people to use their agency in service of those around them, such as helping peers, family/whānau, and siblings.

10.4.7.1 Contribution in the Present

Because this study generally included young people still in programmes, they did not discuss Contribution functioning as an overarching construct, however some staff were able to reflect on the overarching contributions of previous programme participants. Contribution was clearly evident during programme participation, which suggests it can occur concurrently with other Cs in the local setting. Young people can contribute to all domains of self, others, family/whānau, and community while in programmes, especially when this is linked to programme activities. The 4-H study similarly found Contribution was linked to programme participation (Mueller et al., 2011) and the role of Contribution as another indicator of PYD rather than a longer-term impact has been noted in other Five Cs studies (Arnold & Gagnon, 2019; Mercier et al., 2019). Contribution may function at the same level as other Cs in local programmes and further reflect cultural values related to service, care, and interconnectedness.

10.4.7.2 Contribution and Recognition

Young people contributed to the community and recognised that they gained from this through a sense of belonging to community, recognition, and value. Thus, Contribution, like Connection, can be bi-directional and evidence adaptive developmental regulation. The desire to be valued and recognised may be an important motivator in young people's navigation to programmes which offer useful skills and the opportunity to contribute. It was through recognition that young people could recognise their own outcomes and see their value and worth. This interplay was particularly relevant

in relation to Contribution because young people could see the way they could be an integral part of their communities.

Programmes played a significant role, by providing the relationships and opportunities through which Contribution could occur and be recognised (Lerner, 2004; Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005). This recognition of Contribution as relational is reflected in Geldhof and colleagues' (2015) definition which identifies Contribution and PYD as related to reciprocal relationships.

Contribution in the local setting appears to be both present and future focussed, relational through its relationship to recognition, and aligned to young people's values. Contribution in one area may spur contribution in others or have flow on effects. These aspects of Contribution help to build on existing definitions and highlight nuances in the local setting. These findings also suggest that further investigation of the role of Contribution as at the same level as other Cs is warranted to recognise the value of young people's role in society.

10.5 The Five Cs and an Outcomes Framework

The data suggest that there are several gaps and differences between commonly used Five Cs definitions and local perceptions. These gaps can broadly be summarised in relation to the overlap between process and outcome. In many cases, the two are difficult to separate; and for young people, often the process is an outcome in and of itself. Process elements of outcomes, such as having fun and feeling able to be oneself and be accepted by others, recognise the interaction and functioning of the young person in their context, highlighting the dynamic and bi-directional nature of PYD as a developmental process (Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007). Process elements show how critical it is for young people to be valued by those around them, because many of these elements are related to recognition, through being acknowledged, respected, and accepted. These processes will be discussed in Chapter Eleven.

By contrast, much of the existing Five Cs definitions relate to what Theokas and colleagues (2005) referred to as states—behavioural points in time; and traits—individual elements. Whilst these are important components of outcomes, they do not seem to capture some of the process or interactional elements of outcomes. For example, the value of Connection is not just the state of being connected to others, but the process of belonging and feeling valued and supported, and this is critical to identity development. Process elements are acknowledged in Geldhof and colleagues' (2015) definitions which note the interaction of youth and contexts, and the importance of being valued. The proposed 7th C of Creativity also captures process elements through undertaking actions which are culturally meaningful.

A greater focus on process elements and recognition of the local context, as indicated in the current study, changes the placement of some constructs within the Cs and expands the definition of others. In the local setting, identity straddles Character and Connection, and links with Creativity. Character and Connection recognise the relational nature of identity, whilst Creativity highlights the process of identity exploration and expression which was important to young people. Competence in the local setting recognises the role of celebration and enjoyment. Confidence includes domain specific efficacy, not just global self-efficacy and worth. Connection includes whakapapa, links across time and place, and recognises the importance of belonging for bridging a sense of identity and connection. Contribution is present at all levels and not necessarily an overarching construct.

Thus, the findings of this study suggest that the current and most widely recognised Lerner definitions of the Five Cs (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011) do not align well with the proposed outcomes framework. It has been suggested that the Five Cs may be too broad to capture programme outcomes (Arnold & Gagnon, 2019) and this critique may be valid in the local setting. While the outcomes can be linked to the Five Cs, constructs such as agency, positive affect, and positive identity are not clearly stated in the Five Cs framework. While locally identity may align with definitions for Connection, Character, and Creativity, its significance may be lost when split across these different areas. The proposed outcomes framework from the findings defines both identity and connection as Relational Outcomes because they were interwoven with young people's relational experiences in programmes and with each-other. Positioning the two under Relational Outcomes better fits both the data and Māori and Pacific views of identity as relational and contextual. The proposed framework (Table 10.1) also provides more detail for understanding outcomes such as positive affect and developing measures in the local setting. To be more relevant, the Five Cs could incorporate local nuances and priorities. Based on study findings, some local definitions of the Five Cs are proposed in Table 10.3

Table 10.3*Proposed Aotearoa Definitions of the Five Cs*

Aotearoa Definitions of the Five Cs	
Competence	Development, demonstration, enjoyment, and celebration of interpersonal, vocational, self-management, goal-setting, leadership, and helping skills.
Confidence	Sense of global and domain specific efficacy. Appraisal of one's development and future. Positive engagement in relationships and activities.
Connection	The experience of bi-directional relationships with peers, whānau, community, and adults, culture, land, environment, and whakapapa characterised by care and a sense of belonging and value. These are central to the young person's sense of individual and collective self.
Character	A sense of identity, culture, values, and worth (individual and collective) within familial, cultural, community, and societal domains.
Creativity	Innovation, expression, and discovery in various domains and contexts including identity.
Contribution	Undertaking agentic actions and activities (present and future) that enhance and influence self, whānau, family, community, and culture that are recognised and valued.

These definitions provide a way to anchor a broad Western model that is being explored internationally in Aotearoa. They address gaps in Five Cs knowledge by aligning locally nuanced programme outcome perceptions with existing definitions. These definitions exclude the C of Caring as a stand-alone construct, placing this as feature of Connection and include the more recently proposed C of Creativity (Dimitrova et al., 2021) to highlight the importance of identity development in the local setting. While these definitions may not provide a detailed outcomes framework in the local setting, they can form a basis from which to assess how local experiences of PYD in programmes may be similar or different to experiences of PYD in other areas. This enhances research directions suggested by international scholars to better understand how the Five Cs are expressed in different contexts (Lerner, 2018; Strachan et al., 2018) and provides a basis to further define local PYD in a global field. These findings may also be a valuable comparison point for other diverse cultures to explore the Five Cs in their contexts.

10.6 Chapter Summary

Based on the nine outcomes identified in the study and their relationship to the literature, this chapter has proposed that an outcomes framework is possible. The chapter has suggested that the application of this framework be guided by a 'core and more' approach where key outcomes and their measurement are driven by both the programme context and young people. In the local setting, the core would likely be those outcomes seen as most prevalent and important in this study—skills, agency, confidence, connection, and positive identity—outcomes that are also supported by the literature.

The chapter then assessed the Five Cs model in relation to this framework and concluded that the commonly used Lerner definitions (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011) do not align well in the local context; although both earlier and more recent definitions offer relevant components. Through assessing the findings against these various definitions, a set of local definitions have been proposed. These definitions help to place local PYD in an internationally recognised framework, where the nine outcomes from the findings are seen as a more nuanced outcomes framework in the local setting.

This chapter has served to answer the final two research question, relating to both the possibility of an outcomes framework and the relevance of the Five Cs. In doing so, the study has provided some important avenues for future research regarding outcome measurement and contextually nuanced experiences of the Five Cs and PYD. The following chapter considers programme processes and assesses the findings through a critical realist lens.

Chapter 11: Programme Processes and a Critical Realist Lens

Chapter Ten identified a proposed outcomes framework (Table 10.1) assessed the relevance of the Five Cs model to this framework, and proposed local definitions of the Five Cs. This chapter discusses the processes that contributed to outcomes, while recognising that outcome and process are not always distinct. It discusses programme processes in relation to PYD literature and then uses a critical realist lens to identify possible causal mechanisms that sit behind the empirically observed findings. A critical realist overlay helps to further understand local programme outcomes and shows how this approach is valuable to PYD research and scholarship.

11.1 Programme Processes and the Literature

Data suggest three key programme processes supported outcomes: a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours. These intentional processes created the types of environments in which Behavioural, Internal, and Relational Outcomes occurred. This section situates these processes in PYD literature and highlights their relationship to outcomes.

11.1.1 A Youth-Centric Space

The findings showed that the provision of a Youth-Centric Space was important. This included offering relevant activities, having an accessible and youthful environment, being flexible and tailored, being different from school and offering opportunities for youth to lead and be valued. These youth-centric elements were essential to engaging young people and making them comfortable enough to push themselves to try new things and build new relationships. These features created a positive stance towards young people that supported their efficacy and took them seriously (Eccles & Gootman, 2002). Components such as a youthful environment and being flexible and tailored could counteract previous negative learning experiences, helping young people to see themselves and their abilities more positively. Having a sense of control and being active along with appropriate challenge and feedback are key parts of an optimal learning environment (Shernoff, 2012).

A Youth-Centric Space afforded young people opportunities to explore and relax without judgement or expectation. For example, a young person and a staff member from a creative arts programme discussed the freedom, excitement, and specialness inherent in creative activities in the programme. This helped young people to explore identity and feel good about what they were capable of now, while opening doors for the future.

A Youth-Centric Space was flexible. Even when structured, programme leaders showed awareness of young people's differences and adjusted delivery. Dawes and colleagues (2017) noted the importance of balancing boundaries and expectations with flexibility and responsiveness for development. They argued that this flexibility is a key contributor to programme effectiveness. These practices are also implicit in the Developmental Relationships Framework (Pekel et al., 2018; Scales et al., 2020) which balances care with growth and boundaries, and expectations with listening, encouragement, and guidance. All of these elements were present in the findings. For example, the leaders from the uniformed youth development organisation discussed how they were flexible but held expectations.

11.1.2 An Accepting Atmosphere

An Accepting Atmosphere, the second programme process, related to the type of culture and relationships fostered and maintained in programmes. Accepting Atmospheres were characterised by spaces that allowed young people to be themselves, felt safe, had a sense of shared goals and were supportive. This made programmes feel family-like—a core component of whanaungatanga (Rata, 2012) seen as key to learning for Pacific young people (Reynolds, 2018). A supportive and accepting space was one where young people felt able to take risks in opening up to others and sharing themselves. Programmes provided young people with a safe base for exploration of self and the world (Heckman & Kautz, cited in Pekel et al., 2018). This sense of safe base and the ability to be oneself could act as both an outcome and a process. An Accepting Atmosphere related to the supportive experience of the programme and the sense of connection and acceptance that developed as a result.

For example, young people in a faith-based youth development programme described how they gained confidence because they were allowed to be themselves and accepted each other, showing how young people were active in the creation and maintenance of an Accepting Atmosphere, thus facilitating outcomes for each other. This reinforces findings from local studies which identified group belonging a mediator for identity related outcomes, such as self-efficacy and self-esteem (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Hunter et al., 2013; Scarf et al., 2018). Peers play a role in adolescent identity development (Ragelienė, 2016) and PYD (Donlan et al., 2015), and programmes are an important environment to cultivate positive peer influence (Brendtro et al., 2005; Larson et al., 2019). This study provides a descriptive account of these processes in the local context.

11.1.3 Leader/Adult Behaviours

The third programme process, Leader/Adult Behaviours, was referred to less often than an Accepting Atmosphere or a Youth-Centric Space. This contrasts with the Big Three, which suggests

that ongoing supportive relationships with adults are key to PYD programmes (Lerner, 2004). Leaders are the ones who set the culture and guide the values of the group. They adapt processes based on observations of youth needs. They are often the instigators and maintainers of an Accepting Atmosphere and the ones who facilitate the Youth-Centric Space. These roles were reflected in discussions about adults and leaders being supportive and acting as role models. The lack of discussion about leader behaviours may highlight the effectiveness of their work, such that their roles are not overtly visible or intrusive in young people's programme experiences.

11.1.4 Programme Processes and Existing Models

The programme processes described in the findings are assessed below in relation to models of programme characteristics from the literature and these are summarised in Table 11.1.

The processes described in this study align well with Eccles and Gootman's (2002) descriptions of positive developmental settings, with elements of structure, responsibility, relevance, safety, support, belonging, and shared norms in both. Eccles and Gootman's list of features also includes community and family integration, which was not overtly discussed by participants in this study as part of programme processes. However, this integration may be linked to organisation, community, and family/whānau connection which were observed in the findings, again highlighting how outcomes and processes can overlap.

Programme processes in the findings also align with the Developmental Relationships Framework (Scales et al., 2020). A Youth-Centric Space matches well with elements of challenging growth, expanding possibilities and sharing power. Care and support in the Developmental Relationships Framework was seen in both an Accepting Atmosphere and Leader Behaviours, whilst leader role modelling helped to expand possibilities by showing different ways to be and set the tone for an Accepting Atmosphere.

Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003a) discussed the importance of programme atmosphere and leaders role:

Leaders and staff of youth development programs create and nourish an atmosphere of hope. The positive, youth-centred atmosphere conveys the adults' belief in youth as resources to be developed rather than problems to be managed. Individual attention, cultural appropriateness, and the choice and responsibility given to adolescents set a positive youth development tone. The atmosphere in these programs resembles that in a caring family, where knowledgeable and supportive adults empower adolescents to develop their competencies. (p. 97)

This description fits well with the components of an Accepting Atmosphere described in the present study and highlights the importance of leaders in this process.

By contrast, Lerner's Big Three (Lerner, 2004), which was used to assist in developing inclusion criteria for this study, does not emphasise the role of the programme atmosphere, as shown in Table 11.1 below.

Table 11.1

Programme Processes and the Reviewed Literature

Programme Processes shown in the findings	Sub-Themes	Eccles & Gootman (2002)	Roth & Brooks-Gunn (2003a)	Lerner Big Three (2004)	Developmental Relationships (Scales et al., 2020)
Youth-Centric Space	Relevant activities Accessible and youthful environment Flexible and tailored Not school Youth lead and are valued	Appropriate structure Support for efficacy and mattering (i.e., responsibility, empowerment, and challenge) Opportunities to build skills Integration with family, school, and community	Programme Goals – positive, broad, developmental, appropriate challenge Programme Atmosphere - balancing freedom with expectations and boundaries Programme activities - push young people to try new things, develop skills and are different from school	Opportunities for youth participation in and leadership of activities Emphasise the development of life skills	Challenging growth Sharing power Expanding possibilities
Accepting Atmosphere	Ok to be myself here Safe Shared goals and motivation Supportive group environment	Physical and psychological safety Supportive relationships Opportunities to belong Positive social norms	Programme Atmosphere Safe, family like, culturally inclusive spaces that allow young people to explore and challenge themselves		Showing care Providing support
Leader/Adult Behaviours	Friendly and relatable Supportive Role models	Relationships with adults/leaders underlying the characteristics above		Sustained and caring youth-adult relationship	Providing support Expanding possibilities Showing care

The findings of this study also highlight the role young people played in facilitating an Accepting Atmosphere for each other, adding to our knowledge about programme processes. Young people were active contributors to this programme process through helping to create and maintain group norms, values, and ways of relating. Further investigation of young people's role as active agents of outcomes for themselves and others may be a useful avenue for future research.

11.2 A Critical Realist Lens

This study has taken a critical realist approach which is interested in causal mechanisms at the real level (Fletcher, 2017). The analytic process in critical realist studies includes both abductive and retroductive reasoning to look beyond the empirical domain to understand and theorise about mechanisms that may influence what occurs and what is observed (Danermark et al., 2019; Fletcher, 2017). The critical realist lens to the study was described in Chapter Four. This section proposes some causal mechanisms within programmes which, when present, may tend towards outcome development. These mechanisms are recognition, youth agency, and the way the two interact to form 'the magic of programmes', which describes the way programmes respond to the various characteristics of youth. A critical realist perspective also recognises that proposed explanations are relative to my knowledge and position (Groff, 2004)—that of a Pākehā researcher.

11.3 Recognition

Retroductive reasoning can help to identify causal mechanisms and conditions that must be present for something to occur (Danermark et al., 2019; Eastwood et al., 2014); in this case, the conditions that support programme outcomes. An underlying theme in the data, which appears to be one of these conditions, is recognition. Recognition in this study refers to the acknowledgement of young people, their skills, capabilities, needs, and value by others. Recognition appeared key in supporting Behavioural Outcomes of skills, agency, achievement, and giving back, because recognition from others helped young people to undertake actions and see their value. Recognition enhanced confidence and positive identity because young people could value themselves and who they were as they saw others value them. A sense of being valued helped strong peer connections to form and allowed young people to explore and express their own identities, thus feeling accepting of who they were. Recognition is discussed below in relation to the findings and literature.

11.3.1 Recognition, Behaviour, and Learning

PYD literature supports recognition as a causal mechanism by focusing on its role in enhancing pro-social behaviours. Catalano and colleagues (2004) identified recognition of positive behaviour as one

of the key objectives of a PYD approach because it supports and reinforces positive behaviour and aligns with strengths-based approaches. Recognition is also key to learning and positive behaviour because recognition, particularly of effort, helps to build competence and self-esteem (Law et al., 2012).

The role of recognition in learning and behaviour was evident in the findings, particularly in the ways young people learned about and adhered to programme norms. Programmes had clear expectations and ways of behaving in groups which were often reinforced and sometimes set by young people. Behavioural expectations proactively used young people's desire for peer recognition by setting norms around being kind, accepting, and welcoming to peers in order to belong in the group. Young people not only adhered to these norms but copied, modified, and maintained them over time, which links to social learning theory, where positive recognition-gaining behaviours become part of internal behavioural repertoires over time (Law et al., 2012).

Recognition of young people's efforts to help others made them feel good about their role, helped them to see their part to play in society, and promoted values of compassion, care, and community mindedness, thus enhancing future behaviours. Law and colleagues (2012) related recognition processes to self-determination theory, where behaviours may initially be performed for external reward but, through recognition and resulting self-esteem, become integrated into a person's goals and identity. Damon and colleagues (2003) suggested that committing to causes larger than oneself helps to develop a sense of purpose, which is key to PYD. In the findings, it was often recognition from others that fuelled these reflections. Recognition plays a key part in the development of purpose, values, and pro-social behaviour by helping to determine and reinforce what is socially desirable.

11.3.2 Recognition, Relationships, and Value

In the study, recognition from others helped young people to acknowledge outcomes for themselves. For example, when programmes provided opportunities for celebration or formal recognition, young people could acknowledge their achievements. Programmes without these formal processes discussed achievement less often. Comparing these different experiences and applying counterfactual thinking (Danermark et al., 2019) it may be that without recognition of achievement, young people are less likely to recognise their own achievements, highlighting the role of recognition as a causal mechanism. Similarly, it was when young people's contributions to the community were recognised that they became aware of the role they could play and their value to society. Thus, recognition of skills and contributions is an important part of effective programmes and PYD settings (Lerner et al., 2006; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003a).

Recognition in programmes may be due to their PYD approach, something which young people did not always experience elsewhere. Experiences of recognition enhanced connection to the community, positive affect, such as pride, and a positive view of self. This study builds on the literature by helping to show why this recognition is important. It holds up a mirror through which young people can more clearly see their own talents and value. In this way, recognition is not just a reinforcer, but a relational process that helps people to see themselves and how they are perceived by others. In PYD literature, this type of relational recognition is referred to as “mattering” (Eccles & Gootman, 2002, p. 121) where young people see that their actions have an impact and, therefore, know that they are important and valuable. In the Developmental Relationships Framework, mattering is expressed through warmth, valuing, praise, and trust (Pekel et al., 2018).

Relational recognition was seen strongly with peers in the study. Through a sense of belonging and acceptance within programmes, young people felt safe to share, be vulnerable, and be fully themselves. It was this sense of being seen, recognised, and positively received as oneself, described in an Accepting Atmosphere, that was key to the development of a positive identity and a sense of self-value. This type of acceptance can be linked to Roger’s idea of unconditional positive regard where a person is recognised and seen positively regardless of behaviour (cited in Law et al., 2012). Study participants identified the deep recognition they received in programmes, which was different from other places, especially school, which could be judgemental and dismissive. Positive regard and recognition in school and society may be more conditional on certain behaviours and achievements (Froiland, 2021). These notable differences between the relational context of programmes as compared to school could motivate both navigation to programmes; and adherence to, and development and maintenance of, an Accepting Atmosphere.

11.3.3 Theories of Recognition

The ways recognition helped young people to see their own achievements and explore and express themselves can be further understood through other theories that are compatible with PYD. The first of these is self-psychology, a relational theory about the development and maintenance of identity and esteem. Self-psychology’s concept of mirroring can assist with understanding relational processes of recognition, where empathic, caring responses can help a person to know themselves and their value (Baker & Baker, 1987). Developmentally, mirroring usually occurs in early caregiving relationships where caregivers attune to the feelings and needs of babies and young children and respond appropriately (Baker & Baker, 1987). When done adequately, children develop a healthy sense of self-esteem, while accepting their limitations. Esteem-maintaining relationships and adequate mirroring are required throughout life, and it is suggested that peers are a key source of these mirroring experiences in adolescence (Baker & Baker, 1987).

Descriptions of an Accepting Atmosphere where young people welcomed, supported, and understood each other, combined with a Youth-Centric Space, which took young people seriously, showed how programmes provided these empathic, mirroring spaces. These spaces allowed young people to explore and express their sense of self and see this as valued by others and, as a result, value themselves. Examples of this were seen in descriptions from a uniformed youth development organisation where young people felt truly welcomed to explore and express themselves and thus described feeling confident and accepting of themselves in situations outside of the group.

Honneth's (1995) Recognition Theory also helps to explain recognition as a causal mechanism. This theory sees recognition as a relational need occurring at all levels of interaction: as an individual, as a citizen, and of the rights therein, and as a member of and contributor to society (Honneth, cited in Schmitz, 2019). Through recognition, both autonomy and interdependence are acknowledged, including the negotiation of shared norms and values (Honneth, 2020). As such, recognition is mutual, respectful, and contextual (Berendzen, 2019). Recognition can occur, or not, at both individual and group levels where people seek to have their way of being recognised. Thus, social and societal conflict is seen as a 'struggle' for recognition (Honneth, 1995).

Recognition of individuals, rights, and contributions were evident in the findings. Young people felt recognised as individuals through supportive and accepting connections with others and they also provided recognition for their peers. Citizenship and rights recognition was seen within a Youth-Centric Space, where young people were taken seriously, given freedom and opportunities to lead. These experiences recognised young people as active and agentic participants in programmes. Finally, through opportunities for contribution, young people could see their roles in wider society and feel recognised beyond the programme. Societal recognition is identified within PYD via contribution and civic identity. This includes recognition of what young people can offer in the present, and their role as active contributors to projects and communities; rather than as simply volunteers or learners (Skelton, cited in Lerner et al., 2006). In the study, many activities occurred in groups and had wider benefit to family/whānau, community, and future generations. These opportunities, and how they are provided, may reflect Māori and Pacific worldviews and make programmes relevant to young people by providing collective spaces that help them to recognise their place within a larger whole.

11.3.4 Young People's Struggle for Recognition

Perceiving recognition as a need and a societal function also assists with understanding why young people in the study expressed a desire for recognition of their value from adults and society. This

may represent young people's collective struggle for recognition as citizens and contributors. Feeling a sense of group recognition can result in collective pride, as Honneth (1995) noted:

Here, the individual knows himself or herself to be a member of a social group that can collectively accomplish things whose worth for society is recognized by all other members of society. (p. 28)

Young people in the study seemed aware of a deficit view of youth in society, and their struggle for recognition. Programmes provided avenues to meet recognition needs that were not always available elsewhere, such as at school or in the wider community. This struggle for recognition and a view that programmes could provide a different experience may motivate young people to navigate to programmes; for example, to prove themselves as capable, useful, and welcome in society. The struggle for recognition was especially relevant in discussions of agency. An important component of being independent and having influence was about being seen as someone who had things to offer others, both now and in the future. This desire for recognition in the present could motivate giving back and community involvement. Young people also expressed a desire to be useful and productive in the future, and a fear that they may not be. In this way, both the presence and absence of a mechanism can have causal powers (Haigh et al., 2019). In this instance, a perceived absence of recognition could motivate navigation to programmes, with the recognition given within programmes supporting the development of outcomes. The way a lack of recognition may motivate programme participation is an example of the relationship between structure and agency, where this lack constrains young people's sense of agency in the community but may enhance their agentic action to navigate to programmes.

11.3.5 Recognition and School

Participants compared programme experiences to school. Finding belonging and supportive relationships at school is challenging for vulnerable youth (Dewhurst et al., 2014), but these challenges may not be so visible for others. While not generally considered vulnerable, young people in the study still spoke about school as a place that was socially challenging, beset with peer expectations or judgements that constrained identity exploration and expression. Others identified a lack of acknowledgement from adults about young people's capabilities, perceiving themselves as less powerful and able to express themselves compared to adults, or experiencing learning environments that did not meet their needs. School did not always provide adequate recognition of young people's identities or of their capabilities and contributions.

By contrast, programmes were places where young people felt both respected as they were and challenged to contribute. Programmes provided scope to test out new skills and ways of being, with

a sense that it was acceptable to mess-up or experiment because the social and academic stakes did not feel so high. Elements of an Accepting Atmosphere and a Youth-Centric Space made this possible. An Accepting Atmosphere provided recognition of identity through belonging and support which made programmes safe spaces to try new things and make mistakes. A Youth-Centric Space provided the type of environment where young people could flourish, by recognising their needs and skills which allowed them to test what they were capable of. Programmes may also have felt like lower stakes environments because young people usually engaged once a week and had choice about attending, whereas school is a daily requirement and includes assessment. In addition, programmes were usually smaller groups, where young people built lasting and close relationships that helped them to learn and take risks.

Differences between programmes and schools identified in the study are similarly described by Pittman (2017) who noted that programmes offer project-based learning that places young people at the centre and allows them flexibility and choice, which is not always the case at school. Deane and colleagues (2020) noted that school contexts did not always offer the same belonging and nurture as programmes. In a Search Institute study of the elements of developmental relationships, only 29% of young people self-reported having a developmental relationship with a teacher (Scales et al., cited in Pekel et al., 2018). Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2016) noted that studies consistently show engagement in structured activities as being higher than engagement in school. The findings of this current study, and others, support the role of programmes as being able to provide recognition that is not always accessible at school, particularly of young people's capabilities and agency through offering flexibility and choice.

In this study, three programmes were located in schools. In two of these programmes, the delivery involved teachers. Young people in these programmes commented on their connection to teachers and saw themselves as key parts of the school environment. Conversely, the quantitative findings of Furness' (2013) school-based Project K programme did not involve teachers in delivery and did not show significant impact on school connectedness. Combined, these findings suggest that it is not about the location of the programme (school) but the relationships with and recognition from teachers that helps to build a positive view of and connection to school.

One further point regarding differences between programmes and schools was identified by two programmes that attracted high numbers of young people who experienced neurodiversity, learning difficulties, and other social challenges. Some participants highlighted the challenges that catering to different social and learning needs could provide in creating a supportive programme environment, but also the extreme value of an Accepting Atmosphere to young people who may be ostracised

elsewhere or may not meet entry criteria for other services. Young people who identified themselves as struggling socially, described programmes as places where they could safely learn to interact well with others. The recognition of their challenges, coupled with the recognition provided by an Accepting Atmosphere, helped them test out new skills in a supportive environment. The ability of programmes to provide support and recognition for neurodiverse youth highlights their role in supporting social functioning. It also highlights the role of peers in these spaces for providing valuable feedback and support. Further, it suggests potential gaps, both in the provision of these types of supports for neurodiverse youth and in training and acknowledgement for leaders of programmes in managing these complex dynamics.

Differences in youth perception of programmes and schools offers programmes and educators insights about how to effectively engage young people. Analysis points to the key role of recognition in programmes from both peers and leaders that is often different to school. Understanding these differences may assist programmes to continue and improve their ability to provide recognition for different groups, particularly those groups who may not be currently well engaged in programmes. Schools may benefit from understanding the ways recognition is provided and fostered in programmes by both staff and youth.

11.3.6 Cultural Constructs of Recognition

Culture was an important area of recognition in programmes. As noted throughout the findings and discussion, not all programmes were adept at cultural recognition. The indigenous values-based leadership programme consciously provided cultural recognition and cultural identity was discussed by all participants. This programme may act as an “extreme case” (Danermark et al., 2019, p. 125), where a causal mechanism is particularly apparent when compared to other cases, serving to further highlight the role of the mechanism. Cultural recognition included recognition of whakapapa (past and future), place, values, and, by extension, spirituality. It represented recognition of the person’s belonging and identity within whānau, community, and natural contexts. Concepts of recognition of the person in context are embedded in Te Ao Māori and in many Māori youth development models including the Mana Taiohi framework, which acknowledges whakapapa (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Deane et al., 2019). For programmes to provide mana enhancing recognition, explicit positive inclusion of culture, particularly for Māori, will be needed (McFarlane et al., 2017, Reihana-Morunga, 2020; Simmonds et al., 2014).

Cultural concepts may provide further avenues for understanding how recognition can be enacted in the local context. The sections below describe my understanding as a Pākehā researcher of how

both the concept of va and the naming of the Unitec marae complex may provide relevant local frameworks for recognition. These are offered as possible interpretations of causal mechanisms.

11.3.7 Va and Teu Le Va

Va is considered as the relational space which exists in all relationships between people and contexts (Anae, 2010); and teu le va relates to the nurture, care, and maintenance of the relational space for which all parties are responsible (Airini et al., 2010; Anae, 2010; Mila-Schaaf, 2006). Va recognises relationships as sacred, care of which helps to ensure personal and collective wellbeing (Anae, 2010). Mila-Schaaf (2006) described va as a system “requiring harmony, balance, reciprocity and mutual respect and relationship” (p. 12). As such, va appears to align with the balance of recognition and respect of self and other, and between autonomy and reciprocity in various contexts, as described in recognition theory (Honneth, 2020). In programmes, harmony, respect, and reciprocity were encouraged through relevant activities, informal spaces, and flexible approaches that valued youth contributions (Youth-Centric Space) and leader role-modelling of how to be in the group (Leader/Adult Behaviours). This established norms around the nature and form of group relationships; that they were safe, respectful, and supportive, with freedom to be oneself while also respectful of others and their expression (an Accepting Atmosphere).

Leader behaviours were not always discussed in-depth; however, leaders appeared highly attentive to the space and relational needs of members through the way they tailored their approaches to each group or individual. They were aware of the space between people through monitoring and nurturing peer relationships, youth-leader relationships, youth-community relationships, and young people’s engagement in all of these areas. From this perspective leaders took a key role in teu le va.

Teu le va has also been described as “tidying up” the relational space (Airini, et al., 2010 p. 11), suggesting that respectful and caring spaces can sometimes be uncomfortable or challenging. Leaders performed this “tidying up” in the ways they communicated expectations and sometimes pushed young people out of their comfort zones. Leaders in several programmes discussed holding and maintaining expectations and the learning and growth that came from challenges. This represents the negotiation of norms, values, mutual recognition, and how any recognition struggles may be managed in programmes.

Young people were key in teu le va, evidenced in discussions of an Accepting Atmosphere, where young people felt their peers accepted and welcomed them no matter what. Participants identified peer responsiveness to moods, experiences, and emotional nuances, and the ways young people provided appropriate responses to these, such as allowing others space to express their thoughts

and feelings. It was this care and maintenance for the va that was instrumental in young people feeling that they could explore and express their identity within programmes.

Young people also maintained the va through upholding and constructing group values. Young people brought values to programmes around service, faith, and community, and navigated programmes as a way to express these. In this way, programmes provided recognition of young people's values, either through consciously providing a values base that matched participants or through their responsiveness to the values and characteristics that young people brought to programmes. Young people also maintained programme values around respect and care and upheld group norms by internalising expected behaviours. Possibly because the sample included high numbers of Pacific youth, Pacific values of love, service, care, and respect (Mafile'o, 2019) were seen strongly in programmes. Concepts of va and teu le va may be useful ways to understand how recognition occurs in programmes and locate this in a culturally relevant way for Pacific youth.

11.3.8 Te Noho Kotahitanga: A Framework for Recognition

Te Ao Māori concepts also appear to inherently align with notions of recognition. A cultural advisor gifted a framework for recognition in practice (L. Toki, personal communication, 3rd May 2021). This framework is based on the naming of a building and features at Te Noho Kotahitanga, the Unitec Marae³¹ complex. This naming is used to guide the student journey at Unitec, where I was employed throughout most of this PhD, and provides a practical conceptualisation of recognition in programmes from a culturally relevant framework. This is described in Figure 11.1 under the names of the various features, with an explanation of how they may apply to programmes.

This framework provides a culturally located way to consider the role of recognition in programmes. The findings suggest that recognition already occurs in programmes and the framework adds cultural, spiritual, and ancestral recognition, by placing these aspects as important parts of what young people bring to programmes.

³¹ The courtyard and complex around a wharehau (meeting house) (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

Figure 11.1

The Features of Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae Complex



- The dining area is called Manaaki, which relates to support, hospitality and care. Manaaki acts as a further endorsement of who people are and why they are there. It is about providing a space to chew things over, converse and find a sense of fit. It is about supporting and growing people's mana.

In programme practice, Manaaki relates to the mirroring that occurs in programmes. Young people see their value recognised by others through acceptance of who they are, encouragement and care. This allows them to perceive themselves as valuable.

- The wharehau, is called Ngakau Mahaki which relates to respect and humility. This is about meeting and accepting people where they are at.

In programme practice, the concept of Ngakau Mahaki relates to the stance of leaders. Respect and humility provide genuine recognition of others and adaptation to the uniqueness of each young person.

- All of these buildings and features are part of the marae complex, called Te Noho Kotahitanga, which is about collaboration and partnership. This represents the synergy of all of the parts of the complex and the processes they represent, the Treaty partnership between Māori and Tauīwi⁴ and the learning partnership between students, peers, and teachers.

In programmes, the concept of Te Noho Kotahitanga represents the partnerships of young people with each other, with leaders and the relational recognition that occurs within these relationships. It can also be about the recognition of young people's role as citizens of and contributors to society and the role of programmes in supporting this.

- On the marae, the pōwhiri⁵ is a central component of this recognition process, where the karanga⁶ calls people and their ancestors but also provides connection to the marae, the land, and the learning process. The whaikōrero⁷ and waitata⁸ form connection and belonging and formalise connection and relationship.

The pōwhiri recognises the relational space, the individual and their place and role within wider relationships and systems. Whilst programmes may not necessarily engage in formal processes of pōwhiri, the value of processes that welcome young people are important components of programmes because they foster connection, recognition and acknowledgement.

1 Meeting house. Main building of the marae
(Te Aka Māori dictionary, n.d.)

2 Stream (Te Aka Māori dictionary, n.d.)

3 Flax bushes (Te Aka Māori dictionary, n.d.)

4 Non-Māori people (Te Aka Māori dictionary, n.d.)

5 Welcome ceremony on a marae (Te Aka Māori dictionary, n.d.)

6 Welcome call to visitors on a marae at the start of a pōwhiri (Te Aka Māori dictionary, n.d.)

7 Formal speeches (Te Aka Māori dictionary, n.d.)

8 Songs (Te Aka Māori dictionary, n.d.)

Photos: Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae complex taken by Jayne Mercier, May, 2022.

11.3.9 The Value of Recognition for Programme Practice

Considering recognition in programme practice is important because it highlights that the type of recognition young people experience in programmes is unique and valuable. Further understanding of recognition could help places such as schools enhance positive experiences for young people. The value of a PYD approach within education is already identified (O'Toole et al., 2020) and considering the role of recognition in these approaches could enhance the contribution and value of programmes for young people.

Taking the time to understand and reflect on recognition may enhance programme provision to different ethnic and cultural groups. Recognition may help to provide one explanation for the high numbers of Pacific participants in the study. The recognition of Pacific values related to respect, service, and love/care, and the attention to the relational space, may reflect familiar cultural values and practices for Pacific participants, making programmes relevant to these youth. Further, programmes may recognise collective values by offering activities in group settings that often have wider benefit to the community, and provide recognition of citizenship and contribution. Equally, smaller numbers of some ethnic groups in programmes may suggest that programmes do not always provide relevant recognition to them. Linked to this, may be a need to enhance cultural recognition in programmes. Guidance from Te Ao Māori may provide a useful roadmap for how this can occur, such as in the Te Noho Kotahitanga naming framework.

11.4 Agency

Critical realism is interested in the relationships between structure and agency, where causal mechanisms and structures can either enhance or inhibit personal or collective abilities to act on the world (Scott, 2005). At the same time, personal and collective actions can work to create, maintain, or change social structures (Fletcher, 2017; Scott, 2005; Seal, 2016). PYD is inherently interested in agency, because developmental systems perspectives assert that young people and their contexts influence each other (Lerner & Chase, 2019). All young people have agency and are active in their own development to varying degrees. Pittman and Wright's (1991) early definition of PYD prioritises youth agency by describing PYD as young people's efforts to meet their needs and build competencies. The Mana Taiohi framework also centres agency, where the concept of mana recognises that all young people already possess self-determination which can be enhanced through youth development processes (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Deane et al., 2019).

Within Western PYD literature, mechanisms of agency have been explored through the concept of ISR³². Through learning and feedback from different environments (including positive recognition), young people intentionally seek out certain experiences and interactions (Benson et al., 2007; Chauveron et al., 2015). As such, young people's agency can act as a causal mechanism for development.

The findings highlighted the ways young people intentionally sought out programme experiences, evidenced by comments about programmes filling perceived gaps, particularly in relation to preparation for the future. This links to the desire for recognition but shows intentional self-regulation through agentic use of programmes to fill both recognition and practical needs. As Benson and colleagues (2006) noted, "Positive youth development theory posits that adolescents will strive to find and/or create optimizing settings even when their degrees of freedom are limited" (p. 904). Navigation to programmes is a way to exercise agency within broader societal structures that can constrain agency. For example, the young person who used the programme to gain skills not available at school and the youth leadership and advisory group for the disability sector's discussion of the programme as a place to influence and have a voice when they faced discrimination elsewhere. For youth of colour, it is recognised that they may have less agency in society due to discrimination (Spencer et al., 2012); and, in Aotearoa, through colonisation (Kerekere, cited in Deane et al., 2019). Young people may exercise agency by choosing to embrace or reject or modify elements of their traditional cultures and navigate various cultural worlds (Schwartz et al., 2012; Savaii, 2017). Navigation to programmes may be a way to both counteract discrimination and find new ways to integrate and explore identity. This was seen in the findings where young people used programmes as avenues to prove themselves; for example, those in the young mum parenting and life-skills support programme, and how programmes may offer young people scope to use their voice in the community in culturally respectful ways. Programme participation, as a structured activity that can make a positive contribution to the community, could be a way to exercise personal agency and counteract stereotypes whilst adhering to cultural values of service and respect.

Young people's navigation to and use of programmes is evidence of their agency, their key role in programme experiences, and their ability to influence their development (Tolan, 2014, 2016). This navigation further influenced outcomes because young people selected programmes to achieve something, such as gaining skills for the workforce or furthering an interest in their community. The above discussion highlights how the struggle for recognition may also be a motivator. Young

³² Intentional self-regulation

people's navigation to programmes and the ways they used them to meet their needs is evidence of SOC³³ behaviours (Gestsdóttir & Lerner, 2007; Schmid et al., 2011), which operationalise ISR. SOC involves selecting a goal and an environment in which to achieve it, using the resources within that environment to achieve the goal, and finding new resources when needed or to overcome challenges (Chauveron et al., 2015). SOC behaviours support the development of self-efficacy, positive identity, and hope (Schwartz et al., 2012; Sun & Shek, 2012; Zimmermann & Cleary, 2006).

An example of SOC behaviours from the findings is of the young person who navigated to a creative arts programme to learn photography, used the programme to develop these skills, and made use of relational resources, such as leader support and role modelling to explore identity. It is through these SOC behaviours that young people's agency can become a causal mechanism for programme outcomes, because they are not simply passive recipients but are actively moving towards certain outcomes through engagement in programmes and use of the resources within them.

A number of participants suggested that outcomes depended on the person and their needs and motivations which, again, links outcomes to SOC behaviours through young people's selection of goals and their use of programmes to achieve them. Locally, a study of self-efficacy gains from the Project K programme found that those with lower scores initially made the greatest gains, suggesting that the programme had the biggest impact for those who needed it most (Deane et al., 2017). The authors suggested this may be due to high expectations and an equitable programme environment; however, considering both a desire for recognition and SOC behaviours may provide another explanation for these differences. For example, it may be that those with lower self-efficacy were aware they had the most to gain and worked hard to attain it. In support of this explanation, Urban and colleagues (2010) found that youth with higher SOC scores from lower asset neighbourhoods gained the most from PYD programmes. Other local studies have also shown that those with the lowest scores on measures at entry made the greatest gains at the end (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Noonan et al., 2012).

Young people also contributed to programme outcomes by shaping and maintaining the programme atmosphere. As discussed under recognition, young people had a key role to play in the development and maintenance of an Accepting Atmosphere by being open, accepting, and supportive of each other. These features were strongly linked to outcomes of both connection and positive identity. This was further evidence of their ability to use SOC behaviours for both individual and group gain and supports links in the literature between SOC and identity (Schwartz et al., 2012). Young people engaged with an Accepting Atmosphere by adhering to the norms and expectations of

³³ Selection, optimisation, compensation

the group, used this as a resource to have positive social experiences and, in some cases, to enhance their own behaviours. They actively worked to maintain and manage this environment.

Programmes supported agency, ISR, and SOC behaviours through the provision of a Youth-Centric Space. This environment took young people seriously and gave them opportunities to be active in setting goals, determining which resources they used, how they used them, and supported them to navigate challenges. This is not to say that young people do not have opportunities for ISR or SOC elsewhere, but programmes actively welcome and encourage these behaviours. This active involvement of young people in the programme process is an integral part of a PYD approach that recognises existing agency and through this recognition enhances agency (Benson et al., 2007; Chauveron et al., 2015; Lerner, 2004; Tolan, 2014). Thus, agency and recognition interact.

11.4.1 The Value of Agency for Programme Practice

Investigating agency as a causal mechanism of outcomes may be particularly important as ISR is enhanced through PYD programmes (Chauveron et al., 2015), whilst the presence of SOC behaviours is a predictor of PYD (Callina et al., 2015; Gestsdóttir & Lerner, 2007; Mueller et al., 2011; Weiner et al., 2015). As such, agency appears to be an important factor in development, as proposed in PYD theory. Concepts of ISR and SOC help to explain agency as a causal mechanism of outcomes in this study. Young people were agentic in their navigation to programmes, their goals, and the ways that they achieved them. They also used agency in the development and maintenance of programme atmospheres, thus contributing to their own and others' outcomes. To my knowledge, no local studies have investigated ISR and/or SOC behaviours and this may be a useful tool for exploring differences in outcomes. Further, exploring young people's use of ISR and SOC behaviours for collective gain, via their role in the programme atmosphere, may be warranted in future studies.

Accounting for youth agency in programme outcomes invites re-consideration of programme processes described in the literature, such as those of Eccles and Gootman (2002), Lerner (2004), Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003a), and Scales et al. (2020). Whilst these descriptors are derived from programme research, they potentially minimise young people's agency in the programme process and become top-down lists that programmes can apply to generate results. These may be better understood alongside an investigation of young people's role in programmes, such as their desired goals and motivations, and contribution to and maintenance of the programme atmosphere. This approach involves using a PYD theoretical lens to understand programmes in relation to their fit with young people and their contexts (Eichas et al., 2019; Lerner et al., 2012; Tolan, 2014; Tolan et al., 2016). The interplay of youth and programmes may be better represented in models that combine both outcome and processes, such as the Developmental Assets Framework, which looks at both

youth and context factors (Benson et al., 2007) and the Mana Taiohi framework which looks at the mana young people possess and the factors that enhance mana (Ara Taiohi, 2019; Deane et al., 2019).

Factoring youth agency into understanding how outcomes operate may also have implications for programme evaluation. While authors recommend assessing programme outcomes against variables such as interest, personality, academic and social competence, and the influence of other contexts (Lerner et al., 2016; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016; Scales et al., 2016) they do not yet propose looking at how youth may actively mediate outcomes through their choices, actions, contributions within and to the programme; nor how these factors play a part in shaping programmes. Emphasis may be placed on a programme's role in empowerment and the opportunities for agency facilitated by adults, but greater emphasis could be placed on youth agency and their ISR and SOC. Both are important for supporting outcomes. Assessing the impact of ISR and SOC in programme outcomes may provide an alternative avenue for exploration beyond measuring the more passive interaction of youth contexts and characteristics with programme characteristics.

11.5 The Magic of Programmes

The magic of programmes refers to the way recognition and agency interacted to form outcomes. Critical realism argues that because causal mechanisms interact in open systems, mechanisms may not always be active, and their effects may be contingent on a number of other mechanisms and factors (Deforge & Shaw, 2012; Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). Thus, repeatedly observable cause and effect relationships may not be possible and things that appear outwardly similar may produce different or unpredictable results. In acknowledging contingent rather than causal relationships, critical realism attempts to help understand complex phenomena such as the social world (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). The literature review noted how PYD similarly grapples with development that is contingent and, therefore, has multiple possibilities; while at the same time seeking generalisable ways to describe, enhance, and measure development. Within PYD programme outcomes, there are those who suggest that, despite differences, broad descriptors of outcomes are possible (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Scales et al., 2016) and those who suggest outcomes can only be understood through in-depth exploration of the interaction of young people, context, and programme in any given setting (Tolan, 2014; Tolan et al., 2016).

The findings of this study and a critical realist lens may bridge these views and articulate additional ways of thinking about outcomes. This study contributes to understandings by simultaneously examining several different programmes, providing evidence of both similarity and difference in the

perception of outcomes within and between different programmes, recognising that both are important. The findings present a lens through which to understand how programmes navigate the unique context and nature of individual participants and groups within broad programme structures, and how these interact to form outcomes that can be broadly categorised.

At the empirical level, the findings highlight the range of different outcomes that young people perceive in programmes. These are grouped into nine outcomes under three key themes of Behavioural Outcomes, Internal Outcomes, and Relational Outcomes. The findings showed the ways outcomes influenced each other and formed a complex web of bi-directional interaction. The grouping of these outcomes showed numerous similarities within and between programmes, particularly the relevance of skills, agency, confidence, connection, and positive identity.

The findings also identified three programme processes of a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours which supported outcomes to occur. Understanding some of the relationships between outcomes and processes showed the ways programme structures, leaders, and young people, actively co-created youth friendly and supportive spaces that facilitated similar outcomes. Finally, the findings highlighted the ways cultural values frames in programmes may serve to enhance outcomes by fitting with young people's own values.

Considering possible causal mechanisms of recognition and agency adds another layer to understanding outcomes in local programmes. The findings highlighted young people's desire to be recognised and how they used this desire and (conscious or unconscious) awareness of a perceived need or gap to navigate to programmes. Their navigation along with their ability to use resources within the programme and adapt by navigating challenges and contributing to the programme environment shows how young people are active agents in their own outcomes.

Differences in outcome perception between different groups of young people, such as different socio-economic groups, cultures, or people with different social experiences, highlighted young people's use of programmes to meet their various needs, and how programmes were able to be responsive. Programmes and leaders were able to see young people's varying needs and provide recognition of both agency and outcomes. In meeting needs, leaders understood individual and group differences. In recognising agency, programmes created Youth-Centric Spaces that encouraged youth choice and leadership. In recognising achievement and outcomes, leaders and programmes helped young people to recognise development for themselves and feel valuable and seen. These interactions of recognition and agency, and between programmes, leaders, and young people, were important for outcomes to occur. These interactions may not happen in every case but appeared to be occurring for participants in the study.

11.5.1 Programmes as development

Taken together, these ideas show that programme outcomes can be both contextually specific and broadly generalisable. Causal mechanisms of agency and recognition help to explain how this balance of specificity and generalisability occurs. Young people were able to navigate themselves to programmes, be involved in co-constructing the atmosphere, and gain something that they wanted or needed as a result (agency). In turn, programmes offered something of interest that young people saw as meeting their needs, provided recognition that supported them to engage in co-construction, and, in some cases, acted within a values frame that was culturally relevant to them. Leaders were attuned enough to recognise the different needs of young people and programmes were flexible and agile enough to meet them (recognition). At the same time, programme processes of a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours provided the structure and social environment in which participants could gain similar outcomes, such as skills, connection, and positive identity. Together, these elements within young people, leaders, and programmes, interacted in bi-directional ways to support outcomes. The data suggests this interaction is ‘the magic of programmes’.

This magic means that different young people may come to a space needing different things; and yet, the programme can meet these various needs, often at the same time, as suggested by Tolan (2014). Programmes ability to perform this magic is important, particularly for youth of colour, who may navigate multiple contexts and identities. Therefore, a universal approach will not effectively help make meaning of these different experiences (Spencer et al., 2012).

Chapter Eight described how young people in a community-based leadership programme running events for-youth by-youth identified different outcomes from the same experience, including social skills, belonging, preparation for the future and opportunities to give back. Young people had navigated to the same programme with different needs and had them met through programme activities and the relationships that were developed. The leader noted how this programme consciously flexed around these different needs and goals. Within these differences, the development of broad outcomes of confidence, skills, connection, giving back, positive affect, and positive identity were identified by the participants. Thus, there were both similar and different perceptions happening in the same place.

These varied and contingent interactions relate back to descriptions of PYD as a developmental process, where development occurs as a result of bi-directional and mutually influential exchanges between an individual and their various ecologies (Lerner, Almerigi et al., 2005, Silbereisen & Lerner, 2007). It appears that interactions between young people and activities, peers, leaders, the

organisation, and the community, helped young people to make gains from programmes. Equally, however, these outcomes were impacted by young people themselves and their navigation, needs, motivations, and contributions. Outcomes were the result of these bi-directional interactions and, further, these interactions built on each other in ways that supported other outcomes. Programmes, peers, leaders, organisations, and the community were also impacted by young people and all parties adapted and changed because of these interactions. Viewing programmes as developmental contexts helps to explain why connection and positive identity were often inseparable from programme processes, because they are dynamic indicators of PYD as opposed to static end points. Programme outcomes can be both a result and evidence of PYD as a developmental process.

Taking a developmental approach to programmes recognises the plasticity of all elements and helps explain variation of experiences and outcomes. Stage environment-fit theory partially describes this process, by recognising that outcomes are the combination of the fit between youth needs and characteristics and what the environment offers, with a good alignment resulting in positive experiences (Eccles et al., 1993). Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2016) further described this developmental approach to programmes by noting how young people will attend programmes based on their characteristics and needs, and other factors such as friends, family encouragement, as well as constraints such as location, availability, and cost. The fit between the programme process and the young person (e.g., between the young person's characteristics, culture, risk levels, and programme activities, and the relationships formed in the programme), further shape the experience. These experiences will be further impacted by other contexts the young person is part of, such as schools, families, neighbourhoods, and participation in other programmes (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016). As such, the authors suggested that the interaction of all of these factors need to be further investigated (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016). However, assessing programme outcomes in relation to multiple variables can be complex and costly (Lerner et al., 2018).

A critical realist approach can add further depth to understanding the interactions between programme, youth, and context, by exploring what mechanisms are activated by these combinations and providing greater and possibly more efficient explanations of why different combinations of individual, context, and programme, can create similar and/or different results. In this study, causal mechanisms of recognition and agency help to explain how bi-directional exchanges between young people and programmes occurred. These mechanisms support developmental systems theories as an explanation of how programmes influence development. As Fletcher (2017) noted, one of the goals of critical realist studies is to confirm, reject, or modify existing theories as transitive explanations of interactions at the real level.

Importantly, a developmental approach recognises young people's roles in their own development (Lerner, 2004). When applied to programmes, we see young people as having a significant role in their programme experience, the experience of their peers, the behaviours of leaders, and the development of the programme itself. As such, recognising the role of agency as a causal mechanism for outcomes is important.

A developmental approach is also predicated on a hopeful and strengths-based view of youth. This is about seeing young people as resources, an innate belief in possibility, and paying attention to strengths, skills, and achievements, as well as needs (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003b). When applied to programmes, the role of leaders, programmes, and young people can be seen in providing recognition that affirms young people's value and importance, underscoring the role of recognition as a causal mechanism.

The similarity of outcomes across programmes in this study suggests that the developmental systems of programmes may behave similarly in somewhat different contexts. This is where the concept of relative plasticity from PYD as a developmental process may be useful. It suggests that although numerous developments are possible, they may be constrained by certain limiters such as time, socio-political context, and culture (Lerner et al., 1999). Thus, another avenue for consideration in future studies may be assessing the extent to which these limiters may mediate or outweigh other contextual differences. Certainly, in this study, the findings suggest that, despite differences, there were enough contextual similarities of time and situation within the wider research context to activate causal mechanisms and yield similar results in different contexts. Future investigation of additional causal mechanisms may also help to describe systemic limiters and enablers that enhance or constrain outcomes.

11.5.2 A Contingent Model of Programme Outcomes

Viewing programmes as development adds complexity to ideas about developing a theory of change for a programme, because it highlights programmes as dynamic systems (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016) and as resources that young people can use as they need (Eichas et al., 2015) rather than as interventions which produce expected results. This aligns with a critical realist view of understanding empirical observations as a result of complex and contingent relationships that produce tendencies rather than certainties (Fletcher, 2017). Taking this view, it is understandable why some suggest it is not possible to assess averages or population level changes in programmes because the process of development in programmes is individualised for each young person (Tolan, 2014; Tolan et al., 2016). However, as the findings show, these complexities can still be described in broadly similar terms.

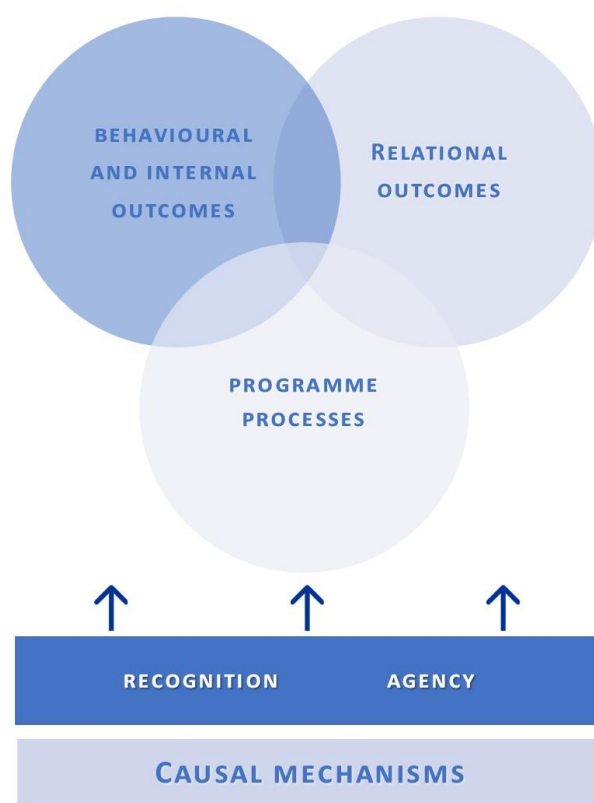
Scales and colleagues (2016) similarly discussed the balance between the myriad of developmental trajectories and shared indicators of PYD which can transcend context. In describing this complexity, they suggested that developmental processes and outcomes are “causes and effects of each other” (Scales et al., 2016, p. 157) and that underlying these interactions are youth characteristics and contextual variables, such as gender, culture, religion, poverty, and others.

While the findings of this study suggest contingency as opposed to clear cause and effect, there is similarity in that the outcomes and processes in this study interacted, overlapped, and supported each other. In addition, this study did not look at the individual and contextual characteristics of youth in-depth; rather, it proposes that causal mechanisms sit as an underlying influence. Data from this study suggest that causal mechanisms and their different functioning in individual and cultural contexts likely play a key role in shaping outcomes. Causal mechanisms may help to explain more about the relationships between individual and contextual differences and different outcomes, rather than assessing specific demographics or characteristics. For example, the findings suggested that it was not the cultural background of youth that necessarily made a difference to the development of positive cultural identity; rather, it was the recognition of the value of cultural identity by staff and programmes that was important. Thus, the mechanism of recognition appeared to be the influential element that interacted with young people’s culture. Further investigation of interactions between causal mechanisms and youth characteristics may help to better understand how the ‘magic’ works.

The interactions of outcomes, processes, and causal mechanisms are depicted in Figure 11.2.

Figure 11.2

The Magic of Programmes: A Contingent Model of Programme Outcomes



This figure builds on the conceptual thematic framework in Chapter Six to depict the magic of programmes. It shows relationships between programme outcomes and processes, where all elements can influence each other and overlap. Behavioural and Internal Outcomes sit in one circle, while Relational Outcomes (connection and positive identity) are separated out to highlight how they could behave as both outcomes and processes and to show the interconnectedness of these two outcomes in Māori and Pacific worldviews. Programme processes sit in another circle. Below these are the causal mechanisms, which influence how outcomes and processes form and interact. This figure may be modified over time as new or additional causal mechanisms are identified, and could be modified culturally for different groups. For example, recognition might be better thought of as *teu le va*, whilst certain outcomes may take priority in certain settings, such as the ‘pick a path’ approach discussed in Chapter Ten.

Figure 11.2 shows the complexity of interactions in programmes and provides a framework to analyse this complexity in different settings. Combined with the proposed outcomes framework, the model can assist programmes to better understand outcomes and how they occur.

11.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined processes and mechanisms that support programme outcomes. It has done so at both the empirical and real level through a critical realist lens, by looking at observed programme processes and possible mechanisms behind outcomes. At the empirical level, the findings identified three programme processes—a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours—which helped create an environment conducive to outcomes development. These processes were reviewed against the literature noting overlaps between these elements and those described by other PYD scholars. One significant difference was the focus in the data on the role young people could play for each other in the development and maintenance of an Accepting Atmosphere, which particularly supported connection and positive identity.

The chapter proposed two causal mechanisms behind the empirical observations. These were recognition and agency which, together, combined to create the magic of programmes. Recognition appears to be a powerful relational mechanism, where acknowledgement of young people's self, capabilities, and contributions, helps them to learn and better recognise their own skills and value. The desire for recognition may also act as a motivator to attend programmes. Agency acts as a mechanism through young people's active mediation of their own outcomes. They use agency to navigate to programmes and help shape the programme experience to fit their needs and goals, thus evidencing ISR and SOC behaviours (Gestsdóttir & Lerner, 2007; Schmid et al., 2011). Young people can also use their agency to shape the experiences and outcomes of others.

The magic of programmes explains the way recognition and agency interact and how programmes are able to flexibly attune to and meet the various needs and goals of young people. In this way, programmes are contexts of development that can accommodate a range of developmental trajectories (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016). The chapter concluded by depicting a contingent model of programme outcomes and processes which showed the interactions between processes, outcomes, and causal mechanisms, and the way they influence each other. In looking beyond the interaction of youth and programme characteristics to understand causal mechanisms, critical realism, combined with viewing programmes as developmental contexts, can offer explanations as to why different young people may experience both similar and different outcomes in programmes. Drawing ideas from the discussion chapters, the following, and final, chapter presents an overall summary of the study, its contribution to the field of PYD, implications for practice and research, reflections on the research process, and concluding remarks.

Chapter 12: Conclusion

12.1 Summary of the Study

This qualitative exploratory study sought to understand how outcomes were perceived by youth and staff in a range of local PYD settings and to see whether the Five Cs aligned with perceptions in these settings. Four key research questions guided this exploration:

1. How are outcomes defined and understood, experienced, operationalised, and prioritised by young people and those who work with them in a range of PYD contexts?
2. What are the similarities and differences in how outcomes are perceived in these settings?
3. Can the way outcomes are perceived in these settings form an outcomes framework?
4. Does the framework align with the Five Cs model?

To answer these questions, 39 interviews and focus groups were conducted in 14 programmes across Tāmaki Makaurau, with 110 youth and 17 staff participants. Data were analysed using framework analysis, and critical realism and PYD provided the theoretical frameworks.

Analysis indicated nine key outcomes which were grouped into three superordinate themes: Behavioural Outcomes which included skills, achievement, giving back and agency; Internal Outcomes, which included confidence, future focus and positive affect; and Relational Outcomes, which included connection and positive identity. Three key programme processes were also identified from data—a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours.

All of these outcomes and processes were discussed in most programme settings, which suggests that there is enough similarity to form a broad framework and the nine outcomes identified in this study form a useful starting point. The Five Cs can be overlaid onto these outcomes; however, the study showed that the commonly used Lerner definitions are not direct matches and local modifications to the Five Cs are proposed. It is suggested that the nine outcomes identified in the study form a more locally nuanced outcomes framework for programmes.

Throughout the discussion, the importance and relevance of the findings to theory and practice were highlighted. Five points stand out as key contributions to the field. These include: the development of an outcomes framework; the complex and contingent nature of outcomes and processes; the relevance of the Five Cs; the role of agency, recognition, and the magic of

programmes as causal mechanisms; and the value of programmes to young people. These contributions and their implications for practice are discussed below.

12.2 Key Contributions

12.2.1 An Outcomes Framework

By investigating the similarities and differences in outcome perception across a range of programmes, this study has shown that there is sufficient similarity for a shared outcomes framework across these programmes. The nine key outcomes identified in the study are proposed as an outcomes framework and are grouped into three categories: Behavioural Outcomes (those which are observable to others); Internal Outcomes (those related to thoughts and feelings); and Relational Outcomes (those intrinsically linked to the relational experience of the programme). Outcomes of skills, agency (behavioural), confidence (internal), connection, and positive identity (relational) formed a core as these outcomes were discussed with the greatest frequency and depth and were seen as important by participants. Additional outcomes of achievement, giving back, positive affect, and future focus were also identified.

The alignment of the nine outcomes to PYD literature and local programme studies adds further weight to their relevance; however, some outcomes are not as well documented in literature or programme studies. Agency and future focus appear regularly in PYD literature but do not frequently appear in local outcome studies. Fun, part of the outcome of positive affect, was also identified as an outcome because of its ability to enhance mood and expectations of other experiences; yet in other studies is more frequently seen as a programme process. Confidence, often linked to self-efficacy in literature (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005) and in programme measurement, was shown in this study to be broader than self-efficacy alone, including cognitive, affective, and behavioural components (Uglanova, 2014).

A key contribution to the knowledge of programme outcomes was the identification of the role of identity development and three key findings are evident. First, programmes offered space to explore and express oneself which was an important part of young people's experience in local programmes. This aspect of positive identity is not well documented in PYD literature (Arnold, 2017). Second, cultural identity appeared to be supported when programme leaders were aware of young people's cultural experiences and explicitly welcomed and encouraged their expression. This supports other similar findings about the importance of positive cultural experiences in programmes (Hollis et al., 2011). Third, programmes provided avenues to enhance existing values and develop new values.

Values discussed often aligned between leaders and young people, suggesting leaders play a role in values development and/or enhancement.

12.2.1.1 Implications for Practice

The identification of the nine key outcomes as an outcomes framework is an important contribution to practice locally because it can help guide programme implementation and evaluation and may assist programmes in developing their own theory of change. If used across the sector, the framework can help local programmes to identify their strengths and points of difference by highlighting what is common to all programmes and what may be a particular focus for some. A shared framework could assist the sector to demonstrate the value of PYD programmes and advocate for funding and support, particularly in linking outcomes to the government's Youth Wellbeing Strategy. A shared framework can also assist with developing measures that could be used more widely in the sector, helping to enhance capability and capacity in evaluation. The identification of a range of outcomes offers wider scope for programme evaluation than currently used. Evidence of broader or additional outcomes may be used by organisations to assist in securing funding for programmes.

12.2.2 Outcomes are Complex and Contingent

Whilst nine outcomes were identified, the findings and discussion showed the ways outcomes were contingent and linked. For example, opportunities to give back could support agency, connections with others were important for developing skills, and all outcomes linked to a positive identity. In addition to the nine outcomes, three programme processes were identified; a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours. Outcomes and processes were not always distinct, and some elements could function as an outcome or a process, depending on the context. Connection and positive identity were key outcomes and parts of the experience of the programme. New connections were gained, but the nature of connections as supportive and caring made them an important feature of programmes that supported other outcomes. Similarly positive identity, particularly the ability to express oneself, was a programme gain and a feature that made programmes feel accepting and helped young people to try out new things and build new relationships.

These findings provide a rich description of the nature of development in local programmes and the complex interactions of youth and context, evidencing the way programmes are developmental contexts (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016). These findings also align with Māori and Pacific views about development and identity as relational and interconnected (MacFarlane, 2004; Toso; 2011), and support prioritising these theories to understand connection and identity in the local context.

Knowledge about the interactions of outcomes and processes enhances our understanding of how programmes function in the local setting and highlights how outcomes are not simply a result of inputs and outputs, but are complex relational processes.

12.2.2.1 Implications for Practice

Understanding the complexity of relationships between outcomes and between outcomes and processes can help programmes to be more conscious in focusing on certain features or activities to achieve certain outcomes. For example, recognising a strong relationship between an accepting programme atmosphere and a positive identity can help programmes consciously create relational environments that support self-exploration and expression. Recognising these relationships may advance programme measurement and understanding of PYD. By focusing on the ways outcomes build on and support each other, and the interaction of outcomes and processes, a bigger picture of how and why programmes work can be developed.

12.2.3 The Relevance of the Five Cs

The study showed that modifications are needed for the Five Cs to link to perception of programme outcomes in the local setting, and that the commonly used Lerner definitions (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2011) do not always align. In particular, the focus on identity development as a relational outcome, which includes the ability to explore and express oneself, develop values, and express cultural identity, link identity more with Connection, Character, and Creativity, than Confidence. Based on the findings, the study has proposed local definitions of the Five Cs which prioritise relational experiences, including the acknowledgement of whakapapa and interdependence with family/whānau, community, and environment. These definitions address critiques of the model as seeing identity as overly individualised (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019) by more clearly identifying contextual and collective aspects of identity. The nine outcomes in the proposed framework act as a clearer local outcomes framework for practice and measurement with distinct articulation of elements such as positive identity, agency, and positive affect.

12.2.3.1 Implications for Practice

The findings on the Five Cs model provide an important contribution to the field of PYD, adding to global scholarship by responding to requests to qualitatively understand the Five Cs in different contexts (Lerner et al., 2018, Strachan et al., 2018). The study has highlighted the importance of relationally orienting the Five Cs in the local context and being more explicit about the role of identity. Local definitions can help to understand and differentiate PYD and programmes in Aotearoa compared to other settings. Using the Five Cs as shorthand helps to locate these comparisons in a widely understood framework.

12.2.4 Agency, Recognition, and the Magic of Programmes

This study has highlighted that agency is both a programme outcome and an important mechanism in the development of outcomes. Young people gain a greater sense of independence, influence, and control from programmes; they use agency to navigate to programmes and meet goals. Thinking about agency as a causal mechanism helps to understand some of the differences in outcome perception because young people use programmes to gain different things (Tolan, 2014). Young people's ability to use programmes to meet needs provides evidence of ISR³⁴, operationalised through SOC³⁵ behaviours (Gestsdóttir & Lerner, 2008). Whilst ideas about young people influencing their own development are key to PYD (Lerner, 2004), the study has shown how this occurs in local programmes and how young people influence their own and others' outcomes by their role in creating and maintaining an Accepting Atmosphere.

The study showed how the mechanism of agency was combined with the mechanism of recognition. Young people used agency to navigate to and shape programmes to meet needs and achieve goals, and this occurred through various relationships which recognised and responded to youth needs, capabilities, values, and identities. Recognition was key in young people seeing themselves, their achievements, and their value more clearly. The study has suggested tentative links between recognition and the Pacific concepts of *va* and *teu le va*, and the naming of buildings and features at the Unitec marae complex in Chapter Eleven. Both of these help to describe how recognition occurs through culturally nuanced lenses. These are offerings from my perspective as a Pākehā researcher of how recognition theory may be aligned with the local context.

Mechanisms of recognition and agency are proposed as creating 'the magic of programmes' which describes programmes as developmental contexts comprising bi-directional youth/programme relationships. While PYD programmes are recognised theoretically as sites of development, where youth and context influence each other to support positive trajectories, this does not always translate into practical terms or flow to programme measurement (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2016). The study findings provide a description of the interactions of youth and programme context in the local setting and highlight their similarities and differences in various settings. The identification of causal mechanisms helps explain these similarities and differences by suggesting that agency and recognition interact to support a broad set of outcomes tailored to each young person. Considering the role of recognition and agency more clearly describes how PYD as a developmental process occurs in programmes.

³⁴ Intentional self-regulation

³⁵ Selection, optimisation, compensation

12.2.4.1 Implications for Practice

Considering the interaction of agency and recognition as causal mechanisms can provide programmes with a framework to think about their relationships with young people and how, together, they create environments that are optimal for development. Reflecting on agency can assist with considering what brings young people to programmes and the role they play in shaping the experience. Considering recognition helps programmes reflect on how they implicitly and explicitly acknowledge young people's skills, identity, and culture. The findings suggest programmes could play a more explicit role in recognising cultural difference to help young people enhance cultural identity. Considering the interaction of programme structure and agency in any given context can assist programmes to 'harness their magic'.

Acknowledging youth as active agents can add to programme measurement by including more flexibility in thinking about what outcomes are achieved and when. The study proposes an avenue to achieve this by suggesting 'core and more' and 'pick a path' approaches to outcome measurement. A 'core and more' approach focuses on what outcomes are key to the programme and when they occur, while a 'pick a path' approach allows young people to identify which outcomes are most relevant to them at any point.

12.2.5 The Value of Programmes

This study has highlighted the value of programmes to young people in several areas. Programmes helped young people to explore and express their identities, and gave them places to belong, including physical spaces where they could feel part of a wider community. Combined with opportunities to build skills and make valuable contributions, these experiences helped young people to feel worthy, valuable, and prepared for the future. Programmes filled an important gap in provision for young people with neurodiversity and/or social challenges by providing places to learn important social skills. Programmes also acted as sites of social capital by providing links to the community, new relationships with adults, and ongoing options for support. Young people described how they could use programme experiences to enhance their family/whānau, communities, and future generations, suggesting programmes can also enhance collective agency. Participants described programmes as unique spaces that were youth-centric, accepting, and had leaders who were friendly, supportive, and acted as positive role models. The nature of these spaces and the opportunities they provided were not always seen as available elsewhere and were frequently contrasted to experiences of school.

The high number of Pacific participants in the sample provides an opportunity to reflect on what might make programmes relevant for young people of Pacific ethnicities. The study has proposed

some possibilities including that programmes provide spaces for collective action and collective benefit, reflecting collective cultural values; offer welcoming family-like relationships linking to values of love and respect which are identified as central to Pacific worldviews (Mafile'o, 2019; Toso, 2011); and offer platforms for young people to use their voice in ways that are culturally respectful.

12.2.5.1 Implications for Practice

Programmes are a central part of young people's development and of communities, for which the study has provided empirical evidence. As such, it is important that there is continued acknowledgment of PYD programmes as part of the local youth development ecosystem and funding for them to continue to be locally and freely accessible to young people.

The things that make programmes valuable may also have implications for education because of the ways participants contrasted programmes with school. Aspects of how programmes facilitate connection and learning identified in the programme processes of a Youth-Centric Space, an Accepting Atmosphere, and Leader/Adult Behaviours, could be valuable for other contexts. The study has provided evidence from young people about how these features make a difference.

12.3 Reflections on the Research Process

From the outset I wanted to ensure the research had practical value to local PYD programmes, reflecting my own sector background. The proposed outcome framework forms a useful resource for programmes to consider outcomes that can be used, tested, and adapted to their contexts.

The desire for practical utility of research meant that I wanted to ensure that the critical realist lens added functional value to the study, through shaping methods, ethics, data analysis, and understanding the findings. Combined with framework analysis and PYD theory, critical realism has helped to anchor and focus the study by thinking about what empirical observations might say about interactions at the real level and provided a clear structure to use both data and theory to facilitate thinking.

To my knowledge, the combination of PYD, framework analysis, and critical realism represents a unique research approach. Causal mechanisms present a different way to think about programme outcomes by considering what mechanisms are activated for outcomes to occur. This is a potentially powerful place to consider PYD as development, the multiplicity of possible developmental trajectories, and the ways programmes and other PYD interventions can positively influence these. Causal mechanisms help to understand how and why programmes lead to outcomes rather than simply assessing outcomes against different individual or contextual variables. By asking 'why'

questions, critical realism can offer structural answers and identify potential barriers and enablers at societal levels. These types of answers have potential to better address inequities because they do not place outcomes as an interaction simply between youth and programmes but can highlight more systemic influences. Thus, the use of a critical realist approach in PYD can help to address requests to consider programmes as developmental contexts by understanding their role in systems, rather than stand-alone interventions.

Early on, this study identified a tension in PYD between the idea of specificity inherent in RDS metatheory, broad models of PYD, and broad approaches that can be used in diverse settings. Combining ideas about causal mechanisms and PYD can bridge these tensions by offering explanations of how both may be possible. In this case, mechanisms of agency and recognition help to explain how different young people can gain different things from programmes, while relative plasticity helps us to understand how these can still be expressions of the same broader outcomes.

Using a tripartite view of PYD (as development, an approach, and as programmes) to frame research is methodologically helpful. By considering programmes in relation to interventions, approaches, and developmental processes, more thorough descriptions of programmes, their outcomes, and how they work can be generated. This study has used programmes as a research focus to understand more about broad approaches (an outcomes framework and the Five Cs); and through discussion of causal mechanisms and programme processes, has helped to describe how local programmes act as developmental contexts. Paying attention to these three areas enhances clarity about the interaction of theory and practice in programmes (Eichas et al., 2019; Lerner et al., 2019) by considering how developmental processes, approaches, and interventions combine to form outcomes.

The descriptions of outcomes and possible causal mechanisms, while developed from participant data, discussed with supervisors and cultural advisors, and drawing on literature, are my synthesis and interpretation and thus coloured by my own lenses. A critical realist lens positions these findings as a transitive vehicle to offer one explanation of reality in local PYD programmes. This has helped to balance tensions of my role as a Pākehā researcher in working with participants and theories from different cultural perspectives. Differentiating reality from knowledge creates space for different worldviews in research and acknowledges the fallibility of explanations for phenomena because they represent current understandings rather than universal truths. This position can be a more culturally safe place for Pākehā researchers, such as myself, to engage with diverse communities and interpret what is shared. Interpretation can be further supported through framework analysis which provides structural clarity around data inclusion and researcher decisions and analysis. Combined, these

approaches enhance reflexivity and transparency about the process of co-construction between participants' ideas and researcher interpretations. This approach may help to guide other researchers in diverse contexts.

12.3.1 Study Limitations

My position as a Pākehā researcher may represent an inherent limitation in the study because I do not have the same cultural frames as some of the participants. Were this study not a PhD, which although supported by others is an individual journey, this research would have made a useful collaborative project involving diverse researchers in order to better explore the cultural nuances of participant experiences. However, the findings of outcomes and the mechanisms proposed in this study are an offering to the field. As Seal (2016) stated:

we do not wish to discover any objective truths or develop positivist theories. However, we do hope that the research can serve as a point of reflection for others on their own work and 'illuminate' their practice (Higgs and Cherry 2009), rather than just being an ahistorical, atheoretical account of the meaning creating of those involved in the research. (p. 270)

This study can form a catalyst for future research on outcomes frameworks and causal mechanisms in programmes and a reflective vehicle for programmes to consider the outcomes they achieve and what would be useful for them to measure.

The study is also limited by only including programmes in Tāmaki Makaurau . Although diverse programmes and a large number of participants were included, the findings cannot be generalised to other programmes or locations, but do provide direction for similar research in other settings.

There are other limitations to the research methods and processes. The study was not evaluative, a snowball sampling method was used, and leaders were present in some groups. This means that the findings may present a 'best' picture of programmes and their outcomes, which is not necessarily accurate all of the time. My role as a researcher and outsider may have also encouraged participants to present an ideal picture. The outcomes and framework presented here are possibly aspirational, which may represent a further limitation of the study. However, participant descriptions of outcomes were often interwoven with their own programme experiences, suggesting data reflected what happens in programmes rather than an idealised view. Further, an aspirational framework is still an important contribution because it highlights the potential of programmes when they are doing their best, and some of the contributing processes and mechanisms. An aspirational view fits with a strengths-based PYD approach which sees young people positively and holds appropriate

expectations for their achievement (Damon, 2004; Lerner et al., 2019). The findings of this study do likewise for PYD programmes.

Similarly, because I was interested in the possibility of an outcomes framework and the Five Cs, and participants knew these were my interests, the interactions could have been biased towards the generation of an outcomes framework. Some level of bias is present in all qualitative research to a degree (Galdas, 2017); however, a number of strategies have helped to mitigate this. The use of framework analysis and its inclusion of all data have helped to stay close to data throughout and reduce the extent to which data are used to fit a priori interests. Largely inductive coding helped to do likewise. Further, participants in any given programme were not aware of other programmes' descriptions, and so similar descriptions emerged rather than being actively sought.

Although not necessarily a research limitation, a part of the process which has felt limiting is having to make decisions about including or excluding participant quotations. I was privileged to be invited into so many wonderful programmes and to be gifted with participants' experiences, ideas, and the ways they shared so fully and thoughtfully with me. What has been presented is a snapshot of the incredible insights of young people and staff that represent the key themes. The depth of their ideas could never be contained in one thesis and there are a number of articles that I hope to write to present their important views more fully.

12.3.2 Future Research

The role of exploratory studies is not confirmatory but to generate theories and ideas which can be further tested (Stebbins, 2001). The findings of this study present ideas about an outcomes framework, the Five Cs, and causal mechanisms for others to test. Testing of the nine outcomes proposed as a framework outside of Tāmaki Makaurau and in other contexts would address many of the limitations described above, by seeing if the findings are more widely applicable and reducing potential participant and researcher bias in the current study. Testing from different cultural perspectives could also offer modification or enhancement to the proposed framework. The identification and development of measures for each outcome could enhance knowledge of what outcomes are achieved for whom, when, and in what programmes, and provide a greater evidence base for less well-documented outcomes such as positive affect and agency. The role and value of identity development in programmes could also be further tested, particularly for mental health and wellbeing. Further identification of programme, leader, and youth factors, that contribute to positive cultural identity development in programmes, is also warranted considering this did not appear to be present in all settings.

The value of programme participation for family/whānau and communities is also a useful area for future research, given that young people saw their increased agency and skill as having wider value. The flow on effects of programme participation for whānau and communities could be tested; for example, assessing the impact on younger siblings and longitudinal follow up of programme participants in relation to employment and wellbeing. Because the study included a large number of Pacific participants, further studies seeking to understand the role and value of PYD programmes for Pacific participants are warranted. Investigating how and why programmes appear valuable to some groups may aid understanding of why they may be of less interest to others. Investigation of the value of programmes to certain groups can also ensure cultural relevance.

The proposed local Five Cs definitions could be assessed for their relevance to other PYD settings. The definitions proposed here may act as a comparison or starting point for exploring the Five Cs in other contexts and cultures.

The study has proposed two causal mechanisms of programme outcomes—recognition and agency—which combine to create the magic of programmes. Future research could assess the role of these causal mechanisms in other programmes and interventions and whether they are active in other settings. Wider assessment of causal mechanisms could provide more in-depth knowledge about why outcomes may be similar or different in certain settings or for certain young people, because they can offer broad structural explanations. Relationships between causal mechanisms and other variables could also be assessed, such as the conditions under which mechanisms are more or less likely to be activated, which may result in the identification of other causal mechanisms in programmes and a greater understanding of geographical and cultural differences in PYD. Finally, considering causal mechanisms from different cultural perspectives could further enhance culturally nuanced views of PYD.

Regarding agency, young people's use of ISR and SOC behaviours in local programmes could be tested. Research in the United States has identified ISR as a key predictor of PYD (Gestsdóttir & Lerner, 2008) and the findings of this study suggest it may play an important role locally. Investigation of youth agency as an important contributor to programmes may help to rethink programmes as dynamic and relational developmental contexts rather than a series of inputs, which produce certain outcomes. The role young people play in mediating their own programme experiences and outcomes is an exciting area for future research, because young people are not passive recipients of programmes but are active in their own development in line with PYD theory.

12.4 Final Remarks

This study sought to understand outcomes in different PYD settings, whether they were similar enough in different places to form an outcomes framework and whether the Five Cs model was relevant. The literature review noted that there was disagreement amongst PYD scholars on whether outcomes could be broadly described or whether they could only ever be understood in individualised contexts. This study has suggested that both may be possible. Young people in programmes do, of course, have individual experiences and attain individual outcomes; however, there is similarity in how overall concepts are perceived and similarity in which outcomes are achieved in programmes. Key differences may lie in what young people and programmes prioritise, and when and how young people use what they have gained in programmes. Identifying causal mechanisms can be a useful avenue to explore how and why these similarities and differences occur. Importantly, exploring the causal mechanism of agency helps to highlight the ways young people shape their experiences and outcomes in programmes. The findings represent an important contribution to our understanding of local PYD programme outcomes, whilst finding ways to measure these outcomes is an exciting area for future development in both practice and research.

The Five Cs model is a well-known PYD model and its use internationally is growing. Locally, PYD has evolved significantly since the early 2000s from simply importing models and ideas that may not be culturally and contextually relevant to developing a localised approach to PYD that is embedded in indigenous approaches, such as the Mana Taiohi framework (Ara Taiohi, 2019). In assessing the fit of the Five Cs to the findings of this study, a more localised view of the Five Cs is proposed that can meld broad approaches with contextual specificity.

As an exploratory study, this research has provided a number of ideas about a proposed outcomes framework, possibilities for approaches to outcome measurement, amended definitions of the Five Cs to the local context, and methodological approaches to PYD programme studies. These ideas are a place from which others may refute, elaborate, or build. Thus, while this work represents the completion of unfinished business for me, it may be a beginning for others.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Summary of Local Programme Outcome Studies

Appendix A, Table 1, summarises local studies of PYD programme outcomes. A description of each programme is included, the type of programme based on the categories used in this PhD study, a brief summary of the methods and participants, and the described outcomes. I have then linked these to the Five Cs and the final column summarises programme features which are seen to contribute to outcomes where these are described.

Table A1

Summary of local Programme Studies

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Arahanga-Doyle, H., Moradi, S., Brown, K., Hunter, J. A., Scarf, D., & Neha, T. (2018). Positive youth development in Māori and New Zealand European adolescents through an adventure education programme. <i>Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online</i> . Doi: 10.1080/1177083X.2018.1508479	The R Tucker Thompson 7-day sailing voyage for youth aged 13 -18, sailing living and working together with elements of a Te Ao Māori approach, through places of cultural significance and use of tikanga	Skills Leadership	Questionnaires administered on the first and last day of the voyage 91 participants, 40% Male, 60% Female Māori 59.3% New Zealand European 40.7% Measures used included: Resilience Scale (Wagnild & Young, 1993) Single Item Self-Esteem Scale (Robins et al, 2001). Positive items from Hopelessness Scale to assess outlook (Beck et al, 1974) Social Identity, single item from Self-Categorisation subscale (Ellemers et al., 1999)	Psychological resilience Self -Esteem Positive Outlook All three increased from the first to the last day of the voyage Increase in resilience for Māori youth was greater than for Pākehā youth, as Māori had lower resilience scores at the beginning Outcomes not defined beyond definitions implicit in measures used	Confidence Character *Five Cs directly mentioned in introduction	Social/collective identity enhanced psychological resilience and positive outlook but not self-esteem

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Chapman, C., Deane, K., Harré, N., Courtney, M., & Moore, J. (2017). Engagement and mentor support as drivers of social development in the Project K Youth Development Program. <i>Journal of Youth & Adolescence</i> , 46(3), 644–655. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-017-0640-5	Project K: 21-day wilderness adventure, 10-day community service, 1-year mentoring for young people aged 13-16 in high school with low self-efficacy	Mentoring Volunteering Skills	Pre and post Survey of 327 participants over two-year period from 23 high schools across Aotearoa 56% Male 44% Female 46% European 15% Māori 17% Pacific 3% Asian 1% other 18% identified with multiple ethnicities Using self-efficacy questionnaire adapted for the programme A parent questionnaire looked at items from the Prosocial/Communication Skills subscale of Corrigan's (2002) Social Competence Scale	Social Skills Connectedness: interpersonal relationships and sense of belonging in groups, contexts, communities Social Self-efficacy: Belief in social success, social abilities Sense of Community: group level belonging in their communities	Connection Competence Confidence	Affective Engagement in wilderness adventure contributes to social self-efficacy Emotional support from mentor contributes to sense of community Community challenge found not to have significant impact on measured outcomes

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Collie, C. (2014). <i>The Duke of Edinburgh's Hillary Award an impact evaluation: The service section of the Duke of Edinburgh's Hillary Award</i> . Ministry of Youth Development.	Duke of Edinburgh Hillary Award for ages 13 – 25 In the service section (the focus of this evaluation) young people volunteer in their community 1 hour per week for 3 – 6 months at Bronze level, Silver 6 – 12 months, Gold 12 – 18 months Includes practical service e.g., fundraising, training and service e.g., Civil Defence, or training leading to a qualification e.g., first aid	Volunteer-ing Skills	Focus groups with 48 youth from 7 units 50% Male, 50% Female Face to face interviews (n=8) with current and past participants Telephone interviews (n=18) with award leaders, parents and teachers	Introduction to Service: Exposure to service and young people recognising they have something to offer Commitment to service: Creating a habit of service as part of life Responsibility to others and recognising the value of and need for service community Benefits to Society: Helping the community, enhancing community view of youth Leadership: Identified in and beyond the programme, linked to confidence Personal development and wellbeing: Includes connections, warm fuzzies, satisfaction, confidence, commitment, empathy	Character Caring Contribution Confidence Competence Connection	Activities build skills Repetition of activities and familiar environments seen to build confidence, leadership and initiative The challenging nature of service creates big rewards and growth

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
				Confidence and leadership identified by past participants with additional outcomes of; ongoing service, jobs, career paths and feeling in control of life		
Deane, K. L., & Harré, N. (2014). Program theory-driven evaluation science in a youth development context. <i>Evaluation and Program Planning</i> , 45, 61-70. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2014.03.009	Project K: 21-day wilderness adventure, 10-day community service, 1-year mentoring for young people aged 13-16 in high school with low self-efficacy	Mentoring Volunteer- ing Skills	Programme Theory Driven Evaluation 2 founders (focus groups) 15 staff (focus groups) Survey response from 351 young people Document review Previous programme research review	Positive self-concept Knowledge and skills Connection with others Motivation and achievement Positive outlook Recognition and use of new resources and opportunities Maturity Independence Mental and physical health and fitness Positive future direction	Confidence Competence Connection Character	Experiential learning embedded in programme Intense safe environment to take risks Characteristics of mentors and facilitators Group dynamics Mentor/mentee relationships Ongoing support and spacing of programme Cultural sensitivity

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Deane, K., Harré, N., Moore, J., & Courtney, M. (2017). The Impact of the Project K Youth Development Program on Self-Efficacy: A Randomized Controlled Trial. <i>Journal of Youth & Adolescence</i> , 46(3), 516–537. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-016-0463-9	Project K: 21-day wilderness adventure, 10-day community service, 1-year mentoring for young people aged 13-16 in high school with low self-efficacy	Mentoring Volunteer-ing Skills	Randomised Control Trial. 50 programmes, each containing 12 students, from 38 schools across 11 regions 600 intervention participants and 577 control participants aged 13 – 17 Used self-efficacy questionnaires adapted for the programme Intervention Group: 46% female, 54% Male European 75% Māori 24% Pacific 15% Asian 4% Other 2%. Control Group: Female 48%, Male 53% European 69% Māori 25% Pacific 17% Asian 7% Other 3.5%	Increases in participants academic self-efficacy and social self-efficacy compared to the control group at the end of the programme and after one year, with social self-efficacy having a larger effect Those who started with lower self-efficacy scores made greater gains than those who started with higher self-efficacy Self-Efficacy - Belief in capacity and capability to undertake tasks, achieve goals and undertake new challenges in relevant domains Social self-efficacy - communication, relationship and interpersonal skill Academic self-efficacy - Focus and self-management in relation to schoolwork and school success	Confidence Competence	Use of experiential learning cycle; experiences of mastery, reflection on these, generalisation to out of programme contexts and goal setting

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Deane, K. L., Moore, J., Gillham, B., & Brown, K. (2015). <i>The Impact of Stars on Peer Mentors</i> . Auckland: University of Auckland & Foundation for Youth Development. http://www.communityresearch.org.nz/research/the-impact-of-stars-on-peer-mentors	Stars Peer Mentoring, Year 12 and 13 students provide mentoring to Year 9 students A small group of peer mentors meet for weekly sessions with Year 9 students over three school terms	Skills Leadership	Mixed methods - Open and closed ended questionnaires with peer mentors over five time-points from the beginning of the programme to one year after completion Measured: Time management, Social Competence, Achievement motivation, Intellectual Flexibility, Task Leadership, Emotional Control, Active Initiative, Self-Confidence, Character, Valuing Diversity and Empathy Used Life Effectiveness Questionnaire (Neill, Marsh, & Richards, 2003) and Caring and Character Five Cs measures (Lerner, Lerner et al., 2005) with some measures from Search Institute Profiles of Student Life-Attitudes and Behaviours as described by Leffert et al., (1998) 176 peer mentors from five schools completed the initial	Social Competence: Perceived ability in social situations Character: Belief in values related to honesty, integrity, responsibility Both of these showed significant positive changes during the programme and were sustained one year post programme Intellectual flexibility, task leadership and self-confidence also increased from baseline to one year after the programme Self Confidence: Confidence in abilities, especially social and leadership domains Task Leadership: Leading others to achieve a goal Intellectual Flexibility: Able to use new information	Confidence Competence Connection Caring Character Contribution *All directly mentioned and noted it may have been useful to use the full Five Cs measure	School engagement Extra curricula engagement Parental support Parental role modelling Having adult role models All of these impacted different positive outcomes Programme attendance positively impacted social competence and self-confidence and intellectual flexibility

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
			questionnaire with 59 completing the final questionnaire Male 36% Female 64% European 32% Māori 24% Pacific 50% Asian 33%	Caring: Related to helping younger peers and contributing Contribution: Helping others, having an influence Connection: Friendships, social interaction, bonding All Five Cs and Contribution were seen as qualitative outcomes as well as enjoyment		
Dickinson, P., & Joe, T. (2010). Strengthening Young Mothers: A Qualitative Evaluation of a Pilot Support Group Program. <i>Youth Studies Australia</i> , 29(1), 35–44.	The Young Mother's Support Group programme Includes weekly 3-hour sessions for 16 weeks based on four themes of personal wellbeing, self-value, future vision and parenting Content guided by what participants identified in the first two sessions	Skills	Qualitative pilot evaluation including 7 programme participants of Māori (n=6), Pacific (n=4) and European/Pākehā (n=3) ethnicity aged 16 – 20 who were parents or pregnant Theory driven evaluation of short-term outcomes Participants were interviewed three months after programme completion	Increased support: Connecting with similar peers. Awareness of/access to community services. Increased future planning: Exploring options and setting short-term goals. Increased awareness of self-value Confidence in ability to manage lives, parent and get needs met	Connection Confidence Competence	Flexible: Responsive to young people Youth development focus: Youth input into programme Group work: Connect with similar peers Facilitation: Fun, helpful Organisation: Session planning, transport for young people.

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Fouche, C. & Deane, K. (2015). Secondary Analysis of evaluation data from the Future Leaders youth mentoring programme. A report prepared for the YWCA Auckland. Community Research. In YWCA Auckland (Ed.) <i>YWCA Auckland Future Leaders Programme Redevelopment Project Report</i>. YWCA http://www.communityresearch.org.nz/research/ywca-auckland-future-leaders-programme-redevelopment-project-report/	Future Leaders Programme Four-year programme for young females aged 14 – 18 in low decile schools Includes mentoring from a volunteer mentor and support from co-ordinators The programme also includes workshops, leadership development and camps	Mentoring Skills	Brief qualitative analysis of existing data from programme specific questionnaires, from years 2012 – 2014 Included data from mentees, mentors, families, school liaison and a final programme exit survey	Relationships: Networks, role models, mentor and co-ordinator relationships and relationship skills Experiences: Physical activities, camps Empowerment/ Autonomy: Work ethic and responsibility Skills/Knowledge: Relationship and communication skills, academic, leadership, mastery, participation Confidence: Mastery, participation, self-esteem, encouragement, autonomy The report notes links between confidence and skills, empowerment and experiences	Connection Competence Confidence Character	This report formed part of a larger report, which did later investigate key programme factors

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Furness, K., Williams, M. N., Veale, J. F., & Gardner, D. H. (2017). Maximising potential: The psychological effects of the youth development programme Project K. <i>New Zealand Journal of Psychology</i> , 46(1), 14–23.	Project K: 21-day wilderness adventure, 10-day community service, 1-year mentoring for young people aged 13-16 in high school with low self-efficacy	Mentoring Volunteer-ing Skills	Quasi-experimental study with intervention group participating in programme (N49) and control group (N31) Using self-efficacy questionnaire adapted for the programme Surveys undertaken pre, during and post intervention Intervention Group: European or Pākehā 78% Māori 24% Samoan 12% Control Group European or Pākehā 74% Māori 26% Cook Island Māori 10%	Self-efficacy and Resilience were lower for intervention group than control group at the beginning but higher than the control at the end Wellbeing (Psychological) for intervention group remained stable but decreased for control Did not find significant impact on connection Self-efficacy - Perceived control over behaviour and ability to successfully complete tasks and goals Resilience - Ability to overcome challenges Connectedness - emotional connection to communities Wellbeing – linked to all three of the above.	Confidence Competence	Competence and mastery experiences through challenging tasks Goal setting and problem solving Communication skills Programme processes were not a focus of this study

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Grocott, A. C., & Hunter, J. A. (2009). Increases in global and domain specific self-esteem following a 10-day developmental voyage. <i>Social Psychology of Education</i> , 12(4), 443–459. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-008-9088-5	Spirit of Adventure Developmental Voyage Ten days sailing, living and working together in teams	Skills Leadership	Questionnaires at four time periods, before voyage, on the first day, at the end of the voyage, and 3 months after completion 193 participants from five voyages 62% female 48% male 87% New Zealand European 5% other (Māori, Pacific) Aged between 15 – 18 Used the Self-Description Questionnaire III (Marsh & O'Neill, 1984) for domain specific and global self-esteem	Global self-esteem: Feeling good about oneself Domain specific self-esteem: Including opposite sex relations, physical appearance, emotional stability Mathematical self-esteem Increases in these areas occurred from the first to the last day of the voyage and remained three months after	Confidence Competence	Not discussed
Hunter, J. A., Hayhurst, J., Kafka, S., Boyes, M., Ruffman, T., O'Brien, K., & Stringer, M. (2013). Elevated self-esteem 12 months following a 10-day developmental voyage.	Spirit of New Zealand Developmental Voyage Ten days sailing, living and working together in teams, with debriefs of activities led by crew members	Skills Leadership	Two studies, one administered questionnaire before and after the journey, the second before, after and 1 year following Study One: 62 participants, 31 on voyage and 31 control participants 50% each Male and Female	Self-esteem of voyage participants increased in Study 1 and increases were maintained in Study 2 Self-esteem not defined beyond definitions implicit in measure used	Confidence	Belonging to a group, working and learning together and self-efficacy Learning that actions can lead to success Both of these elements seen to lead to self-esteem

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 43(9), 1956–1961. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12132			Mean age 16.48 The Single Item Self Esteem scale was used. (Robins et al., 2011) Study Two: 396 participants, 132 on the voyage Mean age 16.28 and 234 control, Mean age 17.25 The study used the same measure above and some measures from scales for self-efficacy (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995) belonging (Sheldon & Bettencourt, 2002) and social support (Neill & Dias, 2001)			
Hunter, J. A., Kafka, S., Hayhurst, J., Clark, H., Dickerson, D., Harold, G., Boyes, M., O'Brien, K., & Stringer, M. (2010) Increased self-efficacy following a ten-day developmental voyage. <i>Journal of Child and Adolescent Mental Health</i> , 22(1), 63–65. https://doi.org/10.2989/17280583.2010.496943	Spirit of New Zealand Voyage Ten days sailing, living and working together in teams	Skills Leadership	Two studies of self-efficacy Study one: Questionnaires on the first and last day of the voyage Study two: Questionnaires one month before voyage, on the first day, at the end of the voyage, and 5 months after completion. Study 1: 66 participants, 52% Male 48% Female	Self-efficacy increased for voyage participants in Study 1 & 2 and was maintained over five months in Study 2	Confidence	Mastery experiences proposed as contributing to self-efficacy by providing opportunities to succeed

Reference	Programme description	Program me Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
			33 voyage participants, mean age 15.79 33 control participants mean age 19.69 Study 2: 113 participants 45% Male, 55% Female 82 voyage participants, 31 control participants Self-efficacy was measured in both studies using the self-efficacy sub-scale of the Review of Personal Effectiveness (Purdie, Neill & Richards, 2002)			
Hemphill, M. A., Gordon, B., & Wright, P. M. (2019). Sports as a passport to success: Life skill integration in a positive youth development program. <i>Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy</i> , 24(4), 390-401. https://doi.org/10.1080/17408989.2019.1606901	The Billy Graham Youth Foundation, Boxing academies for ages 9 – 18 where young people participate in two classes per week Life skills included at the beginning and end of each session	Skills	Qualitative case study – Semi structured focus-group interviews with 41 programme participants across the age range Observation of 50 classes with a focus on life skills	All participants learned at least one life skill, and some knew all eight Participants recognised transferability of life skills Life skills: Personal assets that support thriving Life skills included: respect, responsibility, compassion, consideration, kindness, duty, obedience, and honesty	Character Connection Caring	Connections to peers and coaches seen to facilitate life-skill development Connection was actively developed Life skills reinforced through being written on walls, regular discussion and expectation to memorise and use them

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
H Hollis, K Deane, J Moore & N Harré (2011) Young Māori perceptions of a youth development programme, <i>Kotuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online</i> , 6:1-2, 50-61, DOI: 10.1080/1177083X.2011.615847	Project K: 21-day wilderness adventure, 10-day community service, 1-year mentoring for young people aged 13-16 in high school with low self-efficacy	Mentoring Volunteer- ing Skills	'Story-telling' Interviews with 6 young people in Auckland, 16+ who identified as Māori and had previously completed Project K	Self-belief: Newfound confidence in different domains. Social Competence: Communication Skills Close Relationships: With peers and ability to form bonds.	Confidence Competence Connection	Challenging environment Opportunity to reflect Teamwork Responsibility Fun Giving back Support from mentor
Jones, M. R. (2018). <i>Impressions from the wild: A thematic analysis of adolescents' experience on Project K's wilderness adventure</i> . [Master's thesis, Massey University]. Massey Research Online.	Project K – focused on the 21-day wilderness adventure	Skills	Semi structured focus groups with 23 participants aged 14-15 from Auckland and Tauranga European 82% Māori 22% Cook Island Māori 9%	Mastery: Sense of achievement, pride, motivation and skill development from completing challenges, resulting in improved self-concept and confidence Attitude: Adopting and maintaining positive attitude in the wilderness and beyond; gratitude Interpersonal Skills: building relationships, teamwork, managing conflict	Competence Connection Confidence Caring *Explicit links made to these four C's in the text Character	Outside of comfort zones Real consequences Interpersonal challenges

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Mercier, J., Powell, C., Langdon-Pole, G., Finau, D., Hicks, K., Bouchier, L., & Hampton, J. (2019). The Five Cs of Positive Youth Development in an Aotearoa/New Zealand Program Context. <i>Journal of Youth Development</i> , 14 (4), 36-58. https://doi.org/10.5195/jyd.2019.774	School based outdoor education programme for ages 11- 13 Includes five outdoor challenges, 20 hours community service, 20-hour hobby project	Skills Volunteer-ing	Semi-structured individual interviews with six young people, six teachers and five parents about programme outcomes	Uses Lerner (2005) definitions of the Five Cs and within the programme identified: Confidence: Belief in capacity to achieve, pride, willingness to try new things Competence: Physical, social, cognitive and vocational Connection: With peers, teachers, family and community Caring: Young people cared for each other during programme Character: Values of tenacity and looking beyond yourself Contribution: Desire to contribute, leadership	Confidence Competence Connection Caring Character Contribution *This study used the Five Cs directly to understand outcomes	New and challenging activities develop confidence and competence Connections with peers and adults support all other Cs

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Noonan, K., Bullen, P., & Farruggia, S. P. (2012). School-based mentoring: Examining the cultural and economic variations in engagement and effectiveness. <i>New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies</i> , 47(1), 47–64.	Stars Peer Mentoring, Year 12 and 13 students provide mentoring to Year 9 students A small group of peer mentors meet for weekly sessions with Year 9 students over three school terms Community project: Mentees plan organise and run a one-day project to give back to the community Adventure camp: One-week wilderness camp Community adventure: Local area exploration to identify resources	Skills Leadership Mentoring This study focused on mentees rather than mentors	Questionnaires including Likert scales and open questions with mentees (Year 9) following the three activities and at the end of the programme No demographic data collected, but overall school data was recorded, e.g., Decile (an indicator of SES of the area) and ethnic breakdown of school students 1642 questionnaires in total The organisation's own questionnaire was used, measuring interpersonal skills and school connectedness	Qualitative analysis of results identified: Practical activity-related skills e.g., kayaking Working alongside others: Teamwork, respect, communication and co-operation Community connections: With others in the local area Personal achievements: Belief in ability to achieve, goal setting Friends: Getting to know peers. Quantitative findings showed that those in lower decile schools and those with predominantly Pacific young people rated programme effectiveness more highly than higher decile, mixed ethnicity or predominantly Pākehā schools.	Competence Connection Confidence	Adventure Camp component most linked to qualitative outcomes Community Project, Community Adventure and overall experience also linked to outcomes

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
O'Connor, S., & Jose, P. E. (2012). A propensity score matching study of participation in community activities: A path to positive outcomes for youth in New Zealand? <i>Developmental Psychology</i> , 48(6), 1563–1569. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0027597	This study was not set in one programme but looked at outcomes from young people's participation in sport, non-sport, (cultural, arts, church, youth groups) and mixed activities (combining sport and other activities)	Varied	Participants were part of the Youth Connectedness study 1774 young people aged 10 – 15 completed a 370-item survey annually over three years 52% female 48% Male New Zealand European (n=919) Māori (n=172) Mixed (NZ European and Māori n=278) ethnicities were included Others were excluded Participants in this study were young people who participated in a community activity (sport, non-sport or mixed) Measures related to: Wellbeing, Future aspirations, Positive relationships, Confidence Assessed using items from the Ryff Well-Being Scale (Ryff & Keyes, 1995)	Young people in community activities experienced more positive outcomes in future years, with any activity in Year 1 or 2 effecting outcomes in Year 2, or 3, especially social support at Year 2 compared to non-participants Māori youth in non-sport activities had higher community connectedness at Y3 than non-participants and New Zealand European young people participating in non-sport activities Sports activities for New Zealand European youth impacted social support in Y2, and Wellbeing in Y2 & Y3 Mixed heritage youth did not appear to benefit from participation No significant differences for gender or activity type	Connection	Not discussed

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
			Social support measured using items from the Social Provisions Scale (Cutrona & Russell, 1987) Community connectedness, measured with items from the Sense of Community Index (Chipuer & Pretty, 1999) Results of participants were compared with non-participants			
Scarf, D., Kafka, S., Hayhurst, J., Jang, K., Boyes, M., Thomson, R., & Hunter, J. A. (2018). Satisfying psychological needs on the high seas: Explaining increases self-esteem following an adventure education programme. <i>Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning</i>, 18(2), 165–175. https://doi.org/10.1080/14729679.2017.1385496	Spirit of New Zealand Developmental Voyage Ten days sailing, living and working together in teams	Skills Leadership	Two studies - questionnaires before and after the journey Study 1: Study group, 100 participants on voyage 52% Male, 42% female 73 participants in control group, 73% Female, 27% Male Self-esteem measured with questions from the Life Effectiveness self-concept sub-scale (Richards et al., 2002) Group belonging measured using the Inclusion Scale (Sheldon & Bettencourt 2002)	Self-esteem increased after voyage in both studies and was related to Group belonging, where belonging increased self-esteem Self-esteem not defined beyond measures used Group belonging referred to the small peer group on the voyage	Confidence Connection	Group belonging seen to predict self-esteem, beyond other influences of self-efficacy and group esteem

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
			Study 2: 80 participants on voyage, 41% Male 59% Female 91 in control group, 27% Male, 73% Female Self-efficacy measured using a short form of the Self-Description Questionnaire III (Kafka et al., 2012; Marsh & O'Neill, 1984) Self-esteem measured using the 10-item general self-efficacy scale (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995). Group belonging measured as above Group esteem measured with the Group Esteem Subscale (Ellemers et al., 1999)			

Reference	Programme description	Program me Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Smit, A.K. (2016). <i>Exploring the implementation of Positive Youth Development in a New Zealand youth development programme context</i> . [Master's Thesis, University of Canterbury]. UC Research Depository.	24/7 Youth Work. Placement of youth workers in schools. Focus on relationship building, enhancing school spirit, leadership development and engaging students in out-of-school activities	Skills	Semi-structured interviews with three 24/7 youth workers, three young adults who had previously worked with a 24/7 youth worker and three school professionals Interviews used a rating exercise of PYD indicators based on literature to understand outcomes and questions about the programme aims, process, and outcomes Responses about programme processes were coded against a list of 14 PYD programme components identified in literature	Psychological and Emotional Development: a. Optimism with realism b. Coherent and positive personal and social identity c. Emotional self-regulation skills d. Good mental health including positive self-regard e. Strong moral character f. Confidence in personal efficacy g. Pro-social and culturally sensitive values h. Personal autonomy/responsibility. Social Development: a. Attachment to pro-social/conventional institutions e.g., school b. Sense of social place/integration Intellectual Development: a. Good decision making skills. * The most highly rated indicators are listed here	Confidence Competence Connection Character	Assets associated with youth workers: a. Presence-based b. Easy to connect with and open up to c. Role model d. Genuine care and passion for youth e. Well-rounded people. The promotion of positive adult-youth relationships Opportunities for life skill development Incorporating resources from the family, the school and the community Opportunities for self-determination or youth empowerment *The top 5 out of a total list of 14 components have been included

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Smith, M & Benseman, J (2019). <i>Aspire kiwi youth development: 2017 programme report</i> . Salvation Army https://www.salvationarmy.org.nz/sites/default/files/uploads/2020/June/aspire-2019-evaluation-report-web.pdf	A year-long youth development programme run in schools by the Salvation Army for groups of 10 – 12 young people in intermediate or high school Based on the Circle of Courage includes 30 – 35, 1.5-hour sessions, with a focus on the model, a 3–4-day adventure camp, family events, a community project, referral to other Salvation army services and a graduation ceremony	Skills	Surveys at the beginning and end of each module using Likert scales No statistical analysis conducted but changes measured from beginning to the end of module Participant percentages not included but graphs highlight Pacific young people being the majority of participants, followed by Pākehā and Māori, with small numbers of Asian and other ethnicities Nearly 75% of participants were male.	Belonging: Relationships with family, friends, other adults, community connection, someone to discuss problems with, feeling safe, heard and cared about Having someone to talk to and feeling listened to showed the biggest change from beginning to end Mastery: New skills, finding things they are good at, problem solving, self-control Problem solving and turning setback into success showed the biggest change from beginning to end Independence and generosity: Confidence, goal setting, knowing oneself, self-belief, Contribution and care Contribution and care showed the largest increase from the beginning to the end of the module	Connection Competence Confidence Character Contribution Caring	Adventure experiences Facilitator behaviours Making friends

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Smith, E. F., Steel, G., & Gidlow, B. (2010). The temporary community: Student experiences of school-based outdoor education programmes. <i>Journal of Experiential Education</i> , 33(2), 136–150. https://doi.org/10.5193/JEE33.2.136	Residential school camp programme in two Christian based schools for students aged 14 – 15	Skills	Photo-elicitation Interviews Young people were given cameras to take photos of what camp was like for them and the photos used to guide individual interviews 32 students, 34% Male, 66% Female	Fun: Enjoyment of activities and people Social Experiences: Bonding with peers Camp as different: An opportunity to explore different ways of presenting oneself and being with others, more themselves and greater inclusion	Connection	Stimulating activities Disruption of normal activities, especially no/reduced technology which supports young people to connect with each other
Turner, M., Schroder, R., & McKay, S. (2014). <i>Youth worker in schools: Evaluation of the 24-7YW programme</i> . 24-7 Youth Work. http://www.24-7youthwork.nz/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Presence-based-Research-on-24-7YW-2014.pdf	24/7 Youth Work Placement of youth workers in schools Youth workers are faith based	Skills	Anonymous online survey with Likert scale and open-ended questions. 1,308 students from 51 schools who had worked with a 24/7 youth worker aged 10 – 19 Pākehā 69% Māori 13% Pacific and other ethnicity percentages not specified	Open questions identified the following outcomes: Meeting people/making friends Increased confidence/responsibility Motivation School attendance/ Performance Improved behaviour/positivity Support from youth worker New skills	Connection Confidence Competence Character	Support of youth worker- identified in outcomes but also a key contributor

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
				In Likert scales 74% students reported they were better or much better. 54% felt they had been helped a lot or very much by the youth worker but 70% felt helped in low decile schools.		
Turner, M., & Schroder, R. (2015). <i>24-7 Youth worker in schools programme phase 2 evaluation: School staff</i> . 24-7 Youth Work. https://www.24-7youthwork.nz/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/ct-report-phase-2-SINGLE-PAGES.pdf	24/7 Youth Work. Placement of youth workers in schools. Youth workers are faith based.	Skills	Online survey with school staff which asked staff to rate the extent to which they thought intended aims/outcomes had been achieved. 160 staff from 47 schools, 74% high school, 13% intermediate, 13% primary and composite (primary and intermediate combined) across all deciles (socio-economic ratings) including counsellors, deans, principals and teachers.	Student-student relationships (mean score 6.7/7) Student-teacher relationships (mean score 6.2/7) Student-other relationships (mean score 6.6/7) Developing leadership (mean score 6.1/7) Building school spirit (6.3/7) Supporting community connection (6.5/7) Supporting students (6.8/7) Assisting achievement (6/7) Assisting wellbeing (6.7/7)	Connection Competence Character	Not discussed in this study

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Turner, M., & Schroder, R. (2017). <i>24-7 Youth worker in schools programme phase 3 evaluation: Student evaluation. 24-7 Youth Work.</i> https://www.24-7youthwork.nz/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Final-ct-report-phase-3-.pdf	24/7 Youth Work Placement of youth workers in schools Youth workers are faith based	Skills	Anonymous online survey with Likert scale and open-ended questions. 1135 students from 61 schools: Pākehā 77.4% Māori 20.4% Pacific 7.7% Other 15.6%	Open ended questions identified: Improved mental health/wellbeing 48.1% Help, advice, guidance, skills 18.7% Someone to talk to 16.8% Friends/better relationships 11.5% Took on challenges/leadership 6.4% Activities/things to do 5.2% Likert scale questions identified 77.8 felt a little bit or much better since working with the youth worker 57% reported youth worker had helped them a lot or very much	Competence Connection	Not discussed in this study

Reference	Programme description	Type	Methods and Participants	Described Outcomes (Definitions included where provided)	Links to the Five Cs	Contributing Programme Features
Wheaton, B., Roy, G., & Olive, R. (2017). Exploring critical alternatives for youth development through lifestyle sport: Surfing and community development in Aotearoa/New Zealand. <i>Sustainability (Switzerland)</i> , 9(12) 2298-3014. https://doi.org/10.3390/su9122298	Surfing – lifestyle, non-competitive sport with a focus on addressing social issues e.g., female, Māori or disability participation, environmental issues	Skills	Case study of 8 semi-structured interviews about the benefits of surfing with practitioners from various surfing organisations in New Zealand with a social aim	Special nature of surfing: Ability of surfing to protect and heal, connecting with nature, community with others, overcoming challenges, learning skills, mastery of waves Surfing as an escape: Stepping out of everyday life, connecting with own body and nature, freedom and possibilities	Character Connection Competence	
Worley, R. P. (2015). <i>Speak the words ki au nei: The intersection between spoken word poetry and public health</i> . [Master's Thesis, The University of Auckland]. The University of Auckland Research Space https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/29300?show=full	Spoken Word Poetry Workshops run by Action Education in Auckland	Skills	Kaupapa Māori study including auto-ethnography, participant observations, poetry analysis and 6 semi-structured focus group interviews with young people aged 16 and above involved in spoken word poetry workshops	Internal emotional wellbeing including: Self-discovery Personal and poetic development over time Empowerment/freedom of expression Identity development Ethnicity exploration Gender and sexuality exploration	Character	Encouragement from teachers Performance and practice opportunities Safe space Opportunity to speak up through poetry

Appendix B: Ethics Application, Information and Consent Forms, and Focus Group/Interview Schedules

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Ethics Committee Approval Statement



Date: 29 June 2018

Dear Jayne Mercier

Re: Ethics Notification - SOB 18/25 - What do we mean by good outcomes for youth? An exploration of how young people and those who work with them in positive youth development contexts perceive outcomes.

Thank you for the above application that was considered by the Massey University Human Ethics

Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

Associate Professor Tracy Riley, Dean Research
Acting Director (Research Ethics)



Human Ethics Application

Application ID : 4000019511

Application Title : What do we mean by good outcomes for youth? An exploration of how young people and those who work with them in positive youth development contexts perceive outcomes.

Date of Submission : 16/05/2018

Primary Investigator : Jayne Mercier

Other Investigators : Prof Robyn Munford
Prof Jackie Sanders

Application

Initial Responses

Application Title*

What do we mean by good outcomes for youth? An exploration of how young people and those who work with them in positive youth development contexts perceive outcomes.

Campus of Chief Applicant

- ☒ Manawatu
☐ Wellington
☐ Albany

Researchers

1	Surname	Mercier
	Given Name	Jayne
	Full Name	Jayne Mercier
	Position	Applicant
	Primary?	Yes
	Work Number	
	Email Address	Jayne.Mercier.1@uni.massey.ac.nz
	Department	
	College	
2	Surname	Munford
	Given Name	Robyn
	Full Name	Prof Robyn Munford
	Position	Supervisor
	Primary?	No
	Work Number	
	Email Address	R.Munford@massey.ac.nz
	Department	462
	College	45
3	Surname	Sanders

	Given Name	Jacqueline
	Full Name	Prof Jackie Sanders
	Position	Supervisor
	Primary?	No
	Work Number	
	Email Address	J.Sanders@massey.ac.nz
	Department	462
	College	45

Please add name of co researchers if unable to locate above

This question is not answered.

Recruitment / Data collection start date

18/06/2018

Projected end of the project

01/03/2024

Project Type

- ☐ Academic Staff Research
- ☐ General Staff Research
- ☒ Postgraduate Student Research
- ☐ Undergraduate Student Research
- ☐ Evaluation
- ☐ Teaching
- ☐ Other

Project Summary

The aim of this project is to investigate how young people and those who work with them in positive youth development contexts perceive the outcomes of programmes and whether an existing model (The Five Cs) can be a relevant outcomes framework in these settings. Positive youth development programmes aim to build the skills and capacities of young people, involve positive youth-adult relationships and have opportunities for young people to participate in or lead activities. They can occur in formal settings, such as mentoring programmes or informally in places such as church youth groups.

The research will look at how young people and those who work with them understand and define outcomes across a range of programme types. It will look at the similarities and differences in how outcomes are defined and understood in these contexts. It will also explore the ways outcomes are experienced, prioritised and operationalised. If there are similar ideas about what outcomes are and what they look like, the research will explore whether or not there can be a shared framework to describe them, and whether or not the Five Cs model of positive youth development aligns. The Five Cs refer to competence, confidence, connection, caring and character leading to a sixth C of contribution (Lerner,

2004).

To do this, the views of young people and staff in at least 10 different youth development programmes across Auckland will be gathered via individual interviews or focus groups, depending on what works best for each setting. Participants can also draw or map their ideas. Initial data analysis will identify common themes and whether these can be distilled into an outcomes framework. This will then be compared with the Five Cs model to determine if there is alignment or not. If a framework can be developed, a second phase of interviews/focus groups will occur to see how the proposed framework fits. This may include discussion of how outcomes could be measured.

Describe the peer review process that has been used to discuss and analyse the ethical issues present in this project.

The researcher works in another academic institution (Unitec Institute of Technology). This research has been reviewed with Unitec colleagues including youth development and health promotion professionals and a Unitec Ethics Committee member. These staff are experienced in practice and research with youth and communities. Issues discussed have included: informed and voluntary consent, collection of demographic data and other data collection processes, young people having the support of adults to participate, recruitment processes and data storage, anonymity and confidentiality and conflict of interest. A preliminary meeting has also occurred with one of Unitec's Rangahau Māori Partners to discuss the ethical implications of undertaking research where Māori may be involved. This included the tensions inherent in Pāheka undertaking research with Māori. To help work with these tensions, the importance of relationships and reciprocity in the research process was discussed, as well as the need for cultural advice throughout the project. Some additional contacts for consultation were suggested.

The research was also discussed with a staff member of Korowai Tupu, the professional association for youth workers. This helps to ensure the research will align with best practice in youth development. The researcher's PhD supervisors have been consulted regarding all ethical considerations and are experienced in undertaking research with young people and managing research relationships.

These consultations complement the researcher's experience in research and practice with young people. Consultations have occurred either face to face, by phone or email and those consulted are aware that they are listed in this application.

List the ethical issues considered and explain how they have been addressed

Privacy, Confidentiality and Anonymity. The research will adhere to the Privacy Act 1993. Data will be stored in password protected files/locked cabinets. Personal details and transcripts will be separated and participant ID numbers used. Confidentiality agreements will be signed by anyone with access to data e.g. transcriber. Demographic data will only be reported if anonymity is maintained. Organisations may know which staff and young people participate. Anonymity limits are identified in information sheets.

Informed and Voluntary Consent. All participants will consent to participate or have caregiver consent where appropriate. All potential participants will be invited to participate either by the researcher in a group meeting, via email, via phone, via the organisation's Facebook page, or via a staff member. Participation is voluntary. If a focus group occurs at a usual group time an alternative activity will be offered. Participants can withdraw before or during an interview/focus group. The researcher will not interview participants where a dependency relationship exists.

Risk of Harm to Participants. The organisation consent process will identify best ways to engage participants, any tikanga and other considerations. Phase Two will help check data interpretation. Questions are framed positively. Questions are not about individual

experiences. This is mainstream research that may involve Māori. The researcher will engage cultural advisers as necessary. Participants can bring a support person. Young people will receive food at focus groups and a research summary and a small voucher in individual interviews.

Reputation Risk. Research will follow the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research.

With whom did you peer review your research?

The researcher has undertaken initial consultation with peers who are experienced in research and practice in youth development and community development, along with PhD supervisors. This has included individuals in the following roles:

Korowai Tupu staff member

Māori Research Partner – Rangahau Māori Unitec

Unitec Ethics Committee member

Unitec Lecturer, sexuality and gender diversity researcher

Unitec Lecturer youth development

Unitec Lecturer health promotion

Professor Jackie Sanders - Professor in Children's and Youth Studies, Massey University

Professor Robyn Munford - Professor of Social Work, Massey University

A: Full Application

A
1 **Do you wish the protocol to be heard in a closed meeting (Part II)?***

☒ No

☐ Yes

A
2 Select any MUHEC or HDEC application numbers already applicable to this application and their relationship.

This question is not answered.

A 3 **Will you be recruiting participants for your research?***

☐ No

☒ Yes

B: Risk Assessment Questions

Original Risk Assessment Questions

4 Does your research include:

4.a **Situations where the researcher may be at risk of harm.***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

4.b **Use of a questionnaire or interview, whether or not it is anonymous, which might reasonably be expected to cause discomfort, embarrassment or psychological or spiritual harm to the participants. ***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

4.c **Processes that are potentially disadvantageous to a person or group, such as the collection of information which may expose a person / group to discrimination.***

- ☒ No
☐ Yes

4.d **Collection of information of illegal behavior(s) gained during the research which could place the participants at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to their financial standing, employability, professional or personal relationships.***

- ☒ No
☐ Yes

4.e **Collection of blood, body fluid, tissue samples or other samples.***

- ☒ No
☐ Yes

4.f **Any form of exercise regime, or deprivation. (e.g. sleep or dietary)***

- ☒ No
☐ Yes

4.g **Any form of physical examination(e.g. physical, radiation, ultrasound).**

- ☒ No
☐ Yes

4.h **The administration of any form of drug, medicine (other than in the course of standard medical procedure), or placebo.***

- ☒ No
☐ Yes

4.i **Physical pain, beyond mild discomfort.***

- ☒ No
☐ Yes

- 4.j **Any Massey University teaching which involves the participation of Massey University students for a demonstration of procedures or phenomena which have potential for harm.***
- ☒ No
☐ Yes
- 4.k **Participants whose identities are known to the researcher giving oral consent, rather than written consent, other than for cultural reasons.***
- ☐ No
☒ Yes
- 4.l **Participants who are unable to give informed consent.***
- ☐ No
☒ Yes
- 4.m **Research on your own students / pupils.***
- ☒ No
☐ Yes
- 4.n **The participation of children (seven (7) years old or younger).***
- ☒ No
☐ Yes
- 4.o **The participation of children under sixteen (16) years old where active parental consent is not being sought.***
- ☐ No
☒ Yes
- 4.p **Participants who are in a dependent situation, such as nursing home or prison, or patients highly dependent on medical care.***
- ☒ No
☐ Yes
- 4.q **Participants who are vulnerable.***
- ☐ No
☒ Yes
- 4.r **The use of previously collected identifiable personal information or research data for which there was no explicit consent for this research.***
- ☒ No
☐ Yes
- 4.s **The use of previously collected biological samples for which there was no explicit consent for this research.***
- ☒ No
☐ Yes

- 4.t **Any evaluation of organisational services or practices where information of a personal nature may be collected and where participants or the organisation may be identified.***
- ☐ No
☒ Yes
- 4.u **Deception of the participants, including concealment or covert observations.***
- ☒ No
☐ Yes
- 4.v **Conflict of interest situation for the researcher.**
*e.g. Is the project funded or supported in any way that might result in a conflict of interest, do any of the researchers have a financial interest in the outcome, or is there a professional or other relationship between the researcher and the participants? **
- ☐ No
☒ Yes
- 4.w **Payments or other financial inducements (other than reasonable reimbursement of travel expenses or time) to participants.***
- ☒ No
☐ Yes
- 4.x **A requirement by an outside organisation (e.g. a funding organisation or a journal in which you wish to publish) for Massey University Human Ethics Committee approval.***
- ☒ No
☐ Yes
- 4.y **I wish to submit a full application for Training / Education purposes***
- ☒ No
☐ Yes

C: Project Details

C 1 **Aim of the project ***

The aim of this project is to investigate how young people and those who work with them in positive youth development contexts perceive the outcomes of programmes and whether an existing model (The Five Cs) can be a relevant outcomes framework in these settings.

The research will look at how young people and those who work with them understand and define the outcomes of programmes across a range of programme types. It will look at the similarities and differences in how outcomes are defined and understood; for example, whether confidence is viewed differently in different settings. It will also explore how these outcomes are experienced and operationalised within programme settings and whether some are seen as more important than others and why.

The research will assess whether these understandings can form an outcomes framework and whether this aligns with the Five Cs model of positive youth development. The Five Cs refer to competence, confidence, connection, caring and character leading to a sixth C of contribution (Lerner, 2004). The research may also assess how outcomes could be measured.

This research may assist in the development of local outcomes frameworks and develop a shared language for positive youth development across settings, allowing for clearer bench-marking and measurement of programmes in the future.

C 2 **Background of the project**

Youth development opportunities have long been available for young people in Aotearoa, through traditional Māori processes (Ara Taiohi, 2008; Keelan, 2014;) and through organisations such as the YMCA. Positive youth development (PYD) is about viewing young people positively and believing all young people can develop positively by creating environments where they can do so (Lerner et al, 2012). Locally, the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002) and the Ministry of Youth Development have guided PYD.

The last 30 years has seen recognition of the importance of PYD and PYD programmes (Mueller et al., 2011). A set of outcomes, or indicators of PYD exist, known as the Five Cs which include confidence, competence, connection, caring and character, leading to a sixth C of contribution (Lerner, 2004). These Cs are groups of attributes displayed by positively developing young people, resulting in contributions to self, family, community and civic life (Lerner et al., 2006). The Five Cs have been researched in a large-scale longitudinal study in America resulting in validated measures (Geldhof et al, 2014).

In New Zealand, there is limited PYD research and few local models. However, a recent local study on resilience in vulnerable young people has shown that services taking a PYD approach have better outcomes, where pro-social behaviour, peer-behaviour, life satisfaction and educational involvement were seen as outcomes (Sanders, Munford, & Liebenberg, 2017).

Increasingly, funders require evidence of outcomes and The Youth Investment Strategy (MYD, 2016) outlines the importance of outcome-driven programming, however there is no agreed outcomes framework.

This study will fill some of the gaps in understanding outcomes locally, by exploring how they are perceived and the similarities and differences across programme types.

This will determine whether a shared framework can be developed, or if existing frameworks are relevant.

C **Outline research/teaching/evaluation procedures including approach / procedures**
3 **for collecting data.**

*If flowchart required, add to Documents section later.**

This is an exploratory study, taking a qualitative approach. A key part of an exploratory study is “flexibility in looking for data and open-mindedness about where to find them” (Stebbins, 2001, p.6). To reflect this, the research will look at a broad range of PYD contexts using a mix of interviews and focus groups. Drawings, concept maps and notes made during interviews and focus groups will also be included in analysis.

The research will occur in two phases. Phase One will explore ways people define and understand the outcomes of PYD programmes and the similarities and differences in how programmes are defined, understood, experienced, prioritised and operationalised in different settings. Participants will be asked about how the programme works, what young people get out of it and what it looks like if young people have good outcomes generally.

A combination of purposive and snowball sampling will be used to recruit PYD programmes. A minimum of 10 programmes will be included. Staff and young people in these programmes will be recruited and interviews and/or focus groups will be employed.

If a draft framework can be developed then Phase Two of the research will take place. Here, further interviews and/or focus groups will occur in at least five programme settings from Phase One. Participants will be part of one interview or focus group for Phase Two. Data from Phase Two will be used to further refine any outcomes framework and identify possible outcomes measures.

C **Describe the experience of the researcher and / or supervisor to undertake this**
4 **type of project. ***

The researcher is a youth development professional, with 17 years’ experience in the youth sector. She has worked in service delivery, management and academia. She is also a registered psychotherapist and works with young people and adults in a counselling setting. She has worked with young people from a range of cultures and social groups. The researcher has just led a piece of evaluation research with young people, teachers and parents in schools and previously led consultations and data gathering processes with young people, including survey questionnaires, focus groups and one-one-one interviews.

The researcher’s supervisors are experienced in research with youth and youth organisations and have supervised a number of PhDs to successful completion.

C **Where will the project be conducted?**

5 **Include information about the physical location / setting ***

The research will be conducted in Auckland in at least 10 different positive youth development programmes.

Focus groups will occur at the location of the organisation/programme. Individual interviews will occur at the location of the organisation/programme or at an agreed public location, or by phone/email.

C **Is the location overseas?***
6

☒ No

☐ Yes

D: Participants

D
1 **How many participants will be involved?***

The exact number of participants is open, due to the emergent nature of the research design. The study will involve at least 10 and a maximum of 15 programmes with at least one participant from each programme (one staff member or one young person). Where individual interviews are used, up to five young people and up to two staff members will be interviewed in a participating programme. Focus group numbers will be determined within each programme setting.

D
2 **Provide the reason for selecting this number or the statistical justification (if relevant).***

Qualitative research aims to gain a depth understanding of what is occurring and its implications, rather than generate findings that are generalisable to the whole population (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). As such, qualitative research usually involves small numbers of participants. However, this study is also taking a multi-perspective approach and is interested in the comparison of experiences and views across different programme types within the overall definition of PYD programmes. An initial number of 10 programmes has been identified as providing a range of different programme types across Auckland, with a maximum of 15 to provide a manageable data set. The open nature of the exact number of participants is based on the flexibility of exploratory research and to ensure the research is conducted in a way that best fits each programme, and that places programmes as active participants in deciding the research structure.

D
3 **How will potential participants be identified?***

This study will use a mixed purposive and snowball sampling strategy. Initially the researcher has identified a list of programme types based on her sector knowledge and the literature and developed a list of possible programmes. Programme types include: mentoring, leadership, volunteering and skills programmes. Programmes on this initial list will be approached to indicate interest. Further programmes will be identified throughout the research either by participating programmes or the researcher's networks. Within each setting potential participants, both staff and young people, will be identified by the organisation, based on inclusion criteria. Potential participants for Phase Two will be purposively selected from programmes and participants involved in Phase One to include a range of views. If needed, new programmes and participants may be added in Phase Two.

D
4 **How will potential participants be recruited?***

The researcher will contact organisations by phone or email to identify interest and a meeting held to discuss and agree the research process. Staff and young people may be invited by the researcher at a research neutral meeting, e.g. staff meeting or youth group. Staff may also be invited by phone or an email from the researcher or another staff member (not a manager) and young people by an email sent by the organisation, by a message on an organisation Facebook page, or by staff members. The researcher will follow up with interested participants. Potential phase Two participants will be contacted by the researcher if they have agreed to be re-contacted in Phase One. If new

programmes or participants are recruited for Phase Two, the same processes as those used in Phase One will be followed.

D
5 **Who will make the initial approach to potential participants?***

The initial approach to participants will be made either by the researcher, in person or via email or phone or by programme staff by email, Facebook or in person or phone. The range of recruitment options accounts for different programme types and recognises the different developmental stages of young people. Not all young people may feel comfortable to contact the researcher directly and may wish for support to do so.

D
6 **Does the project include recruitment through advertising?***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

D 7 **Does the project require permission of an organisation to access participants or information?***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

D
7.a **List the organisations***

Organisations will be recruited at the beginning of the study. Organisations that may be approached include:
(Removed to protect confidentiality)

D
8 **Describe any specific inclusion / exclusion criteria to select participants***

Included organisations deliver mentoring, leadership, volunteering or skills programmes and will self-identify as meeting the 'big three' (Lerner, 2004): youth adult relationships, the development of life skills and participation in and leadership of activities. Programmes types may overlap e.g. combining mentoring and leadership and organisations may have more than one programme in the study. Specific treatment programmes are excluded e.g. addictions and offending.

Staff delivering programmes who have strong knowledge and experience of the programme will be included.

Young people aged 12 – 24 at the time of programme participation who have a) completed the programme b) completed 2/3 of the programme c) have been involved in an open-ended programme for six months or more may be included. For focus groups in ongoing programmes at least one participant will have been involved for six months or more.

D
9 **Will you be using a screening tool?***

- ☒ No
☐ Yes

D
10 **How much time will the participants give to the project?***

Phase One: Participants will be asked to give approximately one hour per interview and may require two interviews. Focus group participants will be asked to give

approximately two hours per group and may require two sessions.
Phase Two. Participants will be asked to give approximately one hour if in an individual interview and approximately two hours if in a focus group

D
11 **Does this match the time provided to the participants on the information sheet?***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

D
12 **Describe the intended participants***

The intended participants include: Organisations/programmes based in Auckland that take a positive youth development approach, aiming to develop the skills and strengths of young people, providing skill development, sustained positive youth/adult relationships and opportunities to participate in and lead activities.

Staff delivering these programmes who have high levels of knowledge of and experience with the programme.

Young people who have completed or are currently attending the participating programme.

Application Detail

E: Data Collection

E
1 **Select the type of data collection.***

- ☐ Questionnaire
☐ Observation
☒ Focus Group
☒ Interview
☐ Other

E
4 **Describe the location of the focus group and time length, including whether it will be in work time. (If in work time, have you asked permission for this from the employer?)***

In Phase One and Phase Two focus groups will occur during the usual hours of operation of the organisation or at a usual group time. These will occur at the premises of the programme. Focus groups will take approximately two hours.

E
5 **Describe the location and anticipated duration of the interview, including whether it will be in work time. (If in work time, have you asked permission for this from the employer?)***

Individual interviews for staff in both Phase One and Phase Two will be approximately one hour in duration and in work time or may be conducted over the phone at an agreed time. These will occur either at the premises of the programme or at an agreed public location. The organisation will agree to interviews occurring during work time at the organisation consent phase.

In Phase One and Phase Two individual interviews for young people still involved in the programme will be at an agreed time during the usual hours of operation of the organisation, or when the young person would normally be engaged with the

programme. These will occur at the premises of the programme. For young people who have completed the programme, individual interviews will occur at an agreed time during daylight hours and may be conducted over the phone. They will occur either at the premises of the programme or an agreed public location.

E 7 **Does your project involve sound or image recording?***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

E 8 **Does the project require permission to access databases?***

- ☒ No
☐ Yes

F: Recording

F 1 **Does your project involve a non-researcher transcribing the recording?***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

F 2 **Will you be providing participants with transcripts of interviews for editing?***

- ☒ No
☐ Yes

F 3 **Provide justification as to why you consider that the right of the participant to edit is inappropriate***

Participants can request transcripts. Focus group transcripts will not be produced.

F 4 **If your project involves sound or image recording, describe how this will be undertaken and how consent will be given by the participant.***

Interviews and focus groups will be sound recorded. This is included in consent documents. These will be transferred to a password protected file and the originals deleted. The recording device will be stored in a locked cabinet.

Where participants make drawings, concept maps or notes in individual interviews and focus groups these will either be kept by the researcher in the case of focus groups, or a photo taken by the researcher in individual interviews if participants wish to keep these.

Add Transcriber agreements to the Documents section

G: Benefits and Risks

G 1 **What are the possible benefits (if any) of the project to individual participants, groups, communities or organisations?***

Organisations will gain an increased understanding of programme outcomes. An outcomes framework may provide clear language to articulate benefits to stakeholders, assist in developing outcome measures and provide stronger evidence for PYD. Research participation may assist staff to reflect on their work and further develop programmes. Any findings and framework will benefit young people by reflecting their experiences. Programmes can then focus on outcomes valued by young people rather than those set by others. The research may articulate diverse views of outcomes, which will enrich the youth development sector. This can help programmes be more responsive to the needs of particular populations.

G 2 **Are participants likely to experience discomfort (physical, psychological, social), incapacity or other risk of harm?***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

G 2.a **What discomfort (physical, psychological, social), incapacity or other risk of harm are individual participants likely to experience as a result of participation?***

In reflecting on outcomes, participants may consider times in their lives when they have not experienced good outcomes, causing distress.

G 2.b **Describe the strategies you will use to deal with any of the situations identified above?***

Participants can pause or stop an interview or step out of a focus group and can choose to withdraw from the research during an interview/focus group. The researcher is a registered psychotherapist experienced in recognising when people are in distress. Contact details of support organisations e.g. What's Up will be given. Individuals can bring a support person/family/whanau.

Questions are not about individual experience, but about 'young people' and outcomes generally.

G 3 **Is there risk of harm to the researcher, undertaking this project?***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

G 3.a **Describe the strategies you will use to deal with the risk of harm to the researcher.***

The research will only occur at organisations and in public places and the researcher will alert a colleague when entering the field

G 4 **Is discomfort (physical, psychological, social), incapacity or other risk of harm likely to be experienced by groups/communities or institutions as a result of this research?***

- ☒ No
☐ Yes

G 5 **Is ethnicity data being collected as part of this project?***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

G 5.a **Describe how the data and subsequent analysis will be used.***

Ethnicity data will be collected based on census categories and described to include the top three ethnic groups participants identify with.

Due to a small qualitative sample ethnicity data will not be sufficient to draw conclusions about the views of particular groups in this study. It will not be used in a way that makes participants identifiable. Ethnicity may influence perceptions of outcomes and will be reported where relevant to this but is recognised as one of many variables that may influence perception.

Supervisors and Cultural advisers will be consulted to ensure ethnicity data is treated sensitively and does not make claims about the experience of groups overall.

Harm can be done through an analysis based on insufficient sample or sub-set numbers.

- G **If participants are children / students in a pre-school / school / tertiary setting, describe arrangements you will make for children / students who are present but not taking part in the research.***

Where a focus group occurs at a usual group time an alternative activity will be provided for those who do not wish to participate in the research. This will be agreed at the organisation consent phase.

H: Consent

- H **Who will give information about the research to potential participants?***

1

Information will be given by the researcher or for some young people by a staff member

- H **How will the information be given to potential participants?***

2

Information will be given in person or via email

- H **How will consent be obtained?***

3

- ☐ Written
☒ Oral

- H **Justify the use of oral consent***

4

In most cases, written consent will be obtained. Oral consent may be obtained in some circumstances, for example if a participant has a disability that stops them from writing. In this instance consent will be audio recorded separate from interview/focus group data.

Oral consent may also be obtained where it is culturally appropriate.

- H 5 **Are any participants under the age of 16?***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

- H **How many participants are under the age of 16?**
5.a *Give age group and competency for giving consent**

The exact number of participants under 16 is unknown before recruitment, but the research may involve young people from aged 12 upwards. In most cases those under 16 will also require parental consent, unless this could cause harm to participants, for example if participants are part of a diverse sexuality and gender programme and their parents/caregivers are not aware of this. In this instance young people's ability to give informed consent will be discussed at the organisation consent phase.

- H **How will the consent of parent(s) / caregiver(s) be obtained?***

5.b

The consent of parents/caregivers will be obtained in writing. Oral consent may be used if the parent/caregiver has a disability that stops them from writing or where culturally appropriate. In this instance consent will be audio recorded separate from interview/focus group data.

- H 6 If participants include persons whose capacity to give informed consent may be compromised, describe the consent process that will be used.

Where a young person has a disability that limits their capacity to provide informed consent, but the young person wishes to participate, the consent of a caregiver will be sought.

- H 7 **Will the participants be proficient in English?***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

I: Privacy/Confidentiality Issues

- I 1 List any information that will be obtained from any sources other than the participant.

Potential participant contact details may be received by the researcher from persons other than the participant on two occasions

- 1) Where the organisation provides the researcher with contact details of potential staff participants
- 2) Where young people have consented for a staff member to pass on their contact details to the researcher

- I 2 Identify any information that may be given to any person outside the research team that may describe participants.

A transcription service may be used for interviews. A confidentiality agreement will be signed in this instance.

In a large focus group, research assistance may be required. Research assistants will be asked to sign a confidentiality agreement and will not have access to consent forms, recordings, or transcripts.

No information will be given to anyone outside of the researcher and her supervisors and transcribers if used.

- I 3 **Will participants identities' be known to the researchers?***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

- I 3.a **How will the identities be confidentially maintained in the treatment and use of data?***

Any identifying details, such as names and locations will be removed or changed in the thesis.

Where interpretation of data is discussed with cultural advisers this will not be done in a way that identifies participants.

- I 4 If an institution (e.g. school) to which participants belong is able to be identified, explain how you have made the institution aware of this.

Anonymity is discussed in organisational consent forms. All identifying details will be changed. Programmes will be able to identify how they would like to be referred to at the organisation consent phase.

I
5 **Outline how and where data will be stored, particularly identifiable data.***
Data will be stored in password protected files/locked cabinets. Personal details and transcripts will be separated and participant ID numbers used. Only the researcher and her supervisors will have access to data.

I
6 Outline how and where consent forms will be stored
Consent forms will be stored in password protected files/locked cabinets and will be stored separately to recordings, transcripts and any other data forms.

I
7 **Outline who has access to data and consent forms.***
The researcher has access to both data and consent forms.

I
8 **How will the data / consent forms be protected from unauthorised access?***
Data will be protected from unauthorised access by being stored in locked cabinets and password protected files.

I
9 **How long will the data be kept?***
Data will be kept until the thesis is examined

I 10 **Who will be responsible for its safekeeping and eventual disposal?***
The researcher will store data during the thesis and the supervisors will dispose of it

I 11 **Will the data be transferred to an official archive?***
☒ No
☐ Yes

K: Conflict of Role / Interest

K
1 **Is the project to be funded or supported in any way?***
☐ No
☒ Yes

K 1.a Identify any potential conflict of interest due to the source of funding and explain how this will be managed.
The researcher has time funding from Unitec Institute of Technology. She may apply for funding through scholarships or grants through Massey University. There is no known conflict of interest.

K
1.b **Select source of funding***
☐ Massey Academic Unit
☐ Massey University Fund
☒ External Organisation
☐ Not Applicable

K
1.c **Provide Organisation details.** *Name and detail of funding support**

Unitec Institute of Technology

The researcher is part of the PhD Leaders Programme at Unitec. This provides the researcher a 0.2 FTE allocation to be renewed annually to work on PhD research and develop associated publications.

K
2

Do any of the researchers have a financial interest in the outcome of the project?*

☒ No

☐ Yes

K
3

Describe any professional or other relationships between researchers and the participants? Indicate how any resulting conflict of role will be dealt with.

The researcher has been involved in the youth sector for 17 years and is employed by Unitec Institute of Technology as a Senior Lecturer in youth development on the Bachelor of Health and Social Development. The researcher is a registered psychotherapist and practices psychotherapy as a member of the counselling team at Youthline Auckland Charitable Trust. As such, the researcher may know staff and young people in organisations that are involved in the research. The researcher will not interview any current students, supervisees or any past or current therapy/counselling clients. Participation is voluntary and participation or non-participation will not affect any other current or future relationships that the researcher holds with organisations or individuals. A conflict of interest statement is included in information forms. Any potential conflicts of interest will be discussed and managed with supervisors.

M: Treaty of Waitangi

- M 1 Describe how the Treaty of Waitangi, with reference to the principles of partnership, participation and protection, has been considered and how your research affects Maori.*

In this mainstream research, Māori youth may be in participating programmes as youth aged 12 -24 make up 24% of the Māori population. The research will follow the tikanga of the organisation as discussed at the organisational consent phase. Cultural advisers will inform good practice and support data interpretation. Findings will be shared with programmes and may provide some baseline for future Māori research.

- M 2 Are Māori the primary focus of this project, or is it more than likely that participants are Māori (and ethnicity is being collected)?*

☐ No
☒ Yes

- M 2.a Is the researcher competent in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori?*

☒ No
☐ Yes

- M 2.b Identify the group(s) with whom consultation has taken place. Describe the consultation process, and how issues raised in the consultation process have been dealt with

*Upload a copy of the evidence of consultation, e.g. a copy of an email from a Māori researcher, or a letter from an iwi authority if research is being undertaken in their area.**

Consultation with a kaupapa Māori researcher and a taiohi/whanau psychologist has occurred. Issues discussed included cultural responsiveness, how Māori benefit, meaningful inclusion of Māori, accountability to Māori, the treatment of Māori data and ethnicity data. The researcher will respect te Ao Māori through the use of correct tikanga, as agreed with organisations and guided by cultural advisers. Karakia, kai, the presence of support people, whakawhanaungatanga and kanohi-ki-te-kanohi approaches will be used as relevant. The researcher will be a kaitiaki of any knowledge she is gifted and recognises that Māori are kaitiaki of their own knowledge, and will seek guidance when analysing data from Māori. Phase two data collection will protect mātauranga Māori by giving participants opportunities to comment on the relevance of any outcomes frameworks. A summary of the results will be given to all participants and can be delivered kanohi-ki-te-kanohi to programmes.

- M 2.c Describe any ongoing involvement of the group(s) consulted in the project.

Ongoing involvement of those consulted will be through cultural advisory meetings and groups as needed. Broad concepts and issues will be discussed to protect the confidentiality of participants.

The researcher's supervisors are experienced in researching with diverse communities and supporting Māori research. They will also be consulted if any cultural issues arise.

- M 2.d Describe how project findings will be disseminated to the group/s consulted.

A summary of the research will be given to any individuals and groups who support or are involved in the research.

M
3 **Is the research topic relevant to Māori communities?***

- ☒ No
☐ Yes

M 3.a **Outline what Māori involvement there might be***

There may be Māori participants in groups. A programme that identifies Māori as users of the service may be included.

M
3.b **Name who you will seek advice from if cultural advice is required during the study***

The researcher has engaged a cultural adviser who will be available to provide advice throughout the project as needed.

The researcher's supervisors are experienced in researching with diverse communities and supporting Māori research. They will be consulted if any cultural issues arise.

N: Cultural Issues

N 1 **Does your research focus on any ethnic or social groups (Other than Māori)?***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

N 1.a **List groups***

This research prioritises the views of young people.

Auckland has a diverse population. Statistics New Zealand estimates that 56% of the Auckland population are European, 11% Māori, 28% Asian and 15% Pacific. As such, young people from these groups may be involved in youth programmes participating in this study. Other groups of young people, such as young parents, those with diverse sexualities and genders, or those experiencing disabilities may also be in the study.

N
1.b **Describe how information resulting from the project will be shared with the group(s) consulted.***

A summary will be made available to participants and programmes participating in the research and may be shared with Ara Taiohi, the umbrella body for youth work

N 2 **Are there any aspects of the project that might raise specific issues***

- ☐ No
☒ Yes

N
2.a **Explain aspects***

Ensuring the researcher is aware of any particular cultural and social norms within programmes and groups.

Ensuring access to participate in the research for diverse groups.

N
2.b **How will these aspects be managed?***

The researcher will follow the protocols of organisations and programmes as agreed at the organisation consent phase. Advice will be sought from PhD supervisors and organisations if issues arise and/or cultural/social advisers engaged. The researcher has

extensive networks in the youth sector in Auckland and will draw on the expertise within these networks as required. Issues of access are considered through flexible research design, the inclusion of support people and consent processes.

N **Describe the cultural competence of the researcher for carrying out the project.**

2.c *Note that when the researcher is not a member of the cultural group being researched, a cultural advisor may be necessary.**

The researcher has 17 years' experience in the youth sector, over 10 years' experience as a psychotherapist and over four years teaching experience. She has worked with a range of groups and individuals, including Māori and Pacific youth, particularly in her lecturing role. She has also worked with migrant youth, youth with disabilities and diverse sexualities and genders.

N **Identify the group(s) with whom consultation has taken place or is planned**

2.d *Where consultation has already taken place, attach a copy of the supporting documentation to the application form.**

The researcher has met with a number of organisations to scope the study (names removed to protect confidentiality). The researcher has also identified a Māori cultural adviser and a Pacific cultural adviser who are available to support the project and will engage additional advisers as needed.

N **Describe any ongoing involvement of the group(s) consulted in the project***

2.e

The researcher has extensive networks in the various communities that make up the youth sector in Auckland and will draw on the expertise within these networks as required.

Organisations that the research has been scoped with may be invited to participate in the study.

The researcher has also identified a Māori cultural adviser and a Pacific cultural adviser who are available to support the project.

N **If the research is to be conducted overseas, describe the arrangements you will make for the local participants to express concerns regarding the research.***

2.f

n/a

O: Sharing Research Findings

O **Describe how information resulting from the project will be shared with participants and disseminated in other forums.**

1

*Note that receipt of a summary is one of the participants rights **

All participants will receive a summary of the research. The research may result in journal publications and conference presentations. A summary of the research may be made accessible to the youth sector broadly via Ara Taiohi, the youth sector umbrella body.

3.0 Documentation

R: Documents

- Information sheet
- Advertising
- Draft request to enter institution document.
- Focus Group Schedule

- Focus Group Confidentiality Agreement
- Interview Schedule
- Evidence of Consultation

R Using the document list below, upload or add only those documents that have been
1 highlighted above.

Description	Reference
Information Sheet	Staff Information Sheet Phase One.pdf
Consent form	Participant Consent Form Individual.pdf
Evidence of Consultation	Consultation Evidence.pdf
Focus Group Schedule Phase Two	Focus Group Schedule Phase Two.pdf
Individual Interview Schedule Phase Two	Phase Two Individual Interview Schedule.pdf
Individual Interview Schedule Young Person Phase One	Individual Young Person Interview Schedule Phase One.pdf
Organisation Consent Form	Organisation Consent Form.pdf
Parent Caregiver Consent Form	Parent Caregiver Consent Form.pdf
Parent Caregiver Information Sheet Focus Group Phase One	Parent Caregiver Information Sheet Phase One Focus Group.pdf
Parent Caregiver Information Sheet Focus Group Phase Two	Parent Caregiver Information Sheet Phase Two Focus Group.pdf
Parent Caregiver Information Sheet Individual Interview Phase One	Parent Caregiver Information Sheet Phase One Individual Interview.pdf
Parent Caregiver Information Sheet Individual Interview Phase Two	Parent Caregiver Information Sheet Phase Two Individual Interview.pdf
Research Procedure flowchart	Research Process Flow Chart.pdf
Participant Details Form	Participant Details Form.pdf
Staff Information Sheet Phase Two	Staff Information Sheet Phase Two.pdf
Young Person Focus Group Information Sheet Phase One	Young Person Information Sheet Phase One Focus Group.pdf
Young Person Individual Interview Information Sheet Phase Two	Young Person Information Sheet Phase Two Individual Interview.pdf

Young Person Information Sheet Focus Group Phase Two	Young Person Information Sheet Phase Two Focus Group.pdf	
Young Person Information Sheet Individual Interviews Phase One	Young Person Information Sheet Phase One Individual Interview.pdf	
Advertising	Text for initial invitation via email or Facebook.pdf	
Letter requesting access to an institution	Organisation Information Sheet.pdf	
Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement	Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement.pdf	
Focus Group Schedule	Focus Group Schedule Phase One.pdf	
Focus Group Confidentiality Agreement	Focus Group Participant Consent Form.pdf	
Interview Schedule Document	Staff Individual Interview Schedule Phase One.pdf	
Confidentiality Agreement	Research Assistant Support Person Confidentiality Agreement.pdf	

4.0 Submission Supervision

List your supervisors here*

1	Surname	Mercier
	Given Name	Jayne
	Full Name	Jayne Mercier
	Position	Applicant
	Primary?	Yes
	Work Number	
	Email Address	Jayne.Mercier.1@uni.massey.ac.nz
	Department	
	College	
2	Surname	Munford
	Given Name	Robyn
	Full Name	Prof Robyn Munford

	Position	Supervisor
	Primary?	No
	Work Number	
	Email Address	R.Munford@massey.ac.nz
	Department	462
	College	45
3	Surname	Sanders
	Given Name	Jacqueline
	Full Name	Prof Jackie Sanders
	Position	Supervisor
	Primary?	No
	Work Number	
	Email Address	J.Sanders@massey.ac.nz
	Department	462
	College	45

Others

As Chief Applicant I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluation involving Human Participants. If there are co-researchers I have confirmed that they have read the Code and I have obtained their approval for the content of this application.

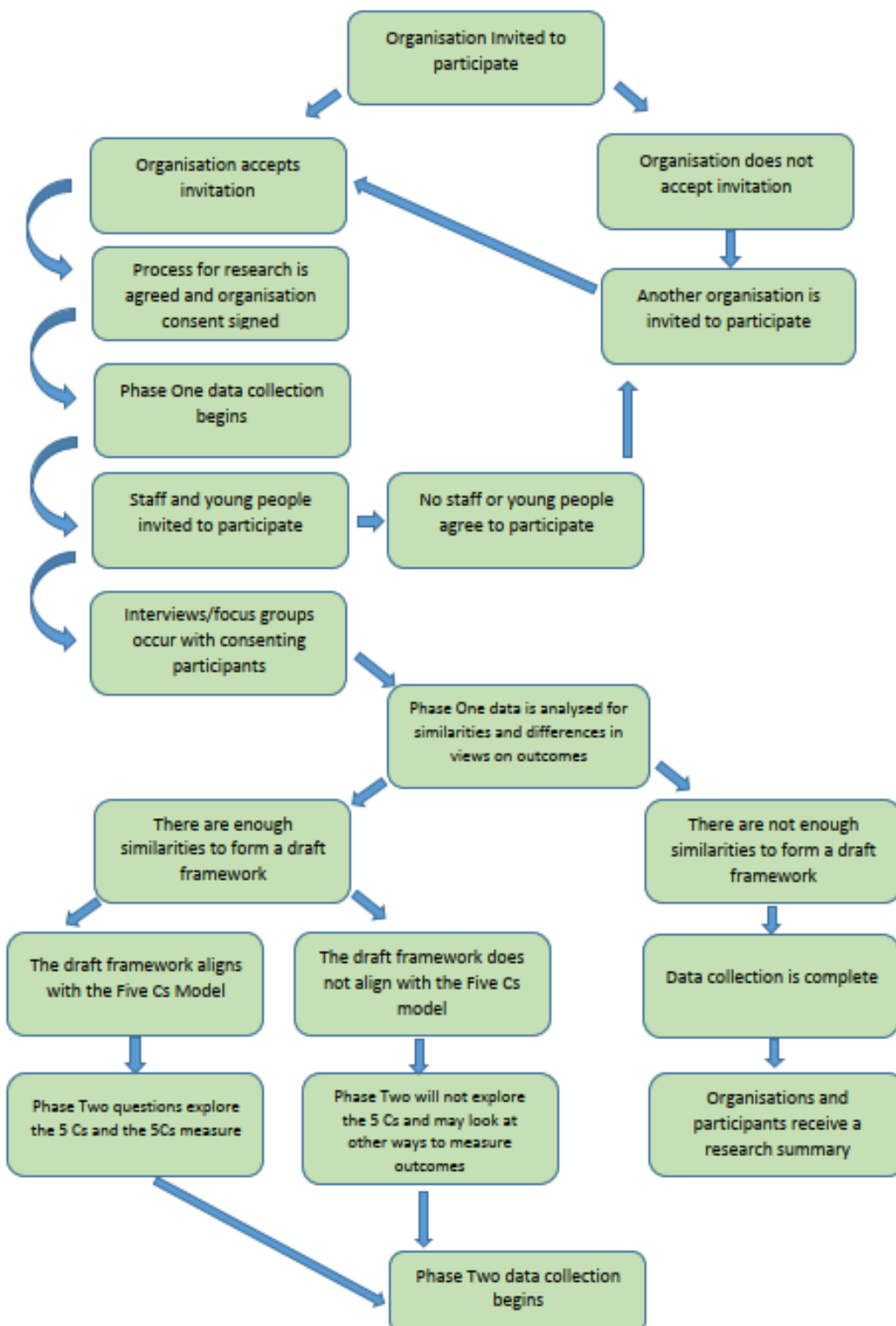
I/We understand my/our obligations and the rights of the participants.

I/We agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluation involving Human Participants. The information contained in this application is to the very best of my / our knowledge accurate and not misleading.

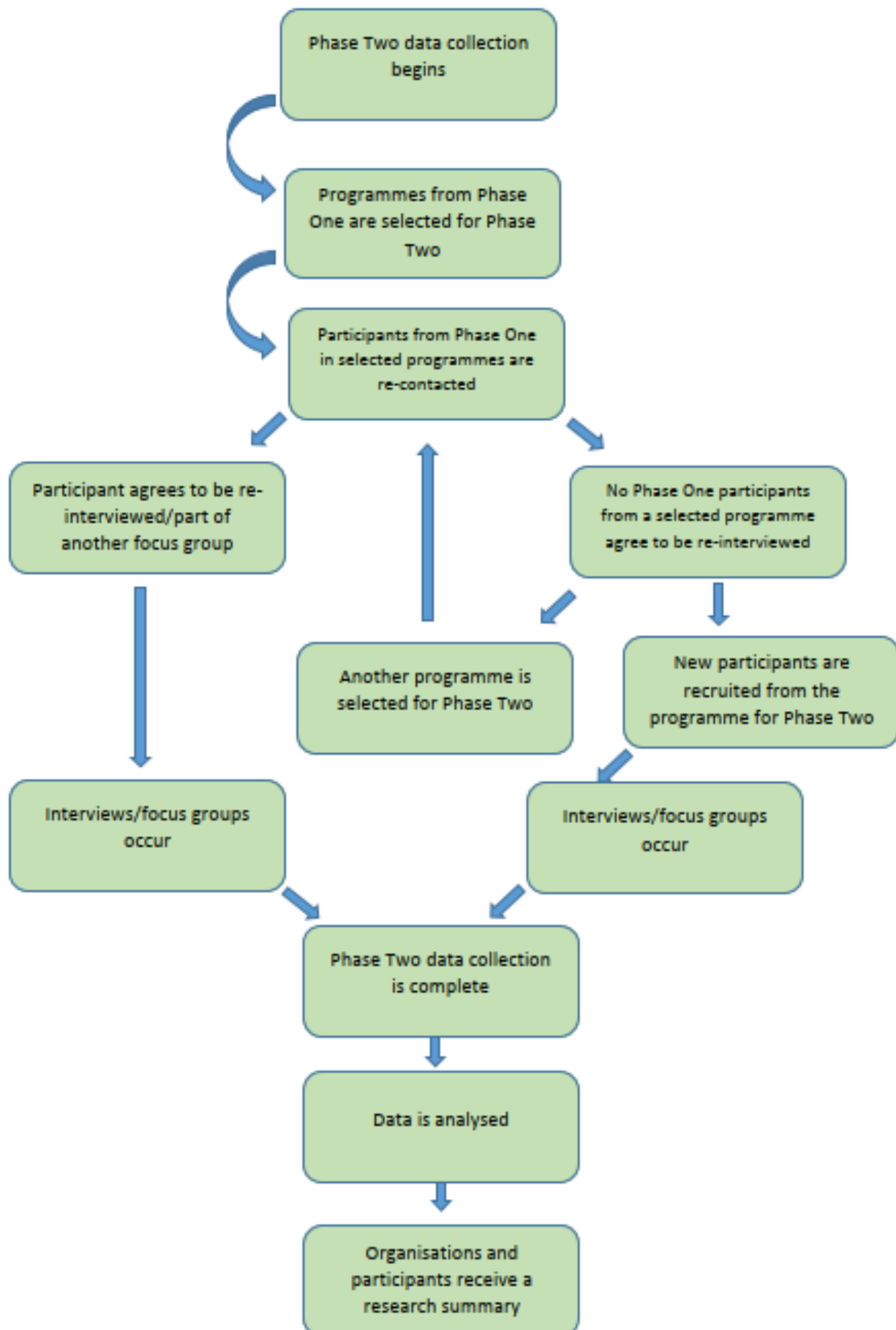
*

☒ I agree

Research Process Flow Chart



RESEACH PROCESS FLOW CHART





Information Sheets

What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?

An exploration of how young people and those who work with them in positive youth development contexts perceive outcomes

INFORMATION SHEET FOR ORGANISATIONS

Kia ora, Hello, Talofa, Malo e lelei, Ni sa bula vinaka, Kia orana, Fakalofa lahi atu, Ni hao, Namaste

My name is Jayne Mercier and I am studying for a PhD with Massey University. I am interested to find out how young people and those who work with them think about and define the outcomes (or end results) of positive youth development programmes. I want to find out if people view outcomes in the same or different ways in different types of programmes. If people do have similar ideas about what outcomes are, I want to explore whether or not there can be a shared framework to describe them and how they might be measured. I am also interested to see if an existing outcomes model called the Five Cs matches people's views about outcomes. The Five Cs stand for confidence, competence, connection, caring and character, leading to a sixth C of contribution.

How can you take part?

I am inviting you to participate in this research by allowing me access to your organisation and identifying staff and groups of young people who may be interested in talking with me about outcomes through interviews or focus groups. Each interview would take about an hour and each focus group about two hours. I am asking for time and space in your organisation for these interviews/groups to happen.

Before this happens, I would like to talk with you about the best ways to engage staff and young people in your organisation, any tikanga and other considerations.

Why is it important?

This research will help to help to identify how youth development programmes are useful for young people and the best ways to describe, measure and report this. It may also help to provide a stronger evidence base for the value of positive youth development programmes.

Who is in the study?

The study will include at least 10 different positive youth development programmes in Auckland. Positive youth development programmes are defined as those that have sustained youth/adult relationships, develop skills and have opportunities for young people to participate in and lead activities. Within each programme, the research will include:

- Up to two knowledgeable and experienced staff members who deliver the programme
- And/or a young person or group of young people who have a) completed the programme b) are at least two thirds through the programme or c) been involved for at least six months if it is an ongoing programme.

In most cases staff and young people will be interviewed separately, but they can also be interviewed together if appropriate.

What will happen?

Firstly, we will agree on how the research could happen in your programme(s), such as how staff and young people could be recruited and whether focus groups, interviews, or some combination would work best in this setting. We will also discuss anything else I need to know to work respectfully with your



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young people and your organisation. Once this has been agreed, we will both sign an Organisation Research Process Agreement and you will also be asked to sign an Organisation Consent Form.

The data collection has two parts or phases. In the first phase staff and young people will be asked about their views on how the programme works, what young people get out of it and what it looks like if young people have good outcomes generally.

Later, young people and staff from your programme may also be invited to be part of the second phase of the research. This would include another interview or focus group asking participants for their thoughts on a draft outcomes framework, the Five Cs and ways to measure outcomes. At the end, you will receive a summary of what the research has found. This could be in writing, or I can present to you face-to-face.

What are the risks?

The research is unlikely to cause harm to individuals. By talking with organisations first, I hope to ensure that any interviews or focus groups are conducted in a way that is appropriate to participants. Interviews and focus groups are positively framed and focus on ideas about programmes and outcomes for young people, not personal experiences. If in discomfort, participants can choose to pause or stop at any time and I can direct them to support people. Participants can withdraw their consent before an interview or focus group starts, or during an interview/focus group. Organisations can withdraw their consent before the first interview or focus group occurs. All steps will be taken to protect the identity of participants and names and details will be removed from any quotations used in the thesis.

The focus of this study is not to evaluate programmes or judge how programmes and staff are achieving. The focus is to explore the way outcomes are perceived in a range of settings and the research takes a strengths-based approach to programmes and participants.

Conflict of Interest Statement

I have been involved in the youth sector for 17 years. I am employed by Unitec Institute of Technology as a Senior Lecturer in youth development on the Bachelor of Health and Social Development. I am a registered psychotherapist and practice psychotherapy as a member of the counselling team at Youthline Auckland Charitable Trust. As such, I may know members of your staff and young people in your organisation.

I will not interview any current students, current supervisees or any past or current therapy/counselling clients. Participation for any organisation or individual is voluntary and participation or non-participation will not affect any other current or future relationships that I as the researcher, or employee of Unitec Institute of Technology and Youthline hold with organisations or individuals. It is also important that participation or non-participation in the research does not affect any employment relationships for staff, or any service provision or programme involvement for young people.

What happens to participants' information?

Data will be collected with consent and will only be used for the purposes of this study. Results of this study will be published in a thesis and may be published in journals and presented at conferences. A summary may also be made available to other organisations through Ara Taiohi, the umbrella body for youth work.

All steps will be taken to protect the identity of organisations/programmes in the research, however, because the research is based in Auckland, programmes and individuals may be identifiable, particularly if catering to a specific group of young people. Any names and locations will be removed, but the research will include a brief description of programme settings. I would like to work with you to develop a description about your programme to be used for the thesis.

Only the researcher will have access to any personal data and all data will be stored in a locked cabinet or password protected file. Personal information will be stored separately from interview data. All participants will be identified by a unique participant number and all data forms will use this number. All data will be securely destroyed after the thesis has been marked.



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Any population data from participants will only be used in ways that does not compromise identity. In focus groups, I may have research assistance. Any research assistants present at focus groups will be asked to sign a confidentiality agreement.

All organisations and participants will receive a summary of the findings

Participants' Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- *withdraw from the study (any time before the first interview/focus group occurs);*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;*
- *provide information on the understanding that your organisation name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;*
- *be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.*

Project Contacts

Researcher:

Jayne Mercier
jaynemresearcher@gmail.com

Supervisors:

Professor Jackie Sanders
J.sanders@massey.ac.nz

Professor Robyn Munford
R.munford@massey.ac.nz

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 18/25. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Gerald Harrison (Acting Chair), Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83570, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz



What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?

An exploration of how young people and those who work with them in positive youth development contexts perceive outcomes

INFORMATION SHEET FOR STAFF PHASE ONE

Kia ora, Hello, Talofa, Malo e lelei, Ni sa bula vinaka, Kia orana, Fakalofa lahi atu, Ni hao, Namaste

My name is Jayne Mercier and I am studying for a PhD with Massey University. I am interested to find out how young people and those who work with them think about and define the outcomes (or end results) of positive youth development programmes. I want to find out if people view outcomes in the same or different ways in different types of programmes. If people do have similar ideas about what outcomes are, I want to explore whether or not there can be a shared framework to describe them and how they might be measured. I am also interested to see if an existing outcomes model called the Five Cs matches people's views about outcomes. The Five Cs stand for confidence, competence, connection, caring and character, leading to a sixth C of contribution.

How can you take part?

I am inviting you to be part of this research by sharing your ideas in one or two interviews. I want to ask you about the programme you are part of, what young people get out of it and what it looks like if young people have good outcomes generally. Each interview would take about one hour and would happen at the programme you are part of at a time that works for you, or at a public location or over the phone

Later on, you may also be invited to be part of another interview to share your thoughts on a draft outcomes framework and ways to measure outcomes.

Why is it important?

I believe it is important for those who work with young people and deliver positive youth development programmes to have their say about what the outcomes of these programmes are. This can help us to know how programmes are useful for young people and the best ways to describe, measure and report this. It can also help to provide a stronger evidence base for the value of positive youth development programmes.

Who is in the study?

The study will include at least 10 different positive youth development programmes in Auckland. Within each programme, the research will include:

- Up to two knowledgeable and experienced staff members who deliver the programme
- And/or a young person or group of young people who have a) completed the programme b) are at least two thirds through the programme or c) been involved for at least six months if it is an ongoing programme.

What will happen?

If you are keen to take part, you will be asked to sign a Participant Consent Form Individual saying that you agree to be in the research and we will set up a time and place for an interview. You can also choose to be interviewed with another staff member or young person if you both prefer and agree. The interview will take about an hour and you can bring a support person/*whānau* with you. In the interview I will ask you some questions about the programme and what you think young people get out of it and what it looks like if young people have good outcomes generally. You can also draw or map your ideas if you like. The interview will be recorded (sound) and transcribed (written up). You can ask for a copy of your transcript and make changes to it if you would like. In most cases one interview will be enough, but a second interview may be needed to make sure I get all of your ideas.



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If you agree to be contacted again, later on, I might ask you to be part of another interview/focus group to have a look at a draft framework and how outcomes could be measured. This would take about one hour for an interview and two hours for a focus group. At the end of the research you will get a summary of what the research has found.

Are there any risks?

The questions you will be asked are not about your personal experiences. If you become upset at any point you can pause or stop the interview and I can help direct you to support people. There are a list of support organisations at the bottom of this information sheet. You can choose not to be part of this research before the interview or during the interview. You can bring a support person /*whānau* with you. Whether you choose to be part of the research or not, and what you say, will not impact your role in the programme you are part of.

The focus of this study is not to evaluate programmes or judge how programmes and staff are achieving. The focus is to explore the ways outcomes are perceived in a range of settings. The research takes a strengths-based approach to programmes and participants.

Conflict of Interest Statement

I have been working with young people for 17 years. I work at Unitec Institute of Technology as a Senior Lecturer in youth development on the Bachelor of Health and Social Development. I am a registered psychotherapist and am a member of the counselling team at Youthline Auckland Charitable Trust. Because of this, I may know you or other youth workers, facilitators or young people in this study.

I will not interview you if I have ever been your therapist/counsellor, or if you are one of my current students or supervisees. Your participation is voluntary and choosing to be part of the research or not will not affect any other current or future relationships that I as the researcher, or employee of Unitec Institute of Technology or Youthline have with you.

What happens to your information?

Information will only be collected with your permission and will only be used for this study. Results of this study will be published in a thesis and may be published in journals and be presented at conferences. A summary may also be made available to other youth organisations through Ara Taiohi, the umbrella body for youth work. I will be the only person who will have access to personal information, like your name and phone number and all information will be stored in a locked cabinet or password protected file. You will be given a participant number and any transcripts, things you write or draw, or forms you complete, will use this number and be stored separately from your personal information. All information will be securely destroyed after the thesis has been marked.

The organisation will likely know that you have been interviewed but if it is an individual interview they will not know what you have said. If you choose to be part of a joint interview with another person, they will know what you have said.

When the research is written up, I may include some quotes and/or drawings from participants. Any details, like names of people or places will be taken out or changed to reduce any chance that people will know it was you. There is some small chance that people who know you may be able to identify what you have said and people may recognise the programme you were part of, especially if it works with a specific group of young people. You will receive a summary of the findings.



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What are your rights?

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- *decline to answer any particular question;*
- *withdraw from the study (any time before the interview or during the interview);*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;*
- *ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.*
- *provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;*
- *be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is finished.*

Project Contacts

Researcher:

Jayne Mercier
jaynemresearcher@gmail.com

Supervisors:

Professor Jackie Sanders
J.sanders@massey.ac.nz

Professor Robyn Munford
R.munford@massey.ac.nz

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 18/25. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Gerald Harrison (Acting Chair), Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83570, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Support Organisations

If you have other areas in your life that are causing stress or worry the following organisations may be able to support you

Lifeline 0800 543354, txt HELP 4357
Depression.org.nz, 0800 111 757, txt 4202



What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?

An exploration of how young people and those who work with them in positive youth development contexts perceive outcomes

INFORMATION SHEET FOR YOUNG PEOPLE and their support person(s) PHASE ONE INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW

Kia ora, Hello, Talofa, Malo e lelei, Ni sa bula vinaka, Kia orana, Fakalofa lahi atu, Ni hao, Namaste

My name is Jayne Mercier and I am studying with Massey University. I am interested to find out how young people and those who work with them think about the outcomes (or end results) of youth development programmes. I want to find out if people view outcomes in the same or different ways in different programmes. If people do have similar ideas about outcomes, I want to see if there can be a shared set of words (or framework) to describe them and how they might be measured. I also want to see if a model called the Five Cs matches people's ideas about outcomes. The Five Cs stand for confidence, competence, connection, caring and character, leading to a sixth C of contribution.

How can you take part?

I am inviting you to be part of this research by sharing your ideas in one or two interviews. I want to ask you about the programme you are part of, what young people get out of it and what it looks like if young people are doing well generally. Each interview would take about one hour and would happen at the programme you are part of at a time that works for you, or if you're not part of the programme anymore, at a public location or over the phone.

Later on, if you agree, I may invite you to be part of another interview or focus group (group interview) to share your thoughts on ways to describe and measure outcomes.

Why is it important?

I believe it is important that young people can have their say about what they get out of youth development programmes. This can help to make sure programmes focus on things that are important to young people.

Who is in the study?

Young people and/or staff who are part of at least 10 different youth development programmes in Auckland will be in the study. I am keen to talk to young people in your programme who have a) finished the programme b) are nearly finished the programme or c) have been part of the programme for six months or longer.

If there are lots of young people interested, I will interview the first five young people who agree to be part of the research.

What will happen?

If you are keen to take part, then you will be asked to sign a Participant Consent Form Individual saying that you agree to be in the research. If you are under 16, or you can't give consent yourself, a parent/caregiver may be asked to sign a Parent/Caregiver Consent Form too.

We will set up a time and place for an interview. You can also choose to be interviewed with another young person or a staff member if you both agree. The interview will take about an hour and you can bring a support person/*whānau* with you. At the beginning of the interview you will be asked for some information about you (age, gender, ethnicity). You can choose not to give this information. In the



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interview I will ask you some questions and you can also draw or map your ideas if you like. The interview will be recorded (sound) and transcribed (written up). You can ask for a copy of your transcript and make changes to it if you would like. You will receive a \$20 voucher to thank-you for your time. One interview should be enough, but a second interview may be needed to make sure I get all of your ideas

If you agree, later on, I might ask you to be part of another interview/focus group to have a look at ways to describe and measure outcomes. This would take about one hour for an interview and two hours for a focus group. At the end of the research you will get a summary of what the research has found.

Are there any risks?

The questions you will be asked are not about your personal experiences. If you become upset, you can pause or stop the interview and I can help direct you to support people. There are some numbers for support at the bottom of this information sheet. You can choose not to be part of this research before the interview or during the interview. You can bring a support person/*whānau* with you. Whether you choose to be part of the research or not, and what you say, will not change your involvement in the programme you are part of.

Conflict of Interest Statement

I have been working with young people for 17 years. I work at Unitec Institute of Technology as a Senior Lecturer in youth development on the Bachelor of Health and Social Development. I am a registered psychotherapist and am a member of the counselling team at Youthline Auckland Charitable Trust. Because of this, I may know you or other young people, or some of the youth workers in this study.

I will not interview you if I have ever been your therapist/counsellor, or if you are one of my current students or supervisees. Taking part is voluntary and choosing to be part of the research or not will not affect any other relationships that I have with you now or in the future.

What happens to your information?

Information will only be collected with your permission and will only be used for this study. Results of this study will be written about in reports and may be given to other youth organisations. I will be the only person who will have access to personal information, like your name and phone number and all information will be stored in a locked cabinet or password protected file. You will be given a participant number and any transcripts, things you write or draw, or forms you complete, will use this number and be stored separately from your personal information. All information will be securely destroyed after the main report has been marked.

The organisation, and your group facilitator or youth worker will know that you have been interviewed but if it is an individual interview they will not know what you have said. If you choose to be interviewed with another person, they will know what you have said.

When the research is written up, I may include some quotes (things that you and other people have said) and/or drawings from participants, to make sure people understand young people's thoughts and ideas. Any details, like names of people or places will be taken out or changed to reduce any chance that people will know it was you. There is some small chance that people who know you may be able to identify what you have said and people may know the programme you were part of. Any other information you give, like your age, gender and ethnicity will only be written about in a way that people will not be able to know who you are.

You will receive a summary of the findings.

What are your rights?

You do not have to accept this invitation. If you decide to take part, you have the right to:

- *not answer any particular question;*
- *withdraw from the study (any time before the first interview/focus group occurs);*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time;*



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- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.
- give information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given a summary of the project findings when it is finished.

Project Contacts

Researcher:

Jayne Mercier
jaynemresearcher@gmail.com

Supervisors:

Professor Jackie Sanders
J.sanders@massey.ac.nz

Professor Robyn Munford
R.munford@massey.ac.nz

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Support Organisations

If you have other stuff in your life that is worrying you or stressing you out then talk to an adult you trust or contact

What's Up? www.whatsup.co.nz/teens 0800 942 8787
The Lowdown www.thelowdown.co.nz 0800 111 757, txt 5626
Youthline www.youthline.co.nz, txt 234, 0800 376633



What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?

An exploration of how young people and those who work with them in positive youth development contexts perceive outcomes

INFORMATION SHEET FOR YOUNG PEOPLE and their support person(s): PHASE ONE FOCUS GROUP

Kia ora, Hello, Talofa, Malo e lelei, Ni sa bula vinaka, Kia orana, Fakalofa lahi atu, Ni hao, Namaste

My name is Jayne Mercier and I am studying with Massey University. I am interested to find out how young people and those who work with them think about the outcomes (or end results) of youth development programmes. I want to find out if people view outcomes in the same or different ways in different programmes. If people do have similar ideas about outcomes, I want to see if there can be a shared set of words (or framework) to describe them and how they might be measured. I also want to see if a model called the Five Cs matches people's ideas about outcomes. The Five Cs stand for confidence, competence, connection, caring and character, leading to a sixth C of contribution.

How can you take part?

I am inviting you to be part of this research by sharing your ideas in one or two focus groups (group interviews). I want to ask young people in the group about the programme they are part of, what young people get out of it and what it looks like if young people are doing well generally. Each group would take about two hours and would happen at the programme you are part of during a usual group time, or at another agreed time.

Later on, if you agree, I may invite you to be part of another interview or focus group to share your thoughts on ways to describe and measure outcomes.

Why is it important?

I believe it is important that young people can have their say about what they get out of youth development programmes. This can help to make sure programmes focus on things that are important to young people.

Who is in the study?

Young people and/or staff who are part of at least 10 different youth development programmes in Auckland will be in the study. I am keen to talk to young people in your programme who have a) finished the programme b) are nearly finished the programme or c) been part of the programme for six months or longer.

What will happen?

If you are keen to take part, then you will be asked to sign a Focus Group Participant Consent Form saying that you agree to be in the research. If you are under 16, or you can't give consent yourself, a parent/caregiver may be asked to sign a Parent/Caregiver Consent Form too.

We will set up a time for the group. This will take about two hours. At the beginning of the group you will be asked for some information about you (age, gender, ethnicity). You can choose not to give this information. You can bring a support person/ *whānau* with you. The group will be recorded (sound) and a summary written from it. There will be food at the focus group. One group session should be enough, but a second session may be needed to make sure I get all of your ideas.



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If you agree, later on, I might ask you to be part of another interview/focus group to have a look at ways to describe and measure outcomes. This would take about one hour for an interview and two hours for a focus group. At the end of the research you will get a summary of what the research has found.

Are there any risks?

The questions you will be asked are not about your personal experiences. If you become upset in the group, you can step out and afterwards I can help direct you to support people. There are some numbers for support at the bottom of this information sheet. You can choose not to be part of this research before the focus group or during the focus group. You can bring a support person/*whānau* with you. Whether you choose to be part of the research or not, and what you say, will not change your involvement in the programme you are part of.

Conflict of Interest Statement

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I will not interview you if I have ever been your therapist/counsellor, or if you are one of my current students or supervisees. Taking part is voluntary and choosing to be part of the research or not will not affect any other relationships that I have with you now or in the future.

What happens to your information?

Information will only be collected with your permission and will only be used for this study. Results of this study will be published in reports, and may be given to other youth organisations. I will be the only person who will have access to personal information, like your name and phone number and all information will be stored in a locked cabinet or password protected file. You will be given a participant number and any things you write or draw, or forms you complete, will use this number and be stored separately from your personal information. All information will be securely destroyed after the main report has been marked.

The organisation, and your group facilitator or youth worker will know that you have been in the research but they will not know what you have said. The other people in the group will know that you were in the research and will hear what you say. We will talk about confidentiality at the beginning of the group. Research assistants may help me in the focus group and will be asked to sign a confidentiality agreement, so they won't tell other people who was in the research or what was said. Any support people present at the group will also be asked to sign a confidentiality agreement.

When the research is written up, I may include some quotes (things that you and other young people have said) and drawings made in the group, to make sure people understand young people's thoughts and ideas. Any details, like names of people or places will be taken out or changed to reduce any chance that people will know it was you. There is some small chance that people who know you may be able to identify what you have said and people may know the programme you were part of. Any other information you give, like your age, gender and ethnicity will only be written about in a way that people will not be able to know who you are.

You will receive a summary of the findings.

What are your rights?

You do not have to accept this invitation. If you decide to take part, you have the right to:

- *not answer any particular question;*
- *withdraw from the study (any time before the first interview/focus group occurs);*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time;*
- *give information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;*



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· be given a summary of the project findings when it is finished.

Project Contacts

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Jayne Mercier
jaynemresearcher@gmail.com

Supervisors:

Professor Jackie Sanders
J.sanders@massey.ac.nz

Professor Robyn Munford
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What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?

An exploration of how young people and those who work with them in positive youth development contexts perceive outcomes

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS/CAREGIVERS PHASE ONE INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW

Kia ora, Hello, Talofa, Malo e lelei, Ni sa bula vinaka, Kia orana, Fakalofa lahi atu, Ni hao, Namaste

My name is Jayne Mercier and I am studying for a PhD with Massey University. I am interested to find out how young people and those who work with them think about and define the outcomes (or end results) of positive youth development programmes. I want to find out if people view outcomes in the same or different ways in different types of programmes. If people do have similar ideas about what outcomes are, I want to explore whether or not there can be a shared framework to describe them and how they might be measured. I am also interested to see if an existing outcomes model called the Five Cs matches people's views about outcomes. The Five Cs stand for confidence, competence, connection, caring and character, leading to a sixth C of contribution.

How can the young person in my care take part?

The young person in your care can be involved in the research by taking part in one or two interviews. I want to ask about the programme the young person is part of, what young people get out of it and what it looks like if young people have good outcomes generally. Each interview would take about an hour. I am asking you to consent to the young person in your care taking part.

Later on, the young person in your care may be invited to be part of another interview or focus group about a draft outcomes framework and ways to measure outcomes.

Why is it important?

I believe it is important that young people can have their say about what they get out of positive youth development programmes. This can help to make sure programmes focus on results that are important to young people.

Who is in the study?

The study will include young people and/or staff who are part of at least 10 different positive youth development programmes in Auckland. I am keen to talk to young people who have a) finished the programme b) nearly finished the programme or c) been part of the programme for six months or longer if it is an ongoing programme.

If there are lots of young people interested, I will interview the first five young people who agree to be part of the research.

What will happen?

If the young person in your care is keen to take part, he/she will be asked to sign a Participant Consent Form Individual and you will be asked to sign a Parent/Caregiver Consent Form.

We will set up a time and place for an interview. The young person can also choose to be interviewed with another young person or a staff member if they both prefer and agree. The interview will take about an hour and the young person can bring a support person/*whānau*. At the beginning of the interview the young person will be asked to provide some information (age, gender, ethnicity). The



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young person can choose not to give this information. In the interview I will ask some questions about the programme, what young people get out of it and what it looks like if young people have good outcomes generally. The young person can also draw or map their ideas. The interview will be recorded (sound) and transcribed (written up). The young person can ask for and edit a copy of the transcript if he/she would like. The young person will receive a \$20 voucher as a thank-you. In most cases one interview will be enough, but a second interview may be needed to make sure I get all of the young person's ideas.

If the young person agrees to be contacted again, later on, I might ask him/her to be part of another interview/focus group to have a look at a draft framework and how outcomes could be measured. This would take about one hour for an interview and two hours for a focus group. At the end of the research the young person will get a summary of what the research has found.

Are there any risks?

The questions asked are not about personal experiences. If a young person becomes upset at any point he/she can pause or stop the interview and I can help direct him/her to support people. There are a list of support organisations at the bottom of this information sheet. The young person can choose not to be part of this research before the interview or during the interview. The young person can bring a support person/*whānau* with him/her. Choosing to be part of the research or not, and what is said, will not change the young person's involvement in the programme he/she is part of.

Conflict of Interest Statement

I have been working with young people for 17 years. I work at Unitec Institute of Technology as a Senior Lecturer in youth development on the Bachelor of Health and Social Development. I am a registered psychotherapist and am a member of the counselling team at Youthline Auckland Charitable Trust. Because of this, I may know some young people, or some of the youth workers or facilitators in this study.

I will not interview anyone if I have ever been their therapist/counsellor, or any of my current students or supervisees. Participation is voluntary and choosing to be part of the research or not will not affect any other current or future relationships that I as the researcher, or employee of Unitec Institute of Technology or Youthline have with anyone.

What happens to the young person's information?

Information will only be collected with permission and will only be used for this study. Results of this study will be published in a thesis and may be published in journals and be presented at conferences. A summary may also be made available to other youth organisations through Ara Taiohi, the umbrella body for youth work. I will be the only person who will have access to personal information, like names and phone numbers and all information will be stored in a locked cabinet or password protected file. Each participant will be given a participant number and any transcripts, things that are written or drawn, or forms completed, will use this number and be stored separately from personal information. All information will be securely destroyed after the thesis has been marked.

The organisation, and the young persons' group facilitator or youth worker will know that they have been interviewed but if it is an individual interview they will not know what was said. If the young person is part of a joint interview with another person, they will know what was said.

When the research is written up, I may include some quotes (things that participants have said) and/or drawings from participants, to make sure people understand young people's thoughts and ideas. Any details, like names of people or places will be taken out or changed to reduce any chance that people are recognised. There is some small chance that people who know the young person may be able to identify what he/she said and people may recognise the programme the young person was part of. Any other information, like age, gender and ethnicity will only be written about in a way that people will not be identified.

The young person will receive a summary of the findings.



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What are the young person's rights?

You and the young person in your care are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you and the young person decide to participate, the young person has the right to:

- *decline to answer any particular question;*
- *withdraw from the study (any time before the interview or during the interview);*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;*
- *ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.*
- *provide information on the understanding that his/her name will not be used unless he/she gives permission to the researcher;*
- *be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is finished.*

Project Contacts

Researcher:

Jayne Mercier
jaynemresearcher@gmail.com

Supervisors:

Professor Jackie Sanders
J.sanders@massey.ac.nz

Professor Robyn Munford
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Support Organisations

If you have any concerns about the young person in your care (unrelated to the study) then the following national services are available:

Oranga Tamariki 0508 326 459 www.orangatamariki.govt.nz
Healthline 0800 611 116
Parent Help: 0800 568 856 www.parenthelp.org.nz
Youthline 0800 376633 www.youthline.co.nz free text 234



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INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS/CAREGIVERS PHASE ONE FOCUS GROUP

Kia ora, Hello, Talofa, Malo e lelei, Ni sa bula vinaka, Kia orana, Fakalofa lahi atu, Ni hao, Namaste

My name is Jayne Mercier and I am studying for a PhD with Massey University. I am interested to find out how young people and those who work with them think about and define the outcomes (or end results) of positive youth development programmes. I want to find out if people view outcomes in the same or different ways in different types of programmes. If people do have similar ideas about what outcomes are, I want to explore whether or not there can be a shared framework to describe them and how they might be measured. I am also interested to see if an existing outcomes model called the Five Cs matches people's views about outcomes. The Five Cs stand for confidence, competence, connection, caring and character, leading to a sixth C of contribution.

How can the young person in my care take part?

The young person in your care can be involved in the research by taking part in one or two focus groups. I want to ask about the programme the young person is part of, what young people get out of it and what it looks like if young people have good outcomes generally. Each focus group would take about two hours and would happen at the programme at a usual group time, or at another time agreed with the programme. I am asking you to consent to the young person in your care taking part.

Later on, the young person in your care may be invited to be part of another interview or focus group asking about a draft outcomes framework and ways to measure outcomes.

Why is it important?

I believe it is important that young people can have their say about what they get out of positive youth development programmes. This can help to make sure programmes focus on results that are important to young people.

Who is in the study?

The study will include young people and/or staff who are part of at least 10 different positive youth development programmes in Auckland. In the programme the young person in your care is part of, I am keen to talk to those who have a) finished the programme b) nearly finished the programme or c) been part of the programme for six months or longer if it is an ongoing programme.

What will happen?

If the young person in your care is keen to take part, he/she will be asked to sign a Focus Group Participant Consent Form and you will be asked to sign a Parent/Caregiver Consent Form. We will set up a time for the group. This will take about two hours. The young person can bring a support person/*whānau* with them. At the beginning of the group the young person will be asked to provide some information (age, gender, ethnicity). The young person can choose not to give this information. In the group I will ask some questions about the programme, what young people get out of it and what it looks like if young people have good outcomes generally. The young person can also draw or map their ideas. The focus group will be recorded (sound) and a summary written up. There will be food at the focus group. In most cases one group session will be enough, but a second session may be needed to make sure I get everyone's ideas.



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If the young person agrees to be contacted again, later on, I might ask him/her to be part of another interview/focus group to have a look at a draft framework and how outcomes could be measured. This would take about one hour for an interview and two hours for a focus group. At the end of the research the young person will get a summary of what the research has found.

Are there any risks?

The questions asked are not about personal experiences. If a young person becomes upset at any point he/she can step out of the focus group and I can help direct him/her to support people afterwards. There are a list of support organisations at the bottom of this information sheet. The young person can choose not to be part of this research before the focus group or during the focus group. The young person can bring a support person/*whānau* with him/her. Choosing to be part of the research or not, and what is said, will not change the young person's involvement in the programme he/she is part of.

Conflict of Interest Statement

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I will not interview anyone if I have ever been their therapist/counsellor, or any of my current students or supervisees. Participation is voluntary and choosing to be part of the research or not will not affect any other current or future relationships that I as the researcher, or employee of Unitec Institute of Technology or Youthline have with anyone.

What happens to the young person's information?

Information will only be collected with permission and will only be used for this study. Results of this study will be published in a thesis and may be published in journals and be presented at conferences. A summary may also be made available to other youth organisations through Ara Taiohi, the umbrella body for youth work. I will be the only person who will have access to personal information, like names and phone numbers and all information will be stored in a locked cabinet or password protected file. Each participant will be given a participant number and any things that are written or drawn, or forms completed will use this number and be stored separately from personal information. All information will be securely destroyed after the thesis has been marked.

The organisation, and the group facilitator or youth worker will know that the young person has been part of the group but they will not know what was said. The other people in the group will know that the young person participated and what was said. We will talk about confidentiality at the beginning of the group. Research assistants may help me in the focus group and will be asked to sign a confidentiality agreement, so they won't tell other people who was in the research or what was said. Any support people present at the group will also be asked to sign a confidentiality agreement.

When the research is written up I may include some quotes (things that participants have said) and/or drawings from participants to make sure people understand young people's thoughts and ideas. Any details, like names of people or places will be taken out or changed to reduce any chance that people are recognised. There is some small chance that people who know the young person may be able to identify what he/she said and people may recognise the programme the young person was part of. Any other information, like age, gender and ethnicity will only be written about in a way that people will not be identified.

The young person will receive a summary of the findings.

What are the young person's rights?

You and the young person in your care are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you and the young person decide to participate, the young person has the right to:



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- *decline to answer any particular question;*
- *withdraw from the study (any time before the focus group or during the focus group);*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;*
- *provide information on the understanding that his/her name will not be used unless he/she gives permission to the researcher;*
- *be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is finished.*

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Consent, Confidentiality and Participant Details Forms

What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?
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ORGANISATION RESEARCH PROCESS AGREEMENT

Research Details	Yes	No
Consenting staff members can be interviewed. I intend to interview up to two staff per programme.		
Consenting young people can be interviewed. I intend to interview up to five young people per programme		
Consenting young people can be part of a focus group.		
Young people and/or staff can be interviewed together if they would prefer and consent to this.		
There are young people under 16 in the programme.		
Would seeking parental consent for participants under 16 cause harm to the young person (e.g. if their parents/caregivers don't know they are part of the group)?		
Staff members can be invited to participate by:		
- The researcher attending a staff/team meeting to invite staff to participate		
- The researcher emailing an invitation to potential staff participants		
- The researcher phoning potential staff participants		
- The organisation (not a manager) emailing an invitation to potential staff participants.		



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Young people can be invited to participate by:		
- The researcher attending a usual group to invite young people to participate		
- An email sent by the organisation to potential young people inviting them to participate		
- A notice on Facebook inviting young people to participate		
- Staff giving an invitation to potential young people.		
The organisation will provide time/space for interviews/focus groups to occur.		
The focus group can occur at a usual group time and an alternative activity will be provided for those who choose not to participate.		
Participation or non-participation in the research will not impact employment for staff or the service/programme provided to young people in any way.		
The organisation would like to receive a face-to-face summary presentation when the research is finished (You will get a summary in writing anyway).		
A key staff contact for the research happening in this organisation is:		



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How would the organisation like to be referred to in the study:

Any other tikanga or things I need to know about your organisation or young people?

Organisation Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

Full name and role in organisation
(printed): _____

Researcher Name: _____

Researcher Signature: _____



**What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?
An exploration of how young people and those who work with them
in positive youth development contexts perceive outcomes**

ORGANISATION CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet for Organisations and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to this organisation participating in Phase One of the research under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet and in the Research Process Agreement for this organisation

I agree/do not agree to this organisation being contacted about Phase Two of the research, if required, under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet for Organisations.

I confirm that I have the authority to sign this form as a representative of the organisation

Organisation Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full name and role (printed)_____



What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?
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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet for Staff Phase One and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I can ask questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I wish/do not wish to have a copy of my transcript sent to me.

I agree/do not agree to any drawings, maps or notes I create in the interview being photographed or kept by the researcher.

I agree/do not agree to be contacted about Phase Two of the study by the researcher and the best way to contact me is:

Ph: _____

Email: _____

I agree for quotes and/or drawings from me to be used in the thesis and I understand that any identifying information like names or places will be changed or removed.

I agree to take part in Phase One of this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet for Staff Phase One

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full name (printed) _____



What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?
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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet for Young People Phase One Individual Interview and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I can ask questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I wish/do not wish to have a copy of my transcript sent to me.

I agree/do not agree to any drawings, maps or notes I create in the interview being photographed or kept by the researcher.

I agree/do not agree to be contacted about Phase Two of the study by the researcher and the best way to contact me is:

Ph: _____

Email: _____

I agree for quotes and/or drawings from me to be used in the thesis and I understand that any identifying information like names or places will be changed or removed.

I agree to take part in Phase One of this study under the conditions set out in Information Sheet for Young People Phase One Individual Interview

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full name (printed) _____



What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?

An exploration of how young people and those who work with them in positive youth development contexts perceive outcomes

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet for Young People Phase One Focus Group and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered, and I understand that I can ask more questions at any time.

I understand that I need to respect the privacy of the other members of the group by not telling other people any personal information that they share during our discussion.

I understand that all personal information I give will be kept confidential (will not be shared with others) to the extent permitted by law, and the names of all people in the study will be kept confidential by the researcher. Any quotes (things I say) or drawings from the focus group, if used in the research will have names and details changed or removed so no one will know it was me.

Note: There are limits on confidentiality as there are no formal limits on other group participants from disclosing your involvement, identity or what you say to others in the focus group, but all other participants will sign this same consent form and any support people will also sign a confidentiality form. Agreeing to take taking part assumes that you are aware of the limits to confidentiality and understand and agree to this.

I agree/do not agree to be contacted about Phase Two of the study by the researcher and the best way to contact me is:

Ph: _____

Email: _____



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I agree to take part in the focus group in Phase One of this study as described in the Information Sheet
for Young People Phase One Focus Group

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full name (printed)_____



**What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?
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in positive youth development contexts perceive outcomes**

PARENT/CAREGIVER CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet for Parents/Caregivers Phase One Focus Group/Information Sheet for Parents/Caregivers Phase One Individual Interview *[Delete one]* and the details of the study have been explained to me and the young person in my care. Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I and the young person in my care may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree for the young person in my care to be contacted about Phase Two of this study by the researcher and the best way to contact him/her is:

Ph: _____

Email: _____

I agree for the young person in my care to participate in Phase One of this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet for Parents/Caregivers Phase One Focus Group/Information Sheet for Parents/Caregivers Phase One Individual Interview *[Delete one]*

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full name (printed) _____



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PARTICIPANT DETAILS FORM

These details are being collected so that the researcher can know who was part of the study.

You can choose to give this information or not. If you choose not to you can still be in the study.

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Ethnicity: Please identify which ethnic group you belong to. You can tick more than one

New Zealand European	☐
Māori	☐
Samoan	☐
Cook Islands Māori	☐
Tongan	☐
Niuean	☐
Chinese	☐
Indian	☐
other, e.g. Dutch, Japanese	☐



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**CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT RESEARCH ASSISTANT/FOCUS GROUP SUPPORT
PERSON**

I _____ (Full Name - printed)

agree to keep confidential all information from any focus group(s) I was present at for the
project named above.

Signature: _____ Date: _____



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What do we mean by good outcomes for youth?
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CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT TRANSCRIBER

I _____ (Full Name - printed)

agree to transcribe the recordings provided to me.

I agree to keep confidential all the information provided to me.

I will not make any copies of the transcripts or keep any record of them, other than those required for the project.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Advertisement Text for Email/Facebook

Young People Individual Interviews

You are invited to share your ideas about the outcomes or end results of youth development programmes, like [name of programme/organisation] and how they help young people. Jayne Mercier is a PhD student with Massey university and wants to interview young people about their thoughts. An interview would take about an hour of your time and you would get a \$20 voucher as a thank-you. Contact Jayne if you're keen to find out more; jaynemresearcher@gmail.com or 021 XXX XXX, or let [name of youth worker/group facilitator] know that you are ok for her to have your contact details to give you some more info.

Young People Focus Groups

You are invited to share your ideas about the outcomes or end results of youth development programmes, like [name of programme/organisation] and how they help young people. Jayne Mercier is a PhD student with Massey university and will be running a focus group with young people from [name of programme/organisation] to get their thoughts. This would take about two hours of your time and there will be food at the focus group. Contact Jayne if you're keen to find out more; jaynemresearcher@gmail.com or 021 XXX XXX, or let [name of youth worker/group facilitator] know that you are ok for her to have your contact details to give you some more info.

Staff

You are invited to share your ideas about the outcomes or end results of youth development programmes, like [name of programme/organisation] and how they help young people. Jayne Mercier is a PhD student with Massey University and will be doing individual interviews with staff in [Name of organisation]. An interview would take about 1 hour of your time. Your ideas can help to understand more about the ways programmes are helpful to young people and help to improve ways to describe and measure outcomes. Please contact Jayne if you're keen to find out more; jaynemresearcher@gmail.com or 021 XXX XXX.

Interview and Focus Group Schedules

Individual Staff Interview Schedule Phase One

Opening

- Karakia (if relevant)
- Introduction to researcher, purpose of the interview: to gather people's views about the outcomes or end results of positive youth development programmes and eventually see if there are links to the 5Cs (describe these) no right or wrong answers.
- Check name and preferred pronouns
- Confirm consent and collect forms if not already completed
- Confirm process of recording and use of quotes
- Invite participant to draw or map out ideas

Overview of organisation

- Tell me about the programme you work with? (duration, size, types of young people, aims, goals, activities)
- Tell me about your role and time with the programme and time in the youth development sector?
- What are the values/philosophy of the programme and the staff when working with young people?

Views on positive youth development

- What do you understand about the idea of positive youth development/youth development?
- If a young person is experiencing positive youth development what does this look like? (skills, behaviour, supports, view of self, relationships with friends, family/whanau, community & other adults, feelings, anything else)
- Of the things you have talked about above (list these), are there some that are more important for young people than others and why?

Outcomes

- In this particular programme what would you say are the outcomes or end results for young people/what do they get out of it? (skills, behaviour, supports, view of self, relationships, feelings, anything else)
- Discuss the meaning of named outcomes:
 - What does x mean e.g. What does confident mean? What does this look like?
 - How will they think, feel, behave if they have x?
 - Why is x important for a young person?
 - How will this affect them (e.g. in school, relationships, family, community)
 - What will this mean for them in the future?
- What differences do you see in young people when outcomes have been achieved? (focus on observed behaviours and examples, meanings of outcomes described and impact and importance for the young person)

Priorities

- Are some of these outcomes you have talked about more prevalent than others?
- Of these outcomes you have talked about, are there some that are more important for the young people you work with than others and why?

Programme Processes

- What activities or parts of the programme do you think achieve these outcomes?
(explore the different outcomes and parts of the programme and what outcomes they achieve)
- Are there any outcomes that you think are different from this programme than others?
- Do you have ways to measure these outcomes currently and how?
- Anything else that would be useful for me to know about the programme, what young people get out of it or outcomes generally?

Closure

- Check out
- Confirm willingness to be re-contacted for Phase Two
- Finish with karakia (if relevant)

Individual Young Person Interview Schedule Phase One

Opening

- Karakia (if appropriate)
- Introduction to researcher, purpose of the research: to gather people's views about the outcomes or end results of positive youth development programmes, no right or wrong answers
- Check name and preferred pronouns
- Complete population details form
- Confirm consent and collect forms if not already collected
- Confirm process of recording, use of quotes
- Invite participant to draw or map out ideas.

Overview of programme

- Tell me about the programme you are part of (how it works, activities, duration)
- How long have you been part of the programme?
- What are the parts young people find the most fun/most memorable and why?

Outcomes

If you think about this programme, what do young people get out of it?

- What skills do they develop?
- How do they behave?
- What supports or resources do they have around them (can be people)?
- How do they think about themselves?
- What are their relationships with friends and family/*whānau*, community, other adults like as a result of the programme?
- How do they feel?
- Anything else?

Discuss meaning of named outcomes

- What does x mean?
- How would they behave if they had x or were x?
- How would they think/feel if they have x?
- How would x affect them at school/study, home, with *whānau*/family with friends?
- How would x be helpful to the young person?
- What will this mean for them in their future?

Priorities

- Of these things you have talked about are there some that you think young people are more likely to get out of it?
- Of these end results you have talked about are there some that are more important for young people and why?

Programme Processes

- What parts of the programme help young people to get these things out of it? (activities, relationships, structure explore relationships between parts of programme and outcomes)
- Anything else you would like to say about the programme or what young people get out of it?

Positive Youth Development

- Looking beyond the programme now, the things you have named (list them). Are these things that would tell us that a young person was doing well/had good outcomes/ was on a good path in life generally?
- What else would tell us a young person was doing well? (explore these & their impacts)

Closure

- Check out
- Confirm willingness to be re-contacted for Phase Two
- Finish with karakia (if relevant)
- Hand out voucher

Focus Group Schedule Phase One

Opening

- Karakia (if appropriate)
- Warm up game
- Introduction to researcher, purpose of the research to gather people's views about the outcomes or end results of positive youth development programmes. There are no right or wrong answers
- Confirm consent and collect forms if not already collected
- Complete population details forms
- Confirm process of recording and use of quotes
- Confirm collection of any notes/drawings/maps.

Large group discussion - Overview of programme

- Tell me about the programme you are part of (how it works, activities, how long it lasts).
- What are the parts young people find the most fun/memorable and why?

Pairs/small group activity - Outcomes

- Each pair has been given an outline of an imaginary young person. Give this young person a name (not your names or the name of anyone in this group) and this young person has just finished this programme.
- Around the young person write or note the things the young person has gotten out of this programme. Remember there is no right or wrong answers.
 - What skills have they learned from the programme?
 - How do they behave from doing the programme?
 - How do they think about themselves from doing the programme?
 - What do their relationships with friends and family, community, other adults look like?
 - How do they feel from doing the programme?
 - Anything else?
- Share back and introduce us to your young person and what they have gotten out of it.

Researcher: collect papers and note down ideas on big paper as they are shared back. Tick some that appear more than once.

Large Group Discussion - Exploring Outcomes (If big split into two groups)

- Discuss meanings of some commonly occurring outcomes.
 - What does x look like?
 - How would a young person behave if they had x or were x?
 - How would a young person think/feel if they have x?
 - How would x affect them at school, home, with friends, other adults?
 - How would x be helpful to the young person?
 - What will this mean for them in their future?
- Of these things you have talked about are there some that you think young people are more likely to get out of it (are these the ones with extra ticks)?
- Of these end results you have talked about are there some that are more important for the young people (are these the ones with extra ticks?) and why?

Pairs/ small groups - Programme Structure

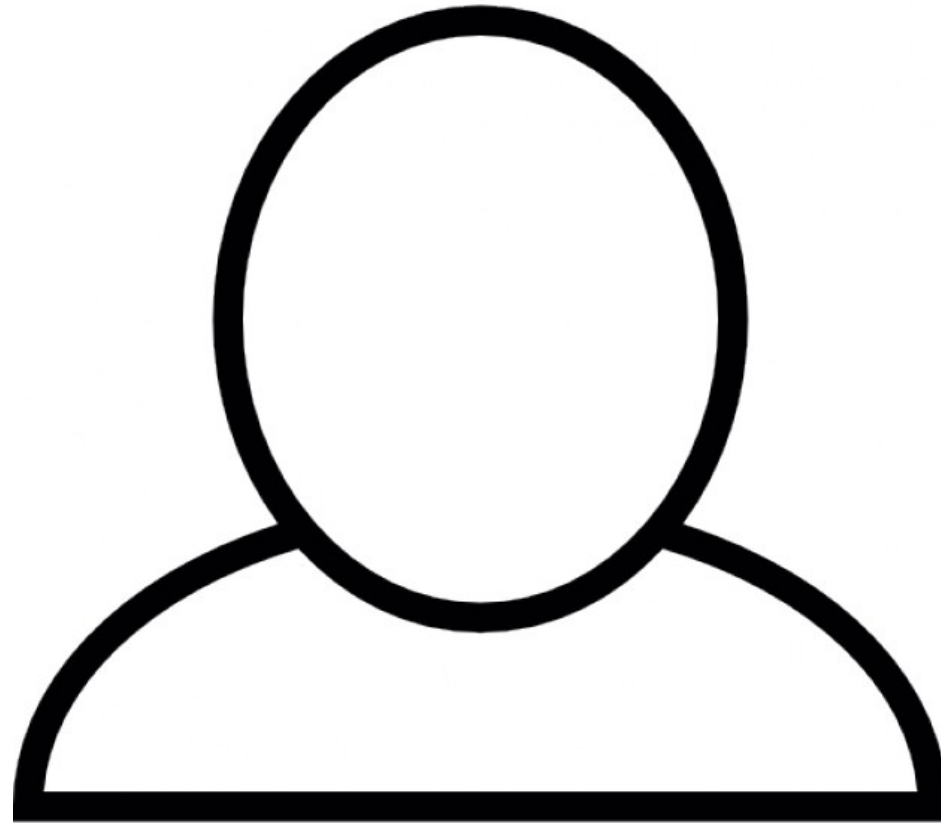
- What parts of the programme help young people to get these things out of it? (activities, relationships, structure)
- Share back & discuss

Pairs/small groups - Outcomes Generally

- Looking beyond the programme now, the things you have named (list them). Are these things that would tell us that a young person was doing well/had good outcomes/on a good path in life generally?
- What else would tell us a young person was doing well? (explore these & their impacts)
- Share back

Closure

- Finish with check out round/game
- Confirm willingness to be re-contacted for Phase Two
- Karakia



Footnote to Ethics Application

In the ethics application a second phase of data collection was proposed with a smaller number of participants from Phase 1 if there was sufficient similarity to form an outcomes framework. This second phase was designed to further explore outcomes and discuss measurement approaches.

During analysis of Phase One it was clear that the first phase had generated a large and rich dataset, which presented context and complexity (Marx, 2008).

The data had also been coded in two stages, the first during December/Jan 2018/19 after the first four months of data collection, and the second after interviews and focus groups were completed in June 2019. Through this splitting of collection and analysis it became clear that similar ideas were presented in different settings, most codes had been well populated, and no new themes emerged, suggesting a level of saturation had been reached (Saunders et al., 2018). Further data collection may not add additional insights or concepts (Saunders et al., 2018). The number of interviews and focus groups (n=39) completed was also within Stebbins (2001) recommendation of a sample of 30 – 60.

In discussion with supervisions in January of 2020 it was agreed that there was enough existing data to sufficiently answer the research questions.

Appendix C: Youth Participant Demographics by Programme

Programme One Demographics

Programme One (P1) was a mentoring programme that supports young people with disabilities. One youth interview was conducted.

Programme One included one youth participant aged 25 who identified as a Samoan Male.

Programme Two Demographics

Programme Two (P2) was a leadership, skills development and mentoring programme for young women. One focus group was conducted (n=10). Figures C1 – C3 Show the demographics of P2 participants.

Figure C1

P2 Youth Participant Age

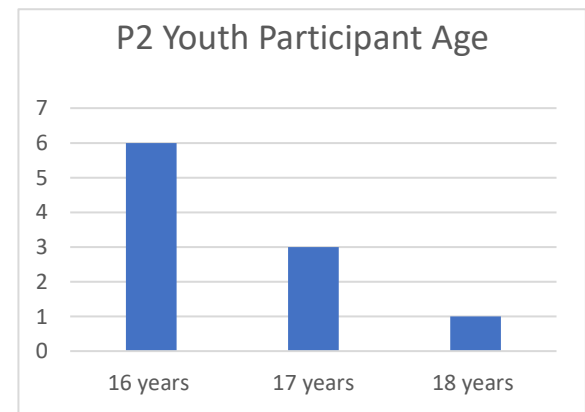


Figure C2

P2 Youth Participant Ethnicity

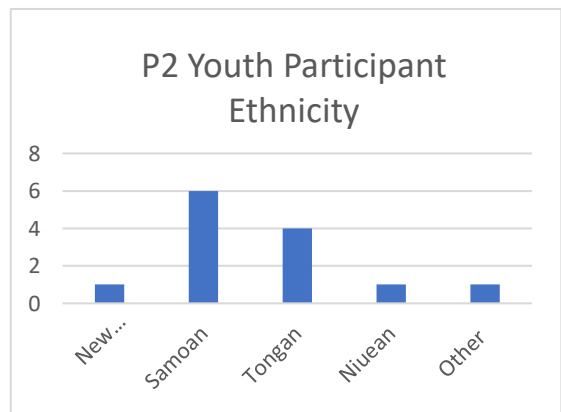
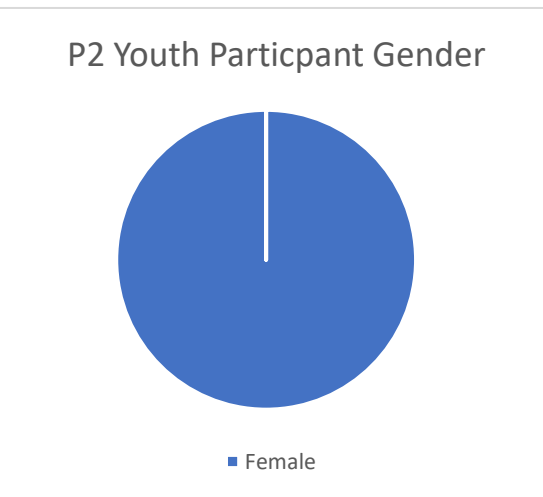


Figure C3

P2 Youth Participant Gender



Programme Three Demographics

Programme Three (P3) was a community-based youth leadership programme that creates events for-youth-by-youth. Two focus groups in different locations were conducted. Focus Group 1 (n=11). Focus Group 2 (n=8). Figures C4 – C9 show the demographics of P3 participants by focus group.

Figure C4

P3 Group One Youth Participant Age

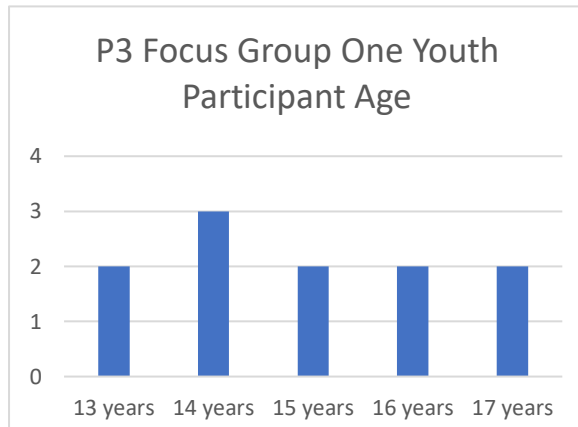


Figure C5

P3 Group One Youth Participant Ethnicity

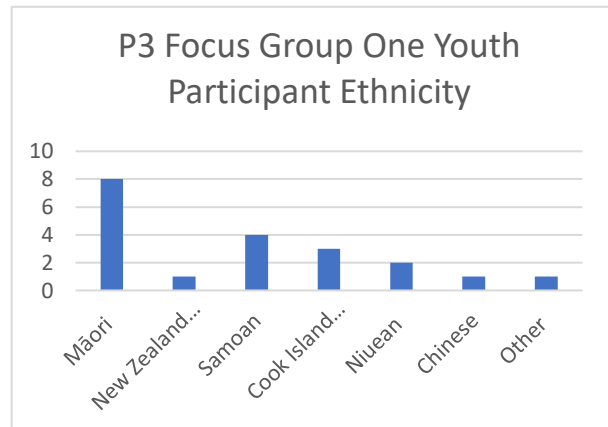


Figure C6

P3 Group One Youth Participant Gender

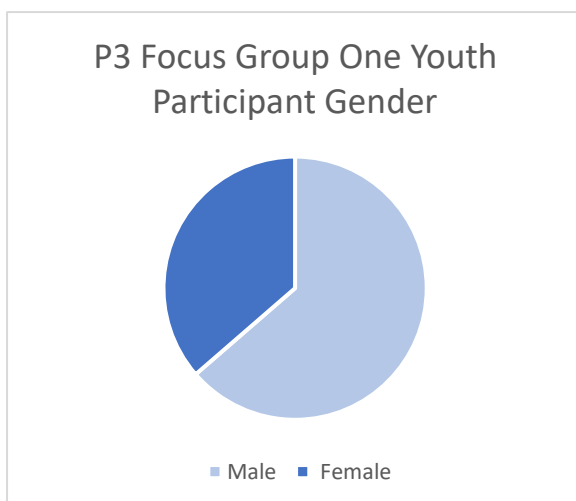


Figure C7

P3 Group Two Youth Participant Age

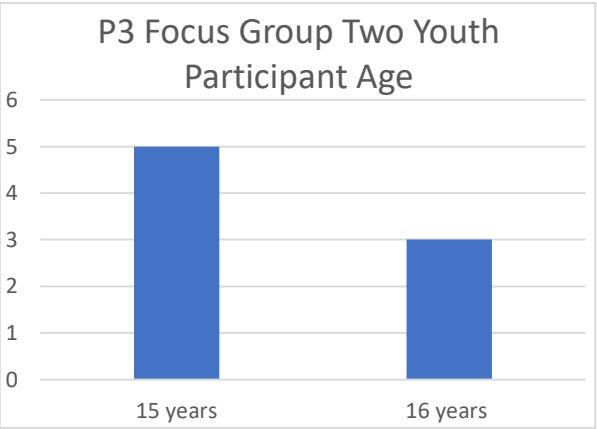


Figure C8

P3 Group Two Youth Participant Age

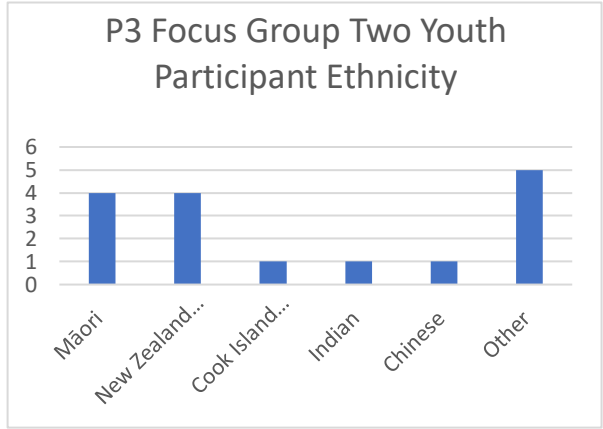
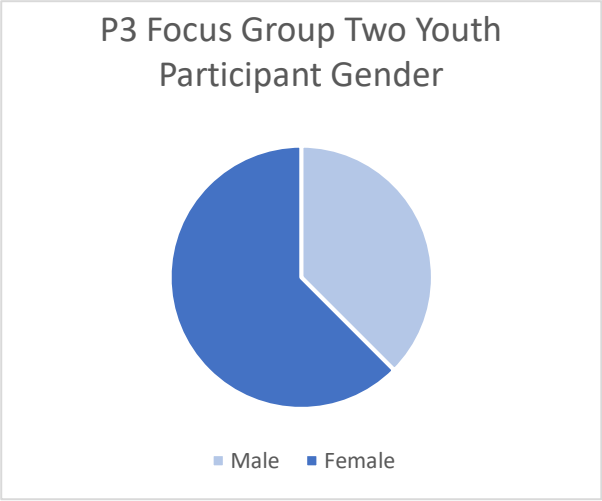


Figure C9

P3 Group Two Youth Participant Gender



Programme Four Demographics

Programme Four (P4) was a young mum parenting and life skills support programme. One focus group was conducted (n=3). Figures C10– C12 show the demographics of P4 participants.

Figure C10

P4 Youth Participant Age

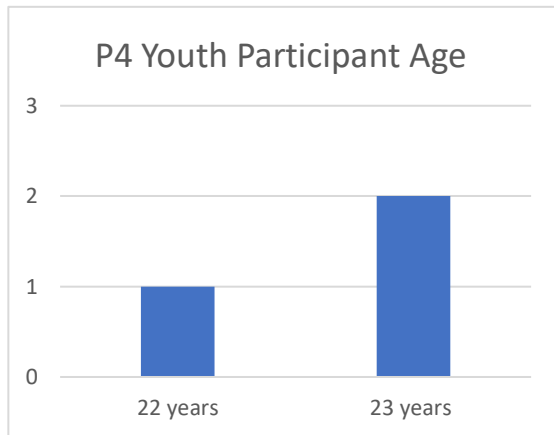


Figure C11

P4 Youth Participant Ethnicity

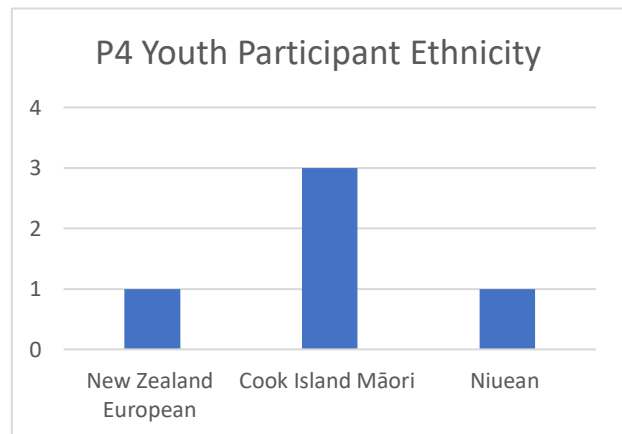
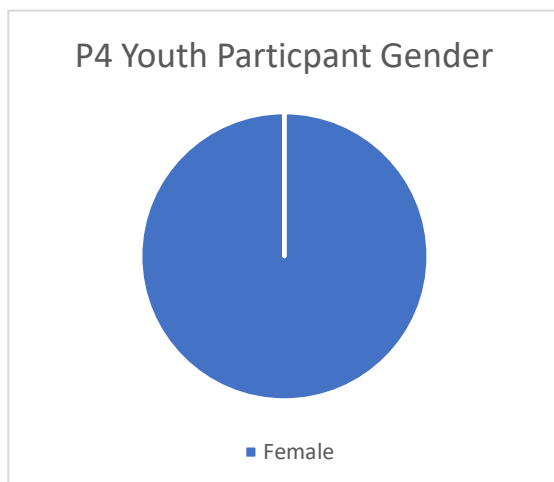


Figure C12

P4 Youth Participant Gender



Programme Five Demographics

Programme Five (P5) was a programme that works with diverse sexualities and genders providing peer support. Individual youth interviews were conducted (n=4). Figures C13– C15 show the demographics of P5 participants.

Figure C13

P5 Youth Participant Age

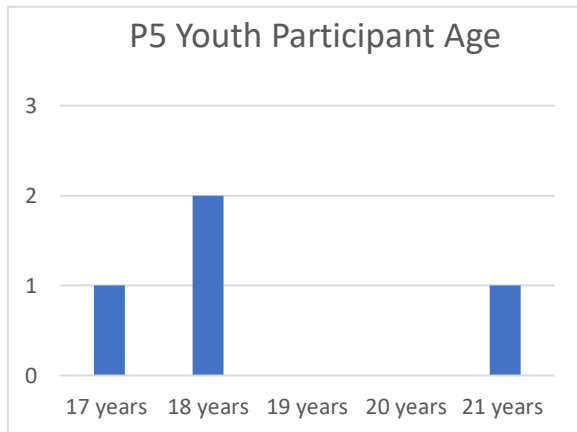


Figure C14

P5 Youth Participant Ethnicity

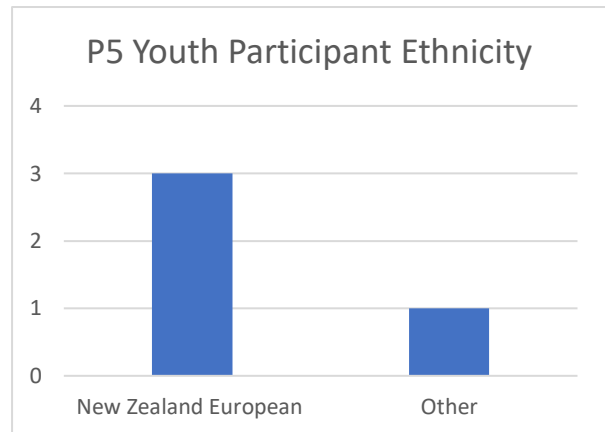
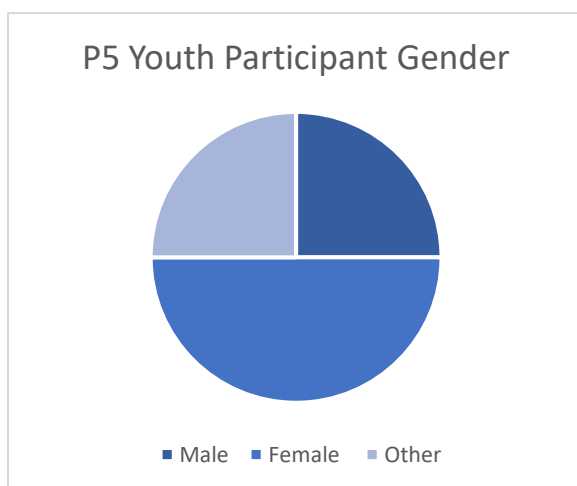


Figure C15

P5 Youth Participant Gender



Programme Six Demographics

Programme Six (P6) was a uniformed youth development organisation. Two focus groups were conducted in different locations. Focus Group 1 (n=4). Focus Group 2 (n=7). Figures C16– C21 show the demographics of P6 participants by focus group.

Figure C16

P6 Group One Youth Participant Age

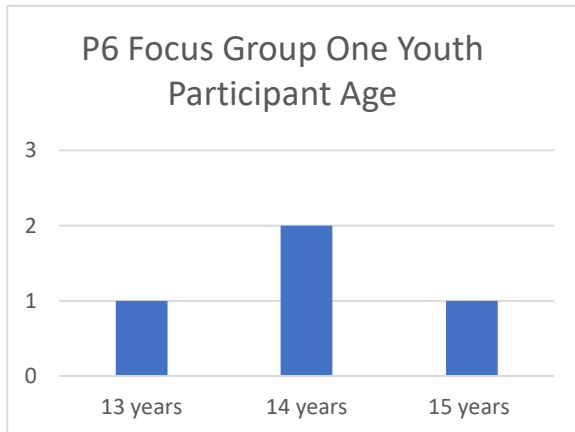


Figure C17

P6 Group One Youth Participant Ethnicity

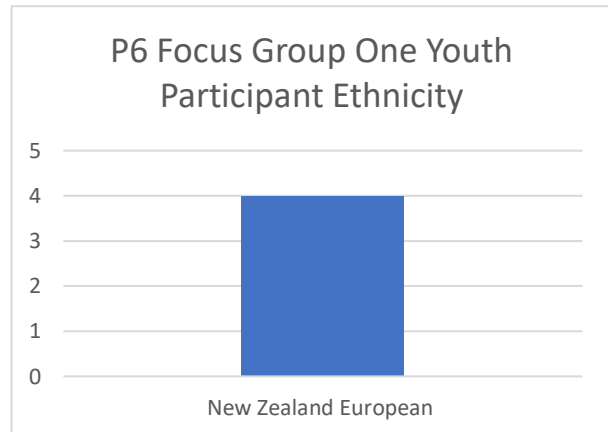


Figure C18

P6 Group One Youth Participant Gender

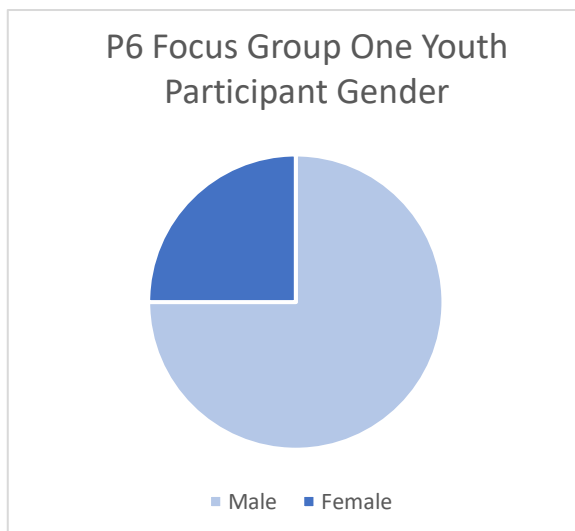


Figure C19

P6 Group Two Youth Participant Age

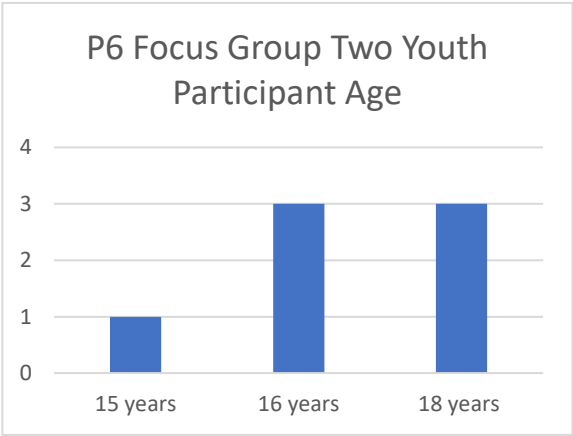


Figure C20

P6 Group Two Youth Participant Ethnicity

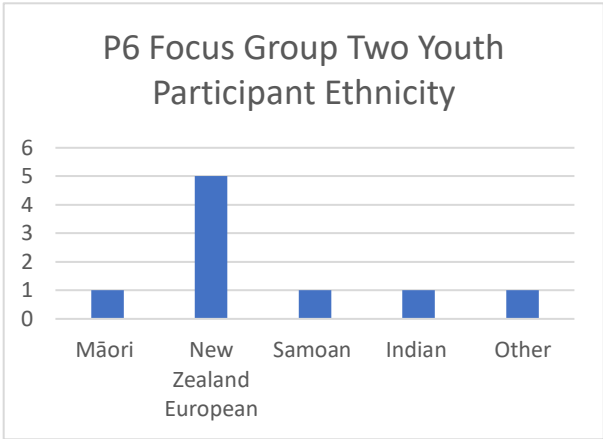
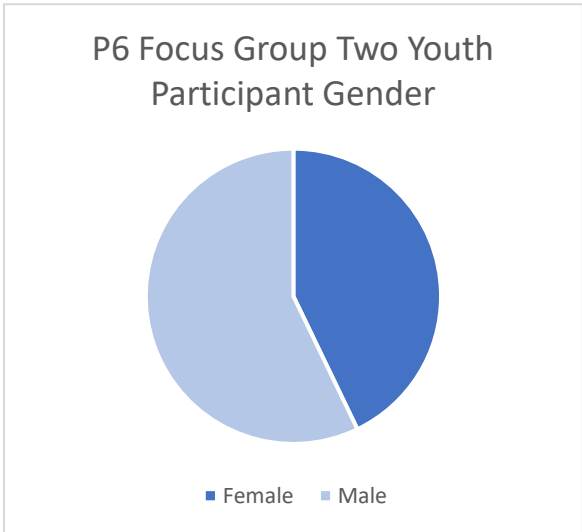


Figure C21

P6 Group Two Youth Participant Gender



Programme Seven Demographics

Programme Seven (P7) was a youth voice group. One focus group was conducted (n=8). Figures C22–C24 show the demographics of P7 participants.

Figure C22

P7 Youth Participant Age

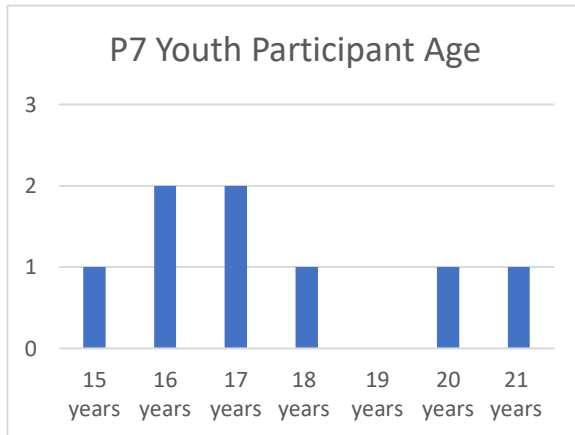


Figure C23

P7 Youth Participant Ethnicity

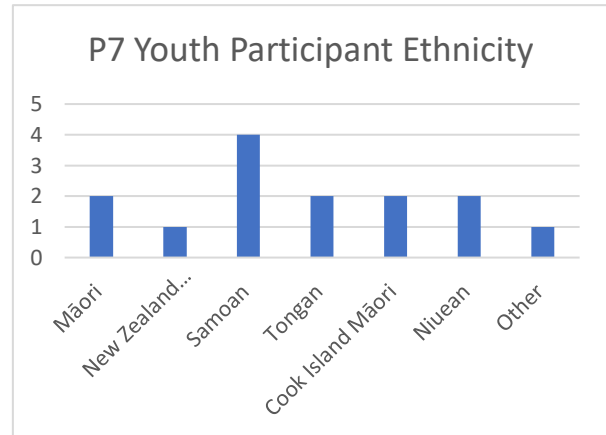
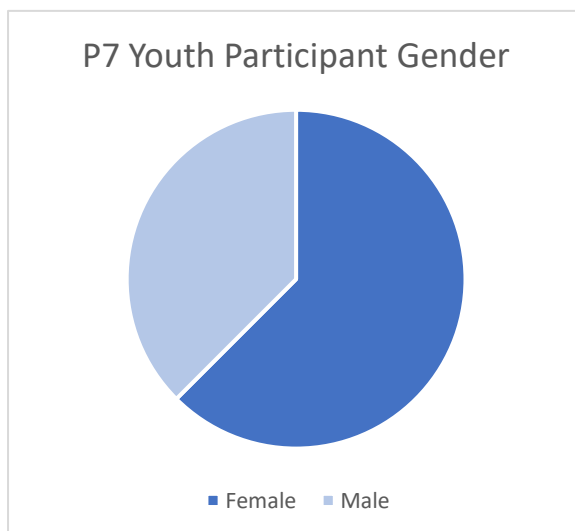


Figure C24

P7 Youth Participant Gender



Programme Eight Demographics

Programme Eight (P8) was a youth creative arts programme. Individual youth interviews were conducted (n=3). Figures C25– C27 show the demographics of P8 participants.

Figure C25

P8 Youth Participant Age

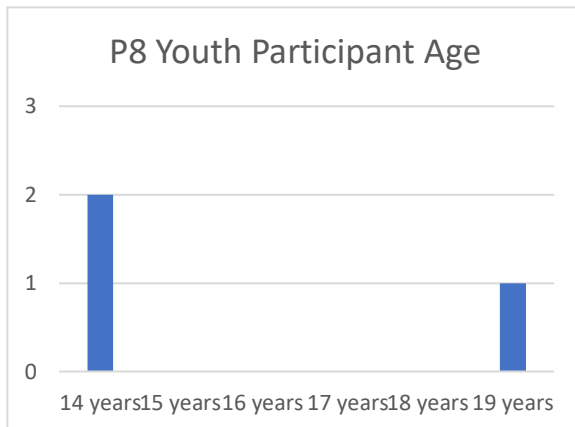


Figure C26

P8 Youth Participant Ethnicity

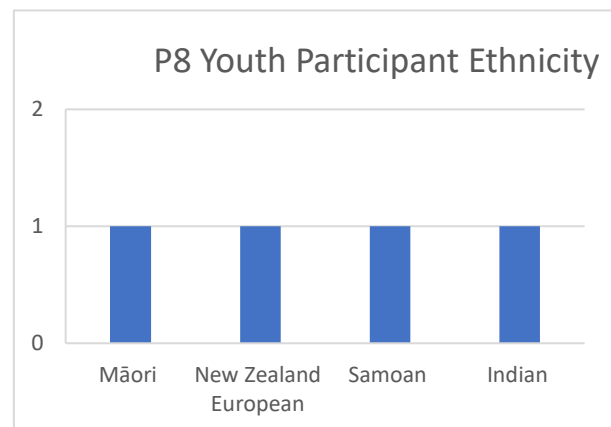
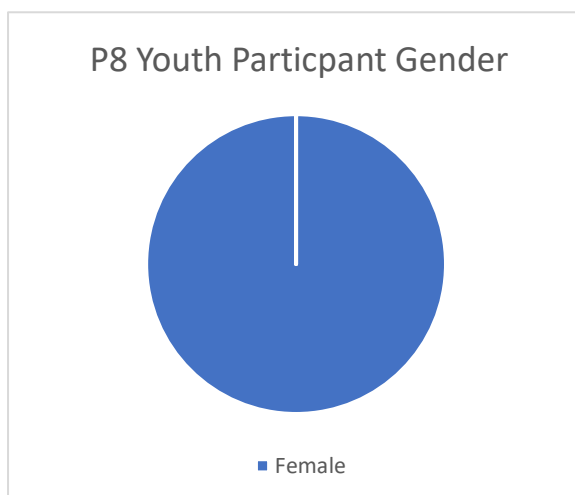


Figure C27

P8 Youth Participant Gender



Programme Nine Demographics

Programme Nine (P9) was a youth leadership and advisory group for organisations in the disability sector. One focus group was conducted (n=6). Figures C28– C30 show the demographics of P8 participants.

Figure C28

P9 Youth Participant Age

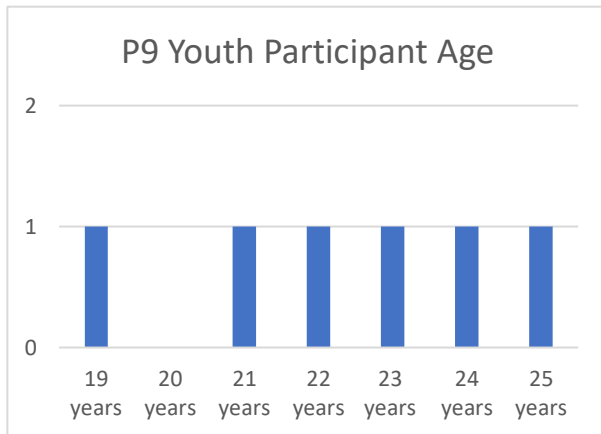


Figure C29

P9 Youth Participant Ethnicity

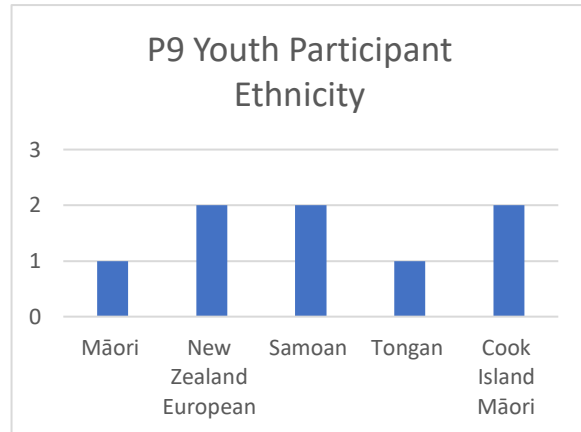
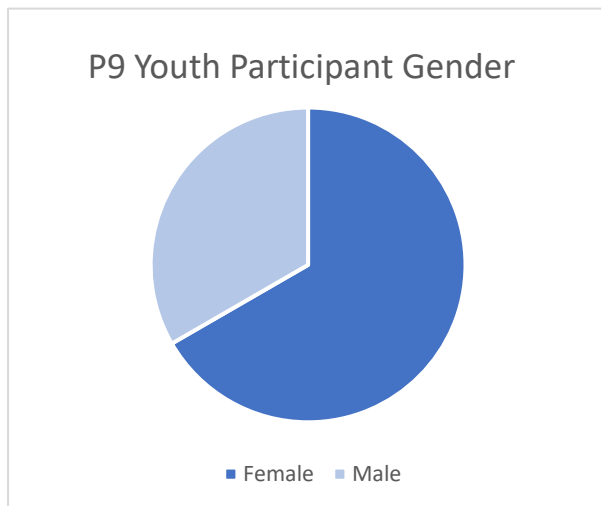


Figure C30

P9 Youth Participant Gender



Programme Ten Demographics

Programme Ten (P10) was a camp and leadership programme for young people from refugee backgrounds. One focus group was conducted (n=2). Figures C31– C33 show the demographics of P10 participants.

Figure C31

P10 Youth Participant Age

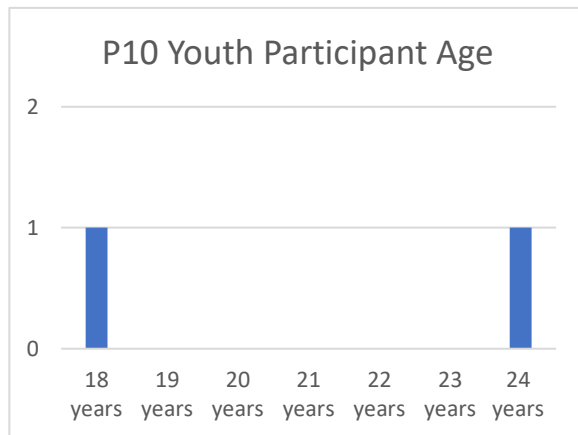


Figure C32

P10 Youth Participant Ethnicity

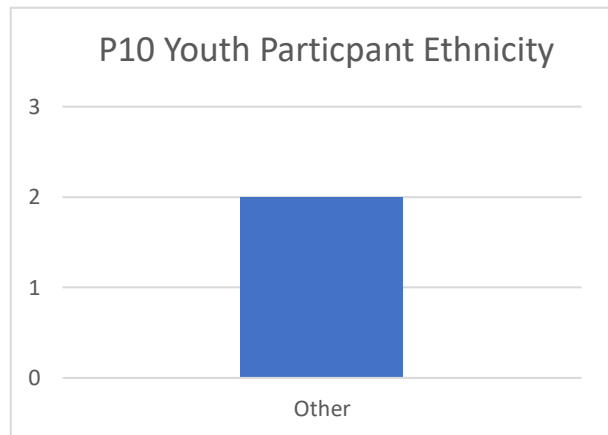
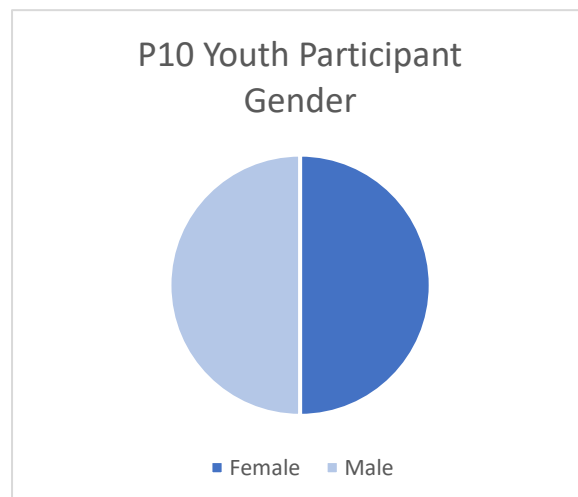


Figure C33

P10 Youth Participant Gender



Programme Eleven Demographics

Programme Eleven (P11) was a volunteer led youth organisation. Two focus groups were conducted in two different locations. Focus Group 1 (n=18). Focus Group 2 (n=4). Figures C34– C39 show the demographics of P11 participants by focus group.

Figure C34

P11 Group One Youth Participant Age

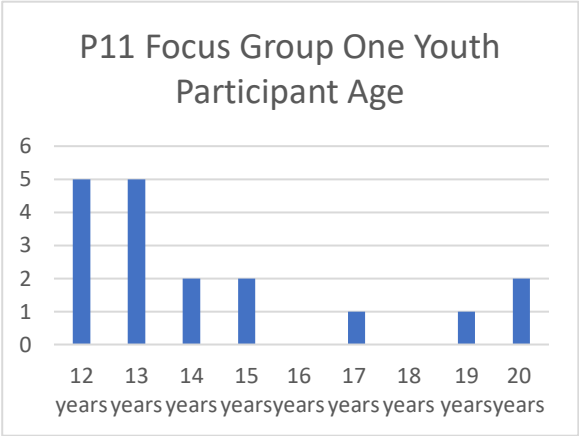


Figure C35

P11 Group One Youth Participant Ethnicity

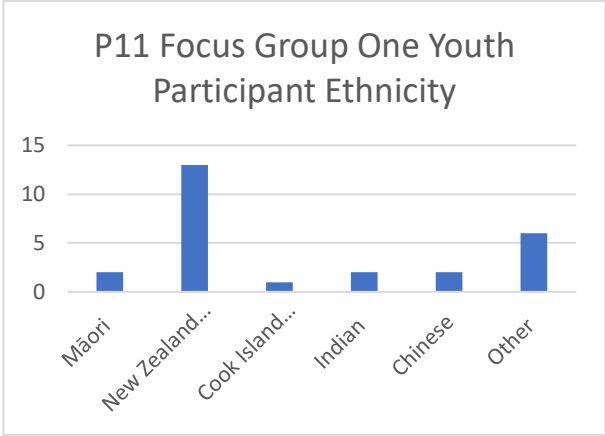


Figure C36

P11 Group One Youth Participant Gender

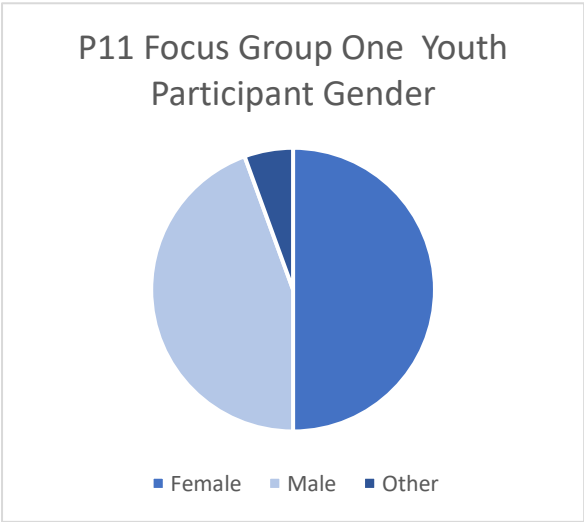


Figure C37

P11 Group Two Youth Participant Age

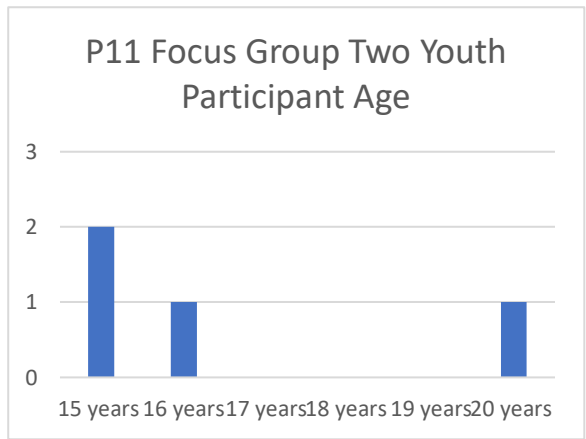


Figure C38

P11 Group Two Youth Participant Ethnicity

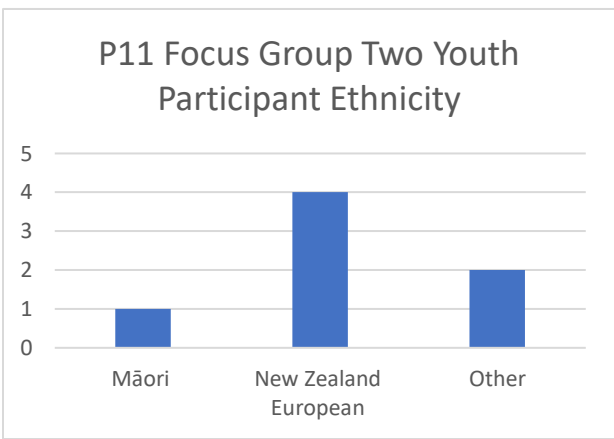
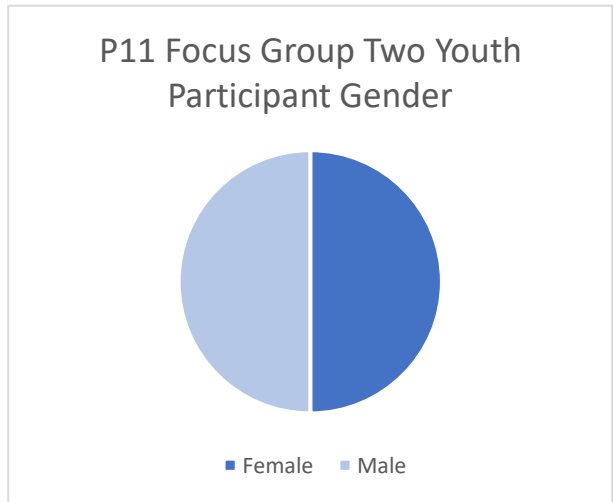


Figure C39

P11 Group Two Youth Participant Gender



Programme Twelve Demographics

Programme Twelve (P12) was an indigenous values-based leadership programme. Three youth interviews were conducted, and one was a joint interview with two participants (n=4). Figures C40–C42 show the demographics of P12 participants.

Figure C40

P12 Youth Participant Age

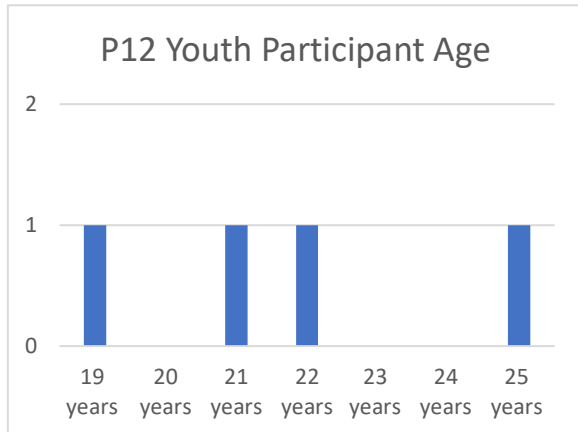


Figure C41

P12 Youth Participant Ethnicity

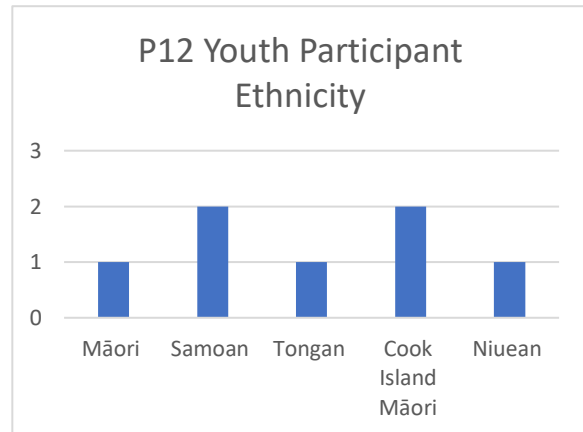
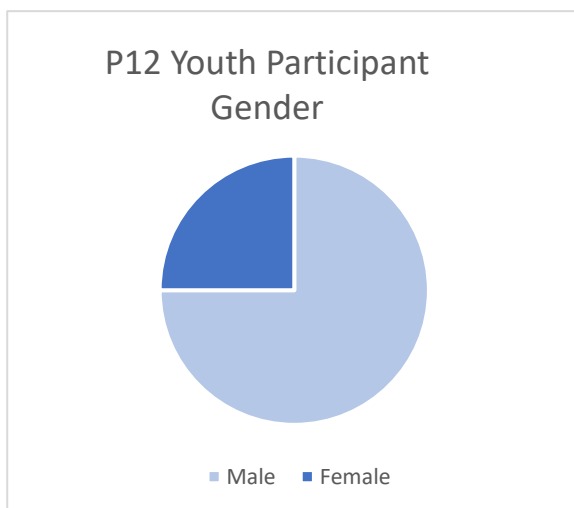


Figure C42

P12 Youth Participant Gender



Programme Thirteen Demographics

Programme Thirteen (P13) was a school-based peer mentoring programme. One focus group was conducted (n=4). Figures C43– C45 show the demographics of P13 participants.

Figure C43

P13 Youth Participant Age

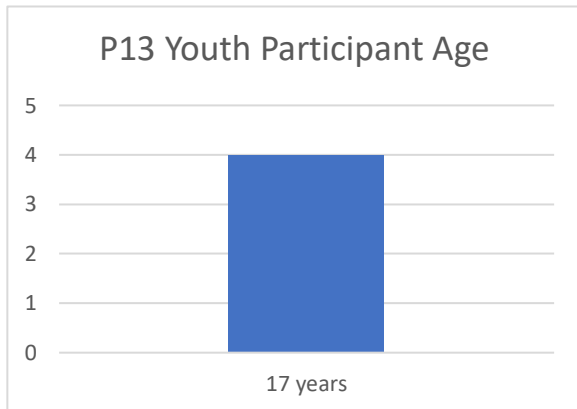


Figure C44

P13 Youth Participant Ethnicity

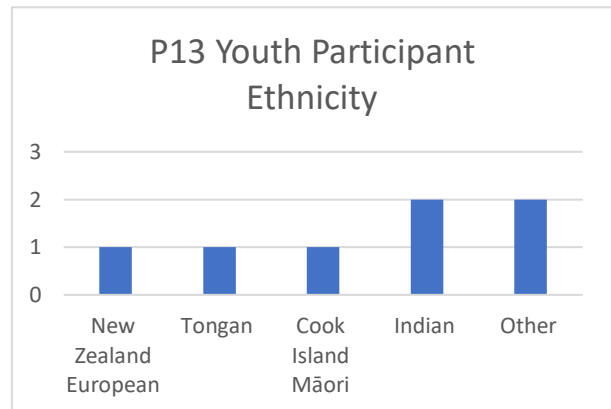
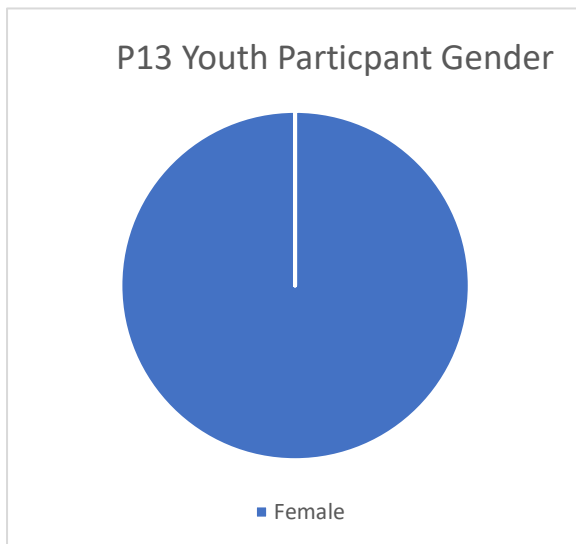


Figure C45

P13 Youth Participant Gender



Programme Fourteen Demographics

Programme Fourteen (P14) was a faith-based youth group. One focus group was conducted (n=13). Figures C43– C45 show the demographics of P14 participants.

Figure C46

P14 Youth Participant Age

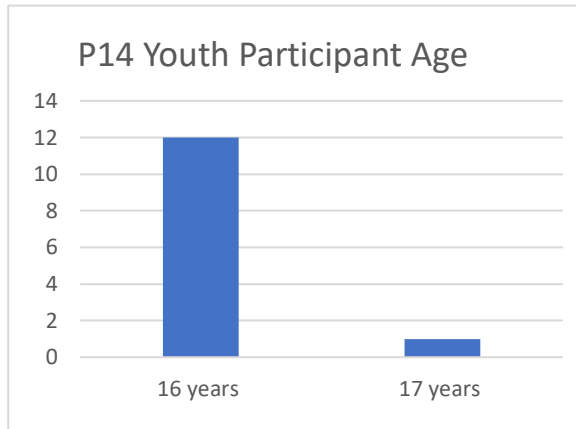


Figure C47

P14 Youth Participant Ethnicity

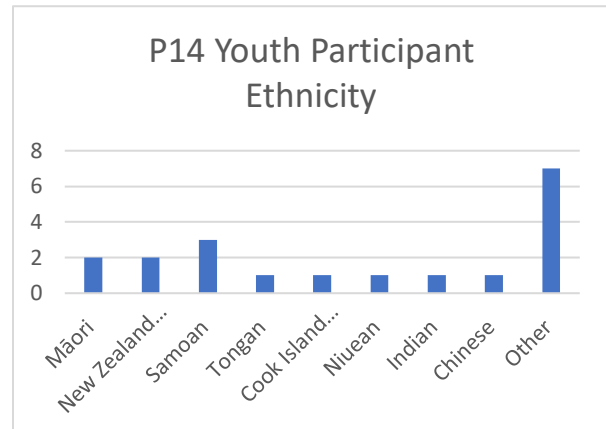
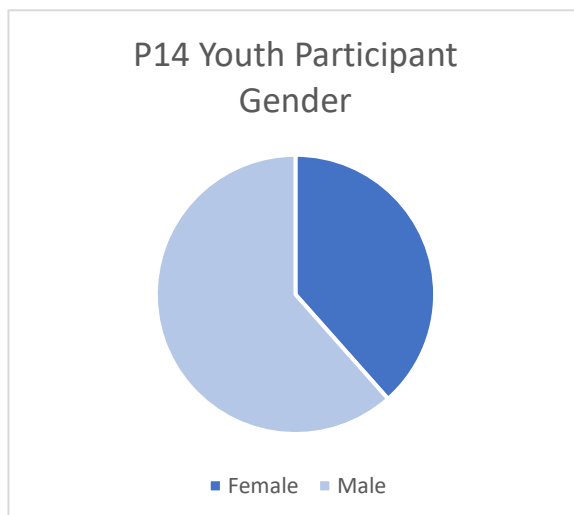


Figure C 48

P14 Youth Participant Gender



Appendix D: Development of the Framework

This Appendix tracks the development of the coding framework, from familiarisation, through to indexing, charting and mapping and interpretation.

Three small excerpts from familiarisation coding are provided, which show early thinking, followed by the first three iterations of the framework based on familiarisation coding.

Changes during indexing are noted resulting in the framework that was used for charting. Changes made during charting are described and the next iteration of the framework presented. Finally, changes made during mapping and interpretation are described, followed by the final framework.

Excerpts from Familiarisation

Excerpt 1: P7 Focus Group

The group had shared back from their drawing and had discussed the skills they had gained related to leadership, networking, communication, project management, professionalism and interacting with different cultures. The group then discussed the value of these skills, which led into a discussion of confidence.

Table D1

P7 Focus Group Coding Excerpt

Excerpt	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
P7FG: And when you have those skills you're more comfortable as [name] said, but you also have more confidence and I think that makes it easier for us to talk to other people about it, talk to other youth about it, because when you're confident that confidence will portray onto other students or other staff members or other people in general, it's all about that confidence we learn in here and take into other parts of your life.	Skills lead to confidence	Social confidence to approach people in group and outside	Skills help and influence others
JM: Confidence came up in both things. What is confidence? How would you describe it? It's a real tricky question.			
P7FG: I think confidence is when you're able to step out of your comfort zone and engage with others you don't normally talk to, just being comfortable to share your personal experiences with people who you don't know that well.	Confidence	Social confidence	Try something new/ Push comfort zones
JM: Cool. Anything else?			
P7FG: I think it's being comfortable in who you are as a person and what you believe in and knowing that no matter what people say about you or what happens to you that you're always gonna stand for what you said.	Confidence	Sense of self/ Identity	Values -based living
RA: So, like that balance between strength and vulnerability, being able to have both of those things?			

Excerpt	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
P7FG: Yeah, 'cause there's a difference between cocky and confidence.	Confidence		
JM: What is that difference?			
P7FG: I feel like cocky is like you think you know everything and whatever you say is right and you're always gonna be right and you're not going to let people tear you down, which is a good thing, but it's also good to take feedback from people cause that's how you grow, you can't grow without feedback.	Confidence	Growth Mindset	Strength and vulnerability

Excerpt 2: P2 Joint staff interview

These two staff ran the programme in different locations and discussed the changes they observed in young people in terms of their self-belief, attitudes and their desire to help others, make change and counteract negative stereotypes.

Table D2

P2 Staff Interview Coding Excerpt

Excerpt	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
P2002: In the year 13 cohort that just graduated last year, a lot of them didn't necessarily think about scholarships and all of that stuff, until two of them started that discussion.	Peer influence	Role models	Leadership
JM: Right			
P2002: And then all of a sudden, 'She's doing it I'm going to try too,' secretly without putting it out there that she's aiming for it too. So, there was a ripple effect where one girl wanted to be a head girl and another girl wanted to be a prefect and then it turned out that that cohort had head girl, four prefects and the whole cohort bar two have scholarships to university. So, the flow on effect was pretty massive and two people in that group stood up and said, 'These are my goals these are what I want to do, this is how I'm gonna do it,' and that empowered the other girls to be, 'I'm gonna aim a bit higher'. So, I think it does have a flow on effect, people around them and it goes back to that safe space, safe group thing again. That those girls were able to stand up and not gonna be too cool for school, you know what I mean. Yeah, it does have a ripple effect. 'This is what my standard is and if you're not going to be part of my standard, then you know what I mean, that's all good, but I'm still gonna do it.'	Positive peer influence/ Role models	Safe space	Motivation/ drive
P2001: And lots of them have younger siblings and talk about wanting to be being someone to look up to in their families as well, or for younger girls in their school, or at one of the schools that starts at primary and goes the whole way through they always talk about wanting to help the juniors.	Role model	Leadership	Helping/ making a difference

Excerpt	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
P2002: Yeah and the school supports that, so one of our schools is (Name) and they're a junior, intermediate, senior and the big thing they do with their school is, when the year 13s graduate which they started last year, they do a lap of victory and then they do that right through intermediate and right through junior schools and the junior and intermediate schools actually do little performances to recognise holy crap you're over there they go round the school. And for them it's an emotional experience because a lot of them went before.	Role model	Achievement	
JM: Kind of inspiring.			
P2002: Yeah.			
JM: What do you think changes inside of the young person that they go from not thinking about that stuff to then saying. 'I'm gonna go for this,' and then doing it?			
P2002: It's a hard one to answer.			
P2001: A lot of its about how they think about themselves and what they are capable of doing. And when a lot of them, I'm thinking about some of the [location] girls at camp when they do performances, some of them were about the way that [location] is perceived and wanting to break that down.	Overcoming stigma	Self-worth	Recognition of negative stereotypes
P2002: Reflecting as well, being able to reflect on themselves and their community, and reflecting on how they want to be thought of by society. You know, as a teenager, in certain communities you are constantly said, 'This is your stats this is your life get used to it,'. You know what I mean. And so, a lot of them are like, 'Nah, I'm not gonna be that stat'. Or they look at their own family and they think, 'My mum and dad are working three jobs,' and they think this isn't the life that we want or that we want for our siblings. A lot of them want to change that.	Space for self-reflection	Making a difference	Overcoming stigma

Excerpt 3: P8 Individual youth interview

This young person was part of the youth creative arts programme and spoke about the environment and the people within it that made the programme more than somewhere to learn skills.

Table D3

P8 Young Person Individual Interview Coding Excerpt

Excerpt	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
JM: Cool. So, and you've already mentioned some of this stuff, but what do you think a young person would get out of being involved in these sorts of groups at [organisation]?			
P8001: A sense of belonging. I know that a lot of people don't feel that they belong because they have a hard time at school and maybe their family, but over here at [organisation] I feel like there's a lot of people that you can talk to about anything and you can feel like you actually belong while bringing more skills into your life, cause you can just come here after school	Belonging	Skills	Accessible

Excerpt	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3
hang out and then go to your class. I think it's really good that people can get (unclear).			
JM: So, you can just show up, you might come early any old time?			
P8001: And its fine and I can just hang out with anybody [name's] there, [name's] there. It's good.	Connection with adults	Relaxation	
JM: And are they, so who are those people that a young person could talk to.?			
P8001: Yeah [name], like the youth leaders [name] and [name]. Anybody can just tell them, 'I wanna speak to you,' They can just tell them about what they're going through. They're able to give you good advice on what to do next.	Connection with adults	Leaders helpful/relatable	Support
JM: It sounds like it's more than just a dance group?			
P8001: Yeah, it's much more than a dance group. Yeah.			
JM: And what is it about those people. Like [name] and [name] that make them the kind of people that you can just go up to and go, 'Blah' ?			
P8001: Because you kind of get a vibe from them because they're so nice and positive. You get a vibe from them that they'll listen, and you get a vibe from them that like they could know what you've been going through, and they have a lot of stuff. They just seem like those type of people cause they're so nice and stuff.	Leaders listen	Leaders helpful	Leaders relatable

The Initial Draft Framework

Familiarisation coding generated 266 unique codes across ten transcripts. All of these raw codes were entered into a spreadsheet. These codes were initially grouped into broad a priori themes based on the research questions including: Programme Processes, Outcomes, PYD Definitions, Interesting Quotes, Not otherwise coded and Other. Other included general information about the programme and about participants. No codes were placed under Not otherwise coded or interesting quotes as these were to be used later in the analysis.

The 266 codes were reduced into the following draft framework by grouping obviously similar words and ideas together and checking these against the transcripts. For example, communicating with others and teamwork were grouped under people skills. Codes that only appeared once, such as 'part of something bigger' and 'part of the whānau' were also reviewed to see if they were distinct or fit elsewhere. Both of these were included in Belonging. The first iteration of the Framework is shown in Table D4.

Table D4

First Iteration of the Framework

Group	Code	Descriptions	Other notes/ideas
Programme Processes	Accepting	About the group environment	Possibly links to I can be me. I am accepted by others good and bad parts
	Accessible	Transport, kai, easy to get to	
	I can be me here		May also include different to school, but this may be separate
	Adult relationships	Patient, supportive helpful, listening, welcoming and role models	
	Youth taken seriously		
	Welcoming	Staff and whole place is welcoming	
	Freedom	Not having to do everyday things	Links to different from school and youth friendly. Fits with I can be me here
	Flexible/tailored	Flex around different needs and tailor to different groups, but also organised and specific to young people	
	Time	Give time, but also time to relax and reflect	
	Place/physical space		

Group	Code	Descriptions	Other notes/ideas
Programme Processes	Shared goals/motivation	Often about the desire to make a difference or improve self Buy in, attitude and engagement	Needed to make programme work
	Youth led/youth participation		
	Supportive group environment	Group supports young people, emotional and practical Encouragement	
	Different to school		
	Comfortable	About the group or environment	Maybe accepting or youth friendly?
	Safe	Emotional safety to try new things	Physical safety in physical space.
Outcomes	Achievement	Present and future	
	Appreciated		
	Belonging		
	Celebrated		
	Change	Difference from beginning to end Change in attitudes	May fit better under other codes depending on type of change
	Confidence		Frequently mentioned Discussions of things that lead to confidence and impacts of this
	People Skills		
	Connection to community		
	Family/whānau connection		
	Connection to adults	Can be similar or different people	
	Peer connection	Can be similar or different people	
	Giving back		
	Independence	Includes ending and exit	
	Fun		May include pursuing passions?
	Ok to fail/make mistakes/Be vulnerable		
	Transferrable to other areas	Includes future focus, need for employability	
	Try new things		
	Happy		Positive outlook?
	Hope/future dreaming		
	I can be me	Sense of self and ability to be self in the programme	

Group	Code	Descriptions	Other notes/ideas
Outcomes	Being a role model	Role model to peers and younger siblings	
	Identity		
	Leadership		
	Living life		
	Making a difference		
	Overcoming barriers		
	Overcoming stigma		
	Ownership		
	Support		
	Pride		
	Self-Worth		
	Special	Appreciated	
	Task based skills	e.g., dance, photography	
	Accountability	Develop accountability to the group, commitment	
	Application	Of skills to other areas – transferability	
	Anxiety in trying something new		
	Changes to peer relationships		
	Changing mindset	Self and others	
	Character	Character strength and acceptance	Possibly I can be me, or identity – accepting self, good and bad?
	Connection to the organisation	Links to physical space	
	Youth context	This determines outcomes	
	Creativity		
	Cultural diversity	Ability to interact with other cultures or learning about other cultures	May fit with people skills?
	Cultural expression		Fits with I can be me here/identity?
	Feeling engaged	Part of something	
	Excitement		Could fit with fun?
	Express emotions/manage emotions		May fit with I can be me here?
	Friendly/kind to each other		
	Motivation/drive	Desire to do well - attitude towards success and achievement	
	Future focus		
	Integration	Integration into society – important in disability settings	
	Organised	Able to manage	

Group	Code	Descriptions	Other notes/ideas
Outcomes	Pursue Passions		
	Resilience	Cope with challenge	
	Thriving		
	Time out		
	Taken seriously/valued	Feel valued and important	
	Negative stereotypes of young people		
	Negative stereotype of community		
	Values		
	Setting goals		
Most prevalent outcomes			
Most Important Outcomes			
Views/Definitions of PYD			
Best parts of the programme			
Other	Programme activities		May be coded under outcomes/processes too if they discuss what young people get out of the programme and how it occurs
	Programme aims		May be coded under outcomes/processes too if they discuss what young people get out of the programme and how it occurs
	Programme values		May be coded under outcomes/processes too if they discuss what young people get out of the programme and how it occurs
	Reflections on the sector or programme		
	Current outcome measurement		
	Length of time involved		

Second Iteration of the Framework

These codes were further grouped and ordered. Grouping of similar ideas identified broader codes and sub-codes under the overall themes. Table D5 shows the second iteration of the framework.

Table D5

Second Iteration of the Framework

Group	Code	Sub-Code	Other notes/ideas
Programme Processes	Youth-Centric Space	Physical space	
		Flexible/tailored	
		Not school	
		OK to be myself	
		Takes time	
		Youth ownership	
		Freedom	
		Youth leading	
		Youth taken seriously	
	Accepting Atmosphere	Ok to be myself	
		Safe	Welcoming
		Shared goals/motivation	
		Supportive group environment	
		Physical space	
	Accessible	Location	
		Food	
		Transport	
	Relationships with Adults	Welcoming/friendly	
		Supportive	Includes listening
		Helpful	
		Give time	
		Role models	
Outcomes	Skills	Task skills	
		People skills	Communication, different personalities, teamwork, different cultures.
	Achievement/Success	Pride	
		Appreciated/celebrated	
		Special	
	Belonging	Ownership	Move belonging to connection?
	Confidence	Try new things	
	Connections	Peer connection/friendship	
		Belonging	
		Support	

Group	Code	Sub-Code	Other notes/ideas
Outcomes		Relationships with adults	
		Connection with community	
		Connection with organisation	
		Family/whānau connection	
	Positive identity	Know who I am	
		Develop values	
		Pride	
		Pursue passions	
		Self-worth	
	I can be me	Self-expression	
		Failure and vulnerability ok	May link to attitudes?
		Cultural expression	
	Agency	Independence	Personal agency
		Living life	Personal agency
		Transition/exit	Personal agency
		Overcoming barriers	Personal and collective
		Overcoming stigma	Personal and collective
		Changing mindsets	Personal and collective
		Taken seriously	Personal and collective
	Giving back	Making a difference	
		Contribution	
	Fun	Excitement	Possibly broader theme of affect, including fun, happiness, managing emotions?
	Happiness		
	Leadership	Role model	
	Resilience	Adaptability	Relates to values/beliefs and also being able to manage challenges
	Future focus	Hope	
		Preparing for future roles	
	Outcome prevalence		
	Outcome importance		
	Best parts		
Other	About the programme	Activities	
		Programme aims	
		Programme values	
		Reflections on the programme	
	About participants	Length of time involved	
		History/experiences	
	Evaluation/Measurement		

Framework for Indexing

This second iteration was reviewed again, looking at raw codes and transcripts and further refined to create the working framework that was entered into NVivo. This iteration aimed to further group some of the broad codes. For example, positive identity and I can be me were joined, as I can be me appeared to be a subset of identity. Leadership and resilience were both placed under skills as these had few references in familiarisation coding. Broad codes were re-checked against familiarisation coding to ensure they reflected commonly occurring ideas in the transcripts that were familiarised.

This framework identified three key programme features and nine key outcomes. These remained throughout the analysis. This original framework that was entered into NVivo for indexing is shown in Table D6.

Table D6

The Framework for Indexing

Group	Code	Sub-Code
Programme Processes	Youth-Centric Space	Youth taken seriously
		Youth leading
		Youth ownership
		Flexible/tailored
		Takes time
		Not school
		Freedom
		Physical space
		OK to be myself
		Accessible (location, kai, transport)
	Accepting Atmosphere	Welcoming
		OK to be myself
		Safe
		Shared goals/motivation
		Physical space
		Supportive group environment
		Relationships with Adults
		Supportive/helpful
		Welcoming
		Role models
Outcomes	Skills	Give time
		Task skills
		People skills
		Transferability
		Leadership
		Being a role model
	Achievement	Resilience/adaptability
		Pride

Group	Code	Sub-Code
Outcomes		Appreciated/celebrated
		Special
	Giving Back	Making a difference
		Contribution
	Agency	Independence
		Living life/getting on with it
		Transition/exit
		Overcoming barriers
		Overcoming stigma
		Changing mindsets
		Taken seriously
	Confidence	
	Future focus	Preparing for future
		Hope
	Positive affect	Fun
		Excitement
		Happiness
		Managing feelings
	Connection	Peer connection/friendship
		Belonging
		Support
		Connections with the community
		Connections with the organisation
		Relationships with adults/leaders
		Family/whānau connection
		Ownership
	Positive identity	Know who I am
		Pursue passions
		I can be me
		Cultural expression
		Failure/vulnerability ok
		Self-worth
		Develop values and attitudes
	Outcomes prevalence	
	Outcomes importance	
	Best parts	
PYD Definitions		
Other	About the programme	Activities
		Programme aims
		Programme values
		Reflections on programme/sector
	About participants	Length of time involved
		History/experiences
	Evaluation/Measurement	
Not otherwise coded		
Interesting Quotes		

Changes During Indexing

Familiarised transcripts were indexed first. In NVivo, Codes and Sub-Codes are renamed to Nodes and Child Nodes. One new Node and several new Child Nodes were added during indexing where some data were difficult to code. These new nodes were developed from revisiting transcripts and raw codes and are shown in Table D7.

Table D7

New Nodes/Child Nodes Added Indexing Familiarised Data

Node	Child Node	Description and Rationale
Unintended outcomes		This new node was added to reflect challenges related to some outcomes, such as anxiety about leadership.
Skills	Personal skills	The new child node of personal skills included resilience/adaptability, where this related to skills about navigating challenges or change. Where resilience related to attitudes related to drive and overcoming challenges this was coded under attitudes and values development. Personal skills also included managing feelings which was initially under positive affect. Managing feelings was more skill related, whilst other codes under positive affect were about feelings. Personal skills also included the ability to set goals, which was different from achieving goals and to manage oneself and expected life tasks.
Achievement	Completion of activities	This new child node included completion of activities or goal achievement, such as gaining a badge, or running and event.
	Achievement	This child node included post-programme and general achievements such as graduating the programme or gaining employment. This data had previously sat under achievement broadly.
Youth-Centric Space	Relevant activities	Relevant activities identified where the programme activities themselves were key to helping to achieve outcomes, such as art or events being key to skill building and connection how these were delivered in fun and engaging ways.
Giving back	Giving back	Giving back was created as a child node and related to helping others and giving back to the community. This data had previously sat under the parent node Giving back.

Some areas were also further streamlined as conceptual overlaps between ideas were noted as shown in Table D8.

Table D8*Codes Removed Indexing Familiarised Data*

Node	Child Node	Description and Rationale
Connection	Ownership	This sub-code under connection was removed and data re-coded under organisation connection (ownership of the space) or belonging (sense of ownership of the programme).
Positive affect	Excitement	This sub-code under positive affect was incorporated into fun as it was very small.

The remaining 10 transcripts were then indexed to the amended framework. As other data were gathered and transcribed and indexed further refinements were made and a number of codes were merged. These reflected where a code may have been more prevalent during familiarisation but was not reflected across the whole dataset. Where this occurred, it was noted as this may also reflect important differences between programmes. These refinements are summarised in Table D9 below.

Table D9*Codes Changed during Completion of Indexing*

Node	Child Node Merged	Description and Rationale
Youth-Centric Space	OK to be myself	This code was duplicated in both a Youth-Centric Space and an Accepting Atmosphere. Much of the data was repeated across both and so the child-node from a Youth-Centric Space was re-coded into an Accepting Atmosphere. Where data was specifically about youth-centric elements such as the physical space helping young people to be themselves, it was coded under the relevant child node.
	Youth ownership	This small child node related to youth feeling ownership of the space and what happens in programmes. Data were re-coded to other child nodes such as youth leading, youth taken seriously or physical space.
	Takes time	This other small child node was re-coded under flexible and tailored, as time often referred to the way the programme flexed around the different needs of youth.
Achievement	Special	This child-node was merged into either achievement or celebrated. Feeling special in relation to achievements was either a function of achievement or of celebration. However, the idea of feeling special and valued was noted.
Agency	Transition/exit	This child node was particularly reflective of the discussions of two staff interviews at the familiarisation stage where the importance of exit from the programme was discussed. It was not discussed frequently or in-depth in other programmes. It was collapsed into independence, as exit was evidence of independence from the programme. A note was made about the importance of this for the staff who discussed it.

Node	Child Node Merged	Description and Rationale
Agency	Living life/getting on with it.	This child-node was particularly important for one group and was re-coded under overcoming barriers because it was about living life in spite of barriers and did not appear elsewhere. The experiences of this group and the particular value they placed on agency was discussed in the findings.
	Changing mindsets Overcoming barriers Overcoming stigma	Throughout indexing these codes were refined into two child nodes. The first, Challenging stereotypes was related to overcoming stereotypes and changing views of self or others. The second Having a voice related to speaking up and being empowered to play a role in the community.
	Taken seriously	As indexing occurred the child node of taken seriously was renamed Having Something to Offer which was about being valuable to others and society through actions.
Positive affect	Pride	The child node of Pride was moved from Achievement to Positive affect. Pride was not just related to achievement but may be about pride in other areas such as giving back.
Skills	Role modelling	This child node was incorporated into leadership. It was also noted where it occurred elsewhere that was not skill-related, for example role modelling by achievement and success, or through peer connections in the group.

The Framework at the Completion of Indexing

Table D10 shows the framework at the completion of indexing

Table D10

The Framework at the Completion of Indexing

Group	Node	Child Node
Programme Processes	Youth-Centric Space	Relevant activities
		Youth taken seriously/valued.
		Youth Leading
		Flexible/tailored
		Not school
		Freedom
		Physical space
Programme Processes	Accepting Atmosphere	Accessible (location, kai, transport)
		Welcoming
		Supportive group environment
		Shared goals/motivation
		Safe
	Relationships with Leaders/Adults	OK to be myself
		Supportive/helpful
		Welcoming
		Role models
		Give time

Group	Node	Child Node
Outcomes	Skills	Task skills
		Leadership
		Transferability
		People skills
		Personal skills
	Achievement	Achievement
		Completion of activities
		Celebrated
	Giving Back	Giving Back
		Contribution
		Making a difference
	Agency	Independence
		Challenging stereotypes
		Having a voice
		Having something to offer
	Confidence	
	Future focus	Preparing for future
		Hope
	Positive affect	Pride
		Fun
		Happiness
	Connection	Peer connection/friendship
		Belonging
		Support
		Connections with the community
		Connections with the organisation
		Relationships with adults/leaders
		Family/whānau connection
	Positive identity	Know who I am
		Pursue passions
		I can be me
		Failure/vulnerability ok
		Cultural Identity
		Self-worth
		Develop values and attitudes
	Outcomes prevalence	
	Outcomes importance	
	Best parts	
Outcomes	Unintended outcomes	
PYD Definitions		
Other	About the programme	Activities
		Programme aims
		Programme values
		Reflections on programme/sector
	About participants	Length of time involved
		History/experiences
	Evaluation/Measurement	

Group	Node	Child Node
Not otherwise coded		
Interesting Quotes		

Changes During Charting

During charting data were lifted and summarised into charts. During this phase the framework was further refined. Summarising each piece of data helped to clarify themes, triggering some changes, whilst other changes were made to ensure that each piece of data was coded only once within a parent node. Having the same piece of data twice within any given node may skew analysis.

Changes made at this stage are summarised in Table D11 below.

Table D11

Changes to the Framework During Charting

Node	Child Node	Description and Rationale
Giving back	Giving back Contributing Making a difference	On review large numbers of excerpts were coded in more than one of these areas, suggesting little distinction between them. All data here were recoded under the following child nodes which appeared to better fit the data: Helping and Contributing, Benefits to young people.
Confidence		As one of the largest nodes, initially everything related to confidence was just coded broadly because it appeared to touch on many different aspects. During charting data related to confidence were grouped into sources of confidence, expressions of confidence and impacts of confidence.
Skills	Transferability	Transferability was removed as a child node. All data here were also coded either under specific skill types or in Future focus.
Connection	Support	The child-node of support was removed as this appeared to be a function of different types of connection e.g., feeling supported by leaders or peers. Instead, notes were made in the 'researcher reflection' column about the value of the connection e.g., young people acting as role models to each other, support, happiness, finding similar people.

Node	Child Node	Description and Rationale
Accepting Atmosphere	Welcoming	The child node of Welcoming contained a very small amount of data and was recoded under Supportive Group Environment or Welcoming under Relationships with Adults.
Relationships with adults		This node was renamed to Leader/Adult Behaviours. This was to reflect that programme leaders are not always adults and also to reflect that this process is about the intentional behaviours of leaders. Renaming also reduced confusion between this programme process and the outcome of relationships with adults, although the two also contained significant overlap.
Leader/Adult Behaviours	Helpful Welcoming	These two child-nodes were combined to form a new child-node Friendly and relatable.
	Giving time	This child node was re-coded into other nodes as giving time was a function of either role modelling, relatability or support and was noted in reflective notes where it appeared.

The Framework After Charting

Table D12 shows the Framework after Charting.

Table D12

The Framework after Charting

Group	Theme	Sub-Theme
Programme Processes	Youth-Centric Space	Relevant activities
		Youth taken seriously/valued
		Youth leading
		Flexible/tailored
		Not school
		Freedom
		Physical space
		Accessible (location, kai, transport)
	Accepting Atmosphere	OK to be myself
		Safe
	Leader/Adult Behaviours	Shared goals/motivation
		Supportive group environment
		Friendly and relatable
		Role models
Outcomes	Skills	Supportive
		Task skills
		Leadership
		People skills
	Achievement	Personal skills
		Achievement
		Completion of activities
	Giving back	Celebrated
		Helping and contributing
		Benefits to young people

Group	Node	Child Node
Outcomes	Agency	Independence
		Having a voice
		Challenging stereotypes
		Having something to offer
	Confidence	Influences on
		Expressions of
		Impacts of
	Future focus	Preparing for future
		Hope
	Positive affect	Pride
		Fun
		Happiness
	Connection	Peer connection/friendship
		Belonging
		Connections with the community
		Connections with the organisation
		Relationships with adults/leaders
		Family/whānau connection
	Positive identity	Know who I am
		Pursue passions
		I can be me
		Failure/vulnerability ok
		Cultural expression
		Self-worth
		Develop values and attitudes
	Outcomes prevalence	
	Outcomes importance	
	Best parts	
	Unintended outcomes	
PYD Definitions		
Other	About the programme	Activities
		Programme Aims
		Programme values
		Reflections on programme/sector
	About participants	Length of time involved
		History/experiences
	Evaluation/Measurement	
Not otherwise coded		
Interesting Quotes		

Changes during Mapping and Interpretation

Some additional changes were made to the framework during mapping and interpretation. Some child nodes were further collapsed to assist with presenting the data. These final changes are summarised in Table D13.

Table D13

Changes during Mapping and Interpretation

Node	Child Node	Description and Rationale
An Accepting Atmosphere	Youth Taken Seriously Youth Leading Freedom	These three nodes were combined into Youth Lead and are Valued, as they all spoke to young people's ability to shape programmes and the attitudes that supported them to do so.
	Physical Space	Physical Space was combined with Accessible to form the child node Accessible and Youthful Environment as all related to the space and set-up of the environment.
Agency	Challenging Stereotypes Having a Voice	These two child nodes were combined to become Having a Voice and Making Change. Both were about the ability to have positive influence on their own and other's lives.
Confidence	Influences on Expressions of Impacts of	During writing, Confidence was reworked, and new child nodes of Confidence as Belief and Confidence as Behaviour were developed. Within each of these, influences and impacts were highlighted. These sub-themes helped to better describe the ways confidence was perceived by participants.
Positive identity	Know who I am Pursue Passions	These two child nodes were combined to form Self-exploration. Both related to processes of self-discovery.
	I can be me Failure and Vulnerability OK.	These two child nodes were combined to form Self-expression. Both related to the ability to be and share all parts of oneself.

The Final Framework

The final framework was used to structure the Findings chapters and is shown in Table D14.

Table D14

The Final Framework

Group	Theme	Sub-Theme
Programme Processes	Youth-Centric Space	Relevant activities
		Accessible and youthful environment
		Flexible/Tailored
		Not School
	Accepting Atmosphere	Youth Lead and are Valued
		OK to be myself here
		Safe
		Shared goals/motivation
	Leader/Adult Behaviours	Supportive group environment
		Friendly and relatable
		Supportive
		Role models
Behavioural Outcomes	Skills	Task skills
		Leadership
		People Skills
		Personal Skills
	Achievement	Achievement
		Completion of Activities
		Celebrated
	Giving back	Helping and contributing
		Benefits to Young People
	Agency	Independence
		Having a Voice and Making Change
Internal Outcomes	Confidence	Having something to offer
		Confidence as Behaviour
		Confidence as Belief
	Future focus	Preparing for future
		Hope
	Positive affect	Pride
		Fun
Relational Outcomes	Connection	Happiness
		Peer connection/friendship
		Belonging
		Connections with the community
		Connections with the organisation
	Positive identity	Connections with adults/leaders
		Family/whānau connection
		Self-Exploration
		Self-Expression
		Cultural Identity
		Self-Worth

Group	Theme	Sub-Theme
Relational Outcomes		Values and attitudes development
Outcomes	Outcomes prevalence	
	Outcomes importance	
	Best parts	
	Unintended outcomes	
PYD Definitions		
Other	About the programme	Activities
		Programme Aims
		Programme Values
		Reflections on Programme/sector
	About participants	Length of time involved
		History/experiences
	Evaluation/Measurement	
Not otherwise coded		
Interesting Quotes		

Appendix E: Theme Chart Samples

This Appendix includes samples from a number of data charts, made during the charting phase of framework analysis. All charts were made with interviews and focus groups presented in the same order. The samples present a selection of data from charts to highlight the charting process.

The included chart samples come from the following nodes:

- Skills: People Skills
- Future Focus: Hope
- Connection: Peer Connection
- Interesting Quotes
- Not Otherwise Coded

In each table, the first column identifies the interview or focus group number of the excerpt. The second column numbers each different reference about the idea, so that the chart could easily show the extent to which ideas were discussed in each interview or focus group. The third column summarises a quotation from the transcript. Column four provided space to identify links to other nodes. These links were helpful to track the inter-relationships of ideas. The final column included my ideas about the data, other links, underlying themes or ways to further categorise data. In the instance below, this column helped to further categorise People Skills into domains of Social Skills, Communication Skills and Working with others (teamwork, empathy, navigating different personalities and conflict.) Table E1 shows a chart sample from the theme of skills and the sub-theme of people skills.

Table E1

Chart Sample Skills: People Skills

Interview/Focus Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
P1002	1	Communication Skills and promoting self		
P2001/2002	1	Skills to support others and recognise their needs	Giving back Positive identity (values and attitudes)	Learning about others. Similar to P10003 – awareness of others and their needs. Working with others.
P2FG	1	Outgoing		Social Skills Idea of being outgoing also discussed in confidence
	2	Communication skills		Communication skills
	3	Empathy, relating to others, teamwork	Values and attitudes	Working with others
	4	Social and approachable		Social skill
	5	More outgoing		Social skills
	6	Communication skills		Communication skills
	7	Skills to interact with others		Social skills
	8	People skills used at home and in community - show leadership, tackle any situation and be confident	Confidence	Communication Skills. Skills lead to confidence. Also, skills transferrable to other areas and can be used to help others.
	9	Approachable, teamwork - people can depend on you. Get things done, prepared, can achieve more	Future focus	Working with others
	10	Contribution opportunities build skills to work with others, useful for jobs and school	Giving back Future focus	Working with others
	11	Community interaction creates communication and teamwork skills	Community connection	Working with others

Interview/Focus Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
P3001	1	Deeper understanding of others		Working with/learning about others. Also links with P2001/2 and P10001. Leaders may identify empathy for others more readily.
	2	Conflict resolution, facilitation		Working with others
	3	Communication from talking with others		Communication skills
	4	Learn how to make friends, fit in social settings, variety of people in group		Social skills Noted some people's parents send them to develop social skills if they are awkward (Also, P6 Staff and P1120 staff). Groups are important sites for young people who don't fit the norm but may not access other services or supports.
	5	Important to learn about others helps you understand yourself better and develop empathy and manage unfairness in life.	Values and attitudes	Learning about others. This helps to self-reflect and consider own values.
	6	Conflict resolution skills important to be able to cope with difficult situations		Working with others
	7	People skills sought after	Future focus	
P32FG	1	Skills for working in a group		Working with others
	2	Can be challenging to get people to agree		Working with others
	3	Being forced to talk to people at events		Communication skills
	4	Social skills		Social skills
	5	Social skills		Social skills
	6	Makes me more 'even person' having to deal with others		Important - for some members of groups, especially P11FG, P6FG, P5. The group helps them when they struggle socially. Accepting environment to develop and test new social skills.

Interview/Focus Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
	7	Learn to respect all people, age, gender etc		Exposure to different people and the skills developed through this. P7 also talked about cultural competence.
	8	Learn how to socialise with others through sharing in group. Voice is heard.	Accepting Atmosphere	Social skills - Group provides a safe and accepting space to practice and develop these
	9	Learn how to co-operate and lead		Working with others
	10	New people in group makes you confident in talking to a wider audience, people you don't always work with.	Confidence	Communication skills
	11	Learning others body language and personality helps me to make communication appropriate		Communication skills - value of group to practice important social skills
	12	People skills		Social skills
	13	Teamwork important		Working with others
P3002	1	Working with others, collaboration		Working with others
	2	Learn to speak up in culture without being disrespectful	Agency, confidence	Communication skills
P3 FG	1	Socialising skills - humour		Social Skills
	2	Communication and socialising		
	3	Working alone and in teams		Working with others
	4	Taking turns		Working with others
	5	Sharing		Working with others
	6	Speak with others and work in groups - positive communication		Communication skills
	7	Communicate with people		Communication skills
P3 FG	8	Socialising		Social skills
	9	Able to open up and have positive relationships with others		Social skills

At the end of each child node instances where the theme was not discussed were noted. Along with the charts these helped to understand similarities and differences in outcome perception. Table E2 shows interviews and focus groups that did not discuss people skills.

Table E2

Interviews and Focus Groups that did not Discuss People Skills

Not Discussed	Reflections and Ideas
P1001 Staff	Skills discussion more focused around task skills and personal skills.
P12001 Staff	Skills discussions more focused on personal skills and relationship of these to indigenous values.
P8001 Young Person	This programme offered class style learning in creative arts – may be more individual and possibly less focus on working with and communicating with others to achieve a goal
P8002 Young Person	
P8004 Young Person	

Table E3 follows the same format as Table E1, looking at the child node of ‘hope’ within the node ‘future focus’

Table E3

Chart Sample Future Focus: Hope

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
P4001	1	Feel inspired from programme to want something different, e.g., future study		Could also be preparation for future, but inspiration more related to hope and belief
	2	Hope and positive view of selves as learners		P12001 also talked about learning as superpower. Talked about negative perceptions of young parents and this creates a different view. Also links to agency – the ability to create a different view of self – having something to offer.

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
	2	Can make changes in life for children's future.	Agency	Inter-generational hope. Also discussed in P12.
P4FG	1	We have learned to parent different to what we grew up with. We can be role models to our children and they can take that forward.	Values and attitudes development, Personal skills Collective agency	Hope for future generations
	2	Anything is possible because you're trusting yourself	Agency Self-worth	Hope comes from self-worth and self-value - seeing oneself as worthy opens up possibilities
P5001	1	See new possibilities from overcoming barriers and knowing you can do it.	Agency	Experience of success and new things in programme creates possibility and hope. This young person spoke about group as a place to develop worth but also group was a place that did not have isolation discrimination or negative stereotypes faced elsewhere. Similar for P4, P1, P9, P3001, P3FG, P12001. Possibly hope more important for those who may struggle.
P5003	1	Seeing other young people overcome challenges gives me hope as a queer young person	Connection	Important to have connection to similar peers to provide role modelling and hope
P8001	1	Can strive harder and dream big from having belonging and opportunity	Connection	
P8003	1	Inspiring through showing others succeeding	Connection	Seeing others do well (peers and adults) helps to inspire hope
P9FG	1	Taste of happiness and this is possible outside of group	Positive affect	
P9FG	1	Change future for others through how we live our lives	Agency	Inspire hope through role modelling
P12001	1	See possibility - Restores mana through seeing possibility		Hope linked to mana. Programme shows what might be possible through changing values. Discussed loss of hope through colonisation and discrimination.
P12002/P12003	1	Learn to set goals and pass this on to next generation	Personal skills	Gives hope to next generation -will expect more
P12004	1	After the course realise this is just the beginning - going to keep working my way up	Attitudes and values	Similar to P4 – ready to take on the world and different possibilities

Table E4 shows interviews and focus groups that did not discuss hope.

Table E4

Interviews and Focus Groups that did not Discuss Hope

Not Discussed	Reflections and Ideas
P3001 Staff	There were two different locations included from this programme. One in a high SES area and one in a lower SES are. Hope was discussed in the lower SES area but not in this higher SES area.
P32FG	
P5003	
P5004	
P6001	High SES area – possible explanation of difference?
P6FG	High SES area
P6208/P6209	High SES area
P7FG	
P8002	
P8004	
P8005 Staff	
P10003 Staff	
P11 Focus Group	
P112 Focus Group	High SES area
P1120 Staff	High SES area
P1205 young person	Did discuss continuation of growth, but less hope focused. More about don't stay in a job where you are not happy. Self-worth.

Table E5 presents some data from peer connection within the chart for connection.

Table E5

Chart Sample Connection: Peer Connection

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
P5001	1	Learned how to make friends. I am socially anxious but want to connect with others and can do that here.	People skills	Gain peer connections through skill development. Overcome anxiety. This young person also discusses peer connections in belonging.
	2	Vibe with people. Comfortable and feel ok to take up space.	Accepting Atmosphere (OK to be myself) Positive identity (I can be me)	Connections with others helps feel good about being oneself
P5002 Staff	1	Young people support and help each other. This helps them to know themselves better.	Accepting Atmosphere (Supportive group environment) Positive identity (Know who I am)	Peer connection as a means of support but also that group is a supportive and caring place. Young people care for each other and through this come to know themselves.
	2	Connections destigmatise mental health - people open up about this		
	2	Nothing that would make someone not part of this community, be yourself and find your people no matter how marginalised that is	Accepting Atmosphere (Supportive group environment) Positive identity (I can be me)	Supportive connection Opportunities for peer connection that may not be available elsewhere
P5003	1	One of the first things gained is connections with peers		
P5004	1	Looked after by group, still friends with some of them	Accepting Atmosphere (Supportive group environment)	Peers care for each other

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
	2	Opportunity to connect with people outside of club scene – do activities together	Relevant activities	Opportunities for peer connection that may not be available elsewhere
	3	Connections with peers reduce loneliness later on – ‘lots of older queer people suffer from loneliness’		Connection beyond group. Also discussed by P2 Staff and P6 staff. Sense of network Also, with community connections – in this case the community formed from the programme.
	4	Young people show care for each other- example of this	Accepting Atmosphere (Supportive group environment)	Nature of connections is caring and supportive
	5	These caring connections teach them to identify what is going on for them earlier and better e.g., identifying depression		Mental health may be important in this setting. Role of peer connections in mental health. Supportive nature of connections makes this possible and helps young people know themselves and feel ok to share vulnerability.
	6	Able to be extraverted in group whereas not at school. Connection with peer role models helped to do this.	Youth-Centric Space (Not school) Positive identity (I can be me)	Young people are role models to each other. Learn a lot about how to be from each other. Connections facilitate trying out different forms of self.
	7	Young people watching out for each-other means faster intervention if problems - Connection online – online community	Accepting Atmosphere (Supportive group environment)	Support, connection outside of programme Ability to recognise and help each other Care for each other
	8	Peer Connections extend beyond the programme		Support, connection outside of programme Also mentioned P6, P10, P11, P12
	9	Connections with peers in programme builds all 4 worlds of YP, networks jobs etc. Community connections actually need to have value for the YP - this is why they are an outcome not just because they are but because they have tangible benefit.		

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
	10	Connection and community created having benefit for young people is the most important thing		Interesting point - these connections need to be valuable. Is the perceived value to young people what makes things an outcome vs a process? Although also friendship is often an outcome in itself. Lots of young people said 'friends' when asked what they got from the programme. Possibly connections perceived inherently valuable by young people.
	11	Older young people in group role models for younger members		Role models to each other Connections with different peers.
P5005	1	Friends and something to do - be around 'people who love you and accept you'. People similar. Some people don't have this - feel alone and trapped, mental health impacted.	Accepting Atmosphere (OK to be myself)	Supportive, people similar to me. Not alone. Mental health better. Also identified by (5001, 5002, 8002). Is mental health a longer-term impact?
	2	Come for friendship and support leave with lots of friends		The second part of this excerpt coded in organisation connection – being able to come back any time for support
P6001:	1	Friendship and connection with youth beyond programme		Connection outside of programme prog activities create bond
P62FG:	1	Meeting people - been home schooled	Best bits	Provides important function not met elsewhere
	2	Hanging out	Best bits	
	3	Everything feels like friends hanging out	Best bits Youth-Centric Space	Activities and skill development doesn't feel like work. We are just friends who like to be together.
	4	Our group is really close - don't get that elsewhere	Best bits	Provides important function not met elsewhere
	5	Connection long term - some over 10 years	Best bits	These are very significant relationships for the young people - massive part of their lives
	6	Feels more like a group of friends than a programme	Best bits Accepting Atmosphere	For this group connection was key motivation and outcome of group
	7	Inside jokes	Best Bits	

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
	8	Evidence of connection - kept in touch with others in group not on trip		
	9	Good friends		
	10	Accepting community in group - space to speak about problems and not problems	Accepting Atmosphere (Supportive group environment)	'Not problems' – may be things that they are worried about but learn are not problems from sharing in the group
	11	Friends		
	12	Lifelong friendships		
	13	Meet new people		
	14	Got friends		Sometimes the group is the first experience of having a friend group. Also reflected by P6 staff.
	15	Friendship		
	16	Friendships from group not judged - or judge but not negatively, were all the same	Accepting Atmosphere (Supportive Group Environment)	People similar to me
	17	Making friends here grew confidence - I know I can make friends easily	Confidence	Connection leads to confidence
	18	Open up more with the group – 'be weird together'	Positive identity (I can be me)	People similar to me
	19	All similar unlike school judgemental and trying to be better, can be honest here	Accepting Atmosphere (OK to be myself). Youth-Centric Space (Not School)	People similar to me
	20	One person opening up helps us to do the same		Ok to open up be vulnerable. other groups talked about opening up e.g., P4, P2, P12. This was also an expression of confidence – being willing to open up.
P6008/6009	1	Group is very close - we foster that. People who don't get along don't last. Often this is their main social group – young people don't have a lot of other friends.	Leader/Adult Behaviours	Friendship when they may not have others. The group is the main source of connection - and intentionality about connection in group - not accidental.

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
P6008/6009	2	Connections last beyond programme help each other in tough times. Huge at times, have people they can talk to and a place to talk and have a voice when they don't have elsewhere. Chance to be themselves.	Positive identity (I can be me) Accepting Atmosphere (OK to be myself).	
P6FG	1	Camps place of bonding more than Monday nights		This young person identified finding it hard to make friends more time for relaxation at camp so have the chance to build deeper bonds.
	2	Make friends		
	3	Make friends		
	4	Over time people at camp become some of best friends in life		Social connection not available elsewhere. But also demonstrates the importance of these connections for some young people. Camps are infrequent but have the power to create best friends for some young people.
	5	Talk to them about anything	Accepting Atmosphere (Supportive group environment)	Openness
	6	Learn to make friends -not good at this. Get feedback if you're annoying, but nicely.	People skills	Reflection of one young person of social struggles and role of the group in providing learning and feedback not available elsewhere. Skills but also about the connections in the group and the nature of these as sticking with young people and taking the time to help them learn.
	7	Friendships from working together		
	8	Friendship through doing cool stuff together	Youth-Centric Space (Relevant Activities)	Role of activities
P7FG:	1	Friendships and bonding in group different experience from elsewhere		
	2	People different to me, friends outside of my sphere. Confidence to make friends with different people.	Confidence	People different to me. The idea of different people was important to some young people but similar peers for others.

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
P7FG:	3	Friendship		
	4	Friendship		
	5	Connect with people wouldn't have known otherwise. Nice to have support and know they've got your back - people who care outside of family. Support in group.	Accepting Atmosphere (Supportive group environment)	people different from me, support. For this group connections family like. Also identified P10, P3, P14.
	6	Comfortable with each other makes it safe to be vulnerable	Accepting Atmosphere (OK to be myself)	Comfortable safe connections gained but also the nature of these shapes how the group is
	7	Grow close - makes a safe environment to talk about anything	Accepting Atmosphere (OK to be myself)	
	8	Connecting important - learn skills and all need to be on the same page	Accepting Atmosphere (Shared goals and motivation)	Connection supports skill development
	9	Everyone accepting non-judgemental- 'roast each other sometimes', but know how to deal with each other and different moods	Accepting Atmosphere (Supportive group environment)	

Table E6 identifies those that did not discuss peer connection.

Table E6

Interviews and Focus Groups that did not Discuss People Skills

Not Discussed	Reflections and Ideas
P1002	Individual mentoring participant. Less opportunities for peer connection. Adult connections discussed.
P12001	Discussion more focused on individual and whānau development
P8003	More about people skills and belonging - overlaps with peer connection but not specifically

Table E7 presents a sample from the interesting quotes node

Table E7

Chart Sample Interesting Quotes

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
P1001	1	The most important thing to achieving outcomes is being heard. Everything else comes from that “unless you can voice that, unless you can be true to yourself then none of that matters”.	Agency Positive identity	For this person seen as most important outcomes. Recognition from a number of staff (P2, P5, P6, P8, P10) that young people are often not heard in other spaces and the importance of programmes for supporting young people to be heard, but also that this is valued
P1002	1	When you know yourself you can then be empowered in other places, feel capable and know your strengths. Programme helps to do this.	Positive identity Confidence	Importance of programmes as places to explore and develop self. This then leads to strength in identity and the ability to show this elsewhere.
P2001/P2002	1	A lot of society targeted at middle age and privileged groups. Young people not valued. Important that they have places where they are taken seriously.	Youth-Centric Space	Programmes take young people seriously which helps them to find their voice. These staff talked about young people in the programme developing the confidence to speak up about injustice.
P3001 Staff	1	Everyone has different goals and wants to gain different things and does that at different times. Young people can do that and move onto the next one and develop self- awareness and find their identity and direction. This is more important than achieving every goal.	Flexible and tailored Positive identity	Again, highlights identity as key but that this might look different for different people. Programme flexes around this to be specific but under the general umbrella of people finding themselves and their passions. Shows an example of balancing specificity and generalisability.
P4 FG	1	Happy from skills, know what parenting is and how to do it, become a better person and not alone. This means we are now more resilient and care less about what other people think of us.	Skills Confidence	Skills lead to positive affect and confidence. But also, this sense of getting it right means they feel more self-worth. Possibly also countering negative stereotypes of young parents.

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
P5001	1	Belonging and connection most important. That is what we lack elsewhere. Belonging helps us in our “journey of being human in our life and its things were not taught a lot of the time and things that often are taken away from us. And often the opposite of them are being placed in society. For example, like not being comfortable in your own skin. We have a lot of that kind of stuff, like being said over and over in society, especially in like different industries and whatnot”.	Connection Positive identity Outcomes importance	Powerful quote about the role of programmes for connection and identity and that this is lacking for so many young people elsewhere. The quote suggests this isn’t just about the LGBTQI+ community for this young person but about messages from society about how to be. Programmes help young people to put that aside and be comfortable in their own skin.
P6FG	1	Programme attracts a lot of people with social problems so we have to learn to be tolerant.	Skills	Also noted by staff member from this group P6001. This can be challenging but also the value of these groups for youth who do struggle socially. Interesting that the group just accepts this and notes that it is something they learn to deal with – evidence of their tolerance and an accepting atmosphere. These people are not ostracised, but everyone patiently supports and offers feedback. Programmes possibly fill a very important gap in provision. Can be a challenge for staff to juggle all of this.
P6008/P6009 Staff	1	Each group changes. What is important now will be different in two years’ time. It will be very difficult to identify an outcomes framework.	Reflections on the sector	This is a useful point for considering outcomes and measurement. Speaks to tension between specificity and generalisability. Frameworks and measurement need to account for both.
P7FG	1	“Just like really accepted in your own skin you know its priceless and it doesn’t cost much and I get that here every time I walk in.”	Accepting Atmosphere Connection	The value of the group for acceptance and being oneself. It appears rare for young people to get this elsewhere and they really value it in groups. It is a key thing they gain and a key part of the experience.

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
P8005 Staff	1	Young person came in struggling, closed off, swearing angry. Now laughs, which is a big thing. "And she'll laugh for like five minutes straight, it's beautiful."	Happiness	Importance of positive affect and happiness as an indicator of change.
P9FG	1	Judge Judy. Here we have people coming to us for advice. Respect compared to discrimination outside. We are seen as change makers.	Agency	Programme is a place to have agency and make change. Young people may not have these opportunities elsewhere to be given a platform. P7 also spoke about this. But this is particularly important for this group who identify discrimination elsewhere.
P10FG	2	"Got what it feels like to have your family with you." Leaving programme like leaving home country again.	Connection	Demonstrates the depth and value of connections for young people and the significant role programmes play for these to develop. Where else would they find this? Also, the importance of similar peers – finding their tribe for some groups.
P11FG		"We provide kids with a safe space to be themselves without fear or judgement."	Accepting Atmosphere Positive identity	Amazing summary of the programme from a young person. Highlights role of programme in identity development and accepting atmosphere.
P1204	1	Programme took us back to our roots. Wave lost so much of our culture in this modern world and we lose where we come from and the struggles of our parents from the islands. We remembered this on the programme and it humbled us.	Cultural identity	This programme was unique in this approach but connecting with culture was noted as valuable by all participants in this programme. The ability to connect with whakapapa and culture helped young people to put their lives and actions into perspective. This sense of cultural identity was key to making change, which was enacted through aligning with values.
P13 FG	1	Seen as mature now by teachers because of their role in the school. Feel grown and prepared for the big world.	Connection (Adults) Future focus	Young people felt very grown up to be valued. Helped them to step up. In the group they reflected being aware of how their behaviours might affect younger peers. Recognition of their role and value by others had helped them to take the role seriously but also helped them to feel ready to face

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
				the future. Being valued and recognised is important.
P1415	1	Young people come in not confident and not knowing each other. Bond grows over time and faith development but still inner focused. By the end branching out, taking leadership and responsibility helping others.	Confidence Skills Giving back	Interesting charting of growth of the group over time. Shy, group focused and then later on able to give back. Confidence leads to giving back. May also link to idea of Contribution as an Overarching construct in the Five Cs. This pattern may not be as clear in other groups, but many do structure giving back later into the programme. Perhaps reflecting this development from self to other focus. May also be a difference between structure giving back and self-motivated giving back. This programme had structured giving back from day 1, but this quote talks about self-motivated. May link to others talking about role modelling to siblings, peers and children (P2, P3, P4, P9, P13, P12).

Table 8 presents a sample from the node of 'not otherwise coded'.

Table E8

Chart Sample Not Otherwise Coded

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
P1002	1	JM question about young what type of business the young person wants to start		
P2FG	1	Young person asks if they can take their drawing home (They can – I will take a photo of it)		
P3002	1	JM summarising outcomes of careers, participating in community, not settling		

Interview/Group Number	Instance number	Quotation Summary	Links to Other nodes	Reflective Ideas
P32 FG	1	Joke between members in the group (Star Wars theme about dark side). All laugh.		
P4FG	1	Young people talking about details of a case of shaken baby. (They had previously discussed skill of learning about this and how to hold and play with baby safely).		
	2	Young people ask me where I get all my questions from. If I have them written down or make them up. I tell them it's a bit of both.		
P63FG	1	Group recalling funny time together, where someone spilled their ice-cream		Evidence of strong connection, but also this was discussed directly elsewhere Banter and gentle teasing in the group.
P6008/P6009	1	Leaders suggesting other people for me to contact		
P7FG	1	Group discussing the back-story of their fictional group member: "We've got his signature, we've got his leather (unclear). He died at the age of 32." "Did he live a good life?" "He had a whole character development" "He's got 2 kids"		Evidence of easy nature of the group – banter and comfort in the space with me there. They enjoyed the activity.

Appendix F: Master Chart Example

The master chart was created in an excel spreadsheet. All themes were along the top of the sheet with data from each focus group/interview summarised in order below.

The example presented here is split into two tables. Table F1 shows the nine programme outcomes and summaries of quotations. Table F2 shows remaining data, including unintended outcomes, outcomes prevalence and importance, programme processes, PYD definitions, not otherwise coded, interesting quotations, research reflections and notes from visual data. Sub-themes in both tables are highlighted in bold.

The data in these tables comes from three different youth focus groups. This is done to protect programme confidentiality but shows how the master chart was constructed. Descriptions of programmes, their aims and values, and reflections on the programme/sector are also not included in this example to protect confidentiality.

Table F1

Master Chart Outcomes

Skills	Achievement	Giving Back	Agency	Confidence	Future Focus	Positive Affect	Connection	Positive Identity
Task, Leadership, People, Personal	Achievement, Completion, Celebration	Helping and contributing, Benefits	Independence, Having a voice, Challenging stereotypes, Something to offer	Sources, Expressions, Impacts	Preparation for the future, Hope	Pride, Fun, Happiness	Peer, Belonging, Community, Organisation, Adults, Family/Whānau	Know who I am, Pursue Passions, I can be me, Failure/vulnerability ok. Cultural identity, Self-worth, Values & attitudes
Task: Education skills, financial. Leadership: Leadership, set examples and be a person others can rely on. Show leadership, tackle any situation and get things done. People: Outgoing, communication skills, empathy relating to others, teamwork, social and approachable. Social skills used at home and in community. Contribution opportunities build skills to work with others, useful for jobs and school. Community interaction creates communication skills and teamwork skills. Personal: Maturity, smarter life choices, more productive, life skills	Achievement: Academic achievement. Get good at things from repetition. .	Helping and contributing: help the community. Volunteer and work experience. Example of making a mural for the community. Keeping others safe. Have a role in family, make good choices, do things without being asked and good role model to siblings. Benefits: Feel blessed, successful and competent from helping.	Independence: Able to think for self not relying on others. Having a voice: Use their voice, be heard, and right to speak freely. Able to share ideas and be comfortable and empowered. Feel part of the community. Having something to offer. Feels good to do something for the community. Can influence friends and family - 'positive ripple effects'.	Sources: Programme creates confidence. Knowing who you are and what you want leads to confidence. Expressions: Ready to take on the world. Confident in front of a group, not doubting self, self-belief. Assertive tone of voice - how you hold yourself around others. Not feeling thrown in new situations. Open minded. Impacts: Be a role model others can depend on them.	Preparation: Teaches you to aim high work hard. Work experience realistic, not a fantasy. Good future. Jobs and scholarships, promotion, public figure - all evidence of a good future. Programme leads to positive future - wealthy, wise decisions, helping others. Hope: Hope, dream big, potential. Dream catcher, ‘catches his dreams and achieves high’. Potential.	Pride: Satisfaction from giving back. Fun: Humour. Happiness: Happiness over time from being in group. Happiness from belonging. Happy when you are confident.	Peers: Connecting with people from different communities, different schools. People connection is the best - find things in common and don’t feel like strangers. Supported. Connections at camp - meet similar young people who understand what you go through and stereotypes. Connections assist self-reflection - see if we want to take on the traits that others have. Learn from others. Adults: Coordinators relatable and help you be more you. Mentors are people you can talk to and they share their lives with you. Parents you might get a hiding. Mentors inspire you to be the best version of you. Mentor is a different person to what I am used to. Helped me learn more about different people. Community: Connect to people in wider community. Helps to interact with people of other cultures and backgrounds skills for community and jobs.	Know who I am: Pride, know what they’re doing, solid. I can be me: Strength is behaving maturely, respecting and liking yourself. Learned how to be herself. Failure and vulnerability ok: Learn from mistakes. Will communicate when struggling. Cultural identity: Pride in ourselves and culture. Self-worth: Mana, self-love and loving others. Having high standards and aiming high. Self-pride. Values and Attitudes: Role models to younger children. Dedicated, responsible respectful, manners, maturity, faith, courtesy consideration, integrity, loyal, humble, considerate. Changed lifestyle. Better person likes to put a smile on other faces. 'Looks scary but inside a teddy bear' (Hard and tough but group has softened the person). 'Like a coconut, hard on the outside, sweet on the inside. Hard working, Changing lifestyle. Human rights, humble, helpful honest. Responsible, trustworthy. Take care of stuff, own up, look after others, know right from wrong, initiative. Leads to pride, being brainy believable and trustworthy (also overwhelmed).

Table F2

Master Chart Remaining Data

Unintended Outcomes	Outcomes Prevalence	Outcomes Importance	Youth-Centric Space	Accepting Atmosphere	Leader/Adult Behaviours	PYD Definitions/ Indicators	Not otherwise Coded	Interesting Quotes	Researcher reflections	Visual Data notes
	Prevalent outcomes, Depends on the person		Relevant activities, Youth taken seriously/valued. Youth leading, Flexible/tailored, Not school, Freedom, Physical space, Accessible	Safe, OK to be myself, Shared goals/motivation, Supportive group environment	Friendly and relatable. Role models, Supportive					
Overwhelmed – (responsibility and being trustworthy can be overwhelming?)	Prevalent Outcomes: Friends and food. Depends on the person: Different kind of confidence depending on the person. Not everyone gets the same thing but it will help.	Confidence -because you know what you vibe on.	Relevant activities: Meetings include event planning, volunteering managing and meeting new people. We experience leadership rather than listening about it. Face challenges that help us grow. Resilience helps us bounce back. Youth leading: We contribute our ideas. Being an influencer creates leadership. Accessible: Food. Hospitality.	OK to be myself: People get a vibe that its ok to be loud, or laugh or quiet, ok to be yourself. Shared goals and motivation: Have to have a dream to make it work - 'teamwork makes the dream work.' All of us here want to help the community. Same goals. Supportive group: Person encouraged - created confidence. Belonging, family space. Place other than school or home to belong is a big deal. Comfortable in group - builds confidence. Good vibe, happy people, role model to each other. Group is a happy place where people want to come. Everyone open.	Friendly and relatable: Encouragement so we feel welcomed. Supportive: We face consequences to learn our lesson. Role models: Good role models.	Depends on the person - no certain way of developing, everyone is different. Relationships with families, friends and themselves, especially self - embracing culture and roots. The way you present to other people.	Questions from JM	“And [programme] made them a happy person. As [name] said before it was a very happy, family sort of place here, so having a place other than school and home where they belong is a big thing for them.”	The idea of the group as a safe space to learn skills and gain confidence seemed important. The group seemed very respectful of different personalities and had learned how to work well together. They were aware of their shared goals and each person could be themselves. This was a key part of the programme. A couple of the group referred to challenges outside or socially and the group provided an important place to learn social skills and a respite from challenges outside.	Drawings not as decorated as some other groups. One young person wanted to complete the activity alone and was keen to express their personal experience. They felt they had gained a lot from the group and wanted to share this. For this person organisation connection was important.

Appendix G: Code Counts

This Appendix contains two code count reports from NVivo, one showing coding overlaps and the other showing code counts for each outcome from each interview/focus group.

Coding Overlaps

Table G1 shows coding overlaps between the nine outcomes and between outcomes and processes. This helps to visually show some of the relationships discussed in the findings. Whilst some overlaps may be due to coding choices, they also represent conceptual links between ideas. In particular, the strong links between connection, positive identity and other outcomes can be seen, as well as the strong links between these two outcomes and the programme processes. These links help to show why connection and positive identity were grouped as Relational Outcomes which were important outcomes but were also key parts of the programme experience and linked to all other outcomes. These links are highlighted in the chart. Other strong links between skills and confidence, skills and future focus, and skills and agency are seen, as well as links between a Youth-Centric Space and skills. Links between agency and confidence and agency and giving back were also strong. All of these links are also highlighted.

Table G1

Coding Overlaps Between Outcomes and Between Outcomes and Processes

	Skills	Achievement	Giving back	Agency	Confidence	Future focus	Positive affect	Connection	Positive identity	Accepting Atmosphere	Leader/ Adult Behaviours	Youth Centric Space
Skills		15	20	27	32	39	8	41	58	12	7	29
Achievement	15		7	10	15	17	15	5	22	3	6	10
Agency	27	10	26		23	15	10	26	35	6	5	18
Giving back	20	7		26	10	17	14	33	39	7	4	6
Confidence	32	15	10	23		17	10	31	62	13	3	10
Future focus	39	17	17	15	17		4	9	37	2	4	11
Positive affect	8	15	14	10	10	4		23	26	8	6	16
Connection	41	5	33	26	31	9	23		70	75	35	63
Positive identity	58	22	39	35	62	37	26	70		45	18	39

Code Counts

Table G2 shows code counts for each of the nine outcomes identified in the data broken down by interview/focus group. A '0' indicates that this outcome was not discussed in a particular interview or focus group, and these are highlighted in Table 2. Numbers identify how many excerpts related to a particular outcome. This table helps to highlight similarity in outcome perception, as most outcomes were discussed by all interviews and focus groups. In particular, skills, connection and positive identity were discussed in all interviews and focus groups, helping to highlight their role as key outcomes. Confidence, another key outcome, was discussed by all but three interviews and focus groups. Outcomes that are not discussed are clustered in programmes in some instances. This may highlight that an outcome is not a particular focus of a programme and may also highlight agreement and similarity between youth and staff. For example, none of the interviews from P12 discuss the outcome of agency, which had child nodes of independence, challenging stereotypes and making change and having a voice. This may reflect the Te Ao Māori lens of the programme which prioritised values around self-care and mana enhancement for collective wellbeing, which fit more with themes of positive identity and giving back.

Table G2

Counts of codes

	Skills	Achievement	Agency	Giving back	Confidence	Future focus	Positive affect	Connection	Positive identity
P1001	2	5	7	3	2	4	0	9	9
P1002	3	0	6	1	5	1	0	7	13
P2001/P2002	4	6	5	4	9	4	1	9	6
P2FG	20	3	1	4	7	5	2	11	14
P3001	18	2	1	1	4	8	2	8	14
P32FG	23	0	6	4	14	2	6	17	12
P3002	5	4	11	7	5	11	2	6	8
P3FG	38	3	3	10	4	10	6	7	40
P4001	12	7	2	0	7	5	0	10	3
P4FG	28	2	5	2	4	3	1	9	9

	Skills	Achievement	Agency	Giving back	Confidence	Future focus	Positive affect	Connection	Positive identity
P5001	9	0	7	6	2	3	0	5	9
P5002	3	0	5	5	3	1	2	4	9
P5003	2	0	1	5	6	1	2	12	7
P5004	1	1	0	2	0	2	0	14	8
P5005	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	4
P6001	1	3	0	1	5	1	2	1	2
P6FG	28	0	0	1	0	3	8	8	5
P6208/6209	6	1	2	0	5	6	0	4	11
P62FG	15	2	2	0	8	2	1	20	11
P7FG	21	4	6	7	5	6	7	21	5
P8001	2	2	0	0	2	2	3	9	4
P8002	2	5	1	4	4	0	11	17	14
P8003	5	2	3	0	9	2	0	7	2
P8004	4	1	0	0	6	2	3	3	7
P8005	2	2	6	3	2	3	3	8	8
P9FG	6	3	15	8	8	3	6	17	10
P10003	8	3	3	0	5	0	1	5	11
P10 FG	6	0	1	2	6	2	2	10	7
P11 FG	28	3	0	3	2	6	3	23	4
P1120	13	4	2	1	10	3	5	3	11
P112FG	12	4	3	2	6	2	5	4	5
P12001	2	3	0	3	2	1	0	2	8
P12002/12003	15	1	0	5	3	6	0	9	20
P1204	7	1	0	1	2	1	1	8	7
P1205	6	2	0	2	5	1	2	4	6
P1305	9	0	1	2	3	3	1	9	4
P13FG	13	1	4	7	11	3	7	15	7

	Skills	Achievement	Agency	Giving back	Confidence	Future focus	Positive affect	Connection	Positive identity
P1415	5	0	0	3	6	0	4	7	7
P14FG	1	0	0	5	4	0	2	6	8

Appendix H: Example of Cultural Reflection

This Appendix shows an example of my reflections based on discussions from a meeting with a cultural advisor.

I had wanted to better understand the concept of mana, as it had featured as a key value of one of the programmes in the study (P12) and is a key concept in Te Ao Māori.

The advisor tasked me with reflecting on the karakia 'Manawa mai' and suggested that to understand other's mana I needed to understand my own. This karakia is used as an opening for gatherings and helps to bring people together.

Below is the karakia, a translation, and my reflective notes, about this karakia. These show some of the development of my understanding of the concept of mana. These reflections were discussed further at our next meeting.

Karakia

Manawa mai te mauri nuku
Manawa mai te mauri rangi
Ko te mauri kai au
He mauri tipua
Ka pakaru mai te pō
Tau mai te mauri
Haumi e, hui e, taiki e

Embrace the life force of the earth
Embrace the life force of the sky
The life force I have gathered is powerful
And shatters all darkness
Come great life force
Join it, gather it, it is done

Definitions (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.)

- Manawa – heart of a person.
- Mana - prestige and authority but also one's spiritual power through birth. Mana is individual and collective.
- Wa - is about time season, place and space.
- Mai - is about extending through time space and direction and indicates direction towards

Reflections

It may be that the heart is the space, time and place of mana. Doing things with a good heart, linking to intention. This enhances mana, but in order to enhance mana we also have to think of time, space and direction, both towards and away; being ready to both give and receive and enter into reciprocal relationships. This also implies thinking about time – not just the here and now.

Manawa mai – might be about the exchange and inter-relationship of heart and mana between people and groups in the present but also extending from the past and into the future. Mana is systemic and is about obligations to others across time and place.

In the karakia this is also about the exchange between people and environment and between people and spirituality/ancestors. We need to have reciprocal relationships with all of these areas that span time for mana to be maintained and enhanced. How do we do this in our current world? It also recognises place and spirituality as sources of mana. How much do we know about our sources of mana? This makes me think about my own connections to the natural world and understanding of my ancestors and the journey they were on for me to be where I am today.

Mauri is life force and this part may be about acknowledging the life essence in self, others, and in gatherings. The power of the life force may be about the power of all of these elements collectively.

Manawa mai might also be about the exchange and inter-relationship and inviting positive life energy and heart into the gathering or activity.

In youth development we often talk about manaaki. This is about hospitality and care.

Aki is defined as encouraging and challenging.

This may relate to both support and high expectations to enhance mana.

The karakia may also be a reminder to think about reciprocity in youth development – giving and receiving and being ready to learn.

Thoughts for my research

- Young people wanting to give and receive in programmes – the need to be aware of both and not just see them as receiving support. Some staff in programmes talked about this and having attitudes towards young people that saw their value but also the importance of

creating places where they could contribute (giving back) and have a voice (agency).

Recognise their mana and their capacity to contribute. This is a key part of PYD.

- Outcomes may extend through time and place, for example, young people wanting to support their whānau and future generations. This is about mana enhancement – it is not just a one-off or present focused.
- P12 spoke about all of these areas – ancestors, future generations, reflecting on where you came from and using what you have for self and others. Idea of mana and oneself as part of a broader system.
- Important for programmes to think about these systemic relationships and support young people to explore them to enhance their mana and their sense of fit and belonging.
- Mana may have important links to identity – about the placement of self in relation to people, time environment – this is key to knowing who you are and also links to identity and connection. Knowing self is about knowing place with others and in different spaces.