

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**Getting Insight into the Wellbeing Needs of Māori youth: Perspectives
of Students Attending Alternative Education**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

Psychology

at Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.

Madeleine Amy Haerewa

2020

Whakarāpopotanga: Abstract

This research seeks to explore the wellbeing needs of rangatahi Māori (Māori youth) who attend alternative education (AE) in New Zealand (NZ). Rangatahi Māori have a significant disadvantage compared to non-Māori due to disparities in educational attainment and mental health standing. Rangatahi Māori who attend AE are at an even greater disadvantage as they have been excluded from mainstream education, and in attending AE, are identified as a population of youth displaying the highest proportion of health-risk behaviours in NZ. This research produces evidence that holistic approaches to wellbeing are needed to improve outcomes for rangatahi Māori.

The study develops a methodological framework for a Māori-centred research praxis, using pūrākau as a form of narrative inquiry and photo-elicitation as an ancillary tool in facilitating rangatahi Māori voices. Both rangatahi Māori and their AE tutor's perspectives are collected through kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face interviews) and focus groups. Key findings identify a range of wellbeing needs for rangatahi Māori, in their whānau (family), school and personal life, after they have navigated mainstream education and are placed within AE environments. Findings demonstrate the importance of rangatahi Māori feeling connected in their relationships and with their environment. This includes relationships with their whānau, tutors, romantic relationships, friendships and connection to their school environment. Rangatahi Māori need to have positive connections with the people in their life and their environment to best support their wellbeing. Findings indicate that whānau-like environments within AE promote school engagement. Furthermore, rangatahi Māori are advantaged when their connections and networks in the greater community are facilitated through their whānau-like relationships within AE. This thesis contributes new knowledge about the wellbeing needs of rangatahi Māori and concludes that a wider pūnaha hauropi (socio-ecological system) approach should be considered to optimise the wellbeing of rangatahi Māori who have or are at risk of experiencing school disenfranchisement.

Dedication

For Taria, Ariana and Izayah

Mihimihi: Acknowledgements

I am indebted to many people, without whom I could not have completed this thesis. Thank you to my whānau for always being there for me. Your unwavering support, encouragement and patience has given me the courage to complete this study. I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Kerry Chamberlain, Dr Simon Bennett and Dr Hukarere Valentine for your direction, expertise and support over the years. Without your guidance, insight and encouragement this study would not have been possible. To Te Rau Puawai and the Pūrehuroa office of deputy vice chancellor Māori, thank you for sharing this journey with me and your manaaki and tautoko throughout this process. Most importantly I would like to thank the participants and AE providers that participated in my study. Many thanks to Scott Samson for your support throughout this journey and to the rangatahi and AE tutors. You were always very accommodating and made me feel welcome. I can only hope to honour your stories and feel privileged I was allowed to be part of your life for a brief moment in time. You were all very inspiring.

Whakataki: Preface

Ko Matawhaura toku maunga

Ko Rotoiti tōku moana

Ko Te Arawa tōku waka

Ko Ngāti Pīkiao tōku iwi

Ko Ngāti Kawiti tōku hapū

Ko Tapuaeharuru tōku marae

Ko Stephen Albert tōku matua tāne

Ko Taratara tōku maunga

Ko Matauri tōku moana

Ko Mataatua tōku waka

Ko Ngāpuhi tōku iwi

Ko Ngāti kura tōku hapū

Ko tapui tōku marae

Ko Tina-Marie Sharman tōku whaea

Ko Madeleine Haerewa tōku ingoa

The basis for this research originally stemmed from my passion and interest in working with young people. I have been working as a child and adolescent psychologist in Australia and NZ over the last ten years and have developed a particular interest in the empowerment of rangatahi. After returning home from working in Australia I began to see rangatahi for therapy in Auckland. I came across several rangatahi Māori (Māori youth) who had attended AE or were still attending. I began to notice common stories of positive AE experiences with tutors, activities and school engagement. Some of these rangatahi Māori were facing significant challenges in their lives, but they were still able to talk positively about AE. I found their stories inspiring and motivating. I was curious to learn more about rangatahi who attended AE, their school experiences and to explore their particular wellbeing needs and so began my journey into this research project.

Throughout this thesis the use of Māori words are used. For ease of reading, English translations are provided directly after a Māori word appears for the first time in each chapter. There is also a glossary of Māori to English words at the back of the thesis that the reader can refer to. Rangatahi is the Māori word for adolescent and is attributable to adolescents of all cultural backgrounds. Also to assist the ease of reading, rangatahi in this thesis is in reference to adolescent Māori. All names of participants have been changed to protect confidentiality. Human ethics approval for this study was granted by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

Rārangi Upoko: Table of Contents

WHAKARĀPOPOTANGA: ABSTRACT	III
DEDICATION	V
MIHIMIHI: ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	VII
WHAKATAKI: PREFACE	VIII
RĀRANGI UPOKO: TABLE OF CONTENTS	X
RĀRANGI WHAKAHEKE ME NGĀ HOAHOA: LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	XIII
CHAPTER ONE: AN INTRODUCTION TO RANGATAHI ATTENDING ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND	13
ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION PROVISION	13
SIGNIFICANCE: WHY STUDY ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION	15
TE AO MĀORI VALUES AND ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN	16
CURRENT CONCERNS FOR RANGATAHI IN AE AND RATIONALE FOR THIS STUDY.....	17
RANGATAHI WELLBEING NEEDS	19
DEFINING WELLBEING	20
MĀORI IN EDUCATION	22
DISENFRANCHISED YOUTH.....	25
AT-RISK YOUTH.....	26
RANGATAHI IN AE.....	28
RESEARCH OVERVIEW	29
CHAPTER TWO: DEVELOPING A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING THE WELLBEING NEEDS OF RANGATAHI IN ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION	31
WESTERN MODELS OF WELLBEING – SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE WELLBEING	31
<i>Subjective Wellbeing</i>	31
<i>Objective Wellbeing</i>	34
EXPLORING MĀORI PERSPECTIVES OF WELLBEING.....	38
<i>Māori Cultural Identity and Wellbeing</i>	42
SCHOOL AND WELLBEING	47
HOW CAN WELLBEING NEEDS BE MET FOR MĀORI IN AE?	49
CURRENT WELLBEING CHALLENGES FOR AE STUDENTS.....	52
SUMMARY	56
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	58
INTRODUCTION	59
A MĀORI APPROACH.....	59

RANGATAHI PERSPECTIVES	65
TUTOR PERSPECTIVES	67
PHOTO-ELICITATION	68
NARRATIVE INQUIRY	70
SUMMARY	73
CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS	75
RESEARCH PROCESSES	75
PHASE ONE: RANGATAHI INTERVIEWS.....	75
<i>Participants</i>	75
<i>Recruitment</i>	76
<i>Data Collection</i>	76
PHASE TWO: TUTOR FOCUS GROUPS.....	78
<i>Participants</i>	79
<i>Recruitment</i>	79
<i>Data Collection</i>	79
ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	80
NARRATIVE ANALYSIS	83
CHAPTER FIVE: NGĀ PŪRĀKAU O NGĀ HARAKEKE	88
WHANAUNGATANGA	90
MĀORITANGA AND MĀTAURANGA MĀORI	98
SPENDING TIME TOGETHER.....	102
KNOWLEDGE, ADVICE AND SUPPORT	105
SUMMARY	110
CHAPTER SIX: TĀNE-TE-WĀNANGA.....	111
TE KETE TUATEA	113
<i>Mokemoke</i>	113
<i>Ngā taunekeneke</i>	115
<i>Rāwaho</i>	118
TE KETE TUAURI.....	121
<i>Āhurutanga</i>	122
<i>Meeting basic needs</i>	125
<i>Making the Educational Environment Engaging</i>	128
<i>Meeting Emotional Needs</i>	129
TE KETE ARONUI.....	130
<i>Tiakitanga</i>	130
<i>Cultural Awareness</i>	132
<i>Matatiki</i>	134

SUMMARY	136
CHAPTER SEVEN: TĪ KŌUKA.....	137
MANAWAROA.....	138
<i>Adaptability</i>	138
<i>Cohesiveness</i>	144
MOTUHAKETANGA	149
<i>Managing Emotions Independently</i>	150
<i>Seeking Personal Relationships with Peers</i>	154
<i>Mahi Tahi (Working Together as One)</i>	157
TINO RANGATIROTANGA.....	158
SUMMARY	161
CHAPTER EIGHT: A SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL VIEW OF WELLBEING	162
WE NOT I.....	163
EVERYONE NOT JUST US.....	168
LOOKING THROUGH A SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL LENS.....	171
TURUKITANGA: EPILOGUE	177
RĀRANGI KUPU MĀORI: GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS	179
RĀRANGA PUKAPUKA: REFERENCES.....	183
APPENDIX I: RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEETS	208
STUDENT INFORMATION SHEET	210
ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION TUTOR INFORMATION SHEET	212
APPENDIX II: HUMAN ETHICS APPLICATION APPROVAL	214
APPENDIX III: RESEARCH BOOKLET	216

Rārangi Whakaheke Me Ngā Hoahoa: List of Tables and Figures

List of Tables

Table 1: Māori Wellbeing Models.....	42
Table 2: Kaupapa Māori Principles	61
Table 3: Cultural and Ethical Values.....	80

List of Figures

Figure 1: Pūrākau/Takarangi Framework.....	73
Figure 2: Tama visiting his sister in Wellington	105
Figure 3: Set of weights Ethan uses to work out with his brother.....	106
Figure 4: AE students playing cards with their tutors at break time	125
Figure 5: Lunch provided by AE provider	126
Figure 6: Tama recording music with a local community organisation	129
Figure 7: AE classroom	131
Figure 8: Tī kōuka tree outside Kahu’s window at home.....	137
Figure 9: Dean looking out the window at AE into his local community	144
Figure 10: Close female friend	148
Figure 11: Packet of cigarettes in the bedroom	151
Figure 12: Marijuana joint used to manage emotions	152
Figure 13: Picture of AE workbooks.....	161

Chapter One: An Introduction to Rangatahi Attending Alternative Education in New Zealand

This thesis presents findings from a qualitative research study of rangatahi Māori who attend alternative education (AE) and their tutors. It highlights the ways in which the participants in the study view rangatahi wellbeing and aspects of their life that may affect their healthy development. Through interviews and focus groups, the insights collected provide a detailed understanding of aspects contributing to the wellbeing of rangatahi disenfranchised from mainstream education. A Māori-centred research approach is implemented to explore the narratives of rangatahi and their tutors.

This introductory chapter provides the rationale for this study and an overview of the thesis. It begins with the context of the study, including the significance of rangatahi in AE. Then analysis of key term definitions is presented including ‘at-risk youth’, ‘disenfranchised youth’ and ‘wellbeing’. As already mentioned, the theoretical background used in this study is a Māori-centred approach, as well as narrative inquiry and utilises the concept of student voice, which is briefly outlined. The chapter then proceeds to explain the aims and objectives of the study and finishes with an overview of how the research was conducted.

Alternative Education Provision

In the 1980s, a shift in educational providers was observed. This change broadened the diversity of educational choices for students, in a move away from a one-size-fits-all approach. Alternative education is a broad term with many different schooling types (a multitude of practices and sites) falling under that umbrella. This includes those for students with special needs, at-risk students, advanced-placement students, charter schools and home-schooled children and youth (Van Acker, 2007). AE is a broad term encompassing many different types of educational programs and service delivery models. However, a useful three-fold classification of AE education types is proposed by Raywid (1994). These are: 1, schools of choice that offer innovative learning environments designed to be more challenging and engaging than traditional settings; 2, ‘last chance’ options for students who are at risk of complete school expulsion, including students who are involuntarily assigned or sentenced to attend; and 3, schools of choice that are focused

on students who may need academic and social or emotional remediation. The belief behind these last two types is that with proper treatment, students can be integrated back into traditional education settings (Gable, et al., 2006).

For the most part, the term alternative education in the NZ setting refers to schools that take at-risk student placements. Students who display characteristics that suggest they are likely to drop out, generally, are considered at-risk (Holt, et al., 2008). The success of a student is affected when they drop out of school and/or do not graduate, experience discipline problems and school exclusion. It is clear that traditional school settings are not suitable for all students today (Smith & Thomson, 2014). AE tends to fit largely with Rawid's third type of schools, as the academic curriculum is often taught in the morning with social skills the focus for the afternoon. Students are not 'sentenced' to attend AE in NZ, a feature of Rawid's type two AE school. Therefore in this thesis, AE refers to settings specifically designed for at-risk students that offer both academic and social training with the intention of integrating these students back into mainstream education. These schools have an important purpose in providing opportunities for young people to attain education and live their lives for the better (Hodgman, 2016). AE in NZ is an educational approach that offers another choice for at-risk students.

AE differs from mainstream education in its setting and delivery style. The intent behind the design of AE programmes is to return students into mainstream secondary education or help them transition into a trade programme, tertiary course or employment opportunity. The Education Act 1989 requires the enrolment of students from their 6th to 16th birthday. For those students alienated from mainstream education, AE programmes assist their entry into an approved and safe learning environment that is aligned with the NZ curriculum. Schools involved with AE choose to either work with an external community provider or have the programme conducted at the school site. With the community provider approach, schools enrol the students and oversee their placement. Funding is then given to the community provider to run the AE programme. AE providers are usually able to engage students through their ability to deliver the programme from a different educational approach and by providing tutors of similar cultural backgrounds to the students (Ministry of Education, 2016).

AE in NZ has been developed over the last 21 years, beginning in 1999. The development of AE was a response to school, family and community concerns over the growing numbers of students excluded from mainstream education with few educational options (Denny, Clark, & Watson, 2004). Enrolment in AE occurs between the ages of 13 to 15 (Years 9 to 11). There are approximately 3,500 AE placements in NZ. That amounts to 1.6% of the student population for that age bracket. Placements are distributed across the country according to greatest need. The Ministry of Education is careful not to create a rival educational environment to mainstream education, and students are only offered placements at AE schools if all other avenues have been exhausted. Often by the time these children arrive at AE, they have had a range of negative experiences with mainstream education and disruption to their learning.

Significance: Why Study Alternative Education

Leaving school before finishing can have a detrimental effect on a young person's life and impact on society at large. Numerous studies in Western countries such as Canada, the United States (US), the United Kingdom (UK), and NZ show school drop-outs as representing nearly half of the population in both welfare and prison (Ahrens, et al. 1990; Ewert, et al., 2014; Olcott, 2010). Furthermore, a society that is comprised of large numbers of people lacking in high school education sets the foundation for an ill-prepared workforce, limiting individual potential for young people to successfully transition into maturity and care for themselves and their families (Smith & Thomson, 2014). Of concern is the widening gap between those who can easily fit into mainstream education and those who struggle. Gable et al. (2006) argue this is due to increasing cultural, social and linguistic diversity in segments of the population. Staying engaged in school can also play a crucial factor in facilitating better health outcomes and health-related behaviours later on in life (Amin, et al., 2013). There is a need for educational policy and practice to pay careful attention to these factors in order to prevent further socioeconomic discrepancies and health problems.

Current adolescent health research reveals that AE students have a higher level of mental health needs in comparison to mainstream secondary students (Clark et al., 2010; Johnson & Taliaferro, 2012). More importantly, studies have shown that the mental health needs of AE students are largely unmet (De Jong & Griffiths, 2006; Roberson, 2015). Unmet health needs in youth can lead to academic failure, family disruption, offending and

antisocial behaviour, and often continuing cycles of difficulty in the young person's life. Hackett, et al. (2011) conducted a study investigating the mental health needs of AE students in the UK and their research revealed the high scores of many AE students in disorderly behaviour, and they hypothesised the inappropriate channelling of pupils to AE schools rather than mental health services. This indicates a need for earlier intervention windows for students in mainstream education to identify mental health needs, and signifies the importance of adequate social services and mental health support for AE students.

Te Ao Māori Values and Aspirations for Children

Great importance is placed on the wellbeing needs and care of children in te ao Māori (the Māori world), and this is evident when reflecting on traditional Māori customs. The very first ceremony after a child is born (the maioha ceremony), welcomes pēpi (baby) from the sheltered haven of embryo life to the world of whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe): traditional Māori family and social structures. This celebration is to give thanks to and delight in the birth of the child. Further significant celebrations in the child's life acknowledge how they are prized members of their whānau, hapū and iwi (Mead, 2016). These ceremonies reinforce the overarching principle of traditional child rearing practices, that tamariki (children) are gifts from atua (spiritual beings) and tīpuna (ancestors); therefore, they are tapu (sacred) (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). A Māori world view places the utmost importance on ensuring the wellbeing of children as they are treasured gifts from above.

Te ao Māori places a strong value on meeting the developmental needs of children in order for them to succeed in the adult world. Jenkins and Harte (2011) observed the use of oriori (lullabies) and whakataukī (proverbs) throughout a child's development, to reinforce positive messages and learning to children which instilled a sense of love, security, inquisitiveness and confidence. Children inherit mana (power and prestige) and are treated with respect, due to their fundamental ties to the spiritual world. Traditional child rearing practices within te ao Māori demonstrate how Māori children are valued, loved and adored.

In traditional Māori cultural practices, there was no segmentation between education and family life. When mothers whisper oriori to their unborn children then learning begins in

the womb. Essentially, a child's whole life was training towards preparation for adulthood. From an early age, children learnt games, dances and their parents' roles and tasks to develop their skills. Due to being tapu, children were not allowed to be physically reprimanded by adults, they were untouchable, and this was so they could gain confidence in themselves (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Their environment was a stimulating world supporting the learning of all things needed in adulthood. Parents, aunties, uncles and grandparents were all teachers, and it was the responsibility of all adults to protect and teach children. Those who showed the aptitude and proper whakapapa (lineage) lines were taken to the whare wānanga (house of learning) to be taught oral traditions of waiata (song), karakia (prayer), whakapapa and pūrākau (stories) (Calman, 2012). The intrinsic goals of whānau, hapū and iwi were to support the development of brave, independent and confident children.

In considering an ideal upbringing and educational experience for Māori children in today's society, there would be many of the qualities of traditional Māori practices discussed by Jenkins and Harte (2011). Māori children would grow up in an environment that offers aroha (love), nurture and sustenance, and gave them supportive opportunities to learn, gain confidence and test their abilities safely. An educational environment would offer a sense of belonging not dissimilar to the sense of belonging felt within their families, where they are considered capable and competent of acquiring all the necessary skills and knowledge to progress into adulthood. Both the family and educational environments would foster optimal wellbeing.

Current Concerns for Rangatahi in AE and Rationale for this Study

According to 2009 statistics in NZ, the rate of exclusion from mainstream education among rangatahi was nearly four times higher than that of Pākehā (NZ European) (Clark et al., 2010). Statistics indicate the exclusion of 3.4 rangatahi female students and 7.2 rangatahi male students out of every 1,000 students from mainstream education. This is in comparison to just 0.6 of Pākehā females and 2.1 of Pākehā males per 1,000 who were excluded (Clark et al., 2010). Based on these statistics, it appears that rangatahi are significantly disadvantaged in mainstream schooling. As a result of the growing number of school exclusions, AE programmes are seeking to meet the educational needs of these students.

Rangatahi have a strong presence in AE due to higher Māori exclusion rates, comprising approximately 68.5% of the population within AE environments (Ministry of Education, 2019). AE students present with higher rates of health-risk behaviours and emotional health concerns when compared with mainstream education student populations (Noel et al., 2013), placing rangatahi who attend AE as being ‘at-risk’ per present disparities in health between Māori and non-Māori. The purpose of this study is to understand AE students' wellbeing needs from their perspective to contribute knowledge towards the health development of Māori youth. Few research projects have sought the opinions and perspectives of the ‘at-risk’ students who attend AE schools in NZ and abroad (Clark et al., 2010; De La Ossa, 2005). Moreover, no qualitative research studies explore the specific voices of rangatahi in AE, despite these students dominating the roll in these schools (Clark et al., 2010).

The perspectives of AE tutors have also been sought in this research to provide further insight into the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in AE. Previous research has demonstrated the benefit of teacher perspectives when investigating student wellbeing. Differences between rangatahi and tutor perspectives help to broaden our understanding of student's views on wellbeing. Gaining the perspectives of both students, teachers, and other adults have been useful in previous wellbeing studies of children (Ianes, et al., 2017; Stewart & Sixsmith, 2007). Therefore in this research project, the voices of AE tutors were considered to be important.

Discovering which attributes or strengths can be developed which may protect rangatahi from emotional and behavioural problems, is an understudied area of research. Further, there is a clear need for qualitative research to explore rangatahi and the perceptions of their tutors as to how and why these schools help them to succeed when traditional schools are unable to do so. A subsequent aim of the research is that rangatahi and AE tutor views will be of value in providing practitioners, tutors, and teachers with knowledge relevant to support the design of optimally healthy learning environments. For this thesis I have chosen to focus on adolescent Māori males due to the higher exclusion rates from mainstream education they experience (Clark et al., 2010), and because of the disproportionate amount of male students, as opposed to female, that arrive in AE (Russell & Thomson, 2011). In addition, another concern was the difference in narratives

between males and females, and to ensure that one perspective was not subsumed by another.

Rangatahi Wellbeing Needs

Presently in NZ, rangatahi are more likely to live in poverty, display higher risk factors and are at increased risk of mental distress (Sokratov & O'Brien, 2014). Māori have a proportionately young population; in 2006, the median Māori age was 23 years old, and 35% of Māori were under 15 years old. Māori whānau live in more single-parent households and have more members on average than other ethnic groups (Cunningham, 2011). Co-occurring risk factors for Māori commonly include low socioeconomic status, lower parental education, and higher unemployment (Cunningham, 2011). Pearce, et al. (2004) argue that high mortality and morbidity in indigenous peoples primarily relates to issues of ethnicity rather than race or genetics. These differences are better explained by a wide range of factors such as accessing appropriate and culturally safe health services, the practices of healthcare professionals, costs, location and involvement of Māori in developing health policy and allocation of resources. Ibrahim, et al. (2003) highlight the complex mix of cultural factors, individual preferences and characteristics of healthcare providers, such as stereotyping, bias, and lack of cultural safety, that can lead to disparities in access to care and perpetuate socioeconomic inequalities. Current evidence shows the importance of the ongoing need to reduce health disparities and the social disadvantages of Māori.

Since 1975, rates for primary health problems, such as heart disease and infant mortality, have declined for Māori (Ellison-Loschmann & Pearce, 2006). However, rates for mental illness for Māori have risen (Gassin, 2019) and Māori present with higher levels of mental illness than non-Māori. Often Māori are referred into acute mental healthcare through welfare services or law enforcement channels, bypassing the efforts of early intervention services (Kingi, 2005). This highlights the need for services to be more accessible and appropriate to the needs of Māori. The same issue of accessibility is a significant concern for rangatahi in need of mental health support. More often than not, early intervention attempts bypass rangatahi. As previously argued, rangatahi may be inappropriately perceived as having 'behavioural problems' rather than being in need of mental health support (Hackett et al., 2011). Furthermore, they are less likely to access primary mental

health services (Cunningham, 2011). Like adult Māori, there is a serious concern for the mental wellbeing of rangatahi.

Findings from throughout the Youth 2000 Survey Series and developed by the Adolescent Health Research Group (AHRG) reveal continuing emotional health issues for rangatahi (Simmonds, et al., 2014). According to the 2012 survey findings (Simmonds et al., 2014), 28.7% of rangatahi reported they had self-harmed in the previous 12 months, 18.7% had experienced suicidal thoughts, 13.9% had experienced depressive symptoms, 17.1% had witnessed family violence, 32.3 had experienced physical violence, and 17.7% had experienced sexual coercion. More Māori than NZ European/Pākehā had reported making a suicide attempt in the previous 12 months (Simmonds et al., 2014). According to the survey, health-risk behaviours such as suicide attempts, dangerous driving behaviours, substance use and risky sexual behaviour had reduced since the survey began in 2001. However, the survey sample was taken from the general high school population and did not include AE students who display significantly higher health-risk behaviours (Simmonds et al., 2014).

According to findings throughout the Youth 2000 series, rangatahi show consistently lower levels of educational outcomes than other ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, between 2001 and 2012, there has been no improvement in school engagement or access to health care services for rangatahi (Simmonds et al., 2014). Future outcomes for rangatahi appear to be problematic due to current disparities in health and education. The AHRG believe their Youth 12 results are a reflection of the financial stress of the global financial crisis, which had caused increased parental pressure on being able to provide food for the whānau. Rangatahi are also less likely to find part-time paid employment, and have inadequate access to health care services (Simmonds et al., 2014). These findings emphasise the need for increased access to health care services, as well as school engagement for rangatahi.

Defining Wellbeing

Wellbeing is a broad term that causes tension between psychological and health definitions. Wellbeing is often defined in the context of illness in cases of health (Dear & Wolch, 1987), and is measured in terms of the presence or absence of specific diseases (Helman, 2000). Psychological definitions of optimal wellbeing have indicated that a

person must be fulfilled and contributing to their community (Dodge, et al., 2012). Fleuret and Atkinson (2007) report that wellbeing is often blurred with quality of life, and quality of life measured under wellbeing. For these reasons, researchers consider that conceptualising the two can be quite difficult. However, wellbeing is a multidimensional construct that is widely accepted today.

Wellbeing has been closely associated with psychological functioning and mental health. The domain of psycho-social health, promoted by the positive psychology movement in the US, has contributed to an increase in the use of the term wellbeing in research literature. Rather than viewing wellbeing as relating to physical health, the World Health Organisation (WHO) links mental health and wellbeing in their definition of mental health which is 'a state of wellbeing in which the individual realises his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her community' (World Health Organisation, 2014). There is now a growing body of evidence supporting links between how mental, physical and social health and wellbeing interact with each other (Diener & Lucas, 2000; La Placa, et al., 2013; McGillivray, 2007).

Campion and Nurse (2007) identify links between mental, physical and social health to demonstrate the inter-relationship between risk, protective and environmental factors. They argue that poor mental health significantly increases the risk of poor physical health and premature death and that mental illness is a risk factor associated with specific health conditions such as heart disease, diabetes, respiratory disease and infections. The risk of heart disease is estimated to be twice as high for those diagnosed with depression or mental illness and 1.5 times as high for those who are generally unhappy. Finally, people with mental health problems have more behaviours that are detrimental to overall health, having poor diets, doing less exercise, having unwanted pregnancies, smoking heavily, and misusing drugs and alcohol (Campion & Nurse, 2007).

Diener and Lucas (2000) particularly emphasise cultural differences in wellbeing, which through education, values and societal norms will lead to very different subjective perceptions of wellbeing from one society to another, even by people otherwise seen as having comparable social positions. Their position highlights the importance of recognising Māori views of wellbeing. How Māori interpret their own experiences

through their cultural values and norms is crucial in understanding their wellbeing needs. For this reason, the term ‘wellbeing’ will be used to refer to a holistic view of health in alignment with indigenous constructs of wellbeing. A Māori view of wellbeing is best suited to the present study because of the multidimensionality of the concept as an integrated construct from a Māori perspective. Mātauranga Māori acknowledges the interconnectedness of all beings, which is congruent with contemporary Māori wellbeing models. For example, Durie's (1985) wellbeing model Te Whare Tapa Whā (the four-sided house) views wellbeing from four different dimensions: taha wairua (spiritual), taha hinengaro (mental), taha tinana (bodily) and taha whānau (family).

Durie (1985) addressed three main concerns with health delivery for Māori in the early 1990s. Firstly, Māori were displeased by the overemphasis on physical aspects of health which did not match Māori holistic views, and by medical doctors’ apparent lack of attention to socio-ecological aspects of their practice. Secondly, there was an absence of decision-making by Māori and limited acceptance of Māori views. Thirdly, Māori views of health did not align with simple measures of weight, blood pressure or visual acuity as Māori health perspectives expanded beyond physical factors. Chapter two explores this further and discusses both Western and Māori research approaches to wellbeing.

Māori in Education

Colonialism and Western dominance has played a significant role in shaping the position of Māori in education today. The pattern of indigenous people struggling in Western education can be seen in other countries colonised by the British, such as Australia, the US and Canada (Adams, 1995; Reynolds, 2009; Snow, 1992). In NZ, statistical data has repeatedly displayed disparities in achievement and educational retention between Māori and non-Māori (Titus, 2001). Statistical data from 2019 indicates that Māori students are more than half a curriculum level behind their NZ European counterparts (Ministry of Education, 2019). As stated by Jenkins and Ka’ai (1994), Māori underachievement has become so commonplace that society has accepted it as normal for Māori to fail. To understand Māori in present-day education, under-achievement cannot be viewed without considering the wider historical context of colonisation.

Since their arrival to the shores of NZ, colonialists had the intent of assuming Western dominance and ensuring the subjugation of Māori traditional values, customs and

knowledge. Missionaries were their first attempt to re-educate Māori through Christianity and to civilise them (Stephenson, 2006). There was no acknowledgement of the sophisticated pre-existing Māori education system comprising complex oral traditions. Instead, a Eurocentric approach of racial and cultural superiority was taken, despite their perceived humanitarian intentions (Stephenson, 2006). As Walker (2004) argues, “the missionaries were the cutting edge of colonisation, the advance party to the cultural invasion” (p. 85). Unfortunately, the limited view of Western civilisation offered by Christian bible readings would not and did not prepare Māori for the realities of colonisation.

The efforts of the missionary schools and subsequent assimilation policies, led to the expectation of Māori to accept their natural place in lower socioeconomic status. The missionaries were supported by the Crown administrative State to set up industrial boarding schools to train Māori in Western agriculture, primarily in order for Māori to become labouring wage earners of a Western class system (Simon, 1990). Similarly, the government’s policy of assimilation that gave rise to the Native Schools Act (1867) accentuated the importance of Native Schools to steer Māori towards vocational education, particularly agriculture (Titus, 2001). The Native Schools replaced the missionaries’ failed attempts to civilise and assimilate Māori into Pākehā belief systems (Titus, 2001). Missionary schools were practically deserted after the Māori/Pākehā land wars during the 1860s, as Māori distrust of Pākehā and the NZ Government rose (Titus, 2001).

Under the guise of Native Schools, first established in 1867, the government installed a self-help model of assimilation. Māori were given a practical education and schools were encouraged to influence the whole life of the Māori community. Schools were directed by a committee of Māori representatives to show the appearance of community control. However, the committee’s role was reduced to monitoring daily tasks and budgeting their small financial resources. Despite a policy of non-segregation, a dual system of education began. The Native schools were intended for Māori but did not exclude Pākehā. A second school system established in 1877 was for Pākehā but did not exclude Māori, providing a classically academic curriculum (Stephenson, 2006). Both systems were delivered through Western methods, instructed in English and with the intent of bettering Pākehā and oppressing Māori.

Major decision making that would significantly affect the lives and futures of Māori children have historically not included Māori in decision-making processes. A small number of Māori were allowed to attend denominational high schools to receive their academic education, opening up university as a gateway to the professions (Stephenson, 2006). Parents who understood the advantage of tertiary education became dissatisfied with the education their children were receiving at the Native Schools. Māori parents became increasingly displeased with having a second-best education system (Openshaw, et al., 1993); however, it was not until 1929 that Native primary schools finally adopted the same curriculum as public primary schools.

Another major event, which excluded the views of Māori in education, was the closing of Native schools. The government closed Native Schools in 1967, viewing them as coming to a 'natural end'. In contrast, Mead (1998) contends that because the state closed the Native Schools, they did not come to a natural end. At the time, Native Schools were a focal point for Māori communities, although not in the way that was initially intended by the policy of assimilation. Due to their relative isolation, the Native Schools had become a small site for cultural survival from community input and teacher agency (Smith, 1990). The closing of Native schools demonstrated another repressive function of the education system and without the inclusion of Māori views.

With the closing of Native Schools and increased urban drift from rural areas into cities, Māori had access to mainstream academic education but continued to be disadvantaged by Western cultural dominance. With the urban drift, Māori children did not have access to the collective resources and cultural knowledge that was once readily available to them (Stephenson, 2006). In addition, the disruption of traditional family systems increasingly alienated Māori from their natural support mechanisms. Māori children were not succeeding in mainstream education, and deficit theorising became widespread. Reported underachievement of Māori children was commonly attributed to either deficiencies in the child and/or their home environment. Deficit theory was a common Western academic theory affecting minority cultures (Metge, 2015), another Western concept placed on Māori, furthering the disadvantage and disenfranchisement.

The assimilation and integration agendas of the government led to the cultural oppression of Māori within the education system. The Native Schools Act 1867 declared that English must be the medium of instruction in these schools. As time went by the use of Māori language was prohibited from being spoken at school, even in the playground. Oppression of the Māori language left it at risk of becoming non-existent (Walker, 1991).

Despite the historical inequality of the education system, Māori persevered in seeking tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and independence. An outcome of the historical oppression of Māori culture was a cultural revival in the 1980s. Included in this cultural revival were Māori initiatives in education such as Te Kōhanga Reo (preschool) and Kura Kaupapa (primary and secondary schools). Māori immersion language schools were created with sought outcomes to strengthen cultural identity and language development, and to encourage community involvement (Smith, 2003). Smith and Reid (2000) raises a pertinent question as to whether true tino rangatiratanga exists within Pākehā dominated structures, as kaupapa Māori (Māori approach, custom, institution) schools have had to meet the government's criteria for funding, therefore relinquishing *ultimate* power and control. Initially, Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa were developed outside the conventional education system for Māori to have self-determination. However, due to the financial and administrative pressures, Kaupapa Māori schools have been forced into government dependence.

Kaupapa Māori educational initiatives have been successful, yet many Māori are still in mainstream education pathways where they continue to experience disenfranchisement and under-achievement. Although the current education system, NZ Government and Māori autonomy have come a long way since the arrival of the settlers, there remains a lot to be achieved. There has been a long process of oppression for Māori, and in order to restore the balance in power structures, there will be a requirement of ongoing perseverance and adaptation.

Disenfranchised Youth

There are various ways to describe students who no longer attend mainstream schooling due to struggling in the mainstream environment. Disengaged, disenfranchised, alienated, and excluded are some of the terms used to describe these early school leavers. Students who are emotionally detached from their learning are described as disengaged. They can

still be attending mainstream education, and this term does not necessarily indicate a student that has been forced to leave. A student can remain in a setting and still be disengaged. The term disenfranchised is used in reference to rangatahi who have left mainstream education settings. Although the term alienation has been widely used to refer to students who have left mainstream education, the concept of alienation from a sociological and psychological standpoint, is known as the isolation or estrangement of individuals in the modern world (Newman, 1981). Freire (1970) extends this definition by observing the alienation experienced by young people oppressed by social, economic and cultural demands. They are not granted a true sense of autonomy and are deprived of the ability to be able to change their surroundings. Because of this, Freire's (1970) definition of 'alienation' lacks a sense of agency for young people. If rangatahi are viewed as disenfranchised rather than alienated, this both acknowledges the stripping of their power in an education setting and their capacity to still change the world. Therefore, throughout this thesis, the term disenfranchisement will be used to describe students who have been excluded from mainstream education.

At-Risk Youth

Youth typically defines the period of a person's life from childhood up until adulthood. The at-risk youth terminology is expansive, but at its most simplistic, can be defined as youth who are less likely to transition successfully into adulthood. The literature often describes at-risk youth differently as being responsible for their lack of success in mainstream education. For example, Herr (1989) states that at-risk youth are students who "on the one hand, run the risk of not acquiring the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to become successful adults, on the other hand, behave in ways that put them at-risk for not graduating from high school" (p. 201). This view aligns with deficit theorising because of the portrayal of youth in a negative light and requiring them to take total responsibility for their disadvantage. Conversely, McMillan and Reed (1994) promote the resilience and development of necessary coping skills that have enabled these youth to overcome their adversities and view at-risk youth as true survivors in the system. A negative or deficit viewpoint of at-risk youth limits our view of these young people and their living environments.

At-risk youth engage in a wide range of health-risk behaviours that increase their likelihood of experiencing the leading causes of morbidity and mortality. Such

behaviours have been identified by the Youth Risk Behaviour Surveillance System (YRBSS), which monitors six categories of main health-risk behaviours of youth (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010). These are behaviours are as follows:

1. contributing to unintentional injuries and violence;
2. tobacco use;
3. alcohol and other drug use;
4. sexual behaviours that contribute to unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs);
5. unhealthy dietary behaviours; and
6. physical inactivity.

A US national school-based YRBSS study was conducted in 2009, indicating higher levels of students at-risk in AE populations (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010).

Misdiagnosed or unidentified brain injuries that impede psychological functioning, behaviour and academic performance are a growing concern for at-risk youth (Goldenson, 2011). Students without identification of brain injuries can be further alienated from mainstream education due to complex cognitive, emotional and social symptoms. For example, short attention spans, frustration, low tolerance levels, and difficulty with memory and planning can be common symptoms of brain injuries (Goldenson, 2011). Furthermore, Goldenson (2011) notes the exposure of youth to multiple neurocognitive risk factors that have a cumulative effect, furthering their disadvantage. Neurocognitive risk factors can stem from a multitude of areas such as exposure to toxins as a foetus, physical abuse, peer violence, car accidents and substance abuse. Neurocognitive risk is an area of concern that must be considered when dealing with AE students not only in regards to their academic performance but the social and emotional difficulties they may face.

Educational systems have regularly viewed at-risk students as the problem, with less emphasis placed on teacher involvement. Numerous studies identify at-risk youth as both a challenge and a problem for teachers (Brooks & Coll, 1994; Gut & McLaughlin, 2012) with the focus of removing students with challenging behaviour to improve the school

environment for the remaining students and staff. These practices limit potential areas of growth in the mainstream education environment and overshadow the needs of at-risk youth. In a contrary view, Zigmond (2000) argues that more attention needs to be paid to teachers being able to accommodate at-risk students rather than viewing the students as the 'problem'. He proposes that focusing on pupil compliance only exacerbates the issue. Youth who are unable to participate in normal classroom interactions and repeatedly fail academically will often look to escape through challenging behaviour rather than stay in what they perceive as a highly aversive situation (Gable et al., 2006). Concentrating on compliance rather than a consideration of students' individual needs only incurs more stigmatisation. Moreover, this is a reactive rather than a preventative approach in managing at-risk students and creates a system reliant on AE schools to manage difficult students, removing them from mainstream education.

Rangatahi in AE

Māori have a high representation in AE. They make up over half of that student population, a disproportionately larger proportion when compared with the numbers of Māori in mainstream schooling (Denny, Clark, & Watson, 2004). According to Ministry of Education (2019) statistics, Māori students represent 19.77% of the NZ secondary school roll and 68.5% of the AE school roll. Clearly, Māori are overrepresented in the AE school roll. This disenfranchisement from mainstream education is commonly shown as having an adverse effect on wellbeing (Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007; Thrane, 2006; Woodward & Fergusson, 2000). Rangatahi who have been disenfranchised from mainstream education are placed in a vulnerable position as they no longer have the option of engaging in the mainstream environment and gaining access to those resources.

The overrepresentation of Māori in AE is attributed to mainstream education's failure to acknowledge and cater for the specific needs of Māori students, particularly concerning cultural background and learning style (Clark et al., 2010). Cultural affiliation has been found to be a protective factor for indigenous people, and the links between ethnic identity and wellbeing are widely established (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Rata, 2012; Stuart & Jose, 2014). There is a need to develop a more integrated cultural appropriate approach to minimise the exclusion of Māori students from mainstream education. However, there remains the vital issue of improving wellbeing for the many rangatahi who are already in AE schooling.

Research Overview

This PhD study seeks to understand the wellbeing needs of rangatahi who attend AE schools. Existing research identifies rangatahi who attend AE as displaying significant health-risk behaviours but do not explore how they view their own wellbeing needs. Consequently, this research aims to close this gap. Exploring rangatahi perceptions of their wellbeing needs can provide valuable knowledge to develop appropriate policy, including better intervention and support. By extending this research to understand AE tutors' views of rangatahi perceived wellbeing needs, we gain a broader perspective of aspects that may contribute to rangatahi wellbeing.

While there is current research exploring the wellbeing of students in AE in NZ (Denny, Clark, & Watson, 2004; Denny, Clark, Fleming, et al., 2004; Noel et al., 2013), there are no psychological studies that have explored the specific views of rangatahi in AE. Therefore the first objective of this study will be to explore how rangatahi view their own wellbeing needs, through the concept of student voice and a strength-based approach. Objective one will therefore seek to identify the essential aspects of rangatahi experiences that promote wellbeing and will attempt to determine any areas of wellbeing that need potential strengthening.

The second objective of this research will be to further investigate rangatahi wellbeing by exploring how AE tutors view rangatahi wellbeing. This objective will seek to explore how AE tutors responded to the perceived wellbeing needs of rangatahi and confirm information gathered from rangatahi. Previous research has identified the critical role teachers play in keeping students' interest in school, which ultimately has an overall effect on their wellbeing (Sánchez, et al., 2005; Slaten, et al., 2015). AE tutors play an important role in facilitating student re-engagement. I was interested to learn more about the perceptions of AE tutors and aspects of AE education that are conducive to rangatahi wellbeing.

The final objective is to draw on the findings of both rangatahi and AE tutors to identify rangatahi wellbeing needs that could be useful in policy, intervention or service delivery. Objective three will compare and discuss rangatahi and AE tutor findings. Information from objective one and two will provide insight into what the specific wellbeing needs of rangatahi in AE may be.

This first chapter has established the importance of studying the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in AE. Current concerns will be reviewed, such as the prevalence of health-risk behaviours, school underachievement and family involvement. Also explored are theoretical models and wellbeing as a concept. The third chapter provides an in-depth discussion on the methodology used in this research and the reasoning for utilising a Māori-centred approach, the use of photo-elicitation, student voice and for reclaiming pūrākau as narrative inquiry. The methodology chapter discusses these in more depth and outlines the research process.

The three following chapters consecutively report the findings from the study as told through mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge, wisdom, understanding) symbolism. From a rangatahi wellbeing perspective, mātauranga Māori descriptions of the harakeke (the flax bush), Tāne-te-wānanga (Tāne, bringer of knowledge from the sky) and Tī Kōuka (the cabbage tree) tell the story of rangatahi and their tutors in AE. ‘Ngā pūrākau o ngā harakeke’ reveals the story of how whānau contribute to the wellbeing of rangatahi and then ‘Tāne-te-wānanga’ illuminates rangatahi experiences of mainstream and AE education. Lastly, ‘Tī Kōuka ’ tells the story of rangatahi resilience, independence and self-determination. Rangatahi and tutor perspectives are woven together throughout the findings of the research to provide comparison, expand rangatahi perspectives and provide further depth to their wellbeing needs. This thesis concludes with a discussion on the overall findings from the study drawn from rangatahi and tutor perspectives, in a discussion on rangatahi wellbeing needs that could be useful in policy, intervention, service delivery and suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two: Developing a Framework for Understanding the Wellbeing Needs of Rangatahi in Alternative Education

The aim of this thesis is to increase our understanding of what wellbeing looks like for students engaged in AE in a way that builds on a holistic perspective. The main focus of this chapter is to explore wellbeing as a concept and areas that support or oppose the healthy development of at-risk youth. This chapter reviews the literature on the challenges faced by AE students and their wellbeing needs. In exploring both Western and Māori wellbeing models, this chapter seeks to understand the bearing these models may have for rangatahi that are disenfranchised from mainstream education.

Western Models of Wellbeing – Subjective and Objective Wellbeing

This segment begins by presenting and describing the two major approaches which have dominated Western wellbeing literature: subjective wellbeing and objective wellbeing. These models differ from Māori models of wellbeing as they do not have an integrative holistic approach. Nor do they acknowledge the importance of ancestral lineage, cultural significance, family or spiritual health. However, they do provide an understanding of how wellbeing is viewed in Western literature and the individual features of personal wellbeing. As the rangatahi in this study are placed at the interface of these two worlds, having an overall understanding of what constitutes optimal wellbeing in Māori and Western terms is helpful.

Subjective Wellbeing

Firstly, subjective wellbeing is the subjective evaluation by an individual of their own life. When exploring subjective wellbeing we consider emotional reactions as well as cognitive judgements. In scientific terms, subjective wellbeing expresses happiness and life satisfaction (Diener, et al., 2002; Hicks, et al., 2013) which have been areas of interest amongst government policymakers and service developers for some time. In the assessment of overall national wellbeing, more recently, various governments have been considering subjective wellbeing as an indicator of positive societal development as opposed to economic health alone. For example, in the UK and other parts of Europe, subjective wellbeing has come to the forefront of country development (Hicks et al., 2013). Here in NZ, the government recently implemented a wellbeing budget with the

intention to increase optimal wellbeing for all New Zealanders. This budget draws on the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) wellbeing approach which permits international comparability (Treasury, 2019). It is clear that subjective wellbeing has broadened the lens of what is important to us as a society and acknowledges that societal advancement comes from a multitude of elements.

Hicks et al. (2013) stipulates three main approaches of subjective wellbeing; evaluative, experience, and eudemonic. An evaluative approach assesses an individual's overall life satisfaction, such as, satisfaction with their health, jobs, relationship, community, and general life achievement (Dolan, et al., 2008). Longitudinal studies demonstrate that general life satisfaction remains consistent over time (Hicks et al., 2013). Several areas of a person's life can contribute to their satisfaction and this is recognised by evaluative wellbeing (Diener, et al., 1985). Implementing evaluative approaches may be useful in the assessment of rangatahi wellbeing as it provides clear indicators of current satisfaction levels. However, it does not demonstrate the interrelated nature between various aspects of a person's life, such as, the impact of whānau health on the individual and their hinengaro (psychological health).

The second component of subjective wellbeing is experience, or how people feel on a day to day basis (Kahneman & Riis, 2005; Pavot & Diener, 1993). Experience defines an individual's emotional quality through the frequency and intensity of emotion or affect at any given moment. For example, this may be how frequently or intensely a person feels happy, angry, anxious or excited. Experience measures may pick up both positive and negative ranges of emotion. Closely linked with hedonic wellbeing, experience operates on the premise that increased pleasure and decreased pain lead to happiness. As it is concerned primarily with real time and momentary affective states, experience wellbeing differs from evaluative approaches. Evaluative approaches are more interested in the way people recollect their past experiences (Rath, et al., 2010).

Experience wellbeing can be unhelpful when viewed in isolation. Many activities that produce positive emotions in the short term may not be sustainable in the long-term. For example, buying a new pair of shoes may produce an initial rush of happiness and excitement however, this is likely to decrease over time. Completing a marathon, on the other hand, may have a similar and positive effect, but, this activity requires training and

commitment. Completing a marathon makes space for personal development which is sustainable over time and produces positive emotions (McMahan & Estes, 2011). Furthermore, Ryan & Deci (2000) argue that many desired outcomes which are pleasurable are not necessarily good for an individual and therefore do not promote wellness. Western approaches have primarily codified experience wellbeing into researcher-produced self-report measures that limit and frame the reporting of experience, a methodology that may lose many key features, like change and complexity. Therefore, exploring rangatahi wellbeing through the use of experience measures may limit a broader understanding of contextual and socio-cultural factors.

The eudemonic component is referred to as the functioning or psychological component of wellbeing and refers to underlying psychological needs that create meaning or a sense of control over one's life. These can be described as either 'flourishing' or 'languishing' in individuals (Keyes & Simoes, 2012). Eudemonic measures consider constructs such as autonomy, control, competence, engagement, good personal relationships, a sense of meaning or purpose and achievement. This form of subjective wellbeing relates to the Greek concept of Eudaimonia, which implies people achieve happiness through life purpose, challenges and growth (Keyes & Simoes, 2012). Eudemonic wellbeing concentrates on a person's meaning in life, self-realisation and the extent to which they integrate this into their life (Waterman, 1993). This component of wellbeing aligns with the kaupapa Māori (Māori approach) principle of tino rangatiratanga which relates to the autonomy and independence Māori have over their own culture, goals and future (Smith, 1999). Through this perspective, we can seek a more in-depth understanding of whether rangatahi feel a sense of meaning or purpose in their lives or in their participation of AE, whether they are developing healthy relationships and whether they feel a sense of control over their destiny.

Researchers, alongside policy and service developers, are now considering all three components of subjective wellbeing in an attempt to find optimal outcomes for the treatment of health issues (Diener, 2005). According to Diener (2005), investigating each of these components can enrich programs and service development. In addition, factors not considered before can become an integral part of improving service/programme outcomes. For example, a diabetes programme might factor in an element of peer support instead of just a professional relationship between health service provider and the patient,

because interpersonal relationships are important for wellbeing. The use of subjective wellbeing has for some time been incorporated into enhancing service provision and increasing positive outcomes (Martindale & Phillips, 2009). It is only now in recent years that governments have introduced subjective wellbeing as an indicator of the development of a nation.

There has been debate as to whether subjective wellbeing is policy salient. Axford, et al. (2014) are cautionary of implementing children's subjective wellbeing measures. They raise two questions: 1. Can average levels of children's subjective wellbeing improve the longer-term wellbeing outcomes? and 2. Can policy influence this? Individual differences that impact subjective wellbeing such as personality traits, genetics and psychological frameworks that generate a positive mood can determine how a person views their wellbeing and prove difficult to account for in policy development. However, subjective wellbeing can provide valuable insight into what makes children and young people happy and fulfilled.

Research on subjective wellbeing among children has emphasised the importance of quality relationships (Goswami, 2012). The amount of care and support a child receives from parents, teachers, and other key adults is crucial in the development of freedom of choice and expression (Bacete, et al., 2014). Social interaction is a primary benefit of school, and for this reason, Jordan (2008) argues that relationships should form the basis of social policy. Similarly, Māori models of wellbeing emphasise the importance of rangatahi relationships with key people, whānau and their wider social system.

Objective Wellbeing

Objective wellbeing is defined as the components of what comprises a 'good life' (Western & Tomaszewski, 2016). Objective wellbeing is concerned with external factors such as education, housing, parenting, socio-economic status and physical health, whereas subjective wellbeing considers internal views of wellbeing. Outcome, risk and protective factors are all aspects of objective wellbeing (Axford et al., 2014). Research on objective wellbeing has attempted to define wellbeing by using specific lists. Sen (1993) argues that the assessment of objective wellbeing should ascertain whether basic needs are met, such as food, water, shelter, clothing and healthcare. Alternatively, Rawls (1971) provides an objective list of conceptual goods that he presumes every person

aspires to have in a 'good life' such as liberties, opportunities, income and factors that lead to self-respect.

Although these methods of identifying objective wellbeing allow for the identification of areas that may need enhancing in a person's life, assessing wellbeing from a rigid list may prove limiting for rangatahi in AE. Objective wellbeing measures can overlook discrepancies between individuals, sub-groups and larger populations and rangatahi who attend AE are a specific minority population. A general wellbeing list that does not take this into consideration may increase the likelihood of research that does not reflect unique and specific areas of rangatahi wellbeing. For example, Drèze and Sen (1989) highlight that optimal food intake and nutrition can vary between cultures, climate and an individual's metabolism. Objective list items are not necessarily universal when examining wellbeing. Scanlon (1993) notes that for objective list items to be relevant, researchers must identify items that add value to wellbeing despite a person's preferences, the environment they live in and their belief system. Therefore, adhering to objective definitions of wellbeing may narrow the understanding of rangatahi due to an increased risk of overlooking their unique preferences, values and belief systems.

Researchers seeking a deeper understanding of wellbeing have investigated the relationship between objective and subjective wellbeing. Material circumstances are a focus of objective wellbeing that has demonstrable influence over subjective wellbeing (Axford et al., 2014). In populations where resources are in constant flux due to economic scarcity, poor mental health may be more frequent. Likewise, there is correlation between low income and living in an area with poor conditions, lack of community spirit, and compromised neighbourhood safety. As a result, internal perception of wellbeing can be skewed negatively due to external factors (Bradshaw & Williams, 2000).

Contrary to the idea that objective wellbeing is an indicator of subjective wellbeing, numerous studies support the conclusion that objective wellbeing is not always a good predictor. These studies show that it is possible to experience good subjective wellbeing despite living in low socio-economic conditions that include abuse and unemployment (Ryff & Keyes, 1995; Searle, 2008). Over a period of prolonged economic growth in some developed countries, Collishaw, et al. (2004) found that child mental health actually declined during this period. These findings challenge the idea that happiness and living a

fulfilling life is determined by material wealth. Additionally, Norberg-Hodge (1996) argues wellbeing is influenced by things that money cannot buy such as health and fulfilling relationships. In this study, these views are salient in understanding the wellbeing of rangatahi as they come from predominantly low socio-economic backgrounds, which on their own may not necessarily be an indicator of their happiness and fulfilment.

There has been an increase in Western research that views wellbeing through a multidisciplinary and multicultural framework (Wassell & Dodge, 2015; Yampolsky, et al., 2013). Culture is more and more being recognised as playing a significant role in the understanding of wellbeing. The subjective experiences of an individual and the meaning they hold around their culture are very relevant in the perception of wellbeing (Yampolsky et al., 2013). Furthermore, the objective indicators of wellbeing, such as material conditions, health and behaviour, should not be seen apart from a cultural context when devising intervention. Previous research has viewed culture as a static barrier in obtaining positive outcomes from Eurocentric interventions when cultural beliefs around health and behaviours are not relinquished (Weisner, 2014). Contrary to this, cultural studies have revealed that culturally relevant intervention can act as effective leverage in creating positive changes in wellbeing (Stevenson & Worthman, 2013). Western research is starting to acknowledge the importance of cultural practices in gaining favourable outcomes when actively attempting to improve wellbeing.

When Western-centred research does not acknowledge cultural belief systems, there is a risk of not adequately capturing wellbeing perspectives. Cultural belief systems affect research, just as different cultural communities can have different norms. To illustrate, Mathews (1996) argues that questionnaires, surveys and interviews can provide very different information on wellbeing from separate cultural populations due to differing perceptions of happiness. Mathews (1996) believes this is likely due to differing norms of emotional regulation within each culture. For example, East Asian cultural values of socially regulating one's pride and boasting behaviour, can influence the presentation of wellbeing when examined through a Western approach. This is because East Asian cultures see this behaviour as less desirable. When assessing child wellbeing needs it can be harmful to not take their culture into consideration. Assuming circumstances from the

viewpoint of one culture to another, can place children at risk when assessing their wellbeing needs.

The way people experience and find sources of wellbeing can be highly dependent on cultural norms, values and practices (Diener & Suh, 2000). Therefore, wellbeing should not be viewed exclusively through a Western lens, rather the historical contexts of a population should be considered. For many groups of people, the persistent negative consequences of colonisation and other historical occurrences such as displacement, structural violence, and systemic marginalisation influence the mental health and wellbeing of individuals, families and communities at multiple levels (Kirmayer, et al., 2009). We can only understand social and cultural dimensions of wellbeing by taking into account contextual social realities, such as generational histories and collective meaning (Diener & Suh, 2000). If these components are taken into consideration, different cultural groups may place a different emphasis on various aspects of quality of life. Findings from Diener and Suh (2000) and Kirmayer et al. (2009) highlight the need to consider cultural and historical factors that may be affecting rangatahi in NZ.

In contrast to Western perspectives, Indigenous worldviews place importance on the interconnectedness of all beings with their environment, eco-centric and holistic views. As identified in the literature, spirituality, connectedness and engagement with cultural heritage play an important role in wellbeing among indigenous populations (Reynolds, et al., 2006; Strand & Peacock, 2003). Similar to Māori world views, the indigenous Inuit come from a collectivist perspective. Kral, et al. (2011) identified three critical features of wellbeing among Inuit from the Canadian Arctic which include the family, talking or communication and traditional Inuit cultural practices and values. As with other collectivist cultures, there may be more emphasis on relational sources and expressions of wellbeing instead of individualistic perspectives that place more importance on self-esteem and individual achievement (Wirtz, et al. 2009).

When viewing child rearing practices in collectivist cultures from a Western and individualistic perspective, collectivist practices may seem less desirable and to potentially lessen the wellbeing of children. In Māori culture and other collectivist cultures, children are frequent caregivers for younger siblings or cousins. Extended family members such as grandparents, aunts, and uncles commonly complement and

sometimes replace mothers and fathers. The replacement of the parents in collectivist cultures does not necessarily lead to emotional loss and relationship insecurity as attachment security can be achieved through pluralistic models of care to develop sufficient security and trust (Harwood, et al., 1995). Although it is important not to dismiss any effect of family breakdown, chaotic circumstances or abuse, when this pattern of caregiving is normative and anticipated, it can promote wellbeing of children. Therefore, it should not be confused with poor care contributing to poor wellbeing. On this basis, in the present study it was important to conduct the research from a Māori perspective and to acknowledge Māori cultural norms and values.

AE literature has identified that Māori students are not a homogenous group with singular needs (Clark, et al. 1996; Clark et al., 2010). For the school environment to meet the diverse needs of Māori, there is a need for more flexibility in the learning environment and curriculum (Clark et al., 2010). Correspondence school is limited as a medium of learning and in providing opportunities for Māori to understand and explore their own world. Because of this, correspondence school has been found to be insufficient in meeting the needs of Māori learners (Clark et al., 2010). Instead of adhering to a Western perspective, these views highlight the need to acknowledge cultural influences on wellbeing and the diversity of rangatahi and their education needs.

Exploring Māori Perspectives of Wellbeing

Māori wellbeing models provide a holistic perspective and are pertinent in considering the different aspects of rangatahi health. The literature reviewed in this section recognises the importance of Māori constructs of wellbeing in the exploration of rangatahi development. Māori perspectives of wellbeing are integrative and acknowledge a multitude of interconnected dimensions contributing to a person's wellbeing. They prompt us to see family health as a critical aspect in the healthy development of rangatahi and the importance of physical, psychological, spiritual, social and economic factors.

Since the early 1980s in NZ, there have been three prominent Māori models of wellbeing, which have had a considerable impact on health policy, strategy, intervention and care. These include Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985), Te Wheke (Pere, 1982), and Ngā Pou Mana (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988). Across all three models, we see that the whānau (family), hinengaro (psychological), wairua (spiritual) and tinana (physical)

dimensions of a person are essential to Māori wellbeing. Other commonalities include a holistic perspective and viewing wellbeing as interrelated components that are mutually dependent on each other. In this sense, Māori models of wellbeing are far more inclusive than Western models, despite their shift towards multidimensionality.

The Ngā Pou Mana model (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988) of wellbeing differs from all other Western approaches. It focuses on the external environment by acknowledging factors in the physical environment that can affect Māori health and culture. There are four supporting pillars: whanaungatanga (kinship group), ngā taonga tuku iho (ancestral treasures), te ao tūroa (Māori estates) and tūrangawaewae (ancestral land). In this model we see Māori wellbeing as irrevocably tied to the resolution of land and sovereignty issues. Ngā Pou Mana brings to light the balance between physical and spiritual aspects and how these relate to the identity of Māori people (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988). Demonstrated in Ngā Pou Mana is the interconnectedness of all things and beings to position the individual within a natural ecology, as opposed to an exclusively psychological or physical health lens. This is a necessary consideration for rangatahi wellbeing and their relationship with external environmental factors.

A defining feature of the Ngā Pou Mana model is the concept of tūrangawaewae and the emphasis on the external environment (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013). Tūrangawaewae translates to ancestral land but the definition also includes places where Māori feel empowered and connected to, and which provide a sense of home (Royal, 2007a). Kidman's (2014) study of Māori youth, their relationship with tribal land and their political views demonstrates the importance and relevance of tūrangawaewae for Māori youth actively connected to tribal lands. In the context of trans-Tasman and trans-national migration of Māori, Kidman (2014) also discusses Māori urban youth and their navigation of land and place and their sense of belonging. When we consider the impact of urban migration and the environment of rangatahi attending AE in city areas, this aspect of wellbeing is particularly meaningful.

The Te Wheke model of wellbeing was introduced by Pere in 1982. Te Wheke, the Māori word for octopus, uses the symbolism of the octopus to represent specific dimensions of health within a socio-cultural framework. The interdependence of all things in the universe is shown by Te Wheke as the octopus, a symbol from ancient Hawaiiki. The

head of the octopus represents te whānau (family), with the eyes of the octopus as waiora (total wellbeing for the individual and family). The eight tentacles, indicate the close relationship each dimension of health has with each other. In Te Wheke, the different states of being are: Wairuatanga (spirituality), Hinengaro (the mind), Taha Tinana (physical wellbeing), Whanaungatanga (kinship group), Te Whānau (the family), Mauri (life force in people and objects), Mana ake (unique identity of individuals and family), Hā a koro mā, a kui ma (breath of life from forebears) and Whatumanawa (the open and healthy expression of emotion). Within this model there is an acknowledgement of the ancestral descent of rangatahi (Hā a koro mā, a kui mā) and their connection to socio-cultural factors (Whanaungatanga, Te Whānau).

Pere's Te Wheke model is complex and takes into account the relationship between Māori values and wellbeing. The eight dimensions of Te Wheke prompt us to consider different aspects of rangatahi wellbeing and highlight some of the challenges for urban-based rangatahi due to their location and disconnection from cultural and kinship aspects of Māori wellbeing. This part of the model is representative of the bond that influences whānau and hapū (sub-tribe) and how they interact with the world around them (Wenn, 2006). However, not all rangatahi in AE have strong connections to their hapū.

Te Wheke (Pere, 1982) presents how Māori cultural practices and knowledge can restore Māori identity and contribute to wellbeing within a modern society. Highlighted in Te Wheke is the idea that gaining in-depth knowledge of te reo Māori (the Māori language) can offer a greater insight into 'ourselves as Māori' (Pihama, et al., 2004). Pere (1997) uses the example of the word tamariki (children):

Tamariki: Tama is derived from *Tama-te-ra* the central sun, the divine spark; *ariki* refers to senior most status, and *riki* on its own can mean a smaller version. *Tamariki* is the Māori word used for children. Children are the greatest legacy the world community has. (p. 4)

The practices of traditional Māori society show they valued children as future leaders. However, early Eurocentric views believed Māori to be too indulgent of their children. Pere believes that an understanding of te reo Māori can transmit the pre-colonial beliefs and values of Māori as a people. The word tamariki, as observed by Pere (1997)

demonstrates how a Māori worldview places great importance on the healthy development and wellbeing of children, the future leaders of generations to come. Knowledge of the values held deep within te reo Māori are insightful, empowering, and invaluable. Therefore, Te Wheke demonstrates that Māori cultural practices, knowledge and the language can restore Māori identity and contribute to the wellbeing of modern society. However, urban-based rangatahi who are outliers of the mainstream education system and disconnected from cultural resources, have limited access to the Māori language.

Durie developed another model for wellbeing, Te Whare Tapa Whā (1985). The Te Whare Tapa Whā model is based on the four walls of the whare (house) as marking the four cornerstones of Māori health: Whānau, Tinana, Hinengaro, Wairua. There has been a broad implementation of this model throughout the health sector in NZ. The framework has gained widespread popularity amongst Māori and iwi health service providers and clinicians and has established a place within Māori health policy. Te Whare Tapa Whā is easily understood and provides a general framework from which to investigate rangatahi wellbeing.

The attractiveness of the model is its simplicity, metaphorical resonance for Māori and basis in a Māori worldview (Glover, 2005). Glover (2005) notes that Te Whare Tapa Whā has reached paradigm status and the model is well accepted by the larger scientific community. In comparison to the Te Wheke model, Te Whare Tapa Whā takes into consideration the deprivation of Māori culture whereas the primary objective of the Te Wheke model is a restoration of Māori wellness dependent on the articulation of tūturu or traditional Māori beliefs (McNeill, 2009). Some rangatahi who attend AE have become disconnected from their marae and ties with extended family have been lost, preventing the achievement of this objective. Te Whare Tapa Whā is a model that is inclusive of an urbanised Māori youth population.

Māori models of wellbeing provide a holistic view of health, a concept which is now gaining recognition in the development of Western wellbeing models (Wassell & Dodge, 2015; Yampolsky et al., 2013). There are commonalities between Māori models of wellbeing as well as points of difference, each with their own strengths and youth relevance. There is an advantage in utilising these commonalities and the individual

features of each Māori wellbeing model rather than limiting the lens to a specific model. The inclusiveness and simplicity of the Te Whare Tapa Whā model lends itself to working with youth. Furthermore, key features of Te Whare Tapa Whā can be seen in other models of Māori wellbeing. When examining rangatahi wellbeing, individual features of each model can be utilised. An example of this is in the importance of tūrangawaewae in Ngā Pou Mana and the extended areas of Te Wheke. Instead of assessing individuals in isolation like some Western models of wellbeing, Māori models take in account the wider system and environmental context. Through the use of Māori wellbeing models, the present thesis can draw upon commonalities, individual strengths and youth relevant elements to gain a broader understanding of the wellbeing needs of rangatahi.

Table 1: Māori Wellbeing Models

Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985)	Te Wheke (Pere, 1982)	Ngā Pou Mana (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988)
Wairua (spirituality)	Wairuatanga (spirituality)	Turangawaewae (lands rights, access to an economic base, marae as an institution – Māori custom, tradition and inclusion of te reo Māori have priority)
Whānau (family)	whanaungatanga (family)	whanaungatanga (family)
Tinana (physical)	Tinana (physical)	Te ao turua (physical environment)
Hinengaro (mental)	Hinengaro (mental)	Taonga tuku iho tea o turua (cultural heritage)
	Mana ake (unique identity of individuals and family)	
	Mauri (life force in people and objects)	
	He koro mā he kuia mā (breath of life from forbearers)	
	Whatumanawa (the open and healthy expression of emotion)	

Māori Cultural Identity and Wellbeing

Cultural context is a critical component in an understanding of the values that drive life goals in different communities around the world (Weisner, 2014). These can also shape the perception of a child’s wellbeing and can influence perceptions of what makes a ‘good life’ meaningful. Cultural variations abound in definitions of wellbeing and there cannot

be a single unambiguous definition of wellbeing (Mathews, 1996). Culture carries the meanings and experiences of families, parents, children and adolescents into the investigation of wellbeing, which Western definitions can overlook (Weisner, 2014). Moreover, Weisner (2014) argues that in order to understand wellbeing, there should be further qualitative research to explore the differing beliefs and practices of a wide range of communities. Weisner's (2014) argument is pertinent in exploring the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in AE and taking into consideration the unique meaning rangatahi may give to their own wellbeing.

A strong cultural identity is important to the mental health and wellbeing of a child (Dockery, 2020; Durie, 2006). It is argued that a strong sense of the history of their culture and traditions help rangatahi build a positive cultural identity for themselves and provide a sense of belonging, promote resilience and support overall wellbeing (Stuart & Jose, 2014). Access to cultural practices and cultural land/sites can also support the development of creating security of identity (Durie, 2001). Disconnection from one's origins in culture and physical location can lead to a fragmentation of identity and vulnerability in an individual's wellbeing development (Stuart & Jose, 2014). This is why researchers from around the world have highlighted the importance of cultural identity as a concept (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; LaFromboise, et al., 2006). These studies also call attention to the significant relationship between wellbeing and cultural identity.

Literature from NZ (Durie, 2001) and around the world (De la Sablonnière, et al., 2011; Osborne & Taylor, 2010) indicate a secure cultural identity can be beneficial in maintaining wellbeing for indigenous populations. Intervention programs in NZ have supported the promotion of Māori culture from a 'culture is cure' perspective. The premise of a 'culture is cure' approach is that when Māori have greater access, awareness of and engagement in Māori cultural traditions, this serves as a protective factor against adverse outcomes encountered by Māori (Muriwai, et al., 2015). Therefore, establishing a secure Māori identity acts as a protective factor against poor wellbeing (Durie, 1997). Even if Māori experience poor socio-economic circumstances, research indicates a secure Māori identity will act to protect against poor wellbeing (Rata, 2012). Positive outcomes in health and education are also connected to a secure cultural identity (Durie, 1997a).

These findings suggest that rangatahi are well-positioned and are at less risk when they have a secure cultural identity.

After the longstanding effects of colonisation, establishing a secure cultural identity has been empowering for many indigenous cultures (Crooks, et al., 2015). Indigenous research worldwide is focused on restoring cultural identity and combating the long-term effects of colonisation. This is important as the long-term effects of colonisation include chronic economic, psychological and physiological health issues. In the 1990s, the kaupapa Māori movement in NZ set forth to promote and restore Māori culture, and NZ began to see a Māori cultural revival. The significant loss to Māori through the effects of colonisation has been considerable and therefore restoring Māori culture and Māori cultural identities is paramount.

Despite the positive impact of culture initiatives, some urban Māori youth continue to experience disconnection. Many urbanised rangatahi do not have access to kinship ties, traditional cultural practices or relationships with their ancestral land in order to explore and connect to their cultural identity. Robust cultural identity markers such as marae participation, whānau associations and tipu whenua (access to tribal lands) (Durie et al., 1995) are not always pertinent to rangatahi and can ignore the fluidity of Māori cultural identity and areas of identity formation. Borell (2005) argues markers that support a strong Māori cultural identity in NZ can exclude urbanised rangatahi. Furthermore, rangatahi may have multiple identities they must learn to negotiate, in order to sustain wellbeing. For this research, a fluid perspective of cultural identity for rangatahi in AE is important as opposed to viewing cultural identity from a rigid perspective.

Indigenous research recognises the diversity of Māori cultural identity (Durie, 1994; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). Māori cultural heterogeneity was initially recognised by Durie (1994) who proposed three Māori subgroups; culturally Māori, bicultural and marginalised. These subgroups demonstrate the different cultural and social features among Māori and that there are many ways of 'being' Māori (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). The heterogeneous nature of Māori cultural identity is relevant to rangatahi in AE as it demonstrates the complexity of cultural identity. Exclusive views of cultural identity, such as language being central to participating in Māori society and identity formation (Ministry of Social Development, 2016) may be detrimental to urban youth.

Through the Māori cultural revival, there have been many initiatives to restore Māori language; however many urban Māori youth continue to be limited in this area. Therefore, cultural identity cannot be defined through a single issue like the ability to use te reo Māori. Similarly, urban youth may not have access to hapū and iwi (tribe), which limits their engagement in cultural practices yet does not necessarily prevent them from identifying as Māori. Pere (1991) observed a sense of Māori cultural identity might naturally occur for urban youth within their primary whānau relationships and how they interact with one another through whanaungatanga (kinship group) and the mutual responsibilities and relationships individuals have with their kin group. These aspects show the diverse and complex nature of Māori cultural identity for urban rangatahi and how their identity might develop.

The Te Hoe Nuku Roa (THNR) Māori identity assessment framework has been employed in a longitudinal study and has made significant contributions to our understanding of the relationship between Māori identity and wellbeing (Durie, 1995). Although THNR acknowledges a diversity of Māori cultural identity, the framework's typologies remain explicit. The framework is based on characteristics of Māori identity and identifies four levels of Māori identity: secure identity; positive identity; notional identity; and compromised identity. When individuals access markers of te ao Māori (the Māori world) such as cognitive skills of language competence, cultural knowledge and shared lived experiences with other Māori, secure identity is achieved. Positive identity includes individuals who positively identify as Māori and have some involvement in cultural activities. Those identified as having notional identity also positively self-identify but have lower engagement with cultural identifiers. Compromised identity belongs to those who do not self-identify as Māori regardless of engagement with all cultural identifiers. The THNR process seeks to categorise people and overlook the potential fluidity of Māori cultural identity. The framework may not fully encapsulate what 'being Māori' is for marginalised urban youth as typologies remain distinct and do not demonstrate the fluidity of Māori cultural identity and how they may evolve over time.

In recognising the need to protect and nurture Māori culture and knowledge between generations, Māori immersion and bilingual school units were developed (May, et al., 2006). These types of Māori-medium education have provided a vehicle for many young

people to access parts of Māori culture and strengthen cultural identity where they previously may not have had the opportunity. Borell (2005) conducted a study exploring areas of cultural identification for urban rangatahi. Her research found that students, alongside their families who chose to participate in the whānau unit (Māori bilingual unit) and could commit, had a very positive school experience that supported a Māori cultural identity. Having access to Māori culture promoted pride in the unit, and their school among research participants. In addition, Borell (2005) acknowledges that the whānau unit education medium attracts huge numbers of local support within the Māori community who are supportive of their rangatahi identifying with Māori culture. This support is instrumental in creating and nurturing the relationship with Māori parents/whānau and the school, despite many Māori parents having negative experiences of education institutions themselves. These findings suggest strengthening rangatahi engagement with Māori culture is conducive to the wider Māori community and supports Māori cultural identities.

There is a risk of misunderstanding some urban Māori youth who are not culturally connected, as being different from Māori who are. Continuing to establish a secure Māori cultural identity predominantly through the participation and knowledge of Māori culture, for example te reo Māori and tikanga (correct procedure, custom), is problematic for some, particularly urban rangatahi in mainstream education as identified by Borell (2005). For rangatahi who are not embedded within cultural practice, their identity as Māori may be misunderstood and further marginalised due to negatively perceiving their disconnection with Māori cultural practices and knowledge. As society continues to shift, Barcham (1998) discusses the need for multiple sites of belonging and identity for modern Māori in order for cultural continuity to occur. What may be of more importance is not having to choose between competing identities but to be able to manage different aspects of identity while retaining an explicitly Māori character as suggested by Barcham (1998). In considering these views, it would be natural for rangatahi to want to identify with some aspects of the urban/Western environment while disparaging others.

As NZ becomes increasingly multicultural, rangatahi may also be reconciling a number of different cultural identities. Several researchers have begun to investigate the integrated cultural identities of an individual into sense of self and have come to the conclusion that the stronger the collective identity of all cultural identities a person may

have, the greater the sense of psychological wellbeing (Amiot, et al., 2007; Settles, 2004; Osborne & Taylor, 2010). However, negotiating several cultural identities may be challenging for rangatahi who also share different cultural backgrounds and are managing varying aspects of Western and Māori identities. Hogg, et al. (2007) found that people tend to prefer to identify with groups that are clearly defined. The premise of his research is that people like to reduce personal identity uncertainty. Therefore, it is vital to understand how rangatahi may view their connection to their cultural backgrounds and how this may take shape.

Many indigenous peoples have had their traditional norms, values and culture specific beliefs attacked through the process of colonisation. They then had new Eurocentric norms and beliefs imposed on them and were left to combat conflicting principles as they constructed a personal identity. The participants in the current research project are urbanised youth who may identify with both Māori and Western urban culture or have multiple cultural backgrounds. Some urban rangatahi may also have been disconnected from their cultural background while learning and participating in Western mainstream culture. How rangatahi recognise and identify with the different cultural identities they may have is important to assessing wellbeing.

School and Wellbeing

Before the 1970s there was very little interest in what a school's role in wellbeing was. However, there have now been longitudinal studies that show wellbeing differences among schools and their pupils that can only be accounted for by differences in the schools themselves (Rutter & Maughan, 2002). Many studies show a positive link between academic achievement, wellbeing and mental health (Gershoff & Aber, 2006; Roeser, et al., 1998; Samdal, et al., 1999). The school environment not only supports student wellbeing through academic competence but on closer inspection can enhance socialisation (Isherwood & Ahola, 1981), motivation and creativity (Besancon, et al., 2015), and mental and physical health (Jones & Harrison, 2014). There is a growing body of interest on the role of the school environment in determining mental health, socialisation, behaviour, and the ethical values of students (Battisch, et al., 1999; Jones & Harrison, 2014). It appears that the school environment contributes to wellbeing in numerous ways and is not limited to the improvement of wellbeing through academic attainment.

Numerous researchers have argued that one of the fundamental purposes of schools should be to promote long term wellbeing (Bonell, et al., 2014; Konu & Rimpelä, 2002). Although income and level of education increased in Western societies between 1950-2000 (Lane, 2000), subjective wellbeing did not (Bacete et al., 2014). In adolescence, wellbeing research indicates a decline in life satisfaction (Goldbeck et al., 2007). Some have hypothesised this is due to differences in the school environment, boredom in school and uncertainty of the future. A correlation with personal wellbeing is indicated in school-based wellbeing research (Tomy, et al., 2011). However, there is a need to further elaborate school-based wellbeing research theories and models and what the school context can provide in order to better meet the wellbeing needs of its students, particularly for rangatahi in NZ who are at risk of school disenfranchisement.

Self-determination is a theory that is applicable to wellbeing in the context of school. Self-determination theory (SDT) focuses on intrinsic motivation that can support tendencies to behave in a healthy and effective way (Ryan & Deci, 2000). For a school to support wellbeing and promote self-determination following SDT, it must advocate autonomy, relatedness and competency for its students. Bacete et al. (2014) believe that if students are allowed a degree of choice or autonomy, they will be more likely to engage in schooling activities. Examples of this include choosing what time of day they feel suits them to complete specific tasks, or to choose between presenting a topic or providing a written report instead. If students feel they are active agents in their learning, self-determination will unfold. Furthermore, the importance of utilising SDT and autonomy within the school context to promote wellbeing parallels the kaupapa Māori principle of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) in education.

On further inspection, SDT relates to Kaupapa Māori principles of whānau (family and extended relationships) and ata (growing respectful relationships) (Smith, 1999). Relatedness in the context of SDT can be a feeling of belonging and a connectedness and warmth from others (Bacete et al., 2014). If a student can gain a sense of relatedness from their teacher, principal or other key figures within the school context, then feelings of appreciation and belonging will be enhanced. Kaupapa Māori principles and Western research into SDT highlight the powerful emotional triggers that can support wellbeing within the school environment.

Competence in accordance with SDT refers to one's sense of environmental mastery and effectiveness. If students can gain a sense of competence towards an activity, they will be inclined to be motivated to complete it. Conversely, if a child has been given an external message of doubt in their competence with completing a task, they may develop less intrinsic motivation. Bacete et al. (2014) argue that focusing on academic performance alone may lead to achievement, however this is not likely to develop and fulfil a student's potential. Empirical research focused on SDT in the school environment has been used to argue against standardisation in schools, advocating student's autonomy and developing a greater sense of belonging in schools for students from poor urban backgrounds (Ryan & Niemiec, 2009). Messages of doubt regarding academic competence within school environments may be particularly detrimental for rangatahi who are at risk of disenfranchisement as it affects their motivation to remain engaged in mainstream education (Bacete et al., 2014).

To date, research has shown the influence of the school environment on the wellbeing of its students through social, academic, physical, and ethical means (Battisch et al., 1999; Besancon et al., 2015; Gershoff & Aber, 2006; Isherwood & Ahola, 1981; Jones & Harrison, 2014). These findings demonstrate the significant role the school environment can have in promoting and supporting wellbeing in rangatahi, particularly those who are disadvantaged and at risk of disenfranchisement. There is a need to develop school-based wellbeing research to explore the wellbeing needs of rangatahi and how school environments can meet these needs.

How Can Wellbeing Needs be Met for Māori in AE?

Teacher interaction with Māori students makes the most difference in Māori student achievement, according to Clark et al. (1996). A main contributing factor is finding a teacher who is a cultural match and is aware and inclusive of Māori values. A report by Brooking, et al. (2009) showcased tutors in an AE setting that were successful in developing a teaching style that was supportive of academic success. When the tutor's culture was similar to their own, students felt comforted and supported as their learning and belief systems were aligned. Relationships were reportedly more relaxed and friendship orientated, while maintaining distinct boundaries with managing challenging behaviour—a relationship built of mutual respect. Students felt the rules placed on them

for behaviour such as drug use and inappropriate verbal/physical behaviour were reasonable (Clark et al., 1996). This research reflects the kaupapa Māori principle of *ata* (respectful relationships) and suggests respectful relationships are functioning within some AE environments.

School connectedness is defined as the extent to which students feel personally accepted, respected, included, cared for, close to and supported by others in the school environment (Lester, et al., 2013). In secondary school, connectedness has been known to decrease emotional distress which negatively correlates with depression (Lester et al., 2013). However, research has identified a significant decline in school connectedness, particularly for at youth risk, as they transition from primary to secondary schooling (Gottfried, et al., 2001; Van der Werf, et al., 2008).

Various theories have attempted to explain the decline in school connectedness. Eccles (1993) argues a mismatch between early adolescents' developmental stage and learning environment results in limited school connectedness. On the other hand, Lester et al. (2013) attribute lowered school connectedness to students experiencing a new and broader social environment where teachers, classrooms and classmates change throughout the day. These findings indicate that a critical step to improving adolescent health outcomes is to increase our knowledge in school connectedness, particularly as students are entering secondary education.

Teachers play a pivotal role in engaging students, facilitating school connectedness and ultimately improving health outcomes. When students believe their teachers personally care about them and their learning, the research shows that they are more likely to be engaged in school, perform better academically and to participate in fewer health-risk behaviours (Battistich & Hom, 1997; McNeely & Falci, 2004). Stanton-Salazar, et al. (2001) purport that students who are committed to a personal relationship with their teachers are more likely to seek out and respond to support from teachers. In addition, Johnson, et al. (2011) argue that teachers are in a unique position to observe and identify behaviour that may indicate serious mental health problems. The research shows that the quality of relationship between students and teachers has a broad influence on academic achievement, behavioural adjustment and wellbeing.

Students have often reported feeling a sense of belonging in their AE schools (Borck, 2019; Brooking et al., 2009; Magadley, et al., 2019), a sentiment that commonly demonstrates school connectedness. When a school environment is likened to a traditional whānau setting, this is an example of the kaupapa Māori principle of whānau and may be the key behind the success of AE schools to encourage school connectedness (Bishop, et al., 2009) and a presence of manaaki (nurturing, care). As noted by Brooking et al. (2009), in their report for the NZ Ministry of Education, almost all students at AE reported disengaging soon after entering secondary school. A possible point of intervention to strengthen school connectedness is the transition from primary to secondary schooling. We may look to AE environments that foster a sense of belonging amongst their students when developing strategies to increase school connectedness in mainstream education.

Mentors may come in the form of a tutor, teacher or other staff members and are associated with improved wellbeing for youth. AE students often report they have good relationships with their tutors who may act as adult mentors to these young people. Adult mentoring has been linked with fewer depressive symptoms (Holt et al., 2008), better grades, lower crime and less risk-taking behaviours (Komosa-Hawkins, 2012). Mentors seem to assist in the reduction of aggressive behaviour and lessened substance use initiation (Cavell & Hughes, 2000; Grossman & Tierney, 1998) and longer mentoring relationships appear to be better than those of shorter duration (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Linnehan, 2001). A study conducted by Holt et al. (2008) found that adult mentoring may prevent a decline in urban minority youth school engagement. According to Holt et al. (2008), when a student's behaviour is met with positive validation in their environment, such as encouragement from a teacher, this can build confidence in their self-esteem. Mentoring relationships between students and key adults in their school environment appear to be a potential pathway in improving wellbeing within education and this demonstrates a triadic interaction between behavioural, environmental and personal influences.

Family is critical in the success of alternative settings and student learning. When the family is involved, the success rate for rangatahi is high. The role of parents are critical in any scheme to raise the educational attainment of Māori, particularly for children at-risk (Clark et al., 1996). An example of this may be the success of kura kaupapa (Māori

immersion primary and secondary schools) which have heavy family involvement (Tākao, et al., 2010). A report on the wellbeing needs of AE students in Auckland and Northland NZ (Clark et al., 2010) found that the majority of AE students came from struggling families that were experiencing various forms of hardship. These may include: drugs and alcohol, domestic violence, criminal gang connections, frequent geographical moves and living circumstances which pose as a barrier to consistent schooling (Clark et al., 2010). However, contrary to the negative impact of these issues was the ‘fierce protectiveness’ and high level of connectedness the students had with their families. These findings highlight the need to work with whānau to support rangatahi in engaging with education and maintaining their wellbeing.

Whānau connectedness appears to be a key component of AE student wellbeing (Brooking et al., 2009; Clark et al., 2010). Grunbaum, et al. (2000) found that family is the most significant protective factor against substance abuse and outweighed individual risk factors of students in AE. However, this is not to say that students in AE do not have family stressors. There are numerous reasons why parents vary in their ability to provide necessary support to their children, and it is easy to blame and criticise families for the problems their children have. However, it is unhelpful to hold a deficit viewpoint. On this basis, an education approach that meets the wellbeing needs of AE students’ needs to include and empower whānau, particularly for Māori as whānau is considered an integral part of wellbeing (Durie, 1985).

Previous research has explored where Māori wellbeing needs can be met in the school environment. Possible pathways for the improvement of wellbeing include positive Māori student and teacher interactions at school (Clark et al., 1996) mentoring relationships (Holt et al., 2008) and increasing school connectedness (Lester et al., 2013). These three areas are said to increase a sense of belonging for students. Research shows that AE schools also foster this sense of belonging in their students (Brooking et al., 2009). Kaupapa Māori principles such as *ata* and supporting whānau connectedness appear to be significant areas in promoting rangatahi wellbeing in the school environment.

Current Wellbeing Challenges for AE Students

According to international research, young people who attend AE schools are more likely to have significant health issues in comparison to students in mainstream education

(Grunbaum, et al., 2001). Students at AE are at an increased risk of depression, suicide, substance abuse, risk-taking behaviours and have more involvement with the police (Grunbaum et al., 2001). It is also common for AE students to have a previous history of physical and sexual abuse (Tresidder, et al., 1997). AE students are significantly more likely to smoke cigarettes and use alcohol and illegal drugs in comparison to mainstream high school students (Grunbaum & Basen-Engquist, 1993).

When compared with US populations, research has shown NZ AE students have similar health-risk behaviours (Denny et al. 2003). Female AE students in NZ seem to be particularly susceptible to high levels of alcohol and marijuana use, driving under the influence of alcohol, and risky sexual behaviour, compared to US AE students (Denny et al., 2003). This evidence suggests there is a very high prevalence of health-risk behaviours amongst AE students in NZ, comparable to that of AE populations abroad.

Research in NZ provides the context for risk-taking behaviours and emotional wellbeing related issues among AE students. Noel et al. (2013) surveyed a sample of students at both secondary school and AE. The results were vastly different with the majority of secondary students being 'healthy' (80%). In the AE population, only 21% were considered healthy. Their study presented AE students as having concerning health-risk behaviours such as drug and alcohol abuse, dangerous driving and also suffering depressive symptoms. Furthermore, Noel et al. (2013) demonstrated that AE students experience various risk factors for depression, such as high levels of poverty, witnessing violence at home and bullying at school. They found 35.4% of girls and 21.1% of boys attending AE had scores indicating a high likelihood of significant psychopathology from depression. These health-risk behaviours and increased possibility of psychopathology place AE students at higher risk for the leading causes of morbidity and mortality (such as suicide, motor vehicle accidents, depression, alcohol and substance use) for youth in NZ (Noel et al., 2013).

Current academic assessment of students in AE indicates low levels of achievement, placing them at risk of long-term negative consequences. As these adolescents proceed into young adulthood, the impact of school underachievement can lead to limited employment and earning opportunities and reinforce generational poverty cycles. Furthermore, there is a large body of empirical evidence suggesting school

underachievement can lead to higher levels of social and health problems such as lower self-esteem, depression, smoking and poor eating habits, substance abuse and an increase in criminal offending (Reid, 2002; Rothon et al., 2011; Thrane, 2006). AE students are often faced with the challenge of health disadvantages and finding employment with few or little academic qualifications.

NZ-based literature emphasises the link between long-term negative health consequences and youth unemployment, indicating the importance of obtaining academic qualifications. According to Fergusson, et al. (1997), youth who are disengaged from the labour market are more likely to suffer from anxiety disorder and experience higher rates of substance use. Blakely, et al. (2003) have found that unemployment can double the risk of suicide in comparison to the employed. Fifty years ago, few jobs specified formal education and young people could quite easily leave school early and find work. The Royal Health Commission (2011) propose youth unemployment in NZ is attributable to the recession and resulting impact on youth unemployment, employer bias against hiring young people, and youth with lower levels of educational attainment falling through the cracks. The research is clear: the fewer academic qualifications a school leaver has, the more likely they are to experience financial, social and health adversity.

As students become marginalised from mainstream schooling, oppositional subcultures can appear inviting, further alienating students. Heggen, et al. (2003) argue, school resources are overly consumed by ordinary classroom education causing negative consequences for students at risk; in turn, subcultures offer a sense of belonging and are provoked by the social-psychological needs of youth. Complementary to this is Lundstron and Oygard's (2014) view that seeking subculture membership is a coping strategy in negating the dominant culture the school represents. Oppositional subculture theorists contend that students gain peer status through oppositional behaviour, perhaps the only means of achieving recognition when status through academic achievement or teacher validation appears futile and socio-economic status is low (Staff & Kreager, 2008). By displaying oppositional behaviour, criticism, maladjustment and passivity, a student may be able to sustain their autonomy and dignity (Giroux, 1988). Thus, the inherent need for acceptance and inclusion can leave at-risk mainstream students susceptible to oppositional subcultures causing further disruption to school engagement.

Across the literature, numerous studies report students in AE as having low self-esteem (Connor, Poyrazli, et al., 2004; Nichols & Utesch, 1998). Some studies even suggest that the mainstream education environment is a precursor to the development of low self-esteem (McWhirter, et al., 2002). Low self-esteem is a predictive factor of depression in adolescents and young adults (Orth, et al., 2008). Brooking et al. (2009) found many AE students in NZ experienced feelings of inadequacy while attending mainstream schooling. They suggest not turning up to class was the better option than attending school and experiencing a further damage to self-esteem and reinforcement of failure. In contrast to the mainstream school environment where students may be at risk of developing low self-esteem, AE programs are associated with improved levels of self-esteem (Nichols & Utesch, 1998). There is a need to improve our understanding of how students perceive and experience their school environment as this seems to hold considerable influence in the formation of positive self-views.

The previous literature suggests that youth do not tend to seek help when they are experiencing emotional difficulties (Fleming, et al., 2012; Gulliver, et al., 2010), a severe concern for AE students when considering their acute health needs. Moreover, youth are more likely to approach friends or family as opposed to health professionals. Other factors such as depressive symptoms have also been known to negate help seeking behaviours in adolescence (Gulliver et al., 2010). To add to these difficulties, many students in AE have found counselling in mainstream schools unhelpful and sometimes even detrimental (Brooking et al., 2009). In a health system where seeking help from a general practitioner and even more so from mental health services is seen as a challenge, improvements need to be made to mental health services, with the goal to increase accessibility for youth in AE.

A study on AE in NZ for the Ministry of Education (O'Brien, et al., 2001) outlined quality markers for Māori students and identified the importance of culturally appropriate guidance counselling systems. Unfortunately, there have been reports by AE students of attempts to access counselling services within mainstream schooling and their non-effectiveness (Brooking et al., 2009). The indiscreet nature of being seen visiting the counselling office during school time can also be detrimental for some students. As a result, they are avoidant; other students also did not feel comfortable with their counsellors (Brooking et al., 2009). O'Brien et al.'s (2001) findings emphasise the need

to have culturally appropriate procedures and support for Māori, which has further been highlighted for AE students in NZ by Brooking et al. (2009).

Summary

Unfortunately, many youth in AE struggle with family stressors, multiple health concerns, poor academic performance and low rates of help-seeking behaviours. Although the use of the school curriculum has been successful in promoting protective attitudes and skills in order to reduce health-risk behaviours, there is still an urgent need to re-examine current approaches to meet the needs of AE students. It is pivotal that issues such as physical disabilities, poor diet, lack of sleep, emotional difficulties, motivational factors and learning barriers are addressed as soon as possible. If students continue to struggle with these problems, it adds to the difficulty of providing quality education. There is a need to address the developmental and wellbeing needs of rangatahi in AE from a holistic, integrative approach, in order to support them in all areas of their life and from culturally appropriate channels.

As noted in the introduction, the main focus of this chapter was to view current literature that investigates constructs of wellbeing and understand how this may be relevant to rangatahi in AE. Drawing on models of wellbeing such as Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985), Te Wheke model (Pere, 1982) and Ngā Pou Mana (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988), this thesis uses a Māori based approach to understand constructs of wellbeing. Presently there are multidimensional Western models of wellbeing (Wassell & Dodge, 2015); however, Māori models of wellbeing are considerably more inclusive than Western models and acknowledge cultural aspects of rangatahi life. Western constructs of wellbeing can also be informative, although they have limitations. For this study, Māori models of wellbeing appear to be a better alternative in exploring aspects of rangatahi wellbeing.

This thesis acknowledges the current strengths in the AE environment as has been identified by research in NZ. AE environments appear to align with kaupapa Māori principles that support *ata* and *whānau* (Smith, 1999). *Whānau* cohesiveness was a strong point among AE students (Clark et al., 1996). However, concerns remain for the health-risk behaviours of students engaged in AE and the characteristics of mainstream education that led them down a pathway of disenfranchisement and limited help-seeking

behaviours. A holistic approach must be employed to meet the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in AE to counteract socioeconomic challenges, external stressors and learning barriers. Acknowledged in a holistic approach is the importance of cultural, spiritual, psychological and physical contributors to wellbeing; and the view of rangatahi as embedded within their whānau system. Therefore, a holistic approach is best able to encapsulate how rangatahi wellbeing needs are perceived.

Chapter Three: Methodology



Takarangi

Takarangi – the symbol of the double spiral was reflective of my research as it represents the duality flowing through different layers of methodology: the reciprocal relationship I wanted to nurture between myself and participants, and the dualistic worlds rangatahi participants inhabit. Williams and Henare (2009) use the symbol of takarangi in considering the co-existence of two worlds and gaining a greater understanding of their functions; acknowledging parts of a world that are specific and those that are shared. I viewed the symbol of takarangi as an overarching theme to this entire research project and as a reminder of keeping the balance of relationships in alignment with the Kaupapa Māori (Māori approach) principle of ata (respectful relationships).

Takarangi is a powerful symbol of the Māori world and represents Io – the source and flow of life energy (Williams & Henare, 2009). As is outlined in the story of creation, the stage of Te Hiri (pure energy) brings ‘that which is to be created’ from the subconscious (Te Mahara) to the deep mind (Te Hinengaro,) where it is brought into consciousness (Te Whakaaro) and the knowledge and wisdom (Te Wānanga) proceeds. Then there is the seed word (Te Whe), where thought may be conceptualised and expressed in word (Royal, 2005). I liken this process to the development of this thesis, where:

- *Te Mahara* – Collecting data in the area of exploration; brought to life after venturing into the subconscious
- *Te Hinengaro* – Analysing data; through the deep mind data is processed
- *Te Whakaaro* – Results; data is brought into consciousness

- *Te Wānanga* – Findings of research; knowledge and wisdom are shared
- *Te Whe* – Completed thesis; the completed thesis is conceptualised and expressed in word

Takarangi embodies the research project's journey and endeavour to provide new insights into the wellbeing needs of rangatahi that mainstream education has disenfranchised.

Introduction

This chapter provides a background examination into the discussions and research that have informed my chosen methodology and framework. First, I discuss how I have drawn upon a distinctly Māori methodology that incorporates Kaupapa Māori principles as well as acknowledging a duality between te ao Māori (the Māori world) and the Western world. As is touched upon throughout this chapter, rangatahi participants often have their learning needs met by a Western educational system but sit within both Māori and Western worlds. This is an important consideration in employing Māori-centred methodology. I also address the benefits of gaining the perspectives of rangatahi in AE and how this can promote their empowerment as disenfranchised students. Then, I investigate the use of photo-elicitation in supporting further insight into the perspectives of young people. Finally, I explain how I drew from a narrative approach and illustrate the development of pūrākau (Māori storytelling) as a method for my research analysis. The selection of specific methodologies for this research project was to protect the use of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge). I continue to discuss these in more detail throughout the chapter.

A Māori Approach

For this research project, I utilised a Māori-centred approach. A Māori-centred approach aligns with the understanding that rangatahi in AE occupy both Māori and Western spaces. Māori-centred research that adheres to Kaupapa Māori principles is vital for maintaining cultural safety and appropriateness. Given the damaging historical effects of Western research conducted on Māori, I view a Māori-centred approach as necessary for this research enquiry to promote the empowerment of rangatahi.

At the interface of indigenous knowledge and Western science is Māori-centred research (Durie, 2005a). The advantages of a Māori-centred approach include the ability to draw

from two value and knowledge systems and two traditions of scientific inquiry (Boulton, 2005). However, the validity of one value system should not be measured against to the principles of another. In this research project, Durie's (2005a) four guiding principles of interface research were drawn on to ensure the integrity of both indigenous and Western science. These are:

1. There must be a mutual respect for each of the knowledge systems;
2. Benefits of the research must be shared;
3. The dignity of both the participants and members of the research team should be respected; and
4. The principle of discovery acknowledges indigenous knowledge as valid and does not view it as a relic of the past.

Rangatahi in urban environments often live in the interface between te ao Māori and the Western world. Therefore, the knowledge produced by a Māori-centred research approach may mirror the worldviews of rangatahi and show the capacity to respond to their development needs (Rata, 2012). Keeping the quality of relations with rangatahi and the strengthening of ties of reciprocity at the forefront by adhering to Durie's (2005a) four guiding principles was essential so that rangatahi voices, perspectives and understandings informed research process.

A Māori-centred research approach overlaps with Kaupapa Māori as the guiding principles of Kaupapa Māori are integrated within Māori-centred approaches. Both approaches employ key principles such as Māori values, tikanga (correct procedure, custom), te reo (the Māori language) and Māori concepts as well as cultural safety and mentorship from kaumātua (person of status within the whānau, older person). Boulton (2005) claims that both encompass and inform each other; they are neither exclusive nor superior to one another. In her research on Māori mental health, Boulton adopted an approach that incorporated elements of both Kaupapa Māori and Māori-centred research, referring to a “Māori research paradigm net” that did not necessarily require a distinction between the two approaches. Ultimately both approaches aim to empower, and may be viewed together under a Māori research paradigm net (Boulton, 2005; Ratima, 2001).

Despite similarities, there are distinct differences between Māori-centred and Kaupapa Māori research approaches. A key difference is in the power and control of research and accountability (Cunningham, 2000). With Kaupapa Māori research, the Māori community involved has complete authority over the research. In contrast, Māori-centred research acknowledges dual accountability to both Māori and mainstream authorities (Cunningham, 2000). As the rangatahi in AE live in both Māori and mainstream worlds, a Māori-centred approach appeared more appropriate and relevant. The findings of this study must inform mainstream authorities and contribute to informing mainstream school practice regarding the wellbeing needs of rangatahi. A significant percentage of rangatahi continue to fail in mainstream schooling; hence the aim of this research to work with both the Pākehā (NZ European) and Māori systems to support better outcomes. For this research project, I viewed a Māori-centred approach as falling under the overarching umbrella of Kaupapa Māori research but also including dual accountability to Māori and mainstream authorities.

As I viewed a Māori-centred approach as another facet of Kaupapa Māori research, it was essential to have a comprehensive understanding of Kaupapa Māori as this forms an integral component of research design. Smith (1990) initially outlined the principles of Kaupapa Māori research which have been further developed by other Kaupapa Māori theorists (Pihama, 2001; Pohatu, 2013; Smith, 1999). These principles were crucial in guiding the research and ensuring the best interests of the rangatahi participants at the core of methodology. The following table of ‘Kaupapa Māori Principles,’ adapted from Smith (1990), Pihama (2001) and Pohatu (2013) outlines several principles of Kaupapa Māori research:

Table 2: Kaupapa Māori Principles

Tino Rangatiratanga	The Principle of Self-determination Relates to the sovereignty, autonomy, independence and control of Māori over their own culture, aspirations and destiny.
Taonga Tuku Iho	The Principle of Cultural Aspiration Acknowledges the validity and relevance of Māori ways of knowing, doing and understanding the world. Asserts the legitimacy of te reo Māori, Tikanga and Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge, wisdom, understanding).

Ako Māori	The Principle of Culturally Preferred Pedagogy Acknowledges teaching and learning practices that are unique to Māori or preferred.
Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga	The Principle of Socio-Economic Mediation Asserts the need to relieve the disadvantages experienced by Māori and importance for Kaupapa Māori research to benefit Māori communities positively.
Whānau	The Principle of Extended Family Structure A core element of Kaupapa research and Māori culture. This principle acknowledges the importance of whānau and whakawhanaungatanga (relationship, kinship, sense of family connection). It also acknowledges the responsibility and obligations of the researcher to nurture and care for these relationships.
Kaupapa	The Principle of Collective Philosophy Specifies the collective vision, aspiration and purpose of Māori communities.
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Principle of the Treaty of Waitangi Views the Treaty to be a crucial document that affirms Māori rights of citizenship. Provides a framework where Māori may analyse relationships, challenge existing parameters, and affirm Māori rights.
Ata	The Principle of Growing Respectful Relationships Asserts the need to foster relationships and acts as a guide to understanding relationships and wellbeing when engaging with Māori.

Adapted from Smith (1990), Pihama (2001) and Pohatu (2013).

Kaupapa Māori research is a culturally appropriate and a more relevant approach to academic research than mainstream methodologies with Māori participants. Bishop (2008) states that Kaupapa Māori is a discourse that emerged from increased political awareness among Māori to revitalise cultural practices and way of life after the rapid urbanisation and revitalisation of Māori communities in the 1950s and 60s. There was a period of greater commitment to the intentions of the Treaty of Waitangi that evolved into an increase in collaboration between Māori and non-Māori in sharing research skills, and a higher responsibility of care for Māori data and safety of participants (Powick, 2003). Kaupapa Māori research addressed the power imbalances caused by the impact of colonisation that include the struggle to self-determination over land, culture and

language (Glover, 2002). Kaupapa Māori provided an alternative research approach and discourse.

To ensure the safety and responsibility of Māori scholarship, Kaupapa Māori researchers are accountable to Māori authorities and their research participants. Different areas of research are considered such as initiation procedures, evaluations, construction, and distribution of newly defined knowledge and benefits and who has control over them (Bishop, 2011). A key factor of Kaupapa Māori research is to understand and represent Māori as Māori. In kaupapa Māori research, the viewing of Māori through a single deficit-based approach does not happen. Milne (2005) argues that the growing body of Kaupapa Māori literature indicates a need to develop initiatives embedded within Māori frameworks. The principles of Kaupapa Māori research provide a safe and distinctly Māori structure in which to develop these initiatives.

Kaupapa Māori principles aim to place Māori at the centrepiece of their own lives and self-determination and is relevant for working with rangatahi in education. These can be applied not only to education, but all socio-cultural domains such as housing, health, social services, justice, employment and training (Pihama, et al., 2002). Therefore, Kaupapa Māori provides a Māori worldview research framework as a tool for addressing issues for rangatahi in mainstream education (Smith, 1999). Furthermore, Kaupapa Māori principles support the understanding of rangatahi participants' experiences within mainstream and AE school settings. The main guiding principles provide a significant framework for transforming Māori from places of vulnerability or disadvantage and strengthening positive factors.

In contrast to Māori research approaches, Western research has historically disadvantaged Māori by perpetuating colonial power imbalances. Western theories of Māori wellbeing denied the validity of traditional Māori practices, knowledge, language and culture. Western discourse has distinctively made comparisons about non-Western cultures (Hall, 2018). The process of gathering knowledge regarding indigenous peoples involved the collection, classification and delivery of findings from a Western perspective back to those they had colonised (Smith, 1999). This was not beneficial or relevant to Māori populations and resulted in the belittling and undervaluing of Māori knowledge, leaving Māori at a further disadvantage (Bishop, 2011). Given the exploitative nature of historical

Western methodological approaches to Māori research and the present thesis focused on an ‘at-risk’ rangatahi population, I believed proceeding from a mainstream approach could result in producing culturally insensitive findings. In considering an appropriate approach for working alongside rangatahi, I needed to develop a framework that was culturally respectful and placed importance on empowerment as opposed to labelling and judgement.

Due to the historically negative view of Western academic research, Māori have fought to have a legitimate place within the world of academia. Māori researchers have persisted in their expectations for academic respect from both the dominant Western research communities and their Māori communities. Māori researchers have challenged how previous Western findings were legitimised while Māori knowledge was not accepted (Walker, et al., 2006). Often, Western literature reflects poorly on Māori; it can be both selective and unfavourable and create a deficit-based approach to understanding (Bishop, 1996; Powick, 2003; Walker et al., 2006). Māori researchers have also had to establish trust with Māori and argue the need for research within Māori communities due to the damage caused by historical Western research (Bishop, 2011; Durie, 2004; Smith, 1999). One of the aims of this study is to utilise the safer and more responsible foundations developed by Māori academics who have worked hard to challenge the dominant hegemony of Western research.

Not only have Māori established a place within academia, but other indigenous populations have begun to develop more respectful and responsible scholarship within their communities to dispel previous colonial theories and work towards more positive outcomes (Hart, 2010). An accusation directed at indigenous researchers and their research asserts that “being too close to the culture prevents the ability to ask critical questions and is at risk of being inherently biased” (Aguilar, 1981, p. 66). In opposition to this argument, being an insider can provide the ability to ask more meaningful questions, read non-verbal cues and be able to project a more truthful, authentic understanding of the culture under study (Greene, 2014). Researching from an insider perspective offers the potential to access a deeper level of understanding.

In the present study, the university institution informed research standards and ethics, which were not created exclusively by or for Māori. Furthermore, the research was

supervised by both Pākehā and Māori supervisors of the university. Research findings were disseminated to rangatahi and their whānau, AE providers and the University. I undertook cultural consultation, and kaumātua support to ensure the research and methodology was tika (true, correct, just), accurate and appropriate. As the primary researcher, I acknowledge that I straddle two worlds, Māori and Pākehā, and am furthering my Māori knowledge as personal development. The aim for the research has been to provide a platform for rangatahi, disenfranchised from mainstream education, to be heard, thereby developing a body of evidence for how our schools can better understand and address their wellbeing needs.

Rangatahi Perspectives

Numerous research studies have encouraged the utilisation of student perspectives concerning their wellbeing, as they can provide rich and meaningful accounts of their experiences (Baroutsis, et al., 2015; Graham et al., 2014; McGregor & Martin, 2012). Frequently, the ‘student voice’ is considered to be the process of enabling students to share their values, opinions, beliefs, and perspectives on matters that concern them (Cook-Sather, 2014). In accessing the perspectives of disenfranchised rangatahi, I saw an opportunity to support their empowerment and self-determination. Durie (2001) suggests that research with Māori is best approached by analysing their ‘lived reality’. Rather than outlining a set of pre-determined factors of wellbeing, I sought to understand the perspectives of rangatahi themselves and in their own words.

Rangatahi are often represented as a single homogenous cultural category within school contexts and have not been acknowledged as a diverse group, thus obscuring within-group differences (Kidman, 2014). Moreover, Kidman (2014) discusses the need for the recognition of rangatahi as diverse by learning about their full range of roles and identities. In doing so, we gain useful insights into understanding their world. In the area of AE, gaining insight into rangatahi perspectives provides an opportunity to explore their diversity, mainly where they may have been more susceptible to negative societal stereotypes due to their school disenfranchisement (Center for Promise, 2016).

The perspectives of rangatahi can help teach us to respond more effectively to the current disparities in education and health. Berryman and Eley (2017) argue that if rangatahi are to be rightly self-determining, then first they must be listened to by those in power to

reform. For example, not only teachers and leaders in schools must listen to the voices of rangatahi, but also the political and education systems that continue to marginalise them. The first objective in supporting the self-determination of rangatahi in education and health reform is to create a safe space and context for them to speak. In gaining the perspectives of rangatahi in AE, we can begin the process of promoting their empowerment and working towards more positive health and education outcomes.

In a 2014 Australian study, Graham et al. (2014) explored the facilitation of wellbeing in schools. This research demonstrated the benefits of gaining a deeper understanding of student insight. The central assumption underpinning this study was that if student perspectives were present in education policy and practice concerning wellbeing in schools, then responsiveness towards students would be significantly higher (Graham et al., 2014). Students participating in the study were able to identify ways to change, improve or maintain aspects in the school environment that assisted wellbeing with an emphasis on being able to have a voice on these matters. The findings demonstrated the benefits of supporting democratic, participatory and inclusive approaches for schools' students.

Seeking input from students about matters that concern them can have a positive impact on their sense of connectedness. Baroutsis et al. (2015) conducted a study that provided an opportunity for students to have active participation and intervention within AE settings in Australia. The description of AE in their study was similar to settings in NZ: to provide education for youth who had disengaged from the mainstream sector in a flexible and supportive manner. Their findings revealed that in seeking student input, students gained a sense of connection to education which has been reportedly absent in many disenfranchised students' experiences of mainstream schooling (Baroutsis et al., 2015). Not only can student voice be a platform for the tino rangatiratanga (self-determination and empowerment) of youth, it can also act as an agent in facilitating a sense of connectedness for students.

Gaining the perspectives of rangatahi in AE was beneficial to the methodology in this thesis through the exploration of their 'expert witness' accounts. In alignment with Kaupapa Māori, access to their perspectives needed to be through the approach of empowerment and self-determination. I also sought to challenge the conceptions of

disenfranchised young people as vulnerable, incompetent and immature (Bahou, 2011). Additionally, as there was a need to understand the experiences of rangatahi within the broader context of their education, AE tutors were also asked about their experiences.

Tutor Perspectives

The present study explored the perspectives of AE tutors concerning the wellbeing needs of rangatahi. Teacher perspectives are helpful in the investigation of student wellbeing by identifying points of difference or shared perspectives. Ianes et al. (2017) argue, there is a mismatch between student and teacher voices when experiencing the same classroom environment. Similarly, Stewart and Sixsmith (2007) found that differing perspectives of students, teachers and parents further expanded children's unique perspectives of wellbeing. Indeed, if there are differences between student and teacher perspectives, these must be given attention in order to benefit student wellbeing and gain a holistic perspective.

Teacher perspectives are essential as they are on the frontline with students. Teachers are also responsive to a wide range of social and emotional wellbeing issues. Numerous studies emphasise the lack of training provided to teachers in being adequately prepared and able to deal with these realities (Graham, et al., 2011; Sawka, et al., 2002). It is highly likely that teachers/tutors who are working in AE in NZ have even fewer resources and training available to them than mainstream educators due to funding limitations. It is important to note that these tutors are working with students who experience emotional and health difficulties in higher numbers than mainstream schools (Noel et al., 2013). Hence it is crucial to pay close attention to the assumptions, values, beliefs and attitudes of teachers/tutors concerning their students' health as these are essential to their confidence and skill in supporting wellbeing. Teachers/tutors can have much influence on the wellbeing of the students they teach (Graham et al., 2011).

To explore the rangatahi and teacher perspectives, I needed to consider what would be the appropriate methodologies and methods for collecting data. Alongside my decision to use Māori-centred research methodologies, I decided to use narrative and photo-elicitation methods. Next, I explore the rationale for this.

Photo-Elicitation

Adhering to the empowering benefits of gaining student perspectives, the use of photo-elicitation can provide a unique insight into the experiential world of young people. Photo-elicitation has become an increasingly popular method of data collection in the social sciences (Croghan, et al., 2008). In this method photographs are taken and then discussed with participants to explore their meanings attached to them. A benefit of photo-elicitation as opposed to word-only interviewing is that such methods produce more insightful information and trigger memories, and thus is likely to invoke a more contextualised emotional and informative response to the topic of interest (Collier & Collier, 1991). An image can reveal important information that a participant may not necessarily know how to articulate suitably within an interview (Pole, 2004).

There are two main approaches in photo-elicitation methodology. One is where a professional or the researcher takes photographs or requires the use of a selection from archives or family albums. These are presented to participants to elicit comments (Collier & Collier, 1991; Harper, 2010). The second is that participants in the research project actually take the photographs as well as commenting on them. This second form of photo-elicitation is referred to in various ways including participatory photo interview (Kolb, 2008), auto-driving (Heisley & Levy, 1991), auto-photography (Thomas, 2009), and reflexive photography (Douglas, 1998).

Arguably, participatory photo interviewing is a better methodology to bridge the two distinct worlds of the researcher and the participant (Harper, 2010), as well as providing a greater understanding of the photographer participant's construction of the self (Croghan et al., 2008). As this study seeks to understand the lived experiences of rangatahi through Kaupapa Māori methodology, this form of photo-elicitation was most relevant. This form also enabled rangatahi voices to be authentic rather than manipulated by pre-determined images. By relying on young people to take the photographs themselves, there is less room for imposing preconceptions on them (Wells, 1997).

Photo-elicitation has been identified as a particularly reliable method when working with disadvantaged or marginalised groups (Parkin & Coomber, 2009). A rationale behind this is the production of data through negotiation and reflexivity between participant and researcher, differing to the first approach where subjects are containers of information for

extraction. This method provides a vehicle to narrate and explain, where the young person can lead discussion and highlight what is important to them while still keeping within the context of the research parameter (Croghan et al., 2008). Subsequently through the use of photo-elicitation, an opportunity for young people is provided to explain their choice in the image, illustrating their motives and values and further demonstrating the constraints and choices available to them (Pole, 2004). Moreover, this method aligns with the Kaupapa Māori principle of taonga tuku iho – the principle of cultural aspiration acknowledges the validity and relevance of Māori ways of knowing, doing, and understanding the world. Photo-elicitation allowed the rangatahi participants in the study to take the lead in exploring their wellbeing needs as they identified important aspects without being prompted.

Photo-elicitation may not always prove to be beneficial in research design as the implementation can be expensive and time-consuming. Meo (2010) identifies the disadvantages of photo-elicitation in her study of exploring how students perceive and respond to the world around them in Buenos Aires. She postulates researchers must be careful in assessing if photo-elicitation will be beneficial in gaining more in-depth exploration of the researched phenomenon due to the more demanding practicalities, in comparison to traditional interviews. Photo-elicitation methods can be time intensive as there is a need to set aside the time to prepare and organise interviews (Hatten, et al., 2013) and expensive with the need for cameras and printing (Pullman & Robson, 2006). Although these disadvantages can pose as a challenge, photo-elicitation can enhance participant responses and participation. Moreover, it is possible to mitigate the expense associated with photo-elicitation through the use of new technology, such as phone cameras and the sharing of digital images. Given the small number of rangatahi participants in this research project, the use of photo-elicitation methodology was feasible.

In summary, several factors justify the inclusion of participatory photo-elicitation in this research. By using participatory photo-elicitation alongside interviewing methods, rangatahi could highlight their specific wellbeing needs and lead discussion. Photo-elicitation aligned with the Kaupapa Māori principle of taonga tuku iho as this tool also provides an element of autonomy for rangatahi participants and supported self-determination within the parameters of the research project. In combining visual elements

of photo-elicitation into the methodological design of the study, it was anticipated that a different kind of information would be obtainable that interview-only processes would not be able to provide. The implementation of photo-elicitation during data collection was an ancillary tool to draw out rangatahi lived experiences and the meanings they attributed to them.

Narrative Inquiry

The present research project was approached through a narrative lens as well as utilising photo-elicitation methods. The use of photo-elicitation was purposely employed to help engage rangatahi in the research project and to support narrative methodological processes. Chase (2005) states that narrative inquiry focuses on retrospective meaning-making. Similarly, retrospective meaning-making is a critical component of photo-elicitation as participant and researcher discuss the photos together. The photographs taken by a research participant are described as visual narratives and provide a tool in naturally drawing out stories (Bridge, 2013). Therefore, narrative inquiry complemented the use of photo-elicitation.

Knowledge gained through a narrative approach can reveal complex information on individual experience and cultural context (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). We can identify complex constructs and patterns through the voices, perspectives and meanings that define narrative inquiry. For example, complex areas of research such as identity construction and concepts of the community are more readily explored through a narrative approach (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003). For, this reason, a narrative approach appeared suitable for investigating the complex concept of wellbeing for this research project. I needed a methodological process that would convey the importance of viewing wellbeing as interconnected and holistic, aligning with Māori worldviews of wellbeing (Durie, 1985; Pere, 1982). A narrative approach acknowledged the complexity and cultural context of experiences relayed in the stories of rangatahi.

Bishop (2011) acknowledges that traditional non-Māori research has displaced Māori lived experiences through misinterpretation and as a result denied Māori authenticity and voice. Typically, historical research from an anthropological approach resulted in the distorted colonial frames of indigenous experience (Smith, 2011). Reflecting on historical research outcomes for Māori, an approach that would value Māori knowledge and culture

as well as promote the voice of rangatahi participants was necessary. A narrative inquiry approach had the intent of generating comprehensive and insightful descriptions. Furthermore, the use of narrative methodology has become an established approach to researching within indigenous contexts (Ruwhiu & Wolfgramm, 2006).

There is consensus among Māori researchers that narrative inquiry is an appropriate methodological approach (Bishop, 2011; Ruwhiu, 2008). Narrative approaches not only aim to reflect the realities of Māori but also align with the oral traditions of sharing and protecting sacred knowledge through storytelling. Traditionally tribal history and knowledge were delivered through pūrākau (Māori storytelling). Pūrākau are a process for constructing, sharing and interpreting mātauranga Māori (Benavides, 2009). Pūrākau, cultural narratives that generate knowledge, understanding and inspiration about natural, social and spiritual worlds are a core element in traditional training that occurred in whare wānanga (house of learning) (Marsden, 2003). Mōteatea (traditional song), whakapapa (genealogy), whaikōrero (speech making), and whakataukī (proverbs) contain pūrākau, each with their own set of characteristics and patterns (Lee, 2005).

Smith (2002) argues that reclaiming pūrākau as a form of narrative inquiry research is relevant and legitimate in exploring and presenting Māori stories. Similarly, Lee (2009) maintains that pūrākau can continue to be constructed in present time through various forms, contexts and media to better understand the experiences of our lives as Māori, including the research context. Reflecting on these discussions, the value of including the element of pūrākau in the research project began to take shape. Not only was pūrākau utilised in traditional teaching in the whare wānanga, but it was also a way of engaging rangatahi in their learning. Pūrākau appeared as a culturally appropriate tool in researching the stories of rangatahi and more importantly connecting with them. The use of pūrākau reflected the Kaupapa Māori principle of ata – growing respectful relationships in listening and acknowledging the realities of participants. I considered how rangatahi narratives, through pūrākau, could inform my own learning and understanding and contribute to the research project. Of significance was how pūrākau as a methodology could provide space for the complexity of the researcher-participant relationship by acknowledging the layers of participant and researcher meanings (Lee, 2005).

Pūrākau in research has developed out of a Kaupapa Māori approach and corresponds with both narrative and Kaupapa Māori methodological frameworks. Lee (2005) investigates the use of pūrākau as a methodological tool in order to overcome dominant discourses that minimise Māori experiences. She contends that pūrākau challenges these dominant discourses by empowering Māori to connect. Pūrākau promotes the Kaupapa Māori principle of self-determination by allowing Māori to narrate renditions within Māori cultural and research frameworks. Pūrākau naturally appeared as a component of the research process as it is fundamental in distributing Māori knowledge, values, protocols and worldviews (Lee, 2005).

Pūrākau as a form of narrative inquiry was chosen as it presented as an empowering and culturally sensitive approach. Not only did pūrākau align with the overarching principles of Kaupapa Māori methodology but it also emphasised the value of mātauranga Māori throughout. I saw pūrākau as furthering the voices of rangatahi as Māori and providing a creative means to share their stories. Lee (2005) acknowledges the more profound understanding of the word pūrākau in te reo. When separated the word pūrākau means pū (base) and rākau (tree). As purported by Lee (2005), the metaphoric interpretation of pūrākau as trees demonstrates a Māori understanding of stories. The base of the tree is unseen, buried beneath the earth – Papatūānuku, with its roots drawing water and nutrients to provide strength and vitality in order to grow. This metaphor is representative of where I initiated this research in the exploration of the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in Aotearoa. Aspects of the lives of rangatahi that contribute to their strength and vitality are below the surface, and still to be explored. The branches of the tree are representative of the many versions, interpretations or understandings. On this basis, the stories of rangatahi are interwoven or formed into a whole while acknowledging the different components of their wellbeing needs.

I likened the process of pūrākau to the process of creation and was able to layer together the metaphor of pū-rākau (base and tree) and takarangi (process of creation). The subconscious (Te Mahara) is where all thought begins. The pū is where it lies beneath the surface, not yet seen. The stories transform through the process of data analysis (Te Hinengaro) and are brought into the conscious (Te Whakaaro), flowing up through the trunk of the tree. Knowledge and wisdom (Te Wānanga) are then shared, and the many aspects and versions of stories are the branches of the rākau. The overall picture of both

the pū and rākau is representative of Te Whe where thought is created and expressed in word. I consider this completed thesis a representation of Te Hinengaro, Te Whakaaro, Te Wānanga and Te Whe. The figure below illustrates the metaphor of pū-rākau and takarangi.

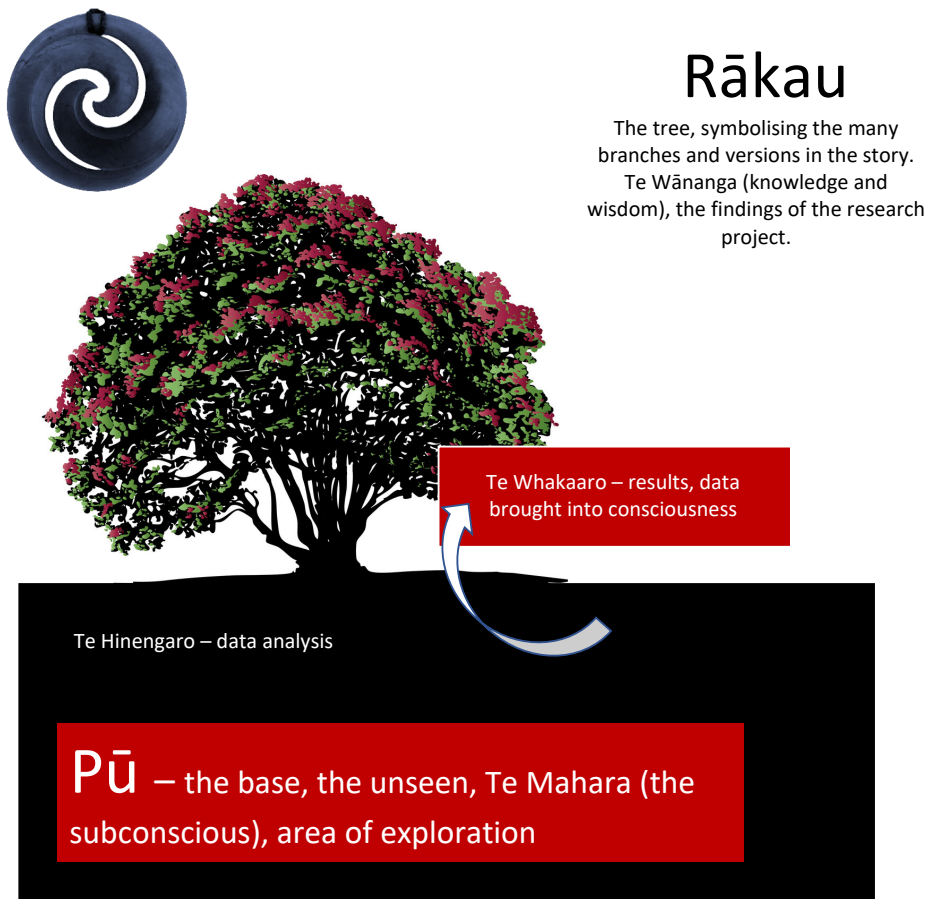


Figure 1: Pūrākau/Takarangi Framework

Summary

In the context of this study, I drew from pūrākau as a form of narrative inquiry which appeared to be a culturally relevant and empowering approach. I also wanted to embed mātauranga Māori within this research. Of importance as well was including rangatahi perspectives which aligns with Kaupapa Māori approaches to promote self-determination. AE tutor perspectives were valued in assessing whether they aligned with how rangatahi viewed their wellbeing. Previous research has shown that AE schools provide more supportive environments, particularly for Māori students (Denny, Clark, &

Watson, 2004). I believed it was essential to gain AE tutor perspectives and how the AE environment may contribute to the wellbeing of rangatahi.

The foundations of this chapter provide the building blocks for proceeding chapters. The research approach used, weaves together the voices and perspectives of rangatahi in AE and their tutors. As another facet of kaupapa Māori research, a Māori-centred approach made sense as it corresponded with the Māori and Western spaces occupied by rangatahi in AE. Furthermore, a Māori-centred approach ensured cultural safety and appropriateness as a guide for navigating the research project was Kaupapa Māori principles. Drawing on Lee's (2005) development of pūrākau as a research methodology, pūrākau was chosen as a form of narrative inquiry and aligned with Māori traditions of storytelling. It was important to understand rangatahi experiences throughout their journey from mainstream education into AE. Photo-elicitation as a tool supports the pūrākau of rangatahi to draw out their experiences and perspectives. The methodological framework used in the present study integrates a Māori-centred approach and pūrākau to further our understanding of the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in AE, through both rangatahi and tutor perspectives. The following chapter will outline the methods implemented in this study.

Chapter Four: Methods

This chapter outlines the research process and methods used to conduct the study. This chapter also provides information on ethical considerations and how these were aligned with kaupapa Māori (Māori approach, custom) principles. This is then followed by a description of how a narrative analysis took place and provides an explanation of how an experience-centred approach to analysis was appropriate for the study. This chapter provides an overview of data collection, ethical considerations and data analysis of the research project.

Research Processes

The overall aim of the project was to gain a better understanding of the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in AE. Data collection proceeded in two phases and will be explained in the following section. The first phase comprised of two kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) interviews of rangatahi participants. After the first kanohi-ki-te-kanohi interview, rangatahi were asked to take photographs of items that represented their wellbeing needs, and in the second interview were asked to discuss the stories underpinning these photographs. The interviews sought to identify how rangatahi attending AE view their wellbeing needs and explored a range of topics in relation to wellbeing, such as school, whānau and home, physical wellbeing, safe sex, alcohol and drugs, culture, relationships, belonging in the community and emotional wellbeing. In the second phase, two hui (focus groups) were conducted with the AE tutor participants. In the first hui (focus group), tutors were presented with hypothetical case studies of rangatahi in AE, with topics developed from an initial analysis of the data from rangatahi interviews. In the second hui (focus group), AE tutors were asked about their understandings on the wellbeing needs that rangatahi have. This was to gain a broader understanding of the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in AE and the context they were situated in.

Phase One: Rangatahi Interviews

Participants

Participants in phase one of this project were students receiving education by three different urban AE providers. The six male rangatahi participants all identified as Māori

and were aged between 14-16 years. Time spent in AE ranged from one term to two years. The rangatahi participants had attended between three and six schools, and had lived in urban areas all their life, apart from two participants who had lived in small townships. They had between one to ten siblings in their whānau. Two other students completed the first interview but were unable to complete the rest of the project as they left their AE provider during the course of the project.

Recruitment

The Director of an Auckland AE group of providers acted as a key informant and made initial contact regarding the project with each AE provider in their area and asked each centre if they wanted to participate. Four AE providers agreed to be involved in the research project. The Director approached the lead AE tutors, who then attended an individual kanohi-ki-te-kanohi meeting to explain the project, answer their questions, and to ask for their consent to participate in the phase two focus groups. I then visited each AE centre at times identified by the AE tutors to cause least disruption to core learning, to meet with the students and explain the project. Potential participants were invited to volunteer if they wanted to participate. Once participants had volunteered, a meeting was arranged where we could engage in whakawhanaungatanga (process of establishing relationships), discuss in depth the requirements of participation and to answer any questions or concerns they had. They were also given an information sheet to read through outlining the study, participant expectations and rights. Once they were fully informed, they were asked to take a permission slip home to their parent/caregiver for their consent. An information sheet was also provided to parents/caregivers introducing myself and explaining my study, outlining the interview topics, and giving contact details for myself and my supervisors in case they had any questions or wanted to seek further information. After caregiver permission slips had been returned to AE providers and consent given, the rangatahi participants were then asked to sign their consent forms to participate in the study before interviews could commence.

Data Collection

The six participants gave two interviews each. The two participants that left AE during the data collection phase of the research project, completed an interview each. Their data was also used in the research. The interviews were conducted in a private room, free of interruptions at AE. All interviews were recorded by Dictaphone. The interviews took

approximately one hour each to complete. Interviews were made at a time that suited students and tutors where disruption to learning was minimised. Each interview was opened and closed with karakia (prayer). Karakia were spoken as this was culturally appropriate and provided spiritual guidance and protection over the interviews. Rangatahi were also provided with refreshments and once both interviews had been completed, they were provided with lunch. Rangatahi participants were also given a small koha (offering) for their time (a \$25 shopping mall voucher). Semi-structured interviews were implemented as this gave informants more power and control over what was discussed and encouraged two-way communication (Saks & Allsop, 2007). Furthermore, these aspects of promoting greater autonomy and reciprocity in interviewing for participants were also helpful in maintaining kaupapa Māori principles of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and ata (growing respectful relationships). Semi-structured interviews supported the principle of tino rangatiratanga as it allowed rangatahi to contribute their own thoughts, experiences and beliefs without being restricted by a completely structured interview process. The two-way communication encouraged through semi-structured interviews contributed to developing respectful relationships with rangatahi and related to the principle of ata.

Data collection began with the first round of rangatahi interviews. Semi-structured interview questions covered a range of topics associated with wellbeing such as their views on school, whānau (family) and home, physical health, alcohol and drugs, Māori culture, peers/relationships, their community, and emotions. Rangatahi participants were invited to share as much or as little information they wanted and were informed they could withdraw from the study at any time.

After the initial interview, rangatahi participants were asked to take photographs with disposable cameras that show 'what you need to feel comfortable, healthy and happy' throughout their daily activities. As the majority of participants did not have their own smart phones, camera phones and digital file sharing was utilised for only one participant. None of the participants had used disposable cameras before and they were given a lesson on how to take photographs. Participants were invited to take as many or as few photographs as they wanted (disposable cameras had a roll of 27 exposures). Rangatahi participants determined how much time they wanted to dedicate to taking photographs.

After two weeks, disposable cameras were collected to be developed and a second interview time was agreed.

Rangatahi then completed a second photo-elicitation kanohi-ki-te-kanohi interview to discuss their photographs and what they meant in relation to their wellbeing needs. In general, most participants used their whole roll of 27 photographs. One participant took only three photographs on the disposable camera, and the participant who took digital photographs on their phone chose to share five photographs. This process enabled further insight into participants' everyday lives, both at AE and in their personal time, that might not otherwise have been shared during interviews. Taking photographs for the purpose of the study appeared to be an enjoyable and novel activity particularly for those using disposable cameras, and most participants requested copies of their photographs.

Rangatahi participants were asked to give their consent for their photographs to be reproduced for this thesis, educational and/or non-commercial purposes, in reports, presentations, publications, websites and exhibitions connected to the research project. They were also offered copies of the photographs to keep themselves. Rangatahi needed to feel comfortable in sharing the photographs they had taken as they were personal and meaningful to them. It was also important they understood they could be recognisable in the photographs they shared of themselves. This was clearly explained to them in conversations and their consent forms. They were asked if they gave their consent for:

1. all the photographs to be reproduced;
2. some but not all photographs;
3. or they did not wish for any of their photographs to be reproduced.

Only one participant did not give permission to re-produce any of his photographs and they were not included in this thesis.

Phase Two: Tutor Focus Groups

Phase two of the research project investigated AE tutors' views on the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in a group setting of two hui.

Participants

Participants in phase two of the research project were eight tutors who worked in the AE providers approached for phase one of the project. Tutors were culturally diverse, coming from Māori, Pacific Island, Caucasian and Fijian-Indian backgrounds. Their ages ranged from 24 to 55 years. Some tutors had only been working in AE for a few months, while others had been working in AE for several years. Most tutors came from youth worker backgrounds, although there were also two provisionally registered teachers and one teacher with full registration.

Recruitment

As detailed in phase one, the director of an Auckland AE group of providers acted as a key informant and made initial contact with the tutors to explain phase one. When initial contact was made with tutors, they were also invited to participate in the research project for phase two. Fifteen tutors were invited to participate and eight tutors agreed to participate. Once phase one of the project was completed, hui (focus group) meeting times were arranged. Hui occurred during professional development meetings where they would not interrupt teaching times of students.

Data Collection

Data collection for phase two of the project involved two hui. I chose to use hui in my research with AE tutors as group interaction could enable shared ideas and points of difference to be articulated. The explicit use of group interaction had the potential to produce data and insights that otherwise would not be accessed without the interaction of the group (Denzin & Lincoln, 1997). Each hui was opened and closed with karakia. Kai (food) was provided and tutors were also offered a small koha for their time (a \$25 shopping mall voucher).

The first focus group provided tutors with two hypothetical case studies developed from an initial analysis of the data provided by rangatahi participants during phase one. I developed two stories involving rangatahi fictional characters that attended AE and included similar experiences to those students I had interviewed. Tutors were invited to respond to the case studies in terms of whether they viewed them as typical, how they would approach the different wellbeing needs involved, or if there were particular issues not presented in the case studies provided that were common amongst rangatahi in AE.

As the case studies were hypothetical there was no risk of tutors identifying particular students, which was important in maintaining ethical safety for rangatahi participants. Additionally, by utilising hypothetical case studies I was able to easily present my earlier findings.

The second hui centred on the main findings from phase one of the project and invited tutors to respond to those findings and share their own experiences and views of rangatahi wellbeing needs. Common themes identified in phase one of the project included connection to culture, physical and emotional health, relationships with tutors and other students, motivation and classroom environments. This second hui discussion centred on these topics, but the tutors were also invited to discuss other topics and issues that had not been identified by rangatahi. These were areas such as mentorship, resource needs and network building within the community to support rangatahi. During this hui, tutors were also invited to discuss their perspectives on rangatahi strengths and aspects of the AE environment they thought supported their wellbeing needs. Tutors were also asked to identify issues they believed to compromise rangatahi wellbeing.

Ethical Considerations

The guiding principles of kaupapa Māori practice were incorporated into a Māori-centred approach, and these were carefully interwoven throughout the research. Smith (1999) has identified kaupapa Māori practices that can be utilised in research as outlined previously in the methodology chapter. Kennedy and Cram (2010) have expanded upon these practices to identify practical ways to ensure kaupapa Māori principles are respected and adhered to. These were drawn on to essentially provide the ethical principles that guided my research from the initial processes to final completion, in order to ensure rangatahi feel safe and comfortable as well as benefit from the outcomes. Table 3, ‘Cultural and Ethical Values’, documents how these were employed.

Table 3: Cultural and Ethical Values

Cultural values	Researcher guidelines (Cram & Kennedy, 2010)	Te Kaupapa a te rangatahi – Researcher practices for working with Māori youth
------------------------	--	--

Aroha ki te tangata	A respect for people – allow people to define their own space and meet on their own terms.	Rangatahi participants were met in their schooling environment. Interviews were arranged for times that were suitable to them.
He kanohi kitea	It is important to meet people face-to-face, and to also be a face that is known and seen within the community.	Key informants and potential participants were first met face-to-face to inquire whether they would like to be part of the research project. All data was collected from face-to-face interviews and focus groups.
Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero	Looking and listening and then maybe speaking. Develop understanding in order to find a place from which to speak.	Rangatahi participants were invited to share their own views of their wellbeing needs. Through the use of photo-elicitation, they were able to show what was important to them in their daily lives. The study sought to hear the voices of rangatahi and their lived experiences.
Manaaki ki te tangata	Sharing, hosting, being generous.	Participants were provided with kai (food refreshments). A koha (Westfield voucher) was given to thank participants for their contribution to my research project.
Kia tūpato	Be cautious – be politically astute, culturally safe, and reflective about insider/outsider status.	Interviews and focus groups were open and closed with karakia (prayer). I sought cultural supervision through my research supervisors and within my own whānau. I was cautious to cause the least amount of disruption to the students' learning time and sought advice from the Director of the AE providers and AE tutors.
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	Do not trample on the mana (dignity) of a person.	Participants were invited to share as much or as little as they wanted. They were able to withdraw from the project at any time they wished to. Their stories, experiences and views were acknowledged and treated with respect. Rangatahi participants were asked if they gave permission for their photographs to be

		shared or not as they were personal and meaningful to them. Furthermore, permission was important where photographs showed recognisable people.
Kia māhaki	Be humble – do not flaunt your knowledge; find ways of sharing it.	I, the researcher sought to act humbly throughout the data collection process. I greatly appreciated the participants' contributions to the research and viewed rangatahi as experts on their own lives. My new-found knowledge from my research project was then shared with participants.

Ethics informed interactions with rangatahi participants, their AE tutors and the data. As the project involved children, the consent of rangatahi participants was carefully considered as well as the consent of their parents/caregivers. Furthermore, their permission was sought for sharing the photographs they took, for the purpose of this thesis and any other material connected with this research project. Other ethical factors were considered: finding times for kanohi-ki-te-kanohi and hui that caused the least disruption to learning, ensuring that rangatahi participant data remained unidentifiable to their AE tutors during hui, and that all participants were aware they could withdraw at any time or share as much or as little as they wanted. Findings were also disseminated back to participants, their whānau and AE providers. This was achieved through meetings and presentations to the particular AE area cohort, and tutors that participated, as well as sending the main findings of the research to whānau. Human ethics approval was granted by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. There was some challenge in recruiting rangatahi participants after they had given their consent due to the difficulty of making contact with parents/caregivers for their consent. This delayed the research as well as caused a loss of potential participants.

Kaupapa Māori principles were addressed in my research process through keeping them at the forefront of my research design, data collection and feedback processes. Māori ways of knowing, doing and understanding the world were acknowledged. Rangatahi were invited to contribute as much or as little as they wanted to in order to empower their own self-determining within the research project. Māori models of wellbeing informed my questioning; however rangatahi were encouraged to discuss their own ideas of their

wellbeing needs. These components of wellbeing were then used to inform tutor participant hui.

It was important to me to minimise any time constraints that may be imposed on establishing my relationships. Poananga (2011) proposes that kaupapa Māori research can be limited by academic institutions due to the extra time needed to establish relationships in the preliminary stages of research within Māori communities. Establishing relationships within the research community and with Māori participants is imperative for kaupapa Māori protocols and ensures the future safety and integrity of the research project. For this research project I was able to collect data over a two-year time period and I was able to foster my relationships. Time constraints were not apparent and did not limit my integrity in following the kaupapa Māori principle of *ata* – growing respectful relationships.

Narrative Analysis

An in-depth perspective of rangatahi and tutor views was established through the use of narrative analysis. There were a range of narrative approaches to research, one of them being experience-centred which appeared to suitably align with the aims of the research project. It is a narrative approach to research where the focus is centred on meaning rather than structure, and allows the researcher to delve deeper into understanding human experiences and specific situations (Squire, 2008). Stories are able to be flexible about time and personal experience, and are defined by theme as opposed to structure. Using an experience-centred approach to narrative analysis allowed me the flexibility in exploring the experiences of rangatahi and their AE tutors and supported the creativity of *pūrākau* (Māori storytelling) and kaupapa Māori principles.

An experience centred approach was needed to develop *pūrākau* in this research project. *Pūrākau* practices draw on traditional Māori protocols and practices and provide a guideline for Māori research (Lee, 2009). An analysis method that was culturally appropriate and would capture the lived experiences of rangatahi was important to consider. *Pūrākau* appeared to be a culturally responsive analysis approach that acknowledged cultural narratives as a legitimate way of representing the stories of rangatahi. As stated by Marsden (2003) *pūrākau* is a core component of *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge, wisdom, understanding). It is a method that allows complex

information to be encapsulated and condensed into easily understood forms from a Māori perspective.

Pūrākau is being used in therapeutic clinical settings as a kaupapa Māori methodology. Mahi a atua (tracing ancestral footsteps) is an approach implemented by the Te Kūwatawata Mental Health Service in the East Coast area of NZ (Rangihuna, et al., 2018). The approach is used to engage with whaiora (emotionally distressed people), offering an alternative framework that removes stigma and empowers Māori voices. The approach draws on Māori deities to build pūrākau around whaiora. Similarly, for this research, I wanted to find an analysis approach that did not continue to present rangatahi who had been disenfranchised from mainstream education as behaviourally challenging or 'naughty'. Rather I wanted to use an analysis approach that promoted kaupapa Māori principles and the empowerment of rangatahi. Pūrākau was an analytical approach that acknowledged a Māori world view and provided an alternative perspective.

Experience-centred narrative analysis aligns with kaupapa Māori principles. Bold (2012) argues that stories in different cultures have different structures and there is a risk of losing context when using a structural approach to narrative analysis. Experience-centred approaches allow for these differences to operate which was important to the cultural safety and appropriateness of my research as it enabled rangatahi stories to unfold in their own use of language and storytelling. Furthermore, experience-centred narrative analysis promotes building a collective model through personal stories that can lead to representation and the empowerment of disenfranchised populations (Squire, 2008). This relates to the kaupapa Māori principle of tino rangatiratanga where Māori are supported to gain autonomy, independence and ability to elicit control over their own destiny.

An experience-centred approach to narrative analysis is particularly useful in exploring social situations. I was interested in learning about a range of experiences of rangatahi in their time spent with whānau, mainstream schooling, AE experiences and on their own to gain an understanding of their wellbeing needs. Similarly, I wanted to gain the perspectives of AE tutors with rangatahi in their experiences. Experience-centred approaches are not restricted to a particular time and place and the method can be used with partial stories or experiences. This allowed me to gain a broader perspective of their wellbeing needs, yet also allowed me to gain a deeper insight into these experiences.

A commonly made distinction with experience-centred analysis is with the event-centred based on the work of Labov (Labov & Waletzky, 1967). Event-centred approaches are largely concerned with the structure of a story and are rigidly focused on specific events. I did not want to restrict my analysis to specifically focus on particular events that have occurred within the lives of rangatahi who attend AE or experiences of their tutors, although events that occurred in their life were included in their stories. By taking an experience-centred approach as opposed to an event-centred one, I was able to acknowledge kōrero (discussion) that was not about events but significant for rangatahi to share their story of who they are. This was important in supporting kaupapa Māori principles and empowering participants. Furthermore, I was able to acknowledge the interactions between storyteller and listener, researcher and research participant in the co-construction of stories (Bold, 2012). I was able to explore narratives as stories of experience rather than limiting my analysis to specific events.

Narratives are the process of human sense-making. Narrative analysis in qualitative research seeks to understand the meaning of different situations and different people's sense making of the world. It is often the vehicle towards social change (Riessman, 2008) and is commonly conducted with small numbers of participants in a particular context and with a specific purpose (Bold, 2012). A narrative analysis appeared to compliment a kaupapa Māori approach. For this reason, narrative analysis appeared to be an appropriate method for my research as I wanted to provide a platform for rangatahi voices to be heard and investigate their wellbeing needs with the aim that my research could provide useful information helpful to social services and educational providers. I chose a small number of participants from AE to conduct semi-structured kanohi-ki-te-kanohi interviews, a process often used with experience-centred narrative interviewing (Squire, 2008).

Initially my analysis began with describing the interview content thematically which was used to develop and test theories that gave a predictive explanation to the stories of rangatahi. Data collected from the first two interviews completed by rangatahi were placed into themes that were then utilized in tutor hui. These themes helped guide the hypothetical case studies provided to tutors in the first hui and these same themes were presented in the second hui. Squire (2008) argues that re-interviews and other post-interview interactions can be empowering for participants as this provides interviewees

with power over materials and the opportunity to reflect on their responses or continue with their viewpoints. For this reason, I wanted to provide rangatahi and tutors the opportunity to reflect on previous responses.

My analysis approach differed to thematic content analysis in the attention to sequencing and progression of themes, their transformation and wider storytelling. Experience-centred narrative analysis highlights the narrative components of text meanings. Through my analysis I was able to build overarching stories in the areas of whānau, education and in the resilience, independence and self-determination of rangatahi in AE. My narrative analysis required continual checking of evolving interpretations against the material and actively seeking out contrary cases. Freeman (2003) states that there are multiple truths and valid interpretations in narrative research. I did not expect one single interpretation to emerge, rather, I was able to find stories and experiences that supported rangatahi as a diverse population with a range of wellbeing needs. This aligned with the process of pūrākau where rākau (tree) symbolises the many versions in the story. My process of analysis began during the initial data collection phase and was an interactive, ongoing process that was reviewed and modified throughout and after completion of data collection.

Narrative analysis assimilates the development, transition and experiences in people's lives and how they attribute meaning to them as narratives. As Moen (2006) describes, narrative research is structured around the stories actioned by the research process and narratives. Through investigating the stories that emerged through my research process, I was able to gain insight into rangatahi experiences of wellbeing and how they assigned meaning to their experiences. Furthermore, I found a narrative approach to my analysis as useful in revealing the characters and events situated in the complexity of their lived experiences and supporting the process of pūrākau.

Hikuroa (2017) discusses how pūrākau presents a type of codified mātauranga Māori. Hikuroa provides the example of the Waitepuru stream pūrākau. The stream is codified using the metaphor of a lizard taniwha (water spirit) to pass on knowledge of the stream's geographical features. The Waitepuru pūrākau is both metaphorical and literal. Similarly, I have chosen to use pūrākau to build and present findings from this research in the following three chapters. The first chapter uses harakeke as a metaphor to present findings

around whānau wellbeing. Features of the harakeke plant are representative of whānau within mātauranga Māori. The following findings chapter uses the pūrākau of Tāne-te-Wānanga and the story of Ngā Kete e Toru (the three knowledge baskets) to present wellbeing findings around school and the education environment of rangatahi. The last findings chapter presents the pūrākau of Tī Kōuka (cabbage tree) which is representative of independence and resilience. In this chapter, findings surrounding rangatahi resilience, independence and self-determination will be presented.

Chapter Five: Ngā Pūrākau o ngā Harakeke

Hutia te rito o te harakeke,

Kei whea te kōmako e kō?

Kī mai ki ahau;

He aha te mea nui o te Ao?

Māku e kī atu,

he tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata

If the heart of harakeke was removed, where will the bellbird sing?

If I was asked, what was the most important thing in the world;

I would be compelled to reply, it is people, it is people, it is people!

This whakataukī (Māori proverb) acknowledges that humankind cannot exist without the sound of the children in the world, as they are our next generation. Whakataukī are a tool used to pass down knowledge from generation to generation, to reinforce Māori values and teach what is important. The use of whakataukī in this chapter emphasises the values and themes that have arisen throughout this analysis. The whakataukī above speaks of how we come together as people; the heart of the harakeke in this context symbolises the heart of the people and whānau (family). The structure of whānau is likened to the way the harakeke bush interlaces with nearby bushes and grows best when planted together. Whānau grow strong when members are interconnected, work together and are supportive of each other. It is also representative of the interconnectedness of extended family, a way of life for many Māori and not viewed as separate from the whānau system, as explained in the following paragraph.

The whānau system can be viewed as the weaving together of people to form a unified whole. The harakeke is visually synonymous to whānau in its growth structure; the clusters of rito (young centre shoots) represent the children who are protectively surrounded by the adult leaves of mātua and whāea (parents, aunts and uncles). The outermost leaves represent the tīpuna (grandparents and ancestors), a useful approach in viewing rangatahi as part of a collective whole and embedded within their whānau system. With this approach, harakeke symbolises the idea of several flax bushes being linked together at the roots to highlight how whānau are linked and connected from the

very youngest to the very eldest. The harakeke is at the forefront of life, weaving together whānau, hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe).

In Māori settings we see harakeke in the woven tukutuku (ornamental lattice work) panels of the marae and the kete (basket) of people carrying groceries from the store. We see harakeke in the whāriki (mats) to embellish the floors of whānau homes and wahakura (bassinets) for babies. The art of weaving with harakeke has been passed down many generations, reinforcing the importance of the transfer of knowledge to younger generations. For its durability in weaving, harakeke continues to be valued. Harakeke flowers are a material used in the making of floats or rafts, and the nectar is sweeten foods and drinks. Just as the harakeke can be utilised in varying ways and has many different qualities, so do whānau, as not all Māori whānau are the same. The array of shade, strength, softness, and fibre content of the harakeke mirrors the diversity of strengths, structure and aspects within Māori whānau.

The family system that rangatahi are embedded within can be understood as a vital part of the context in which their wellbeing can be embraced and enhanced. The concept of family health is not separate from individual wellbeing from a Māori perspective as the health of an individual is reflective in the health of the family. Wellbeing models such as Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985; Pere, 1982) conceptualise the health of the family as a core component, integral to all areas of Māori wellbeing. Waitoki (2012) research acknowledges the worldview held by some Māori whānau that experiences are shared as a group. A participant in her research explains this worldview: “For me to tell you what I think about this I have to think about what my mother thinks, what my father thinks and in fact what my extended whānau think too – then I can tell you what I think.” Ngā pūrākau o ngā harakeke illustrates the importance of whānau to rangatahi wellbeing, and how this unfolds through their shared group experiences.

For harakeke to flourish, the best conditions must be found. The harakeke likes well-drained soil, a place where the sun will shine on it and away from stagnant water or frost-prone sites. For whānau to flourish, we must consider the aspects that promote optimal health, a concept similar to Thich Nhat Hanh's (2016) teachings on empathy through the metaphor of a lettuce. I have adapted this teaching to the harakeke and whānau. As in their metaphor it is not productive to blame the harakeke when it is planted and does not

thrive; instead, it is far more useful to look for the reasons preventing it from flourishing. Perhaps it needs to be placed in a warmer site with more water or in a soil that is less dry. In this case, the harakeke is not blamed. In contrast, whānau of rangatahi are often judged as a source of behavioural or educational difficulties of their rangatahi. However, blaming the whānau has no positive effect at all on the rangatahi; apportioning blame in this way also limits critical thinking as how to change the conditions in which the rangatahi are struggling. This chapter seeks to understand which conditions are present or needed to promote the flourishing of whānau for rangatahi in AE. It explores areas of the whānau where relationship dynamics are integral to the whānau support system and structure. It is important to understand how Māoritanga (Māori culture, practices and beliefs) and an understanding of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge, wisdom, understanding), aroha (love) and manaakitanga (kindness, generosity and support) is shared within whānau. When the harakeke/whānau flourish so do our rangatahi.

Whanaungatanga

– the value of family, kinship and oneness

Investing in each other because your growth is my growth.

Harakeke is symbolic of the whānau system. There is a close link between harakeke and whanaungatanga– the kinship and sense of family connection grown through working together and sharing experiences that provide a sense of belonging. Traditional Māori social structures have changed with the effects of colonisation and urbanisation. This has had a significant effect on the structure of Māori whānau (King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Morgan, 2018) resulting in Māori social structures changing over time, moving closer to nuclear family systems. Furthermore, Durie (1997) acknowledges the growing number of single-parent households, particularly for Māori, which places pressure on rangatahi and their whānau who are more likely to experience socio-economic stressors. This can further impact the relationships rangatahi have with their wider whānau (Edwards, et al., 2007). That being said, despite the disadvantage caused by the loss of traditional social structures, whanaungatanga (a sense of family connection and belonging) continues to be relevant in modern Māori society and urban environments.

Whanaungatanga can be viewed in everyday whānau life and continues to be highly relevant in Māori society. Le Grice, et al.'s (2017) research provides modern-day

articulation and reflection of whanaungatanga, which they purport is evident in a pattern of frequent practices. Through the central positioning of children, they observed whanaungatanga and the diversity and richness of networks in areas such as aroha, tiakitanga (protection, caring of, guardianship), wairua (spirit) and support. Le Grice et al.'s (2017) findings explain how whanaungatanga can operate in everyday domestic settings. In support of this, rangatahi participants in this study were also observed to experience and value whanaungatanga in their everyday experiences. This was through shared group experiences, the passing of knowledge and in the roles they played within their whānau.

Rangatahi, who had younger family members, such as younger siblings or nephews or nieces, valued their time with them. They constructed meaning in their relationships with them as protective, fun and enjoyable. Kahu recalled a significant event in his life where his house burnt down, the primary emotional meaning of that experience for him was centred on the safety of his younger siblings. The experience had reinforced Kahu's values of whānau, his role as an older sibling and how he cherished his younger siblings.

Kahu: Yea I was in my bedroom, right next to the room that caught on fire...the neighbour who lives next to us saw it and he came running down the back. And he was saying the back of the house is on fire and we didn't know what he was going on about. We thought it was the house behind us. Yea that was the room at the back of the house...I was... I just wanted to get the kids out of the house.

Several of the participants had spent time living with family in other homes. Other family member's homes were treated as homes away from homes such as an older adult sibling who lived nearby. These experiences reinforced the Māori concept of whānau where adult siblings played an active role in the care of younger siblings. Older siblings could be a point of conflict at times but also whānau members provided support and guidance. Two of the rangatahi participants told stories of being adored by older siblings as they had been the babies of the family.

Ethan: So all my cousins and siblings are all up in their twenties or going onto their twenties.

Researcher: What kind of stuff are they doing at the moment? Seeing they have gone through the school stage.

Ethan: They are all working and all of that. Got kids now.

Researcher: Do they like you coming and visiting and spending time with them?

Ethan: oh yea, I'd say I'm the favourite.

As previously mentioned earlier, this was a pattern in behaviour seen amongst rangatahi who had younger siblings and family members whom they engaged with and adored. These findings strengthen the position that tuakana-teina (older sibling- younger sibling) relationship structures continue to operate for these rangatahi. The literal meaning of tuakana is the eldest of the male siblings/cousins, or the eldest female of the female siblings/cousins. Teina is the youngest of the male siblings/cousins or the youngest female of the female siblings/cousins.

Tuakana-teina relationships have always been meaningful in Māori society as roles that are interdependent of each other. Tuakana-teina are a crucial dimension of whānau dynamics (Edwards et al., 2007; Walker, 2011). These relationships refer to the responsibilities that apply to older and young siblings, such as sisters, brothers and cousins within the same generation. The tuakana is the eldest in the relationship and carries the responsibility of leadership, protection and advice while the younger teina is required to support and respect. Nepe (1991) describes how tuakana and teina roles influence and interact in their roles of reciprocity and commitment to one and other. She discusses how the integrity of tuakana-teina relationships help to develop irrevocable.

Wiremu and his cousin had been staying with his Nan for the past three weeks and were looking after her as she was feeling sick. For example, he often walked the dog for her and helped with jobs around the house. Although family structures have changed over time with the effects of colonisation and urbanisation, the bonds and ties for some whānau continue to be functional and of great importance. Traditionally grandparents held significant influence and the greatest responsibility of guiding the whānau (Edwards et al., 2007). For Wiremu, his Nan held the position of kaumatua within his whānau system, and he respected her greatly. She had played an enormous role in his upbringing and he wanted to ensure he showed his love for her, as her mokopuna (grandchild). Her position

within the whānau was noticeable in the way Wiremu prioritised his acts of service to her.

Researcher: What kinds of things do you do at Nan's house?

Wiremu: Just help her clean up, yea, that's about it.

Researcher: Does it make you feel good, being able to help Nan?

Wiremu: Yea but she gets angry sometimes.

Researcher: How come she gets angry?

Wiremu: Cos me and my cousin say should we chuck out all your ugly covers and that, and she gets angry and says no that's my stuff.

Researcher: So you tease her!

Wiremu: Yea (smiling).

Wiremu's relationship with his Nan highlighted the close bond they had together. Her life experience, patience and wisdom continued to be treasured within his whānau and she remained a guiding figure. His story reflected the close connection between Māori grandparents and grandchildren. The Māori word for grandchildren – mokopuna, literally means the grandchild is a reflection of their grandparent. If you take the words 'moko' and 'puna' apart, moko refers to a person's mark, and it can also mean the tattooing design of the face or body. Puna is the pond. Together, the meaning of the words is an image reflected in a pool (Edwards et al., 2007), or when the grandparent looks at their grandchild, they are seeing their reflection (Edwards et al., 2007). Perhaps Wiremu's cheekiness is a reflection of his Nan's sense of humour.

In traditional child-rearing practices, both parents were observed to provide loving care to babies and children (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). The underlying belief of traditional Māori parenting is that children are taonga (gifts) from atua (spiritual beings) and tīpuna (ancestors). Children were given the utmost care by mothers, fathers and indeed all adults. In the stories of the rangatahi in this study, we see the same care and nurturing. Primary caregivers, particularly mothers, were described as closer than parents living outside of the family home. Rangatahi described their feelings of closeness, care and love they felt with their mothers as well as normal small arguments or life stressors present in their relationships.

Tama: My mum's my favorite, she's my best friend out of everyone in the world she is the one person I would go to. Whenever I need something.

Researcher: So she shows she cares?

Tama: In every way even if she is angry she shows that she cares.

Wiremu: She's sometimes um stresses out 'cause of things like you know bills and stuff like that but she's good. And she's funny.

One participant recognised as he had become older, the relationship with his mother had become more harmonious.

Dean: She's cool, she's like pretty cruisey... Um it's pretty good like sometimes we have fights but like they're like little and it's pretty good. They used to be pretty bad because I was a little shit when I was little. Like thought I was the man. But now it's like yeah I'll help you out, I'll do the dishes.

Alongside the areas of whānau that were flourishing, also revealed were areas where rangatahi experienced challenges within their whānau. Where there were not always optimal conditions for their growth. Leaves or strands of the harakeke were absent in some places where relationships were not strong or flourishing. Challenges to flourishing relationships for rangatahi included having to navigate two households where parents had separated, having only one available parent or economic stressors impacting the availability of parents. Sometimes harakeke bushes were no longer planted together, limiting whānau access to social support networks.

A common theme was the emotional and physical unavailability of fathers for rangatahi. Barriers that created further distance between rangatahi-father relationships included incarceration, long work hours, living outside the family home and difficulties in resolving points of conflict. These social and financial factors acted as obstacles in developing and maintaining a connection with their fathers. Rangatahi coped by either avoiding interactions with their fathers, reaching out to supportive family members or internalising their experiences by keeping their disappointment to themselves. These findings reiterated research highlighting the negative consequences of long work hours and the struggle to balance home and work life (Aluko, 2009; Slan-Jerusalim & Chen,

2009). Moreover, the Ministry of Social Development (2016) has found that Māori are least likely to be satisfied with work-life balance. These factors were relative to the challenges in father-son relationships experienced by rangatahi in this study.

Tama demonstrated the tension, anger and disconnect he felt in the relationship with his father. He lived separately from his father, his new partner, and their children. He understood his relationship with his father was more like a brother relationship rather than a father-son relationship. He was disappointed in the lack of respect and effort his father put into the relationship.

Tama: he doesn't really... he doesn't really look after me that much. Usually he'd take me to his house and then he'll go disappear somewhere else. So basically I have to look after myself and my little brother and sister over there.

He also constructed a story around his stepmother as selfish and a poor parent to his younger siblings. This caused a feeling anger towards her. It was clear from his narrative accounts that spending time with his father and his stepmother caused anger and disappointment.

Tama: Ah nah I never did like her; she'd always care about herself. Sometimes she'd go to McDonalds and buy a feed and then only buy a feed for her and no one else, not the whole family.

Throughout the stories of whānau there were commonalities between strong relationships with mothers and inconsistent bonds with fathers. These themes support Edwards et al.'s (2007) discussion of the negative impact on Māori whānau who have to live in conditions of scarcity and marginalisation. Edwards et al. (2007) rationalise the added pressure of fathers needing to work long hours in possibly unsatisfying jobs in order to maintain whānau resources can place considerable stress on family relationships and reflects in these gendered patterns of parent-child bonds. As Jenkins and Harte (2011) discusses, Māori parenting practices were prioritised, shared by mothers, fathers and elders and were not gender specific. Instead, the conditions surrounding harakeke/whānau have not been conducive of growth in the area of father-son relationships.

Dean's stories centred on his father as a source of both emotional happiness and pain. When Dean's father showed emotional investment in him, he felt a connection with his father and happiness. We see this in the following narrative where Dean recalls a fond memory of his father when he was younger, and what this meant for him.

Dean: ... I remember when I was really little, and I was at primary and I didn't know and he came to pick me up from school and I got the biggest surprise ever, and he walked into my class. And everyone was like whoa whose that, cos he's like 7ft, like he's huge and um, I was like that's my dad! And I walked out like a boss.

Researcher: You were really proud.

Dean: Yeah with this big giant dad. It was mean.

Although Dean's father was a source of happiness, the meaning of his relationship with his father was also constructed around the sadness caused by his absence. The incarceration of his father and the prioritisation of other ventures over whānau life caused sadness for Dean. For Dean, he identified his mother and brother as a source of emotional comfort and support, increasing his resilience. The loss of his father had caused the appreciation and closeness of his small family unit to come together. His brother had become an older male role model that he looked up to. The emotional pain his father's incarceration had caused, also increased the strength, support and resilience of his whānau system. The tuakana-teina roles between Dean and his older brother were important in his ability to cope with his father's incarceration, as demonstrated in the quote below.

Dean: It was pretty sad, but he had been inside before, so I was kind of used to it and he was like a huge support.

Researcher: Who's that?

Dean: Oh my brother, cos we were going through it as well.

Researcher: So you both understood each other.

Dean: Yeah, ever since I was little, he was pretty much it will be all good you got mum and me it will be fine, pretty much and it was cool.

Researcher: Is that what you say you needed to get through it that time?

Dean: Yea, yea I'm like really grateful like now that I had and have my brother.

For some rangatahi there were gaps in the leaves of the harakeke, however whānau and whanaungatanga continued to exist. Languishing whānau relationships and a lack of whānau support were interwoven between the adaptiveness and versatility of whānau, as the harakeke (whānau system) continued to persevere. Despite their challenges, rangatahi were able to find at least one whānau member that was present and engaged in their life to support and guide them.

The way whānau continued to come together is similar to the process of being taught how to weave harakeke for the first time. Bunches of flax are carefully placed in piles. The experienced weaver demonstrates to the learner the part of the flax strand used to bind the base together, and how to interlace the rest with the other strands. For first time flax weavers it is easy to miss links and get lost in the weaving. The teacher patiently helps weave the kete back together when the learner has lost their place. This can happen over and over, where the teacher finds the place the learner has become lost and weaves the harakeke strands back to continue forming a whole kete. Not only is knowledge being passed down from teacher to learner, but guidance and support are given like the experiences of rangatahi and their whānau in this study. Although rangatahi in AE may experience difficulties within their whānau, they were also able to find whānau members to bridge areas of need and to provide a feeling of togetherness whether it be an older sister, brother, cousin, or their primary caregiver. The stories of rangatahi demonstrated the adaptability of whānau in times of adversity.

Findings from the study emphasised whānau relationships that are languishing as well the inclusiveness and adaptability of Māori whānau. These accentuate the importance of understanding the different relationships between parents, grandparents, aunties, uncles and cousins. Some whānau have limited support structures and an inaccessibility to broader whānau resources which can perpetuate strain and pressure when facing external stressors. Although Māori social structures have changed over time, whanaungatanga continues to exist in the everyday lives of these rangatahi and how Māori relate to their whānau members is still of importance. When in effect, nurturing relationships through tuakana-teina roles, whānau structural patterns and whanaungatanga, provide a ready-made network of relationships to support rangatahi in their development of healthy wellbeing.

Māoritanga and Mātauranga Māori

*Inā kei te mohio koe ko wai koe,
I anga mai koe I hea, kei te mohio koe,
ke te anga atu ki hea*

If you know who you are and where you are from,
then you will know where you are going

Māoritanga – (Māori culture, traditions, way of life) and mātauranga Māori (an understanding of the world through Māori cultural practices and principles) appeared throughout rangatahi experiences of whānau. In the findings that follow, Māoritanga and mātauranga Māori represent the nutrients running up through the soil, roots and leaves of the harakeke. Numerous studies have shown that retaining cultural practices and a Māori identity can strengthen wellbeing in Māori (Durie, 1995; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Pere, 2006). Whānau can play an integral role in connecting rangatahi to Māori cultural practices, values and norms as well as maintaining traditional wider kinship ties of hapū and iwi. Therefore, how whānau facilitate Māoritanga and mātauranga Māori with rangatahi was of interest in understanding rangatahi wellbeing.

Whānau provided a potential base for developing a connection with Māoritanga through transferring mātauranga Māori. Knowledge in heritage, cultural practices and Māori ways of being was passed down through whānau. Through the connection with whānau members, rangatahi identified a sense of belonging or yearning to explore their ancestry. For some, there was an absence of connection with hapū, iwi, and their marae, but these aspects of Māori culture were still viewed as places of importance. Identifying with their cultural heritage and Māoritanga was meaningful despite differences in accessibility.

Two of the rangatahi participants in the study spoke of their immediate whānau maintaining their cultural practices within their day to day living to the extent that it was a strong part of whānau life. Tama and Ethan described their cultural connection as being deeply embedded in their ordinary whānau activities and interactions; both boys spoke of having a strong affiliation with their land. The construction of their story of connection to their culture was through their immediate whānau and wider extended whānau structures. Although deeply embedded, there was not much conscious thought given to

culture as Māori culture surrounded them in their upbringing as shown in the following example.

Researcher: What makes you feel connected to your Māori culture?

Tama: Ah just um... it's just the way I was brought up really. Pardon me, the way I was brought up is to be around my Māori culture and that's what I'm used to and I just don't think about it but then yeah.

Their stories reflected experiences of whānau, instilling a strong sense of cultural values, and customs such as visiting sacred land such as their maunga (mountain), moana (ocean, large lake) and awa (river) as well as visits to their marae for special events or visiting deceased loved ones at the urupā (burial ground, cemetery).

Researcher: So do you feel connected to your marae?

Ethan: Yeah hard, oh we go up there every once in a while, you know see those who have passed.

Through whānau, a connection with Māoritanga was developed in a variety of ways such as general upbringing (which taught values and practices), cultural activities or understanding the connection but having limited cultural resources. The boy's experiences from the context of urban whānau life highlighted the message that Māoritanga continued to remain meaningful and valuable. For those rangatahi immersed in cultural customs and practices, their understanding of Māori culture appeared innate as they intuitively held mātauranga Māori knowledge. According to Simmonds et al. (2014), these rangatahi would be in a better position to experience higher levels of wellbeing due to participating in cultural values and norms. Traditional cultural markers were more prominent for these rangatahi, however not all traditional cultural markers were available to them. Speaking te reo Māori (the Māori language) was not an ability any of the rangatahi had, which has commonly been considered a central aspect to Māori identity (Te Huia, 2015). The lack of ability to speak te reo Māori did not present as an inhibitor to feelings of connection with Māoritanga or identifying as Māori.

The study highlighted the limited access some of the rangatahi had to extended whānau members, hapū and iwi. These rangatahi had little access to cultural activities, practices

and way of life. Nevertheless, this did not impact their feelings of meaningfulness and value of their Māori heritage. All rangatahi identified as Māori and knew their understanding of Māoritanga and mātauranga Māori. For those with limited access, they understood this was an area to be further developed in their lives. Dean's narrative surrounding his Māori heritage demonstrated his interest in developing an understanding of all things Māori, as well as making connections with extended family, hapū and his marae (Māori meeting grounds). When asked what would make him feel more connected to his Māori cultural background, he responded with the prospect of meeting more of his whānau as being most significant. Whether the wider traditional family structures were active or not, they remained of importance to Dean.

Dean: Um...I think meeting more of my like more of the Māori side of my family... 'cause like, I've got heaps of cousins, and stuff that I haven't met. That I know about but I haven't met. And so I'd like to meet them. That would be cool.

Dean spoke of his marae as a beautiful place near Kai Iwi lakes in Northland and hoped one day he would have the chance to visit. This story reinforced the effects of urbanisation and the disconnection from kinship ties, traditional cultural practice and relationships with ancestral land. For Dean, many of the traditional cultural identity markers did not apply to him. From his accounts, however, his limited access did not mean he did not identify as Māori or that Māoritanga was not important to him. These findings correspond with Borell's (2005) belief that continuing to perceive a secure Māori cultural identity through participation and knowledge of Māori culture can be problematic for urbanised rangatahi. The importance, meaning and value that Dean placed on his Māori heritage would be excluded, if this study was limited to observation of his participation and knowledge of Māori culture. These findings demonstrate some of the difficulty rangatahi in AE may have in adhering to traditional cultural markers. However, this does not necessarily mean rangatahi do not value Māoritanga or identify as Māori.

Rawiri's experiences of connecting with his Māori heritage further highlight the disconnect of urban Māori from their cultural resources and knowledge. Interlaced with his mother's connection to Māori culture was his own. He spoke of the possibility of exploring his Māori background later in his life but saw this as dependent on his mother's decision to connect with their hapū, iwi and marae. When asked if he would like to learn

more about his Māori cultural background, he chose to emphasise his mother's limited access to Māori knowledge, as shown in the following example.

Rawiri: Um sort of but I haven't learnt much because my mum is mostly a NZ Māori that are Māori but she only knows some. Those NZ Māori's that only know some.

Rawiri's story displayed a dichotomous connection with Māori, one where access to Māori culture was perceived as limited but where there was still some awareness of knowledge. Rawiri spoke of having *some* knowledge maintained within his small single-parent household of his mother and younger sister. Although restricted, Rawiri's connection with Māori culture affirms Durie's (1997b) argument that for Māori to live in smaller immediate family structures does not necessarily mean they are no longer Māori, nor does it mean they are not maintaining cultural practices within the whānau.

For Ethan and Tama, the way they saw the world was integrated with mātauranga. On the other hand, the rangatahi with limited access to cultural resources, were not aware of the knowledge they already possessed. Broughton (2015) articulates mātauranga Māori as the indigenous knowledge system of NZ including language, whakapapa (ancestry), technology, systems of law, social control, forms of expression and much more. Mātauranga Māori helps explain and enlighten us about different aspects of the world around us. Descriptions of mātauranga Māori also include the understanding of everything, visible or invisible that exists across the universe (Mohi, 1993). Aspects of mātauranga Māori such as family structure, (tuakana/teina relationships), how rangatahi relate to their family and the values instilled in the family environment were present for these rangatahi in some forms despite their limited resources. Mātauranga Māori knowledge may not have been as prominent for these rangatahi; however, it was still around them and presented as an area that could be strengthened thus promoting their cultural identity and wellbeing.

It is clear that whether or not rangatahi had access to cultural practices and traditional support structures, Māoritanga and identifying as Māori remained an integral part of their sense of self. Whānau acted as a means to access traditional cultural markers but were not dependent on identifying as Māori. Rangatahi who had limited physical accessibility and pathways to connect with hapū, marae, iwi still showed in their exploration, connecting

and learning, reiterating Barcham's (1998) caution that urban Māori youth need to have multiple sites of belonging and identity for a cultural continuation. From a holistic Māori wellbeing standpoint, developing further sites of belonging and supporting rangatahi connection with Māoritanga and mātauranga Māori would advantage the development of identity and support wellbeing.

Spending time together

Waiho i te toipoto, kaua i te toiroa

Let us keep close together, not far apart

These findings highlight the intrinsic relationship of whānau and wellbeing, as rangatahi shared their stories of time spent with whānau. Boulton and Gifford's (2014) research identified that families enjoying being together is a key aspect of whānau health. In this research, the many enjoyable experiences shared by rangatahi providing feelings of happiness, belonging and meaningfulness were markers for whānau health. These findings were supportive of Māori models of wellbeing where aspects of family wellbeing were visible in the overall wellbeing of rangatahi.

Whānau is a valuable source of aroha and manaakitanga for rangatahi. We refer to the concept of manaakitanga as the respect of a person's mana shown through support, care, generosity and hospitality, marked by the sharing of food, love, care and entertainment (Le Grice et al., 2017). The stories of rangatahi revealed manaakitanga was often shown to them through time spent together with whānau. This occurred in a wide variety of ways. Time spent with whānau offered a place to connect, share and experience new memories. Leisure activities with whānau were often positive, and simple family rituals developed over time. Whether it be watching a regular program on the television each night together or swimming at local beaches in the summer, spending time with family members was valued. The meaning of spending time with whānau was constructed as feeling safe, loved and connected, as well as being enjoyable in the context of leisure and holiday activities. Some rangatahi travelled to rural destinations over holiday periods to stay with aunties or uncles who showed manaakitanga by providing hunting, fishing and motorbike activities. Others who were less mobile found simple activities such as skateboarding with a sibling as a meaningful way to develop their bond.

Researcher: What makes you feel connected to your whānau?

Ethan: Oh probably like the love aye. We're a close family.

... we go out and do things as a family...things like, like if we're all at home on a Saturday doing nothing and then out of nowhere someone will say should we all go beach? And we all off.

Kahu: We go out every weekend like with the whole family. We normally go beach and that. But yesterday we went to the beach and there was like jelly fish in the water and we didn't even see them. And then me my sister and my little brother we jumped in and swam out to the pontoon, and we hopped up on the pontoon and we saw all these jelly fish.

In the above extract, we can see how rangatahi constructed the meaning of whānau time as sharing and discovering new experiences. Stories were formed around sharing positive memories with whānau, sometimes learning new skills or passing on knowledge from older whānau members. For Wiremu, music was a large part of his whānau life and was part of normal leisure activities; over time, the tradition was passed down through shared time together. Wiremu's story highlights his Nan's role as the kaumatua of the whānau - leading and guiding. She had made a conscious decision to share the whānau musical instruments with him, his brother and cousin, fostering a sense of belonging and positive giftedness that maybe Wiremu was not even aware existed.

Wiremu: Nah...nothing. Oh yeah actually I had a jam with my cousin. The guitar and the drums and that...I just start listening to music and start playing it....my dad's taught me a little bit. Yeah but me my cousin and my brother usually just stick to each other...Yeah because my Nan bought some drums and we just go up there and jam a little, electric guitar. 'Cause she's got all my dad's country gears, all of it like all the amps and the microphone...she used to run a country club at Onehunga and somewhere around here.

Travelling to rural destinations to spend time with extended whānau members was constructed in their story of growing up and boyhood. Rangatahi who were able to do this spent time with cousins, uncles and aunties where they were able to explore the outdoors and have time away from urban life. Their stories illustrate the elements of freedom,

exploration, and manaakitanga from whānau members as demonstrated in the following extracts:

Wiremu: We spend time with my family down in Taupō ways down at the farm. 'Cause usually in the long holidays and Christmas holidays we go down to Taupō, and my uncle and do the farmings and that...we ride motorbikes down around the farm.

Researcher: What kinds of things do you like doing when you are down there?

Wiremu: Swimming, jumping off the bridge, yeah and go to the pools sometimes 'cause sometimes they're free yeah. And hanging out with some of my older cousins.

Unfortunately, Māori whānau are often perceived through a deficit view due to over-representation in child welfare systems (Keddell, 2017). Māori in AE are also more likely to experience poverty and witness violence in the home (Noel et al., 2013). However, these findings provide insight into the positive characteristics of the family despite the adversity these rangatahi may face. All rangatahi participants were able to discuss positive quality time with whānau and the value of this for them. The strands of the harakeke weave together, each strand supporting the other to form a cohesive whole; one cannot exist without the other. Therefore, rangatahi cannot be viewed as separate from their whānau and this is symbolic of the way whānau come together to create meaningful experiences, form bonds and foster the love they have for each other.

These findings show the interdependent relationship between whānau health and rangatahi wellbeing as indicated by Māori wellbeing models (Durie, 1985; Pere, 1982). The positive shared group experiences of rangatahi and their whānau enhanced the bonds, connections and strength of the harakeke. Additionally, these findings support the position of Crengle et al. (2013) in that Māori youth enjoy spending time with their whānau. The Māori specific findings of the Youth 2000 survey in 2012 illustrate the importance of whānau as a strong and positive influence in providing a vital environment for youth to develop. Nearly 70% of Māori youth from the Youth 2000 survey (2012) stated that they had fun with their whānau either 'often' or 'a lot' (Crengle et al., 2013). The finding in this research that rangatahi spent much time after school, at home, throughout weekends and holidays with whānau supported this statement. Rangatahi were

able to share many different types of enjoyable experiences with their whānau which facilitated wellbeing in both whānau and rangatahi.



Figure 2: Tama visiting his sister in Wellington

Knowledge, Advice and Support

*Hāpaitia te ara tika pūmau ai te rangatiratanga
mō ngā uri whakatipu*

Foster the pathway of knowledge to strength,
independence and growth for future generations

Before Westernisation, Māori children learned from their whanaunga (relatives, kin), where older adults and siblings were their teachers and everyone helped with child-rearing practices in their commitment to nurture the next generation (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Children had many whānau members to offer guidance and support; the overarching principles of tuakana-teina provided a framework for socialisation. The transfer of knowledge between generations has been highly valued within Māori society. The stories told by rangatahi reflect this. Whānau were integral in the transition of knowledge and providing direction. They acted as kaitiaki through the sharing of their experiences, whether positive or negative, to help guide rangatahi. Whānau could also enable unhealthy behaviours or expose rangatahi to potential wellbeing threats. The

influence of whānau affected rangatahi in their decisions around physical health, alcohol and drugs and the way they managed emotional difficulties.

For two participants, closely connected were values around physical health. Ethan's meaning of physical exercise was closely linked with being able to spend time with his brother and having his brother's knowledge of weightlifting shared with him. Warbrick, Wilson, and Boulton's (2016) research supports the aspect of camaraderie or 'broship' as having an essential role in motivating Māori males in physical activity. An example of this was Ethan's feelings of motivation from his brother passing down weightlifting knowledge to him and spending time with him.



Figure 3: Set of weights Ethan uses to work out with his brother

Similarly, Tama expressed how his whānau prided physical agility and skill. This was inseparable from his value system.

Researcher: Is it important to you to do lots of physical exercise?

Tama: A lot important, it runs in the family really. My mum was a swimmer, she was a rugby player for the ah... NZ, and she was a softball player as well.

Researcher: Wow

Tama: She got it from my granddad he was um, pool a pool player, a rugby, he was a player for the All Blacks and the NZ Kiwis. Um he was a bodybuilder, a softball and wrestling and that... and then he was a sprinter as well.

Whānau were crucial for rangatahi in promotion of safe drinking practices, including initiation and accessibility. A common theme was alcohol on special occasions, and drinking safety was promoted by drinking at home under supervision of whānau. A feature of healthy whānau according to Durie (1994), is the capacity to assert (e.g. set teenage limits), which was seen in the stories rangatahi shared of drinking safely within whānau environments.

Researcher: Do you drink alcohol?

Ethan: Oh special occasions I'd say. So like birthdays...

Dean: Yeah Mum always taught me that, she said if you want to drink and you want to get drunk just do it at home with good people. Don't go out to parties and get drunk. 'Cause you'll get hit by a car or something.

Another participant found his older sister's experiences of being incarcerated overseas on drug-related charges both meaningful and valuable. Witnessing the adverse effects of his sister's methamphetamine use, and her request that he does not use any drugs, formed a story around how harmful the methamphetamine was.

Wiremu: 'Cause oh my sister made me promise not to touch any of the other stuff...

Researcher: Yeah and you want to listen to her?

Wiremu: Yeah, she said it thing'd your brain.

Researcher: That what?

Wiremu: That all that white stuff, she said it wrecked your brain and that...

Researcher: Oh wrecks your brain.

Wiremu: Yeah and she promised me not to touch that stuff. Oh she promised me and my brother.

Researcher: Yeah and are you gonna keep that promise?

Wiremu: Yeah.

These findings reveal the importance of meaningful relationships with whānau and messages around setting limits and safety. These findings correspond with previous research that found loving and positive bonds within families can mitigate adolescent drug use (Hundleby & Mercer, 1987). In addition, positive relationships, particularly with family members, are the most significant contributor to the overall healthy development of adolescents (Simmonds et al., 2014). In the present study, and for some rangatahi, interactions with whānau members constructed the meaning behind drinking alcohol. Alcohol use was something that required the setting of limits, and in the presence of trusted familiar people. At times whānau member's personal experiences were valued and respected in the decision-making processes of rangatahi.

The decision-making and choices about healthy approaches to living could be influenced positively by some whānau, although it could be adversely affected by others. Findings showed that some whānau members provided free access to alcohol for rangatahi and influenced unhealthy choices. For example, although whānau could establish safe drinking practices or set limits for rangatahi, alcohol could also be accessed through older siblings with no questions asked and no supervision, potentially harming rangatahi wellbeing. Additionally, some whānau members were encouraging of rangatahi to consume alcohol despite being underage. For example, for one participant the meaning of alcohol he received from a whānau member was that it was a reward for working hard, a common activity for whānau members living on the farm.

Rawiri: Yeah one with my uncle that was one and I drank this much and then I chucked it, I tipped it out. 'Cause we were at a farm and you know how farm people always drink and then I only drank this much 'cause he said I deserved it for picking these hot as chillies and potatoes and everything and then I did three boxes of potatoes and everything.

These findings show how whānau are important in shaping the views and attitudes of underage rangatahi towards alcohol. In their research, Cambron, et al. (2018) found in their research that lower family functioning and more permissive family alcohol-use environments, alongside a deviant peer group, is associated with increased alcohol consumption. In some of the stories shared by rangatahi, permissive attitudes towards alcohol use by whānau influenced accessibility and normalised underage drinking. Stories

of whānau revealed how healthy or potentially harmful relationships with alcohol use could develop through whānau beliefs, values and attitudes.

Overall, whānau were a source of support and emotional comfort. Whānau members acted as supportive resources at times of emotional discomfort. Rangatahi described whānau support as those closest to them offering guidance and support, wanting them to succeed in life, warning of challenges they may face, promoting values of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and manaakitanga and encouraging them to take positive paths to their future. Kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga promote close emotional bonding and togetherness in caregiving, factors that correlate with wellbeing (Green, et al., 1991). The examples below show the presence of closeness and guidance that rangatahi experience with their mothers.

Researcher: Can you describe her, what is she like?

Wiremu: She's telling me to do positive stuff, and try not to do negative stuff.

Researcher: Yeah so what would be some positive stuff?

Wiremu: Like go to school, she don't want me to go out stealing and that.

Researcher: And that would be the negative stuff?

Wiremu: Yeah and she tells me not to hang out with the wrong people.

Rangatahi found meaning in the previous life experience of whānau members. These stories were a wisdom that was carefully listened to. The sharing of knowledge and life experiences were passed down to rangatahi. One participant acknowledged his mother had lived an eventful life, and that because of this he felt she was worth listening to.

Dean: I listen to my mum.

Researcher: Yeah, why do you listen to your mum?

Dean: It's 'cause like she's had a real eventful life. And like she's real wise about the stuff she teaches me and my brother about now...like her advice is really good and so like her points are like real. I'm like oh yeah true. You're right. Okay I'll listen.

Family environments exert enormous influences on all aspects of the development and overall health and wellbeing of young people (Edwards et al., 2007). Pohatu (2015)

discusses mātauranga-a-whānau (family knowledge) as a site and source for Māori that is important in sharing wisdom, images, sources, stories and experiences. Mātauranga-a-whānau provides a basis for problem-solving and decision-making processes (Pohatu, 2015). These descriptions align with earlier accounts of whānau systems that supported Māori in the socialisation of learning rules, protocols and all things Māori through whānau (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). As demonstrated in the present findings, mātauranga-a-whānau is observable through the sharing of knowledge between whānau members and rangatahi. The stories of rangatahi reflected the knowledge shared between whānau members and how this was used to problem solve and make decisions based on the experiences, beliefs and wisdom shared by whānau members. When used positively, mātauranga-a-whānau was a valuable asset for rangatahi, at times supporting healthy activities such as physical exercise, guiding their decision making around drug or alcohol use, and making positive choices such as going to school.

Summary

The metaphor of the harakeke symbolises the different qualities of whānau. This chapter highlights the interconnectedness of rangatahi and their whānau and how the interweaving of relationships support rangatahi as a whole, particularly in areas of challenge or strained whānau relationships. Practices such as whanaungatanga and sharing of knowledge between generations were respected and valued. Whānau could act in a pivotal role in connecting rangatahi to Māori cultural practices, values and norms. However, this was not necessary for rangatahi to identify their cultural heritage and Māoritanga as meaningful or to feel a connection. Rangatahi saw whānau as playing a significant role in their wellbeing development. When whānau spend time together, develop bonds and quality relationships, the harakeke will flourish.

Chapter Six: Tāne-te-Wānanga

<i>Tēnei au, tēnei au</i>	Here am I, here am I
<i>Te hōkai nei i taku tapuwae</i>	Here am I swiftly moving by
<i>Ko te hōkai-nuku</i>	the power of my karakia for swift movement
<i>Ko te hōkai-rangi</i>	Swiftly moving over the earth
<i>Ko te hōkai o tō tīpuna</i>	Swiftly moving through the heavens
<i>A Tāne-nui-a-rangi</i>	The swift movement of your ancestor
<i>I pikitia ai</i>	Tāne-nui-a-rangi
<i>Ki te Rangi-tūhāhā</i>	Who climbed up
<i>Ki Tihi-i-Manono</i>	to the isolated realms
<i>I rokohina atu ra</i>	to the summit of Manono
<i>Ko Io-Matua-Kore anake</i>	and there found
<i>I riro iho ai</i>	Io-the-Parentless alone
<i>Ngā Kete o te Wānanga</i>	He brought back down
<i>ko te Kete Tuauri</i>	the Baskets of Knowledge
<i>ko te Kete Tuatea</i>	the Basket called Tuauri
<i>ko te Kete Aronui</i>	the Basket called Tuatea
<i>Ka tiritiria, ka poupoua</i>	the Basket called Aronui.
<i>Ki a Papatūānuku</i>	Portioned out, planted in Mother Earth
<i>Ka puta te Ira-tangata</i>	The life principle of humankind
<i>Ki te whai-ao</i>	Comes forth into the dawn
<i>Ki te Ao-mārama</i>	Into the world of light
<i>Tihei mauri ora</i>	I sneeze! There is life!

This chapter, Tāne-te-Wānanga, presents and discusses the interview conversations of the rangatahi and AE Tutors. These stories offer themes that can provide insight into the wellbeing needs of rangatahi within education environments. The chapter is divided into three main stories aligning with the story of Ngā Kete e Toru (the three knowledge baskets) in Māori mythology. Ngā Kete e Toru is situated within the mythological narratives about the creation of te ao Māori and conveys the importance of the three knowledge baskets for an evolving Māori world: Te Kete Tuauri, Te Kete Tuatea, and Te Kete Aronui. Ngā Kete e Toru describe how Tāne-te-Wānanga ascended through the twelve heavens in order to receive the three baskets of knowledge. Tāne's pursuit for the kete was paramount in the development of humankind. In overcoming a significant challenge in each heavenly realm, Tāne was considered worthy by Io-Matua-Kore who

was to gift him three baskets and two stones. The stones or whatukura provided mana (prestige) and held the power of knowledge. Endowed with Ngā Kete e Toru knowledge, Tāne was able to return home and create humankind from the earth (Spiller, 2011).

Each kete (basket) holds different areas of knowledge and represents three distinct domains. Te Kete Tuatea holds knowledge that is harmful to humankind and is hidden from most people. Within the context of this research, Te Kete Tuatea is viewed as experiences that have been harmful to rangatahi wellbeing. Te Kete Tuauri holds knowledge of ritual, memory and karakia and relates to areas that have grounded and stabilised rangatahi in order to achieve wellbeing. Te Kete Aronui holds knowledge that is both attainable and empowering, and therefore is viewed as knowledge that shows how rangatahi wellbeing needs can be met.

Before he could receive the three kete, Tāne had to undergo ritual ceremonies in preparation for his entry into the uppermost realm. After entering Tikitiki-o-rangi (the uppermost realm), the male and female beings readied Tāne for receiving the knowledge from Io. They bestowed on him many titles of authority and responsibility: Tāne-nui-a-rangi (bringer of higher consciousness); Tāne-Mahuta (god of the forests and birds); Tāne-te-Wānanga (bringer of knowledge); Tāne-te-Waiora (bringer of life, prosperity and sunlight) (Best, 2005). Tāne's quest to receive Ngā Kete e Toru, parallels the healthy development of rangatahi. When rangatahi experience higher levels of consciousness and awareness through excellent opportunities to develop knowledge, understanding, and prosperity, their wellbeing flourishes. Royal's (2007b) illustration of Tāne as a model for masculinity and action in our contemporary world teaches rangatahi how determination and perseverance can enable and empower them to overcome the obstacles and challenges they face at school, at home, and within their social/peer groups. Through knowing and maintaining their tūrangawaewae (with their feet placed firmly in the earth, confident in their identity and whakapapa to their tribal whenua/land), and by nurturing their intellectual and cultural strengths (with their heads above in the sky/heavens, supported in all they aspire to).

Tāne-te-Wānanga controls the principles and processes inherent for each kete. Tāne also symbolises the youthfulness and masculinity of rangatahi, which enables them to confront life's challenges. Rangatahi spend a significant amount of time in school; therefore, it is

vital to explore this environment in relation to wellbeing. Numerous research studies have identified a clear correlation between the school environment of rangatahi and their level of wellbeing (Bonell et al., 2014; Jones & Harrison, 2014; Rutter & Maughan, 2002). Tāne's legacy is to be tika, upright and correct in all that we think and do. When educational environments and schools are tika (true, correct, just), the success and wellbeing of their rangatahi learners are their primary aims.

This chapter explores the findings of rangatahi wellbeing needs concerning their school environments in both mainstream education and AE. The chapter begins with the story of Te Kete Tuatea and explores areas that have not been conducive to rangatahi wellbeing. Highlighted are the rangatahi feelings of mokemoke (loneliness), experiences of being rāwaho (outsider) and the quality of teaching relationships. Following Te Kete Tuatea is Te Kete Tuauri which reflects on AE practices in grounding and stabilising rangatahi. This story explores practices that provide grounding and stability for rangatahi such as the development of āhurutanga (a safe place), establishing boundaries and meeting basic needs. The remainder of the chapter, Te Kete Aronui, focuses on areas that are helpful to rangatahi in AE such as providing tiakitanga (protection, care, guardianship), forming trusting relationships and exploring resources available to rangatahi. My understanding and interpretations of Ngā Kete e Toru are based on the discussions by Royal (2007b) and Best (2005).

Te Kete Tuatea

Te Kete Tuatea contains the knowledge that is in the dark. This is knowledge that requires deeper analysis and thought than what may be viewed at face value. Te Kete Tuatea symbolises the analytical process of developing the Tāne-te-Wānanga chapter. Moreover, Te Kete Tuatea is knowledge that may be harmful to mankind and the challenges or obstacles rangatahi experience in obtaining optimal wellbeing.

Mokemoke

Mokemoke, the experience of loneliness and isolation, was one of the common strands identified among the rangatahi in their korero (discussions) about their feelings relating to attending a mainstream school. They described feeling separated from others,

particularly when punished for actions and behaviours regarded as problematic by their teachers within the classroom and school areas. They felt labelled as ‘a problem’ and consequently treated as ‘naughty’ or ‘stupid’. They believed the ‘problem’ label to be permanent. In the following interview extract, Tama expresses his mokemoke in terms of his unfair treatment and being spoken about untruthfully.

Tama: I didn't like it. They cared more about their uniform than they did about the education, to be honest. Then sometimes they'll be unfair, and sometimes they wouldn't speak the truth about me... I felt like I was treated differently. I felt like they were giving me more than what I was being deserved, and I felt like, ah 'that?' But other than that... I never got to catch up on the work that they did there 'cause I never learnt it in my old high school. They [old high school] never even got that far... Yeah. Most of the tests that I had to do at the end of the year, I didn't even know half of it because I never got to learn that. So that was really stink.

This previous example demonstrates the cumulative effects of negative experiences by rangatahi in mainstream education. It also highlights feelings of hopelessness in regards to learning. McWhirter et al. (2002) suggest that an outcome of the mainstream education environment can be the development of low self-esteem. It is therefore likely that the experiences of some rangatahi in mainstream education are not conducive to good self-esteem.

Oyserman and Fryberg (2006) claim that a child's academic self-concept and self-esteem emerges out of the context of how their cultural group is depicted in wider society. How their cultural group is portrayed impacts on what the child may view as possible for themselves and others in their social group. Furthermore, Fryberg and Townsend (2008) state that when representations of a child's social group are negative or rarely shown as successful this may affect how a child envisions themselves as belonging or performing well in that domain. This finding may be relevant to rangatahi mainstream schooling experiences where research continues to show significant disparities in the academic achievement of Māori compared to their non-Māori counterparts (Ministry of Education, 2019). The development of poor self-concept and self-esteem may contribute to feelings of mokemoke for some rangatahi in their mainstream schooling experiences.

Brooking et al. (2009) found that many students, Māori and non-Māori, preferred the AE environment over secondary schools, which many learners consider to be too big and impersonal. Dean experienced a feeling of aloneness, despite being amongst many students in the mainstream environment.

Dean: 'Cause I think high schools are different because there are so many people and they kind of get into their own groups, and if you don't know anyone you're kind of alone. Like alone but with heaps of people. Which is weird, but yeah.

Feelings of mokemoke in the mainstream environment make it difficult to meet socially. Rangatahi need to be able to establish and maintain positive relationships in the school domain. Oberle, et al. (2010) highlight the strong link between emotional wellbeing in adolescence and being socially accepted, through having friends and being liked by peers. This link is particularly important in early adolescence where there is a transition from a whānau social focus to a peer-group social focus. Rangatahi, at this age, increasingly seek the approval and acceptance of their peers and this influences their sense of self-worth and self-esteem while also providing an important source of social support (Guhn, et al., 2013). If rangatahi are unable to maintain positive relationships in mainstream school environments and develop a stable social support system, they may be vulnerable in their development of self-worth and self-esteem which may in turn lead to feelings of mokemoke.

Ngā taunekeneke

A prominent thread throughout rangatahi experiences in mainstream education settings was negative perceptions they held of their teachers. Ngā taunekeneke (positive interactions and relationships) with their teachers is essential to engaging rangatahi in learning. Te Kete Tuatea features taunekeneke as an ongoing task undertaken to achieve successful teaching and learning processes. It is reliant upon establishing and maintaining good interactions and relationships between rangatahi and mainstream teachers. The interviews with rangatahi highlighted feelings of mokemoke and poor taunekeneke with their teachers. Rangatahi felt individually targeted and not able to connect with many of their teachers. Some felt they could never shake previous behaviour difficulties and bad decisions, resulting in the sense of being labelled and unable to move forward from them.

In the following interview segment, Dean shares his feelings of frustration, particularly with his high school maths teacher and the school dean.

Dean: Yeah. I think when I was in one high school, I had this maths teacher and she never like taught us anything because we like couldn't understand her, and I ended up just going on my phone most of the period and she got really pissed off at me and I got pissed off back and I kind of just like yelled at her. She sent me to the dean and then yeah, I was pretty much always in the dean's at school because maths, maths, normally maths. Because I'd like get frustrated and then I couldn't get help with it 'cause the teacher would just treat me like I was an idiot and I'd get pissed off. Yeah and then I'd end up back in the dean's again.

Through the stories expressed by rangatahi, ngā taunekeneke with their teachers appear to largely reinforce negative self-perceptions. These findings align with Brooking et al.'s (2009) research that indicated many AE students in NZ had experienced feelings of inadequacy in mainstream schooling. They would avoid class rather than risk further damage to their self-esteem through reinforcement of messages of failure. Dean's kōrero (above) reflects this, where perhaps being sent to the dean's office was somewhat better than enduring the rest of the class feeling "frustrated", unable to "get help with it [maths]" and treated like "an idiot". Bacete et al. (2014) report that giving a child external messages of doubt about their competence to complete a task can lead to the development of less intrinsic motivation and subsequently, to the disenfranchisement of rangatahi from mainstream education.

The stories of all the rangatahi reflected lost opportunity for engagement at school and connection with teachers and the learning environment. Some rangatahi perceived their teachers as being unavailable to them and therefore inaccessible for much-needed help.

Rawiri: When you put up your hand and ask for help they'll say wait. They don't have much time, like these teachers... they'll leave it till the last minute and then it'll be just onto the next session, another class.

Wiremu: It was boring, nah I used to ask the teacher for help on my booklets and they didn't help me.

Kahu: I didn't like it 'cause they didn't help us with our work.

Other factors such as level of noise, large classroom sizes, and the many different classes with different teachers were perceived by rangatahi as detrimental to their ability to concentrate, participate and learn, and develop a sense of belonging. The following extracts of rangatahi discussing their mainstream experiences demonstrate this:

Rawiri: My classroom was a bit noisy . Yeah it was the noisiest out of like this year group.

Tama: It was okay, too too big too...

Dean: It was just frustrating with all the work and just distractions all the time... school wasn't really my thing I didn't really get along with anyone.

Rangatahi experiences of teacher accessibility, large classrooms and level of noise can be viewed under the wider context of current workload pressures for teachers. The NZ Post Primary Teachers Association, Workload Taskforce Report (2016) identified a main area of pressure for mainstream education teachers in NZ was large class sizes and lack of time to meet the demands of existing work. These systemic factors may have also contributed to the perception held by most of the rangatahi in this study, that their teachers had little or no time for them.

The stories told by the rangatahi reveal that positive taunekeneke can provide a sense of connectedness and foster whanaungatanga - developing a relationship of mutual trust and respect. When discussing what would make him feel more comfortable in the mainstream school environment, Dean stated, 'if the teachers were more like welcoming'. Bacete et al. (2014) found that when a student gains a sense of relatedness in their interactions with a teacher or other key figure within the school context, then they experience feelings of being valued for who he/she is, and an increased sense of place and belonging to the school. This reminds us of Tāne, who is a model for rangatahi on how to overcome the obstacles and challenges they face at school through determination and perseverance. The pūrākau (story) of Tāne provides a model for students in creating a new tūrangawaewae where rangatahi feel like they belong in school grounds and classrooms and where they feel confident in their identity and whakapapa. Establishing quality taunekeneke between teachers and rangatahi enables the intellectual and cultural strengths of rangatahi to be nurtured.

In the following example, Ethan's positive experiences with his English teacher contrast with his other teachers where taunekeneke was poor. Ethan was able to provide insight into his behaviour of intentionally opposing his teachers.

Ethan: Oh it was rubbish, it was just my relationships with the teachers. Pretty much.

Researcher: Were they hard to get along with?

Ethan: Nah. I think it was my choices. I didn't want to get along with them.

Researcher: Why do you think you didn't want to get along with them?

Ethan: I don't know. Just everyone sees them, like every student sees them not so much as an enemy. Someone you don't like.

Researcher: Did you like any of them?

Ethan: Yeah my English teacher. I liked him. He was alright and my PE teacher, only 'cause it was PE though.

Researcher: What did you like about your English teacher?

Ethan: Oh it was just the way, the way he talked to you. Like he wouldn't just give you a worksheet and get you to do the work. He was more interactive.

Holt et al. (2008) argue that positive validation from teachers can build confidence and self-esteem in students. In contrast to his experiences with his English teacher, Ethan admitted to intentionally opposing the other teachers who didn't relate to him in a "more interactive" way. However, Staff and Kreager (2008) propose that oppositional behaviour can be a way of achieving recognition when academic achievement or teacher validation appears futile. As demonstrated in Ethan's story, oppositional behaviour can be a way for students to sustain autonomy and dignity (Giroux, 1988).

Rāwaho

Rāwaho (outsider), is a term used in this study to convey the disenfranchisement of rangatahi from mainstream education. Rāwaho is also the term used for people who were not hapū or whānau, such as those who married into the kinship group but excluded from decision-making processes. If we refer to rāwaho in terms of its meaning as depicting someone who is not fully included in the works and aims of the group or class, then its meaning is transferable to rangatahi who are disenfranchised and then fail to learn and

make progress at school. Their exclusion from fully participating in classroom and learning activities results in a sense of powerlessness. Experiencing a good education is one of the most significant predictors for optimal socioeconomic outcomes (Freudenberg & Ruglis, 2007) and therefore rāwaho youth are more likely to experience a range of adverse health and social morbidities (Denny et al., 2003), further limiting their decisions in future life choices.

After leaving mainstream education, most rangatahi either spent long periods at home, attempted to enrol in another high school or both. The following interview segments illustrate how disenfranchisement leads to boredom and a feeling of isolation. Unfortunately, some of the rangatahi lost months from learning due to disengagement, before finding an AE option.

Ethan: 'Cause when I got kicked out [of high school] I stayed at home for a good three months. Yeah and my mum was searching everywhere for somewhere 'cause no school would accept me or I'd be out of their zone. Yeah so I tried to go up to two other high schools, and they both said no. My mum got me into AE oh... 'cause of this police officer got in contact with AE.

Kahu: Because I was out of school for a while and none of the schools around us would have accepted me, but AE did, so yeah I came here. My attendance was low. Yeah, 'cause I was out of school half a year, couple of months. I was at Middle School [Auckland] and I didn't like it so I just stayed home. After that, time went fast, and yeah... it went fast then it started to get boring at home. And now I like coming to school.

The rangatahi had little choice but to leave their mainstream schools. 'Behavioural issues' and 'low attendance' were noted as the reasons for these young Māori learners exiting from state schooling without qualifications. Two rangatahi had been enrolled at several high schools while others had difficulty finding schools that would accept them after their initial high school experience. One rangatahi spent three days at high school as a Year 9 student before being expelled. Two rangatahi stated that their mothers had tried to solve their situations by contacting different schools with no success before discovering AE.

These findings align with the typical pathways of AE students in NZ (Brooking et al., 2009; Clark et al., 2010).

The AE tutors confirmed much of these rangatahi experiences of mainstream education and how these led into AE. The tutors stated that the common pathway for rangatahi from a state school to AE was through missing too much school and were introduced to AE by truancy officers. They also spoke of enrolled AE students supporting their friends/relatives into their unit and providing them with a welcoming network of learners.

Researcher: What are the different pathways you see the rangatahi coming through into AE? How do they find out about them?

Tutor Rua: They've been stood down or excluded from school, from mainstream school, and unable to go anywhere else. So in that time that they haven't been enrolled anywhere, they've either been referred by the Ministry [of Education], truancy [officers], or a parent that's really proactive and will try and get them in.

In response to questions about rangatahi pathways and transitions into AE, one of the tutors responded with her own story. She described her transition from employment within mainstream education into AE. Through her taunekeneke with mainstream students, she developed her passion to manaaki (nurture, care) and tautoko (support) AE students.

Tutor Tahī: As a [school] teacher, I only focused on all the naughty kids and when this opportunity came up I was like, this is where I want to be, even though it's a massive pay cut. It's like I enjoy coming to work every day, even though they do my head in. My week goes really quickly. When I was a teacher you did so much more work but come Wednesday I wanted the week to be over. Being with these kids I think I just relate to them more and I know they're amazing, and we just have to find a way for you [each rangatahi] to think that about yourself. Yeah you know, that's all that is.

Te Kete Tuatea represents the experiences that have led to the disenfranchisement of the mainstream schooling of rangatahi in this study. In responding to questions about their mainstream schooling, rangatahi shared stories around disenfranchisement, their

perceived problematic behaviours and lack of engagement. They spoke of not having enough support with their learning, distractions and noisy classrooms. They often felt disconnected with some of their teachers and as a consequence their desire to learn waned. Te Kete Tuatea represents the challenges of rangatahi in education, their disenfranchisement and the overall effect on their wellbeing.

Te Kete Tuauri

Te Kete Tuauri is the basket that holds the knowledge of ritual, prayer and memory. It is knowledge that can travel beyond space, time and our contemporary experiences. Te Kete Tuauri helps us pause, reflect on our past and think about where we are going. This knowledge basket provides boundaries and a sense of security. It has the power to ground and stabilise us and keep us focused and purposeful.

Te Kete Tuauri is likened to the safe space (āhurutanga) of AE, where disenfranchised students are offered a place of belonging. Rituals, routines and boundaries are created by tutors to help promote a sense of security. The way the tutors and rangatahi relate to each other is deeply embedded within the stories of their AE experiences. Bishop (2008) discusses how interpersonal relationships are fundamental to Māori epistemologies. Interpersonal relationships are a common theme woven throughout these findings. When discussing Māori epistemologies, Bishop (2008) uses the example of Māori cultural practices to establish formal relationships through pōwhiri (rituals of encounter). Pōwhiri is a set of complex interactions to establish the meeting and greeting of people before the commencement of hui (meetings). These cultural practices acknowledge and ritualise the necessary relatedness of participants. In this way, rangatahi relatedness is also ritualised in a much less formal manner in AE. Tutors and rangatahi shared their experiences of the complex interactions between each other and the whānau classroom environment. Rituals of sharing kai (food), introductions, and whanaungatanga (relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging) were developed and considered essential to ensuring a sense of belonging for rangatahi.

Āhurutanga

Tutors shared their stories of establishing consistent boundaries and classroom practices, that when put in place gave students a safe environment and certainty. The meaning they attributed to these actions was to create an environment conducive for optimal engagement and learning in the classroom. It also provided the rangatahi with a feeling of safety within themselves and with each other. Tutors spoke of creating a classroom culture that was pre-established before the arrival of new students, so expectations were already in place. Students described the classroom culture as giving them a sense of belonging they could walk into. Tutors emphasised the importance of consistency in setting boundaries and in their own behaviours as role models.

Tutor Rua: Just having this, I guess for us it's having the expectations and the rules already set. It's like mainstream but I think on a smaller scale from mainstream. You are creating that culture of belonging and you are giving them that attention.

Tutor Tahi: Um I like to think um the consistency of discipline, just having the barriers in place, so not only are you creating this culture of a safe environment for the kids but I think for them to feel even more safe is to have the barriers in place. So they're like oh okay I can't do this.

Tutor Toru: I think it's about role modelling too, so if new kids are coming into your centre they see how the other students are acting. Or how they present themselves and they want to do the same. Just to keep up that yeah that culture.

Teachers have considerable influence on the type of classroom environment they create. Research evidence supports the belief that improved teacher-student relationships and improved discipline and order can reduce behaviour problems (Gottfredson, 1989; Wang, et al., 2010). However, it is essential to not only reduce problem behaviours but to promote the emotional and psychological wellbeing of students through providing a safe classroom environment (McGee & Fraser, 2011), as demonstrated in the stories of the AE tutors. Furthermore, students are more likely to flourish in situations where they feel encouraged and stimulated (McGee & Fraser, 2011). Whether or not teachers are consciously aware, what they value and their philosophical views on learning, filtered

throughout their classroom and impacts the experience of the student (McGee & Fraser, 2011).

Tutor tahi: They come in very closed, and then after a while they get to know you and they become caring children, they can share anything with you. So yeah it's more of that belonging. Knowing that they can fit in somewhere. And safe you know.

The rangatahi and the tutors likened their interpersonal relationships in the classroom to a whānau. The whānau framework was part of the culture created in the classroom. Whānau has been used conceptually in many domains to symbolise significant relationships and operational practices based on similar principles of a traditional whānau (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Walker, 1988). Moreover, numerous studies have shown how the closer the classroom and home experiences are for students, the more likely that students will be able to participate in educational experiences (Durie, 1985; Glynn, et al., 2000). Whānau concepts in the classroom are culturally relevant for rangatahi students and provide a framework for classroom culture. Metge (1990) summaries the rights, responsibilities, commitments and obligations that support the concept of whānau through aroha (love in the broadest sense), awhi (helpfulness), manaaki (hospitality) and tiaki (guidance). Throughout the stories of the tutors and rangatahi, these values were consistently demonstrated. In the following interview segment, Dean and Tutor Tahi share their thoughts about how whānau is established within the culture of the classroom.

Tutor Tahi: ... make them feel welcome. We highlight that when we have new students start here that they all have to treat each other with respect because every child deserves a chance and they deserve to feel welcome. We look at ourselves as a family and look out for each other. You know how silly they get at that age but we don't encourage that sort of thing. We want this to be their safe place, and we want them all to have the same start. They can figure out on their own and not have pressure from the other kids, making them feel uncomfortable.

Dean: Like if someone was hurt we'd help or if someone was in trouble we'd all like stick together pretty much. Like a family which is cool.

Āhurutanga was enhanced by sharing information between whānau, rangatahi and tutors to best support rangatahi. Tutors described phoning home to talk to a parent/caregiver if a student was having a bad day, typical of the tutors' experiences as they committed to working with whānau where possible. Numerous research studies have shown the benefits of including parents and caregivers in student learning (Comer & Haynes, 1991; Fan & Chen, 2001; Haynes, et al., 1989). Emerson, et al. (2012) claims that the advantages to students can include gains in health and wellbeing as well as academic achievement. Furthermore, Robinson (2017) believes that collaboration with lower socioeconomic and minority families results in particularly optimal gains. For Māori whānau, Bishop (2008) highlights how Kura Kaupapa schools collaborate with parents and whānau with school activities for the benefit of students. The AE tutors talked about working collaboratively with whānau, although transience and communication barriers sometimes made it challenging.

Tutor Toru: So we call parents if something has happened. We always try to do that, just to find out what might be going on at home. So the first port of call is to the whānau to see what's going on.

Āhurutanga was reinforced through sharing information and working with other tutors to support rangatahi. The tutors described sharing information amongst their team of potentially risky situations based on personal information rangatahi had disclosed. These recounts reflected their roles as kaitiaki for the rangatahi within the overarching theme of the whānau framework.

Tutor Rua: Just real personal stuff which I have to tell them, 'Hey look, if it's really personal and it's putting me in danger, I have to share this information.' Because of the Act [Education Act].



Figure 4: AE students playing cards with their tutors at break time

Meeting basic needs

The collective stories of the tutors and rangatahi demonstrate the importance of having basic needs met in order to sustain engagement and learning. Having basic needs met in relation to Te Kete Tuauri emphasises the significance of grounding and stabilising rangatahi to keep them focused and purposeful. The tutors described the relevance of the hauora (health) model and being aware of interactions between domains such as physical, spiritual, and social, mental/emotional health. They observed among the rangatahi that if one area of the model was compromised, other areas were also affected.

Tutor Tahi: I would say I always go back to the hauora model. I don't even know how to say it, you know you got the four sides: your physical, your spiritual, social, mental/emotional. Yeah so is it the hauora? That's pretty much it but I do think that if say, they are experiencing a change in their life, whether they are conscious to it or not, generally they don't work in isolation. So like all sides have some sort of effect. Whether it's positive or negative.

The tutors identified Maslow's (1943) Hierarchy of Needs as being relevant to rangatahi in AE and the importance of having their basic needs met. They discussed how many of the students in AE did not have their basic needs adequately met, which negatively impacted on their learning and engagement. Transport assistance to and from the AE

organisation and provision of kai throughout the day mitigated some of these issues. Tutors stated how they were able to identify students who most likely had not eaten any dinner the night before and the impossible task of learning while hungry or tired.

Tutor Rua: Winter is a prick. Like this morning I was waiting an extra five minutes outside everyone's house 'cause they are still in bed. They don't want to get up, it's cold, and it's raining. And I think it sort of comes back to what you were saying before, if you haven't had Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs [met]. If they don't have food, if they don't have a safe home, then they definitely won't be motivated to learn. So in a sense we are here to help and engage them in their learning but we've got to deal with this.



Figure 5: Lunch provided by AE provider

Maslow's (1943) Hierarchy of Needs identifies how meeting some basic needs for each individual provides the foundations for achieving self-actualisation. These basic needs incorporate physiological needs such as food, water, warmth and rest, and security and safety. They relate to objective wellbeing and formulate the general idea of living a conceptually good life. Sen (1993) also includes factors such as shelter, clothing and healthcare as falling underneath the general objective wellbeing umbrella. Tutor Rua's concerns (above) demonstrate how winter places pressure on the basic needs of the rangatahi, most of whom live in cold homes that lack sufficient heating resources, and

where there is little in the way of regular hot nourishing meals. Recent research by Utter, et al. (2018) indicates there are increasing concerns around food insecurity reported by NZ high school students. These findings highlight basic needs for adolescents in NZ that are not being met and are most likely experienced by rangatahi in AE. There is a need for extra support given to tutors and AE providers to address these basic needs.

The rangatahi did not directly reveal that they have a lack of safety or kai at home with their whānau. Yet they did identify the benefits of transport and food provided by their AE provider.

Ethan: There are no dislikes here. I like it when you get picked up in the morning. I reckon if they didn't pick me up I wouldn't come here every day. I'd slack off. Yeah.

Kahu: The difference between this place and mainstream is that you get fed here.

The stories of the rangatahi and the AE tutors indicated that meeting the basic needs of the students was valued and necessary for regular attendance, as well as teaching and learning engagement. Without their basic needs being met, rangatahi struggle to achieve the expectations held by their tutors. A tutor shared a story of another tutor who acted maternally towards the students and put much effort into feeding them. Her actions enhanced the whānau classroom environment and positive relationships between tutors and students.

Tutor Tahi: Since she's been on she's always nurtured them, she always feeds them all the time, I've tried to do that but I don't like to cook for my own family, I'm not going to cook for these kids, so I just do the easy thing you know. Buy a couple of loaves of bread, butter. Scrambled eggs, baked beans. You're sorted, toast your own bread. That's it yeah.

This particular tutor who acted maternally, showed awahi and aroha through her provision of kai. For some rangatahi, the provision of food made a large difference to their schooling experience. Kahu stated the difference between mainstream education and AE for him was 'that you get fed here'. The provision of kai in AE is symbolic of Te Kete Tuauri in the way it ritualises the wider meaning of kai provision for the students. Kai is

meeting a basic need of the students. When the tutors provide it for them the students experience awhi, aroha and manaakitanga. Macfarlane, et al. (2007) outline guidelines for creating culturally safe schools for Māori students. Their research highlights the significance of manaakitanga, which is a reciprocal process and provides the opportunity to further extend students in learning the value of caring as an exchange process.

Making the Educational Environment Engaging

Te Kete Tuauri pertains to grounding and stabilising rangatahi in order to keep focus and purpose. Providing an engaging educational environment is about grounding students in the present, keeping them focused and helping to make their experiences meaningful. Research has shown that learning engagement is a factor indicative of student wellbeing (Noble, et al., 2008) and can contribute to differences in student wellbeing levels (Orkibi & Tuaf, 2017). The tutors' stories revealed the high levels of effort put in place to focus on the needs of the students to develop engagement. Practices such as playing sports in the afternoon after lunch when concentration levels are low, networking with providers in the community that can offer extracurricular activities, and thinking about the individual behavioural and emotional needs of each student required consistent, attentive work.

The following interview segments demonstrate how the tutors network with external support services to engage students through their interests and how the rangatahi benefited from these activities and projects. Dean discusses the enjoyment he received from a music and photography project. The photography project was modelled on 'Humans of New York' but within his suburb. These types of activities engage rangatahi with their wider community as they learn and develop their knowledge and skills. At the end of the photography activity, the students proudly exhibited their projects and photographs of their stories of community members.

Dean: They have a little music place and he produces music and stuff and we can learn how to like write songs and do all that kind of stuff. It's mean and on Tuesdays we do photography and we're trying to do another book.

Tutor Tahi: You have your kids that are real artistic. You've got musos so we try to tap into other places and we've got a few there but they can only come once a week

and that's probably the only day that kid wants to turn up 'cause they know, 'Oh yeah I've got music today,' or, 'Yes I'm going to art today.' And we go, 'Oh we need you for the whole week! Not just for the one day.'



Figure 6: Tama recording music with a local community organisation

Meeting Emotional Needs

The tutors shared stories of tending to the emotional needs of the students and how this is sometimes not included in the enrolment information. This created challenges in responding to difficult behaviours and learning about the specific needs of a student. The teachers' ability to understand both the educational and psychological needs of their students (Sabol & Pianta, 2012) influences their desire to learn. Leighton, et al. (2018) found this is especially pertinent to at-risk and vulnerable students who may not have healthy home environments to counter against negative school environments. The following interview segment reveals a tutor's reflections around how she needs to better respond to a student's emotional and psychological needs.

Tutor Tahi: You [can] misunderstand a child when they've come in and you don't know anything and they act up and you know, you automatically deal to them, and [then] you find out ... 'I am so sorry. I didn't know you had these issues.' If I had known I think I would have been a bit different.

The symbolism of Te Kete Tuauri demonstrates the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in their need to feel safe, to have a sense of belonging in their educational environment, and have their physical and emotional needs met. The stories of the rangatahi and the tutors showed the complex nature of their relationships and ritualised behaviours that made rangatahi feel welcome in the AE environment. Rangatahi were shown manaakitanga, awhi and aroha and were grounded and stabilised in their AE environment. Tutors carefully reflected on the emotional and psychological needs of each student. These factors were perceived as conducive to rangatahi wellbeing when it was possible to implement them in the classroom environment. The tutors reported that meeting physical and emotional needs were sometimes difficult to consistently sustain due to limited time and lack of external resources.

Te Kete Aronui

Te Kete Aronui is knowledge that can help humanity and is the knowledge we see before us. Te Kete Aronui represents the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in educational settings and is the experiences and knowledge of AE tutors, and the conversations and discussions they hold with rangatahi.

Tiakitanga

The tiakitanga (guardianship, caring for, protection) of the tutors over rangatahi was perceived as crucial in developing quality relationships. As the stories of the rangatahi and the AE tutors unfolded, tiakitanga appeared as a significant theme concerning Te Kete Aronui. The experiences of both the tutors and rangatahi illustrated how trust was the foundation to forming relationships. Through establishing trusting relationships, rangatahi were engaged in their environment and felt a sense of belonging. Numerous research studies have indicated the benefits of creating an environment where emotional and social wellbeing is central to promoting health in child-friendly schools (Leighton et al., 2018; World Health Organization, 2003). When the education environment emphasises the care of emotional and psychosocial functioning, the improvement of health and wellbeing of students can be substantial (Atkins, et al., 2010). In the present study, this is relevant in the many different and sometimes creative ways the tutors facilitated the development of trust in their relationships with the rangatahi.

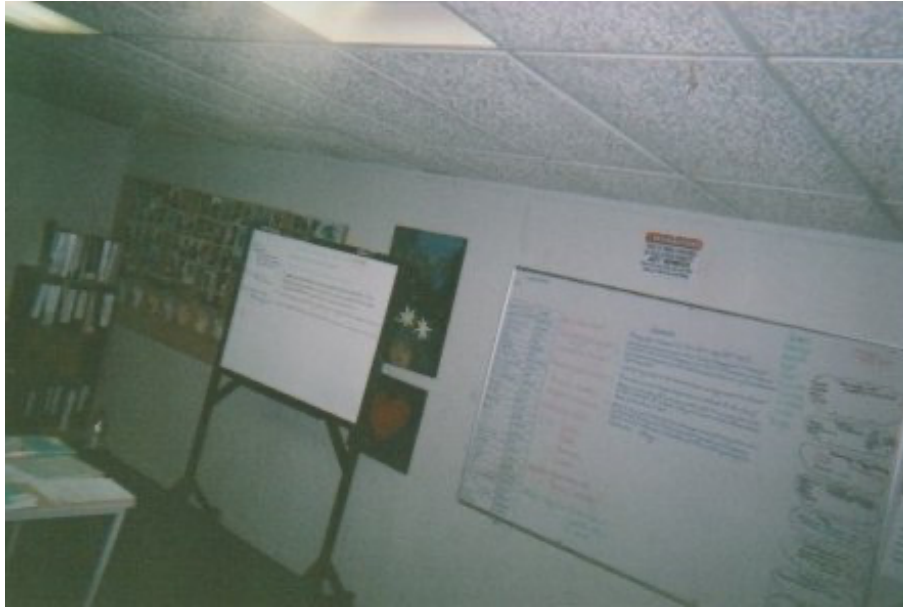


Figure 7: AE classroom

Building a respectful classroom culture requires the teachers to have a genuine regard for their students' progress and who they are (Miller & Pedro, 2006). Skipper and Douglas (2015) highlights how students are quick to obtain a sense of whether their ideas are welcomed or rejected. The AE tutors worked hard to restore trust to the teacher-student relationship for the rangatahi, which for the majority had been lost through mainstream experiences. This was demonstrated in the ways they continuously found places for compromise, and in some cases took extra time to create shared experiences. For example, one tutor spoke about how he was new to AE, and the importance of forming bonds with the students.

Tutor Whā: I started halfway through Term One. I just kind of built my relationships as best I could during course time. In the school holidays, I took two boys at a time. And we went for a swim or we went for a trip somewhere. We went ten pin bowling and stuff. It was just showing them, doing that extra stuff outside of course time, I found quite big. So when we came back it was like, 'Oh remember that time we jumped off the rocks?' or whatever. So we had something in common now.

Forming trusting relationships is a significant factor in aiding the development of young people. If a young person is able to form a secure attachment with trusting and caring people in their life, such as parents/caregivers, teachers or other significant adults, then

they can use these examples as working models to carry into adulthood (Oppenheim & Goldsmith, 2007). Secure attachment in young people has been shown to have a significant impact on psychological and social functioning, such as higher resiliency and emotional health (Karreman, 2012; Roberts, et al., 1996). Evidence indicates that secure attachment reduces psychological problems and enhances healthy psychological and social functioning, whereas insecure (anxious and/or ambivalent) attachment causes withdrawal and internalising among adolescents (Chauhan, et al., 2014). The AE tutors were able to form secure relationships and genuine bonds with the rangatahi through establishing a sense of mutual trust and respect.

In supportive trusting relationships, secure attachment is fostered. When students trust their teachers to be caring and supportive, regardless of grades, then the education environment is more conducive of wellbeing, as their relationship is not solely based on their academic achievement (Leighton et al., 2018). For the tutors in AE, they were not able to shift a student's academic achievement without establishing a secure relationship first. A tutor described this as a 'catch-22' situation as funding was reliant on students' academic achievement.

Tutor Toru: ... And then knowing academically you are not going to shift them unless you have relationships, it's a catch-22, and when the consortiums based on access for funding or from the government or whatever is based on um credits.

Cultural Awareness

Cultural awareness was identified as a prominent element in the development of trust and taunekeneke of rangatahi and tutor relationships. A lack of cultural awareness and competency among adults interacting with AE rangatahi could act as a barrier to the rangatahi accessing support. For example, one tutor noticed that when external health practitioners came into AE, some students were automatically mistrustful of those from a different cultural background.

Tutor Tahi: Yes I do see that with the Māori students and Pasifika students. They feel like, 'Nah I'm not even going to go near you' to start off with.

'We are actually here to help you.'

'No thanks.'

Ka Hikitia, the Ministry of Education's (2013) Māori Education Strategy recognises the importance of teacher cultural competency. Professional teaching and support staff need to know the best way to support, teach and engage with Māori students through acknowledging their cultural assets and existing knowledge. The Tātaiako component of Ka Hikitia pertains explicitly to the cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners. Tātaiako appears to be relevant in working towards reducing the barriers for rangatahi who have an automatic mistrust of teachers and other adults working in supportive roles of different cultural backgrounds. Brooking et al. (2009) qualitative study of AE students found that students automatically felt more comfortable when their tutor was of the same cultural background.

The closer the classroom and home experiences are for students, according to Bishop (2008), the more likely it is that students will be able to participate in educational experiences at school. This is relevant in the AE environment, where tutors identified the need for belonging and a place to fit in. The environment developed in the AE providers created a sense of whānau that was felt by the tutors and the rangatahi which supported trust, secure attachment and belonging.

Tutor Tahi: I think for some of my kids, our crew are quite tight so when they have issues everyone knows about it so they do try to help each other. I like to think they know they have a little family that they can come to.

Dean: It's pretty good like, they're really easy to talk to, like yeah they're just cruisy. Like they're your teachers but they're also like someone to talk to if you need help with anything.

Through the lens of Te Kete Aronui, tiakitanga features as a core component of what is helpful to rangatahi in supporting their wellbeing needs in AE. The common themes of tiakitanga, establishing secure and trusting relationships and creating a sense of whānau, closely relates to the Hikairo Rationale (Macfarlane et al., 2007). The Hikairo Rationale was based on Durie's (1985) Te Whare Tapa Whā model and was developed as a bicultural approach to working with students who displayed challenging behaviours. It emphasises the important role culture plays in the lives of people and its meaning in

working with rangatahi and their whānau. This aligns with the findings of the study that cultural awareness is a key concept in forming trusting relationships.

Matatiki

Matatiki derives from one of the Māori words for spring of water and can also mean a resource. Matatiki relates to Te Kete Aronui as it enhances the wellbeing of rangatahi. If we consider the analogy of a spring of water, matatiki relates to the supply of energy and freedom to pursue activities, relationships with others, and external resources to promote the wellbeing of AE students. In other words, matatiki encompasses the resources available to AE such as funding, support services, and access to extracurricular activities. The tutors recognised areas of matatiki that could be further developed for rangatahi to gain more benefits. There was limited matatiki in some areas such as being able to gain mentors, time restraints on being able to network with community service providers and agencies, or not being able to access the same resources as mainstream education.

Tutor Rua: We fight for everything that we get for you kids. It's real hard, it's a struggle aye.

Tutor Toru: There is very specific ratios in alt ed not just being the poor brother disenfranchised education sector but we don't have any entitlement to RTLBs. It's a different sort of help or service providers, agencies or service providers that don't um always have the same qualifications, yet they are the same kids.

In exploring the tutors' ideas for addressing the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in AE, mentoring arose as a likely beneficial resource. Mentoring has developed in popularity as an opportunity for young people to engage in a positive and supportive relationship where they are encouraged to reach their potential (Simoes & Alarcão, 2014). Mentoring operates on the premise that young people who have been through adversity can readjust their internal working models and compensate for losses in previous relationships with adults (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002). One tutor could see the benefits of such relationships.

Tutor Tahī: I wouldn't mind mentoring agencies. These kids need a bit of mentoring. We can only do so much but because we get all of them at once, we can't cater to all the different needs. So it would be nice to have someone take them for

an hour or so, just give them that sort of time Just having a mentor there, taking a kid away for an hour, it's beneficial to the child. They come back feeling better, you know, 'I'm kind of feeling kind of special. I had my time.'

Although the potential for mentoring was discussed by the tutors, accessing such support was difficult for several reasons. For example, the tutors spoke of AE students being in the 'too hard basket' for church youth groups, or the issue of organisations only picking up students if they had the funding. There was also the ever-constant lack of time for tutors to network with external organisations to gain mentors. A potential solution to finding available and funded mentoring organisations would be to provide in-house mentoring. This service was offered by one of the AE providers in the area but was not available to all providers. As illustrated in the literature, there are benefits of school-based mentoring such as matching mentors with mentees (Simoes & Alarcão, 2014), establishing longer mentoring relationships (Grossman, et al., 2012), and more frequent and consistent meetings (Deutsch & Spencer, 2009). In this context, teachers can have the double role of being a teacher and mentor to students in the school. However, as noted in the quotation above, this solution did not appear practical when applied to AE tutors. Their time is already extremely stretched in their current role.

Matatiki was limited through the ability for rangatahi to access extracurricular activities. For example, tutors saw potential possibilities for strengthening the bridge between high school and AE. They recognised some rangatahi had the desire to be involved in a sports team, but were unable to because they belonged to AE. Although AE students still fell under the overarching umbrella of a mainstream high school, they were not able to collaborate in areas such as sport.

Tutor Tahi: Yes it's just really difficult. The fact that we are under the mainstream College, we have kids that want to play sports in a sports team. But to play rugby you can only play in school teams. Our kids are in alt. ed. and they can't link in with the

They are under the school but they can't do any of the school sports. And that's put off our kids because a lot of our kids don't want to do any sports. They can't play for a club or anything like that.

Te Kete Aronui represents what is helpful to humanity, and in the context of this study, applies to the knowledge shared between the rangatahi and the AE tutors that promotes wellbeing. Although the interviews with the tutors revealed themes of frustration in the lack of matatiki, also raised were areas for potential growth. Randall (2004) advances the idea that not all students have the same educational needs. Some students need additional or more intensive services to succeed. It is clear from the stories of the AE tutors that the rangatahi would benefit from accessing more matatiki. However, options remained limited due to constraints in time and funding.

Summary

Using the symbolism of Tāne, this chapter discusses the empowerment of rangatahi so that they can stand tall and strong in their educational environments. In this chapter, Ngā Kete Tuatoru provides a framework for analysing the education experiences of the rangatahi concerning wellbeing. Using the information gathered from Te Kete Tuatea, Te Kete Tuauri and Te Kete Aronui, we are able to gain new knowledge in rangatahi experiences of education and address wellbeing concerns. Te Kete Tuatea highlighted harmful aspects of the mainstream education experience of rangatahi that has led to their disenfranchisement. Te Kete Tuauri reflected on important practices in creating āhurutanga for rangatahi in AE, mainly through establishing whānau-like environments. Lastly, Te Kete Aronui signifies the importance of developing mutually trusting relationships to facilitate student success. It is clear that increasing access to resources, and widening social capital for rangatahi are identified as significant.

Chapter Seven: Tī Kōuka

Within te ao Māori, Tī Kōuka (cabbage tree) is known to symbolise resilience and independence. Many names given to the Tī Kōuka are representative of its physical properties and symbolic meaning. Tī Kōuka is sometimes named Tī-Tahi when it grows alone, which it commonly does, hence the alternative name is symbolic of independence (Royal, 2007b). The mountain Tī Kōuka is also called Kupenga which translates to ‘net’, and is likened to the net cast by rangatahi in utilising their supports and enhancing their resilience (Simpson, 2000). Moreover, Tī Kōuka is called Hauora (good health) and is symbolic of the tree’s ecology. Where the ground has burnt, or there have been earth slips, Tī Kōuka can grow in dense colonies. Therefore, Tī Kōuka helps to return such places to a healthy condition (Simpson, 2000). When rangatahi are enabled to act independently and be self-determining, their wellbeing needs are optimally supported. The essence of the following chapter is to explore the resilience, independence and self-determination of rangatahi through the metaphor of Tī Kōuka .



Figure 8: Tī kōuka tree outside Kahu’s window at home

E kore e riro, he tī tāmōre nō rarotonga
The cabbage tree is never carried away in a gale.

Manawaroa

Resilience

Tī Kōuka can live in harsh environments due to its ability to store water. The trunk of Tī Kōuka is fire resistant and will grow back even if it is cut down (Simpson, 2000). In the clearing of land, Tī Kōuka is often the last tree standing (Shaw, 2012). From a Māori perspective, the resilience of whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) is imperative to wellbeing. Māori people demonstrate resilience through their unity and their interrelationships, as well as their ability to adapt and adjust to their environments. Rangatahi from this study have experienced the historical impact of colonisation, urban migration, whānau displacement, socio-economic challenges and in their present-day life, disenfranchisement from mainstream schooling. Rangatahi in this research demonstrated profound resilience in their ability to access support systems, problem solve and adapt to a multitude of stressors. Therefore, they are likened to the resilient and adaptable Tī Kōuka.

Manawaroa (resilience) was an overarching theme throughout the stories of rangatahi and was present in all aspects of life. Manawaroa translates to ‘the elongated heart’; this is true of these rangatahi who have had to stretch and persevere in the face of adversity. The research finds that the rangatahi experienced many challenges but responded to these in the spirit of manawaroa, as Durie (2007) has proposed, through a cohesive and collective response. Resilience from a Western perspective is the ability to bounce back and do well when facing challenges, in order to be adaptable and to continue successful functioning (Fleming & Ledogar, 2008; Martinez-Torteya, et al., 2009). Applying this definition rangatahi in this study were also seen to respond resiliently. The present findings explore the interrelated nature of manawaroa concerning wellbeing for these rangatahi and explores the key themes of adaptability and cohesiveness. This segment discusses specifically adaptability and cohesiveness as core components of rangatahi manawaroa.

Adaptability

Adaptability was a common theme present in the stories of rangatahi. This theme is likened to Tī Kōuka as the tree can adapt to different terrain and harsh environmental factors. Māori have always been adaptable, and the Māori world view recognises a natural order to the universe where balance is needed (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013). Māori

cultural practices have an interconnected relationship with the natural world, adapting to the different seasons in order to keep the natural world system in balance. Māori use of star navigation knowledge for plotting and completing voyagers demonstrates this (Evans, 2017) as well as planting and harvesting crops for specific parts of the year and conservation (Estrada de la Cerda, 2015). Māori are adaptable in whānau structure where children are raised by parents, aunts and uncles, and grandparents for the greater wellbeing of the whānau. Reynolds (1990) notes that Māori had been 'strikingly adaptable, vigorous and quick to understand' from the initial contact with Europeans. Māori have been adaptable when faced with the challenges of colonisation, urbanisation, and considerable socio-economic pressures. Disenfranchisement from mainstream education is one of the challenges faced by rangatahi in this study. Drawing on previously mentioned examples of such adaptability, rangatahi share how they have had to be adaptable in order to problem-solve their challenges.

Rangatahi demonstrated their ability to adapt in difficult circumstances and find solutions to persevere, particularly in the neighbourhoods near their AE centres where stories of fighting and aggression were familiar. The way rangatahi responded to aggression in their communities varied and their stories of these events were delivered separately to their school and whānau experiences. These findings coincide with a NZ national study assessing perceptions of problematic behaviours such as physical fighting and weapon carrying where physical aggression was regarded as prompted by external factors opposed to school environments (Marsh, et al., 2008). In the following segment, rangatahi share their responses to youth aggression in their communities.

The majority of rangatahi who participated in this study did not feel safe in their community and frequently shared stories of aggression. Although they identified the positive aspects of their community, such as familiarity, the presence of whānau members, and other known people in the neighbourhood, they still felt the need to protect themselves or be alert for potential dangers. When asked about what he needed to feel comfortable in his community, Dean replied that he would need a knife, not necessarily to use but rather to ward others away. He then went on to discuss a fake knife he had used in the past, as shown in the extract below. Dean's story reflects resilience through a pattern of adaptation, following a significant risk or adversity, which is associated with walking around in his community.

Dean: Yeah I'd have to have something like a knife or something! Like not necessarily to like use it just like pull it out if I get into trouble like pull it out and 'bro go away I'll stab you'.

Researcher: So do you think that is something that would be common to happen if you were walking around by yourself?

Dean: Yeah... I used to have this knife thing it was like fake off those movies and you'd like push it into your arm and it would go down but you'd think it looked real. I used to take that!

Researcher: So what's kind of led to you feeling like you need something if you go walking by yourself?

Dean: Um just 'cause I always get stepped out 'cause I'm tall and everyone looks at me like yeah I could take on that and they want to one out me and it's like no.

Wiremu lived in a neighbourhood where rival gangs ('Crips' and 'Bloods') were established. Gangs can present a danger to disadvantaged youth. The risk of gang involvement increases with factors such as feeling unsafe in the neighbourhood, low socio-economic neighbourhoods or families living in poverty and low attachment or connection to school (Hill, et al., 1999; Kosterman et al., 1996; Thornberry, et al., 2003). Furthermore, Eggleston (2000) notes that in NZ, many youths are drawn to American cultural icons above their own. Eggleston (2000) purports the 1988 film 'Colors' (directed by Dennis Hopper and produced by Robert Solo) was the beginning of 'Crips' and 'Bloods' in NZ. Through his story, Wiremu was highly aware of the presence of gangs in his neighbourhood and had intentionally adapted his behaviour.

Wiremu's response to the presence of gangs in his neighbourhood was to wear a gang colour despite no affiliation or desire to join. Garot and Katz (2003) found that youth in AE used clothing to express themselves, to create uncertainty and misinterpretation. Clothing was a powerful tool to provide insight into their self-perception. Their findings also observed the ironic use of clothing where students wore gang-related clothing yet were not involved in a gang. Wiremu's choice of clothing shows an adaptation to the challenge of living in a neighbourhood with gangs and street violence through the intentional and strategic use of wearing gang colours.

Researcher: How do you feel walking down the street?

Wiremu: Alright... but there is a lot of people that want to fight aye around there.

Researcher: Just for the sake of fighting?

Wiremu: Yeah... oh to do with colours and that, blue or red.

Researcher: Do you ever wear blue or red or anything?

Wiremu: Yip I just wear blue.

Researcher: Do you belong to a gang?

Wiremu: Nah my cousin does though.

Researcher: So why do you wear blue?

Wiremu: Don't know... it's my colour.

Wiremu acknowledges there are a lot of people 'wanting to fight' in his neighbourhood. Perhaps by wearing the colour blue, the likelihood of fighting when walking down the street is reduced, an example of a young person adapting to environmental challenges brought on by the presence of gangs. In one study, students had a change of clothing in their bags of gang affiliated colours for crossing into gang boundaries (Walker & Schmidt, 1996). Wearing the colour blue may have been a strategic move for Wiremu to read and respond to his surroundings, to promote wellbeing and the safety of his physical body.

Wiremu's use of the colour blue in his clothing may also reflect a desire to belong despite not being directly affiliated with the gang Crips. Eggleston's (2000) study into youth gang culture in NZ found a main driver of gang activity appeared to be a desire for affiliation and belonging. Wiremu denied any gang connections, yet he continued to represent a gang colour, contrary to his statement that he would feel more comfortable in the community if there were no gangs at all.

Wiremu: Oh I think I would have been like different if there was no gangs around here...like I would just be a good boy yeah.

His story demonstrates his ability to adapt in a community that sometimes shows hostility amongst and towards male youth.

Most of the stories shared by rangatahi reflected fighting and aggression as a necessity or expectation amongst youth in the community. Understanding rangatahi adaptability is a way of perceiving their capacity to respond to uncertain and changing circumstances, conditions and situations. Having the capacity to adapt in the face of environmental challenges can be viewed as a core component of resilience. Dean and Wiremu's stories demonstrate their adaptability to the threat of violence through their protective mechanisms.

Tama shared a situation in which he was faced with aggression first-hand and how he adapted to this adverse situation. He had not intentionally sought to respond with aggression but had retaliated with violence after being 'rushed' (beaten and robbed) by other youth. His automatic response was to find his brother (close friend) and to avenge his moment of vulnerability, despite feeling regretful afterwards.

Tama: I got rushed outside the course, yeah they took my phone and my visor and they came up to me just because they wanted to rush someone and they took all my stuff and yeah it was a pretty stink day.

Researcher: How did you feel?

Tama: Really pissed off. Which was dumb.

Researcher: So how did your brother help you through that time?

Tama: Well he put all his boys and put all my boys and went down here and smashed them all up. Wasn't the right thing but the eh. I just felt like doing that at the time.

Researcher: Did that make you feel better afterwards?

Tama: Yip [laughing] it did to be honest. 'Cause yeah it actually did.

Researcher: What happened after?

Tama: Um we went out for a big feed. And the day after that me and my brother went out for a big sesh came home, watched a movie and went to sleep. It was actually a pretty fun day.

Researcher: Do you still feel bad about your stuff and being rushed?

Tama: Yip, sometimes I feel ratchet for rushing them 'cause we did a better job than they did to me and there was a lot more people.

Researcher: Would you have done things differently?

Tama: Yeah I kind of take it back now. Yeah I kind of take it back now [sigh] but I can't 'cause it's in the past.

These stories show the ability of rangatahi to adapt to threatening, uncertain situations. Although none of their behaviour would be considered overtly positive behaviour, the examples provided by Dean, Wiremu and Tama demonstrate the survival adaptations of rangatahi in heightened and dangerous situations. They adapt to manage threats in a demonstration of manawaroa. Failure of rangatahi to adapt to these situations could lead to a deluge of future negative consequences.

Some rangatahi showed their adaptability by avoiding trouble areas like malls. Others did not enter situations where they could be targeted or experience prejudice. A continuation of these adaption pathways is more likely to foster positive developmental health outcomes of rangatahi and contrasts with the outcomes of entering aggressive environments. As displayed in Ethan's story below, he mostly chose to avoid areas and situations where he would be perceived as a troublemaker to other youth and people in the community.

Ethan: Hanging out, I don't like going to the mall and that.

Researcher: How come?

Ethan: Oh like I will but I'd rather go somewhere else. I don't like, if I had to pick between a beach and a mall I'd go to the beach.

Researcher: Is that because the beach is more interesting than the mall, or is it because of the other people at the mall?

Ethan: Nah it's not that, it's if you're with a bunch of your mates you are seen as troublemakers, you know.

Rangatahi in AE are not only coping with the normal experiences of adolescence. They are also managing significant stressors. These narratives demonstrate the manawaroa in rangatahi through their response to threatening and dangerous situations. Each rangatahi chose different pathways in their responses, signifying their ability to adapt to their circumstances. With the continuing practice of regulating and adjusting through adolescence (Martin & Marsh, 2006), youth develop and sustain positive directions and negate unfavourable ones (Martin, et al., 2012). The constant stressors, changes and uncertainty of their lives exercise their capacity to adapt and demonstrate their manawaroa.



Figure 9: Dean looking out the window at AE into his local community

Cohesiveness

Kupenga is a name for Tī Kōuka that grow on the mountain, as the leaves are a valuable material in the weaving of nets (Simpson, 2000). The fibres of the Tī Kōuka /Kupenga are robust and sought after for the weaving of nets as well as sturdy baskets, sandals that have the endurance to walk far and string that binds everything together. Just as the Kupenga leaves are strong and cohesive when bound together, so is the cohesiveness and strength experienced by rangatahi that enables their resilience. Cohesiveness was a prominent theme shared in the stories of rangatahi and their interactions with the people who featured in their lives. The cohesiveness felt by rangatahi provided a source of happiness, a place of belonging, a support network and at times a safety net.

Protective factors identified by Denny, Clark, Fleming, et al.'s (2004) research with AE students included strong family caring and connectedness, strong peer support and school connection. These findings align with the cohesiveness found in the stories of rangatahi in the present study. The leaves of Tī Kōuka /Kupenga, when bound together and used as a resource and are bound together, symbolise the cohesiveness experienced by rangatahi that support manawaroa.

Relationships were an important aspect of the manawaroa and rangatahi experiences of cohesiveness. Whānau offered a source of aroha (love), manaakitanga (kindness,

generosity and support) and happiness that strengthened their connection with rangatahi. As shown in the extracts below friends and whānau are described as what essentially made rangatahi feel happy.

Rawiri: Music sometimes makes me feel happy but family is what really makes me feel happy.

Researcher: What kinds of things make you happy?

Kahu: Yeah just having fun with family and friends and that.

Researcher: And what sorts of things make you feel loved and cared for?

Kahu: Um family yeah.

Researcher: So what do you need when you are feeling like that?

Dean: Um, just my friends make me feel better.

Whānau appeared to promote manawaroa by offering emotional support, the strong bonds established with rangatahi and spending time together. Friends also appeared as a source of support and fun. These findings relate strongly to previous research on the resilience of adolescent youth (Benzies & Mychasiuk, 2009; Bradley et al., 1994; Denny, Clark, Fleming, et al., 2004). Family conditions such as family cohesion (Benzies & Mychasiuk, 2009) and positive peer relationships promote resilience and youth development (Keelan, 2001).

Sometimes merely thinking of a whānau member helped regulate and calm rangatahi when they were feeling upset. Two of the boys talked about younger whānau members that were a source of happiness, reinforcing the special bond of tuakana-teina relationships as a component of manawaroa. Tama's extract below demonstrates this:

Tama: Ahh I think of my brother, my littlest brother. Me and him are like best friends 'cause he always does the dumbest things to make me happy. Yeah but when I think of him it always calms me down and then always brings my day back up.

Whānau acts as a cohesive support system for some rangatahi that directly assisted them through managing emotional difficulty. The open communication Kahu had with his

family and learning through his own tragic experiences of losing his best friend meant he actively sought his whānau members for emotional support.

Researcher: If you had a problem who would you go to?

Kahu: Ahh someone close to me, yeah I'd talk to them about it.

Researcher: Yeah, so you feel like you can talk to the people close to you in your life?

Kahu: Yeah 'cause um... my best friend died. Passed.

Researcher: Where were you when you found out what had happened?

Kahu: Um, I was at home. My sister found out first on Facebook. 'Cause his sister posted it on Facebook. And yeah but I couldn't believe it. He was like a happy boy and yeah.

Researcher: That must of been really hard. How did that make you feel?

Kahu: Um sad like but yeah it's all good.

Researcher: What got you through that?

Kahu: Um? Just support from family friends and that.

Researcher: They understood?

Kahu: Yeah.

Researcher: So what does it make you think about suicide?

Kahu: No I don't like it... 'cause if you think about it you should talk to someone so it gets it off your shoulder and that. So there's not so much weight on you, pushing you down.

Kahu's story shows incredible resilience at such a young age. At thirteen, he is able to recognise his own mental health wellbeing needs. Luthar, et al. (2000) interpret resilience as the ability to successfully manage traumatic experiences and circumvent negative outcomes and related risks. Kahu navigated the experience of losing his best friend to suicide through the open communication, cohesion and support of his whānau.

Other key people comprised the support network of rangatahi, not just whānau. In his first few weeks at AE, Tama was experiencing depressive symptoms and was relying on alcohol to manage his feelings. Numerous researchers demonstrate the reciprocal risk between substance use and mental disorder (Badiani et al., 2015; Borges, et al., 2018; Pasche, 2012). We find this in Tama's story, and yet his experiences reveal the role trusted

adults can play in the lives of rangatahi. Previous AE research has identified that having a trusted teacher who cared about them is extremely important (Zolkoski, et al., 2016). After sharing his urges to drink and talking with his new tutor, Tama decided not to.

Researcher: Would you say that you still have depression?

Tama: Every now and then um. I had a few depressing moments on the third week I started here. But then, I wanted to drink on that day but then Miss told me not to. Which and she helped me feel better 'cause she talked to me about it. Which is cool. But then yeah.

Girlfriends could act as a significant component of support for rangatahi. When functioning positively, they were a source of comfort, care and encouragement to stay in school. They also reduced health-risk behaviours such as drug and alcohol use. Dean shared the benefits of his current relationship as always having '*someone you always have that person to like go and hug, like kiss whenever you want like having someone to really like care about you*'. His girlfriend made him food and brought it to his house when he was sick. Early assumptions of adolescent romantic relationships by researchers have often been that they are trivial and transitory (Brown, et al., 1999). However romantic relationships amongst adolescents have been found to have a compelling resemblance to adult relationships, and youth can also gain the benefits of adult relationships such as commitment, communication, companionship and relationship satisfaction (Levesque, 1993). Dean's story revealed he appreciated his girlfriend's nurturing and thoughtfulness. Romantic relationships functioned as a source of comfort, nurturance and companionship in several of the stories shared by rangatahi who had girlfriends.

Although romantic relationships could be beneficial, they could also be a place of conflict and a catalyst for emotional turmoil. Adolescent relationships, as with any other poorly functioning relationship, can act as either a resilience or risk factor. The comfort of a relationship could be a source of great happiness but could also be a source of emotional difficulties.



Figure 10: Close female friend

Tama: I just don't talk to her for a little bit like for a couple of hours wait till we calm down. But then I talk to her about it after 'cause the more I talk the more she gets angry I hate it. Which is really stink but then she tries to take it out on me even if I did nothing and she tries to make me feel sorry for her after but then yeah.

Researcher: So how do you get through all of that?

Tama: Um I just take it out on a piece of wood or something so it's smashing.

Adolescents who are involved in romantic relationships have been found to experience an increase in conflict and more extreme moods swings than those who do not have relationships (Laursen, 1995; Savin-Williams, 1996). Emotional turbulence is considered a part of adolescence (Collins, 2003) that sits alongside the challenges rangatahi in AE have had or are facing. As demonstrated in the extract below, Dean could also identify when his relationship was not cohesive and how this was detrimental to his wellbeing.

Dean: Um nah, like yeah I think when we used to fight it would to affect both of us like really badly and it was hard to stay in the right mood and like mindset. 'Cause I'd always be thinking, oh crap, I got to sort this yeah.

As identified by Durie (2007), cohesiveness is a critical component of manawaroa for rangatahi. When relationships with whānau, tutors, peers and girlfriends remained

consistent and positive, rangatahi were able to have a functioning support system wrapped around them. These support systems assisted in adverse situations and in addressing their high-risk behaviours. The findings from the present study concur with previous research showing that positive relationships are important protective factors for rangatahi (Denny, Clark, Fleming, et al., 2004). Relationships with parents, peers, teachers, the wider whānau, and other influential adults outside of the family were significant in supporting rangatahi to acquire the skills needed to achieve healthy development (Simmonds et al., 2014). Family support and care is considered the most crucial in obtaining optimal outcomes (Denny, Clark, Fleming, et al., 2004).

The rangatahi in the present study, shared stories that demonstrate their manawaroa and ability to persevere in the face of adversity. Likened to the leaves of Tī Kōuka /Kupenga, rangatahi are strong in their ability to link with others through their relationships and have manawaroa in their cohesiveness. The findings in the present study show the extent rangatahi access their relationships as a resource and for social support. Manawaroa is a central concept to wellbeing and is crucial to how rangatahi respond to risk, increase their capacity to navigate hardship and further their development.

Motuhaketanga

Independence

Tī Kōuka represents independence as it commonly grows alone and is also referred to as Tī-Tahi – the lone cabbage tree (Shaw, 2012), relating to the independent decisions and experiences rangatahi have in their life and how they choose to navigate their world. Some rangatahi have also expressed feelings of being alone in their experiences, causing them to think and act independently. From a positive standpoint, the symbolism of independence may also refer to the kaupapa Māori principle of tino rangatiratanga – for Māori to be self-determining. Ultimately rangatahi should be empowered to govern their own lives, opportunities and leadership. Conversely, rangatahi also experience loss, alienation and disempowerment. The findings below explore the various forms of independence rangatahi demonstrate in their emotional management, relationship development and involvement in community projects.

Managing Emotions Independently

Findings indicated that rangatahi manage their emotions independently at times. As has been discussed, rangatahi reached out to significant whānau members in times of need and emotional difficulty. However, the majority of rangatahi also independently managed their heightened emotions. Cigarettes, marijuana, and spending time alone were ways rangatahi described problem-solving and attempting to manage unwanted emotions. They stood like the lone cabbage tree Tī-tahi when attempting to overcome sometimes significant and persistent emotional difficulties. As demonstrated in the following extract, Tama disclosed his drinking to manage feelings of depression. He was both isolated and alone in his depression. Drinking was his way of solving the situation on his own until he realised it was causing more harm to his emotional wellbeing.

Tama: Um I was only drinking because of depression. So I just stopped and it made me happier.

Researcher: Were you drinking when you were down every day like by yourself or with friends?

Tama: By myself or with anyone else but then I was drinking every day and sometimes I'd come to course and come to school drunk which was dumb. But yeah.

Several rangatahi shared their use of marijuana to manage emotional difficulties or to achieve feelings of happiness and relaxation. Some felt they were unable to feel happy without the use of marijuana. Before smoking, they reported feeling angry or unable to cope with difficult emotional states. As demonstrated in the extract below, Tama had also used marijuana to manage the emotions of boredom and anger. Rangatahi that smoked commonly used marijuana to manage anger and low moods.

Tama: Happy, that's the only thing that can make me happy.

Researcher: So if you're not smoking it how do you feel?

Tama: Angry and bored, weed just puts me in a happy place. It makes me feel like I don't have to worry about all the bad stuff. Yeah. It just makes me think about stuff that makes me happy.

Researcher: Can you remember what life was like, or your emotions were like before you started smoking weed?

Wiremu: Angr.y

Researcher: Angry all the time?

Wiremu: Yeah I just used to... teachers would ask me to do something and I'd just be angry at them, just sit there yeah.

Researcher: Are there other things that make you feel happy?

Wiremu: Not really.

Ethan: I've had a couple of mood swings here and there but nothing major.

Researcher: What do you do when that happens?

Ethan: I just have a sesh and I'm all sweet pretty much so yeah.

Researchers have identified specific associations between substance use and mental illness (Badiani et al., 2015; Borges et al., 2018; Pasche, 2012) as well as links between internalising problems (depressive symptoms) and externalising problems (conduct problems and substance use) (Henry et al., 1993; King, et al., 2004; Sung, et al., 2004). Although evidence between these causal relationships remains somewhat mixed, the findings in the present study highlight the tendency for rangatahi to use alcohol, cigarettes or marijuana in finding solutions to manage difficult emotions. Furthermore, findings indicating drug use to manage emotional difficulties may indicate a greater connection between mental health issues and externalising problems that have led to school disenfranchisement.



Figure 11: Packet of cigarettes in the bedroom



Figure 12: Marijuana joint used to manage emotions

Although smoking cigarettes and marijuana were commonly used to manage anger, worries or to induce happiness, rangatahi also demonstrated responsibility and assertiveness in emotional management. Several rangatahi shared stories of how they removed themselves from anger triggers in order to calm down and think the situation through, demonstrating their independence and strength in managing difficult and heightened emotions and was particularly the case with anger, as illustrated in the extracts below:

Researcher: Can anything calm you down when you are feeling angry?

Kahu: Yeah I just go to my room and just calm down in there. Yeah 'cause it's my own area and that.

Researcher: What happens when you get angry? What do you do?

Rawiri: I just walk off and try to calm myself down.

Ethan: Yeah, I just walk away and sit down yeah.

The majority of young people suffering mental health concerns do not access help (Goodyear-Smith et al., 2017). Clark et al. (2014) notes that youth with mild to moderate mental health difficulties, often have their mental health concerns go unrecognised in NZ.

Only a couple of rangatahi shared stories of seeking help and seeing a school counsellor. It was discouraging that they were not able to engage or feel connected to the counsellor.

Researcher: Have you ever seen a counsellor at school or anything?

Ethan: Oh yep they done nothing.

Researcher: What was that experience like for you?

Ethan: Oh yeah it was alright. I'd say.

Researcher: What do you mean by they did nothing?

Ethan: All they done was talk to me. They ain't trying to, I think it was because I had to go to the counsellor for I think fighting. All they done was talk to me and that was it.

Researcher: Yeah, what would you have found more helpful?

Ethan: Oh I don't know I'd say more than a chat you know.

Researcher: Did you ever talk to any of the counsellors at school?

Tama: At my old high school I had one counsellor, he didn't really do a good job. All he did was talk about it and just left. He would just listen and then say one little bit of advice and it wouldn't even work and just left. Which is stink.

Denny, Clark, Fleming, et al. (2004) highlights three main barriers to youth engaging with mental health providers. For example, youth having the perception nothing is wrong or not knowing where to access support. Where they did access support, there was the barrier of the lack of cultural fit for Māori. A majority of the rangatahi had not seen a counsellor before. One boy did as part of his restorative plan. However, he felt the counsellor did not understand him. These findings align with Brooking et al. (2009), who report several accounts of AE students who had found school counsellors ineffective, or believed they were not listened to properly. Additionally, Clark et al. (2013) highlight the importance of assuring young people that healthcare services are private and confidential. They argue this is key to young people being able to feel comfortable in discussing health issues.

For many Māori, connection, whakawhanaungatanga (process of establishing relationships) and rapport are essential when engaging with others. Rapport is enhanced when practitioners take the time to put Māori at ease and show genuine interest in getting

to know them. Whakawhanaungatanga is a common practice within the world of Māori, where communication of whakapapa is the norm (Ruwhiu, 2001). Whakawhanaungatanga is valuable in building rapport when working with rangatahi. It is also an opportunity to support the cultural identity of rangatahi no matter what level of cultural understanding rangatahi have (Walsh-Tapiata et al., 2006). When Māori and healthcare providers establish a rapport, whakamā (shyness, embarrassment) of Māori decreases. Cram, et al. (2003) identify whakamā as a potential barrier for Māori in accessing healthcare services. Whakamā may also be a potential reason as to why rangatahi seek to manage emotions independently. Rangatahi experiences with mainstream school counsellors in this study, where these processes have not been put in place, contrast with the whakawhanaungatanga that occurs within AE environments. Building a sense of whānau within each AE provider, and having tutors genuinely invested in rangatahi, would support rapport development and aligns with Māori cultural norms.

Rangatahi shared their emotional challenges and how they sometimes chose to stand independently as Tī-tahi when facing these difficulties. Just as the environment and climate of the cabbage tree is sometimes harsh, so too are the obstacles and hardships surrounding rangatahi and the emotional challenges these may cause. Rangatahi demonstrated their need to alleviate emotional distress through the use of alcohol and drugs to manage discomfort. Due to a lack of connection and rapport, rangatahi did not actively seek out counselling support services while in mainstream schooling. However, they did demonstrate strength in emotional management, particularly around anger, where they recognised the need to remove themselves from triggering situations to calm down. These findings illustrate the importance of empowering rangatahi to manage emotional difficulties and gain optimal wellbeing outcomes. It also reiterates the need to support them to flourish as independents when they stand as Tī-tahi.

Seeking Personal Relationships with Peers

In this study, rangatahi shared stories of their independent personal relationships with peers. Some chose to socialise with friends they had made through course, at mainstream school or through other friends, while some only socialised within their whānau, with cousins and siblings. Either way, these relationships were important for their wellbeing. All the rangatahi discussed the importance of independent development and their

relationships as important for their wellbeing. Adolescence is a time where friends often become a primary source of support and social interaction as teenagers gain more autonomy and independence (Traylor, et al., 2016). Moreover, Szvedo, et al. (2017) contend that looking for other supports during adolescence is crucial in developing new levels of independence. The rangatahi in this study demonstrated their need to spend separate time with peers, develop social relationships, and how important this was to them.

Spending time with friends was independently pursued outside of school and whānau contexts. Meeting at a park, smoking marijuana and talking was a common activity to spend time together. When asked whether they needed marijuana to have a good time with friends, two of the rangatahi replied they did not. However, they found this to be an enjoyable bonding activity.

Dean: Um, hanging out, getting stoned. Talking, mostly talking like, I think just a group of us will like go to the park, sit around a table and just talk about people.

Researcher: And what do you like about getting stoned with your friends?

Dean: It's just fun, like it's just really crack up 'cause everyone just acts differently when they're stoned. Which is funny watching them. It's pretty cool.

Tama: Mostly like sitting down, especially if we just have a sesh and then we'll sit down and always talk about stuff. Which is what we've always done, sit down and have a kōrero. Yeah that was always fun to us.

Smoking cigarettes was also considered a bonding social activity for some, particularly with other AE students during class breaks or after school. These findings demonstrate how social environments can impact adolescent wellbeing and behaviour. During adolescence, peer groups can become highly influential (Traylor et al., 2016). Similarly, health-risk behaviours, such as smoking cigarettes and marijuana, are common amongst AE students (Hoffman, et al., 2001). When taking into consideration the frequency of cigarette and marijuana use of AE students, the social environment of AE may become influential in continuing or participating in these behaviours.

Rangatahi formed friendships through engaging with others who were like themselves, which is also found in previous research (Franken et al., 2016; Urberg, et al., 1998; Veenstra, et al., 2013). Often this similarity was found through the commonality of the AE experience. For example, the loneliness and alienation in mainstream schooling seemed to bring a sense of belonging and affected their decision to select specific peers.

Researcher: How come you're comfortable with all the people at course?

Wiremu: 'Cause they know what I've been through and I know what they've been through.

Researcher: So you kind of have similar experiences?

Wiremu: Yeah.

Several rangatahi only socialised with whānau outside of the school context. Of high importance were key relationships with siblings and cousins within whānau. These findings reaffirm the traditional relationships of tuakana-teina and their contribution to rangatahi social development. Not only was it important for their wellbeing for rangatahi to develop these relationships independently, but this contributed to the wellbeing of relational ties within whānau, their independence and cohesiveness.

Independence was shown by rangatahi through the selection of their peers, how they chose to spend time with them and maintain those relationships. Moreover, most rangatahi chose to socialise within whānau, such as spending time with siblings or cousins without the facilitation of parents. Nepe (1991) discusses the kinship role of tuahine-tungane which she describes as the relationship between siblings and cousins. Tuahine is a sister to a male sibling, or female cousin of a male. Tungane is a brother to a female sibling or male cousin of a female. Nepe (1991) states that they are both complementary and supportive of each other. In Māori society, value is placed on this relationship during adolescence as they are experiencing a time of learning growth and achievement and will perhaps one day step into leadership roles within iwi, hapū and whānau structures (Nepe, 1991). The experiences shared by these rangatahi reinforce the importance of social whānau relationships and their wellbeing, and the wider wellbeing of the whānau.

Mahi Tahi (Working Together as One)

When rangatahi are thriving, they are part of a healthy wider system working as one. Mahi tahi is a term used to illustrate the unity of people working towards a common purpose in a 'hands-on' fashion (Berryman & Ford, 2014). When schools, services and the community come together to work together collaboratively, rangatahi are well supported. Two of the rangatahi who participated in this study shared stories of community projects that had been meaningful to them and allowed them to grow. They were able to act independently within these projects and gain a greater sense of connection to their community. The support and collaboration between AE and community providers demonstrate the positive effect of mahi tahi.

Dean spoke amicably about his AE project which had emulated the Humans of New York photolog and book. The aim of this project was for students to interview people on the street in their AE neighbourhood and take photos. A community exhibition at the end of this project meant students could showcase their work. Dean was able to work independently within the project, discover new skills and gain a sense of accomplishment.

Wiremu discussed a collaboration with the local police and art centre where students graffitied the side of a shop in the community. Wiremu identified art as strength of his and had enjoyed this project very much. The project provided him with a sense of ownership and pride.

Researcher: What would make you feel more comfortable in your community?

Wiremu: Doing a graffiti course in Ranui.

Researcher: Did they have one of those?

Wiremu: No but if they did it would be more better.

Researcher: How would it be better?

Wiremu: 'Cause I'm into art.

Researcher: Oh are you oh neat... so that would be something positive?

Wiremu: Yeah... we just done this graffiti for the police.

When rangatahi can have positive experiences that connect them with the community, they are accessing opportunities to develop their strengths, increase confidence and gain independence. Woodruffe and Patmore (2017) argue that indigenous youths have been

disadvantaged through the mainstream school system but have developed strong skills sets through illegal activity such as tagging and graffiti. Woodruffe and Patmore (2017) research project in NZ and undertaken by Unitec Institute of Technology engaged at-risk youth in community graffiti projects. These youth had been referred from the justice system or from social workers in the area. The project was designed to connect street art skills and promote problem-solving among the youth. Similarly, the graffiti course Wiremu completed provided a positive project that tapped into his individual interests.

Fostering independence in children has been a notable aspect of Māori cultural practice. According to Jenkins and Harte (2011) oriori (traditional Māori lullabies) included a reference to crucial parenting goals of raising children to be bold, brave and independent of thought and action. Children were given the freedom to develop their natural bravery and assert independence (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Today, rangatahi continue to display independence in their everyday living and in the choices and actions they take. These reveal the independent emotional management and development of personal relationships. When rangatahi are supported to enhance their independence in a collaborative, supportive, mahi tahi environment, it furthers their transition to adulthood as they grow into strong, tall Tī Kōuka.

Tino Rangatirotanga

Self-determination

Tī Kōuka is a symbol of wellbeing and is sometimes called Hauora (health) in its ability to restore the environment to good health (Simpson, 2000). The trees are known for their longevity and in traditional Māori customs are planted to identify trails, boundaries and birthplaces (Department of Conservation, 2019). Tī Kōuka is also a source of traditional Māori kai and medicine. Like many of NZ's native trees, through its healing properties, Tī Kōuka is representative of health and wellbeing. In the following segment the wellbeing of rangatahi is explored through their experiences of self-determination. Within mātauranga Māori, when the Tī Kōuka tree flowers it is a sign of a good summer (Department of Conservation, 2019). This study argues that self-determination enables rangatahi to set the foundations for future wellbeing and prosperity.

In the present study, rangatahi highlighted their self-determination through the stories they shared, which revealed their personal choices, decision-making processes and subsequent actions. Self-determination was demonstrated through the ability of rangatahi to make kōwhiringa (choices) that would support their future. Underpinning one's social economic and political future is self-determination (Durie, 2005b). The principal of tino rangatiratanga within kaupapa Māori reinforces the goal of Māori to control their own culture, destiny and aspirations. The following segment explores the experience of aspiration and self-determination with wellbeing needs for rangatahi.

Two rangatahi shared their experiences of being involved in crime and stealing. These stories were told as if this was their past and was not a part of them anymore. They spoke of excitement, relieving boredom and monetary gains as the motivation for 'standing over people' (robbing people). They both agreed that getting into crime was not right and problem solved various ways to put in place barriers to prevent their unwanted behaviour, such as not spending time with people that were more likely to engage in criminal behaviour, staying at home, doing exercise or playing Xbox to keep themselves occupied and distracted. We see their experiences in the following extracts:

Tama: I've just been staying home so never have the chance to do anything stupid. I just stay home.

Researcher: And what kind of things would they get up to?

Tama: Ah stealing, standing over people, and stuff like that but then I think there is no point in standing over if you can't afford it in the first place. And then it's just ratchet too.

When asked about a photo he had taken of his Xbox, Wiremu revealed how it was a distraction to stop him getting into trouble. He identified that it was easier for him to go out and steal rather than stay home and play his Xbox, possibly indicating an ongoing internal struggle.

Researcher: And how is the Xbox helpful to your wellbeing?

Wiremu: It just helps get me out of stuff. Trouble and that. Out of mischief.

Researcher: So playing at home rather than going out and getting into mischief.

Wiremu: Yeah.

These examples provide insight into rangatahi problem solving and coping with the lure of criminal offending. Rangatahi viewed criminal behaviour as ultimately compromising their wellbeing despite being appealing for various reasons, such as excitement, boredom and money. Other external factors, such as peers and whānau participating in criminal offending, were viewed as risk factors. When they were able to stay at home, this displayed their self-determination.

Rangatahi demonstrated self-determination through an array of healthy choices throughout the study, particularly for those who were invested in achieving academically in AE. Kahu decided after staying at home for several months to apply himself and gain credits when he entered AE. Ethan acknowledged he found motivation to attend AE difficult in the morning, however he overcame this challenge by being mindful of his future aspirations to achieve academically, obtain a job and be self-sufficient in the future.

Kahu: 'Cause if you stay at home yeah and then you go to school and try and get a good job. So yeah.

Researcher: So you would like to have a good job in the future?

Kahu: Yeah. So I can pay my bills and my rent.

Researcher: Yeah, how motivated do you feel to start the day in the morning?

Ethan: Oh not that motivated just you know have to get those credits have to get up.

Researcher: So why are those credits important to you?

Ethan: Oh just so I can get my credits, get a job, get money, yeah.

Carefully made choices or kōwhiringa are like the flowers of Tī Kōuka; they are a representative of the self-determination of rangatahi. When they are included in decision-making processes, Māori are supported in their self-determination, for example in education movements and models for Māori (Glynn, et al., 1999; Smith, 1995). A key component of the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi was self-determination and Māori involvement in decision making for their people (Berryman, 2008). This study demonstrates the necessity of decision-making as a crucial and valuable component of

self-determination. When rangatahi are empowered to make healthy choices that contribute to their quality of life and future, they can govern their wellbeing.



Figure 13: Picture of AE workbooks

Summary

Throughout their journey from mainstream education and into AE, these rangatahi have demonstrated their ability to be resilient, independent and in some experiences, self-determining. The metaphor of Tī Kōuka illustrates the way rangatahi have chosen to face the many challenges in navigating adolescence, including alienation from mainstream schooling and personal journeys. Firstly, rangatahi have had to be resilient in their experiences and problem-solving challenges. They had to be independent when there was a lack of support in furthering their personal growth. Lastly, rangatahi can make healthy choices that support their wellbeing and self-determination. Tī Kōuka are naturally strong, can endure trialling and different environments. Just like Tī Kōuka, rangatahi experience obstacles and hardship, and yet they display strength and bravery in their perseverance.

Chapter Eight: A Socio-Ecological View of Wellbeing

In this thesis, the symbolism of Tāne (god of the forest and son of Ranginui and Papatūānuku) and his children of the forest is used as a metaphor throughout. It is used to frame the methodology and presents findings. Tāne Mahuta created the forests and birds. Within mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge, wisdom, understanding), plants, birds and all forms of life are rich in meaning and Tāne's children of the forest can be seen in Māori baby names today. These reflect the likeness of qualities or likeness of specific trees (Royal, 2007b), such as, Nīkau, which is a popular male baby name in NZ. Nīkau palms grow tall and straight, and their fronds are strong and durable. Throughout traditional Māori storytelling and classical oratory, the qualities of trees and plants are used through symbolism and poetry to further mātauranga (knowledge/wisdom) Māori understanding.

Pūrākau (Māori storytelling) is identified as a framework in the initial methodology discussion. When separating the word pūrākau, pū represents the unseen, bringing forth the unconscious and rākau means tree, is representative of conscious thought. This is likened to the process of data collection and contributing new knowledge through the research process. The tree branches symbolise the many versions of rangatahi and tutor stories. The following chapter discusses the main overall findings or rākau that provide insights into the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in AE. Summarised are key findings that discuss how rangatahi perceive their wellbeing needs, how tutors view rangatahi wellbeing needs and their response to rangatahi perceptions. In addition, a discussion of overall findings places the two perspectives of rangatahi and their tutors together.

Takarangi (intersecting double spiral) was an overarching theme throughout the research and acknowledged the dualistic worlds of rangatahi. These rangatahi placed within a dominant Western society identify and acknowledge their cultural heritage as Māori and have attended both mainstream and alternative education settings. As described by Williams and Henare (2009), the symbolism of takarangi honours the co-existence of two worlds. The duality between disconnection and connection has consistently appeared throughout the findings. Mainstream education and other life experiences lead to feelings of disconnection for rangatahi and therefore connection is an overarching theme

supporting wellbeing. Rangatahi that connect with the people around them and their environment can experience a sense of belonging that is conducive to all aspects of wellbeing.

We Not I

The first significant finding of the study demonstrates the importance of rangatahi to feel connected in their relationships and with their environment. Rangatahi in the present study faced many environmental challenges including their transition to new schools, the development of more sophisticated intimate relationships, whānau stressors and accessibility of drugs and alcohol, all of which affect feelings of connectivity. According to attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969), we need relationships that create security. The development and maintenance of securely attached relationships are at risk of being compromised for rangatahi. Relationships can become more challenging to navigate for rangatahi who are experiencing a host of environmental challenges (Kobak & Cole, 1994). The findings of the study highlight the benefits of increasing relationship connectivity for the sake of rangatahi wellbeing.

It is important to recognise the historical impact of colonisation and urban migration on rangatahi connectedness. Due to these events, many urban rangatahi have experienced a loss of resources such as a connection with mātauranga Māori, and traditional social structures such as whānau, hapū and iwi (family, sub-tribe, tribe). In the present study, whānau facilitated the learning, knowledge and connection of mātauranga Māori and Māoritanga (Māori culture, practices and beliefs). All rangatahi felt a connection with their Māori cultural heritage, and although there were differences in accessibility between rangatahi, all rangatahi participants identified their cultural background as meaningful and vital to their wellbeing needs. Rangatahi with minimal access spoke as passionately about their cultural heritage as those who visited their whenua and marae with whānau. These findings support Borell's (2005) argument that traditional cultural identity markers may not be representative of urban rangatahi.

In understanding the heterogeneous features of cultural identity for rangatahi this is a relevant finding. The retention of cultural practices and a Māori identity enhances wellbeing in Māori (Durie, 1995; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Pere, 2006) although Māori cultural identity is recognised as diverse (Durie, 1994; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010;

Williams, 2000). A strong connection with their Māori cultural heritage still applied to rangatahi in AE who do not necessarily reach traditional cultural markers. When observing wellbeing needs, it is vital to recognise the need to support multiple sites of cultural identity for urban rangatahi and enhance these connections.

Within te ao Māori (the Māori world), connection, relationships and networks are a focal point of Māori life. Collectivist cultures centre around the values of a group and community over the individual. Rangatahi reported higher levels of collective personality attributes such as allocentrism, where people focus more on the attention and actions of others rather than themselves in comparison with Caucasian and Asian adolescents in NZ (Jose & Schurer, 2010). Therefore, the social connections that occur within the kinship, family groups and communities are crucial for rangatahi. The core components of whanaungatanga transcend the present findings and highlight the cultural importance of connection among rangatahi.

Functioning relationships were essential to the wellbeing of rangatahi and enhanced feelings of whānau connectedness. Māori family structures such as tuakana/teina (older sibling or cousin/younger sibling or cousin), tungane/tuahine (male sibling or cousin/female sibling or cousin), tipuna matua/tipuna whaea (grandfather/grandmother) and mokopuna (grandchildren) relationships, were critical in fostering and maintaining connections. All rangatahi had key whānau members whom they turned to for support. These findings are consistent with Brooking et al.'s (2009) study, who found strong messages of whānau connectedness amongst AE students in NZ. Although issues were arising from whānau dysfunction in the present study, there was also a sense of strong connectedness.

Whānau connectedness is a core component of rangatahi wellbeing and findings highlight the importance of not viewing rangatahi in isolation from their whānau. When rangatahi experience whanaungatanga (a sense of family connection and belonging), manaakitanga (kindness, generosity and support) and kaitiakitanga (positive guidance), within their whānau, findings obtained in this research indicated, it met their wellbeing needs. These findings align with Boulton and Gifford's (2014) research where togetherness was a key component of whānau health. Whānau can foster feelings of connection for rangatahi through shared activities and enjoying spending time together (Boulton & Gifford, 2014).

Furthermore, the present research and Boulton and Gifford's (2014) findings emphasise the relevance of whānau dimensions of Māori wellbeing models (Durie, 1985; Pere, 1982), and the interrelated nature of how good whānau health can support rangatahi wellbeing. Whānau is a significant protective factor against health-risk behaviours of AE students and when rangatahi share positive connections with whānau, this uplifts their wellbeing.

Increasing feelings of connectedness to their school is another pathway to support rangatahi wellbeing. When students feel accepted, respected, included and cared for within the school environment, school connectedness can become a protective factor against mental illness (Lester et al., 2013). Unfortunately, all the participants in the present study had experienced poor connections with the mainstream education schools they attended and in the process became disenfranchised from education. Findings obtained from rangatahi highlighted previous experiences of a feeling of mokemoke (loneliness) and feeling as if they were rāwaho (an outsider) in mainstream education. Themes of mokemoke and rāwaho illuminated the disconnection experienced within mainstream education settings for rangatahi now engaged in AE. These findings are consistent with previous research in NZ where AE students have found mainstream classrooms too big and impersonal and experienced feelings of inadequacy (Brooking et al., 2009).

A focus on strengthening school connectedness for rangatahi in mainstream education presents fostering school engagement as a necessity. When there is a deficit in school connectedness there is an increased likelihood of health-risk behaviours and social difficulties for adolescents (Denny et al., 2003; Govender et al., 2013). A crucial time for at-risk youth is the transition from primary to secondary school, as there is a significant decline in school connectedness during this time (Gottfried et al., 2001; Van der Werf et al., 2008). This research suggests the benefit of placing a higher emphasis on enhancing school connection to support the transition from primary to secondary for rangatahi. In general, the period of transition into high school education settings can be socially and emotionally challenging for adolescents and requires the ability to adapt to new organisational and social structures while navigating social relationships that can also influence the transition experience (Lester et al., 2013). Enhancing school connection is essential in mitigating school disenfranchisement and supporting rangatahi wellbeing.

Some rangatahi in the present study only attended mainstream secondary education for only three days, while most had become disenfranchised within the first two years, indicating they had quickly become disengaged after their transition from primary/intermediate school. Moreover, these findings show that school connectedness needs to be a concern in AE settings for rangatahi to have successful AE outcomes.

The connection between rangatahi and teachers/tutors are of high importance, as the quality of these relationships is essential in engaging with rangatahi, and they promote school connectedness (Anderson-Butcher, et al., 2006). All of the rangatahi who participated in this study had experienced a loss of connection through their disenfranchisement from mainstream education. The most critical disconnection in the mainstream education setting presented as the relationship with educators. However, this was different in AE. When tutors appeared to care about them and showed genuine interest in building a relationship and supporting their learning, rangatahi were able to connect. Connecting with AE tutors was beneficial to rangatahi wellbeing as they felt more comfortable to seek support, and became more engaged in school. These findings are congruent with previous research that found teacher interaction with Māori students to be the most influential in Māori student achievement (Clark et al., 1996). Additionally, Stanton-Salazar et al. (2001) report that students who have a personal relationship with their teachers are more likely to respond to support if offered. The connection and relationship rangatahi have with their teachers and tutors are significant opportunities to meet their wellbeing needs in educational settings.

Findings from the research indicated that tutors could form a positive relationship with rangatahi and mend some of the connection deficit experienced from their mainstream disenfranchisement. A positive connection between tutors and rangatahi has many advantages. Firstly, positive validation from teachers can help build confidence and self-esteem in students (Holt et al., 2008). Secondly, a sense of connection with key figures such as teachers or tutors within the school context can support feelings of belonging in students (Bacete et al., 2014). Thirdly, when students believe their teachers care, studies find higher rates of school engagement, better academic performance and participation in fewer health-risk behaviours (Battistich & Hom, 1997; McNeely & Falci, 2004). A positive relationship helps rangatahi gain a sense of connectedness with their teachers or tutors, which is essential in relation to their wellbeing needs and has a flow on effect in

connecting with learning and the school environment. Connectedness is an opportunity to support the positive self-belief of rangatahi. The taunekeneke (quality of interaction and relationship) with teachers/tutors appeared to be a valuable resource to engage rangatahi.

Findings from the present study found rangatahi socialised within a range of contexts, such as with their peer group, within their AE setting, and with whānau members of the same generation. Interpersonal relationships and social connections appeared to be greatly valued by all rangatahi. Several rangatahi in the present study disclosed that some of their peers or whānau members engaged in anti-social or health-risk behaviours. In previous studies, peer relations are examined as both a potential risk and protective factor (Moses & Villodas, 2017). Numerous studies identify the link between peer relationships and delinquency (Agnew, 1991; Hawley, 2007; Mayeux & Cillessen, 2008; Tremblay, et al., 1995). Anti-social and health-risk behaviours were a component of some rangatahi peer relationships and could be a risk factor against achieving optimal wellbeing.

The social relationships of rangatahi were described as a source of support, enjoyment and connection. Despite peer relations acting as a potential risk factor among adolescents, Berndt's (1992) theoretical perspective emphasises the positive effects of close friendships. Berndt's (1992) perspective highlights the importance of friendship quality such as high intimacy, loyalty and low conflict rather than peer groups (deviant, popular or intellectual) in fostering social support and self-esteem. High-quality friendships contribute to wellbeing outcomes such as increased life satisfaction, happiness and adolescent adjustment (Raboteg-Saric & Sakic, 2014). Stories of social relationships with peers or whānau provided insight into areas of connectedness for rangatahi that they considered imperative to their wellbeing such as strengthening their sense of belonging, enjoying shared experiences together and providing emotional support.

Romantic relationships appeared to be another source of connection for some rangatahi in the study. These types of relationships appeared to be influential in the emotional health of rangatahi. The connection between rangatahi and their romantic partners could offer a source of support, comfort, nurturance and happiness. However it could also be a point of stress. These findings coincide with research focusing on early romantic relationships and identifying stressors that may impact emotional health. Early romantic relationships

in adolescence can sometimes be problematic. Issues can include negative impacts on other relationships in an adolescent's life such as with friends or parents (Joyner & Udry, 2000). Furthermore, rejection, break-ups and significant occurrences of partner aggression have also been identified as typical of early romantic adolescent relationships. Relational stressors of romantic relationships often trigger mental health problems among youth (Exner-Cortens, et al., 2013; Joyner & Udry, 2000).

Concerning emotional wellbeing, some rangatahi spoke about the difficulty in navigating their romantic relationships and the emotional stress this involved. An overall finding from the present research indicated the unstable nature of rangatahi romantic relationships, showing the need to improve rangatahi understanding of healthy romantic relationships and providing necessary supports. Previous research demonstrates that although adolescent romantic relationships can have a negative effect on emotional wellbeing, the quality of the romantic relationship is of most importance. Relationship quality is purportedly the most revealing factor in how romantic relationships affect adolescent wellbeing (Giordano, et al., 2010; McCarthy & Casey, 2008). Soller (2014) suggests that the impact of romantic involvement on adolescent wellbeing is dependent on general relationship processes (behaviours, mediators, outcomes). Moreover, love and commitment within romantic relationships can protect against youthful offending (Simons & Barr, 2012). Healthy, positive romantic relationships can act as a buffer for rangatahi against adverse outcomes.

There is a need for rangatahi to have positive connections with the people in their life and their environment to best support their wellbeing. When these connections are healthy and functioning, rangatahi can thrive. Through their journey of mainstream education, disenfranchisement and AE settings, rangatahi experience a process of disconnection and reconnection. Yet it is through their relationships that they can connect with AE, their whānau, mātauranga Māori, Māoritanga, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga and aroha (love). In summary, the sense of connection to the people in their lives and their surroundings provides a foundation for fulfilling the wellbeing needs of rangatahi.

Everyone Not Just Us

The second significant finding comes from a tutor perspective in the project. This finding suggests that there needs to be a focus on establishing a connection with rangatahi and

then connecting them with the world outside of AE. Connecting rangatahi was the focus in contrast to the disconnection of rangatahi from mainstream education. Highlighted was the need for tutors to establish a connection with rangatahi in order to counteract feelings of rāwaho and mokemoke in their mainstream experiences. For AE to be successful in retaining rangatahi, the tutors needed to provide a sense of belonging. The dualistic symbolism of takarangi was prominent throughout the research, particularly in the different experiences of mainstream and AE settings. The emphasis of AE tutors on forming relationships and connections with rangatahi contrasted with the findings of poor-quality relationships with teachers in mainstream education settings.

Tutors identified that the primary wellbeing need for rangatahi coming into AE was to form a connection with them and creating a whānau environment facilitated this within the AE setting. Tutors also placed importance on working together with whānau where possible to support the needs of rangatahi by maintaining open communication. Identified leading practices that supported the connection between AE tutors and rangatahi included as āhurutanga – creating a safe space for rangatahi, showing manaakitanga, awhi (helpfulness, affection) and aroha. Furthermore, tutors took a child-centred approach that suited the needs and interests of the child as best they could. Tutors showed tiakitanga through developing quality relationships, cultural awareness and providing support and care for rangatahi.

Findings supported the idea that a whānau environment promoted school engagement. School engagement, in itself, is an indicative factor of student wellbeing. When students have a strong and positive relationship with school staff, their re-engagement in education can be significant (Nicholson & Putwain, 2014). The importance of building relationships of trust and safety can support emotional, social and cognitive learning (Bingham & Sidorkin, 2004). Rangatahi stories reflected their engagement in AE and the benefits of a supportive whānau environment.

The concept of whānau is used in different settings, such as the home, school and workplace, and symbolises the different relationships and practices that occur within a whānau (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Walker, 1988). Various studies have demonstrated an increase in school engagement when the classroom and home experiences are more similar (Durie, 1995; Glynn et al., 2000). Students whose home cultures are quite

different from the culture of their school must make more considerable adjustments as they navigate between these worlds, particularly those of collective cultures (Yamauchi, 1998). Rangatahi in AE navigate between mainstream education and Māori cultural background; therefore, it is logical that a whānau classroom environment that is more similar to their home environment is more conducive to the wellbeing needs of rangatahi in any education setting. In comparison to secondary schools, AE appears to be providing more supportive environments, particularly for rangatahi (Denny, Clark, & Watson, 2004).

In order to create a whānau environment within AE, connection with rangatahi whānau was crucial to work collaboratively and support rangatahi. AE tutors acknowledged the relevance of the whānau dimension of wellbeing in Te Whare Tapa Whā model (Durie, 1994) as a core component of rangatahi life and therefore acknowledged the importance of incorporating whānau. Findings from the research indicated that whānau life could affect the emotional and behavioural functioning of the child. There has been extensive research confirming the benefits of including parents and caregivers in learning (Comer & Haynes, 1991; Fan & Chen, 2001; Haynes et al., 1989). The establishment of school whānau connections must be through a collaborative process that fosters relational-trust (Berryman & Ford, 2014). This is in line with the views of the tutors in this study. AE tutors' stories acknowledged the need to develop relationships that promoted communication with whānau. In doing so, they gain a broader understanding of what is going on for the young person and how to take the most appropriate approach to best meet their needs inside the AE classroom.

Once a connection with rangatahi was established, tutors placed importance on connecting rangatahi with the world outside of AE. Tutor specific findings showed a need for rangatahi to connect not only with them but the greater community. This was important to the wellbeing needs of rangatahi as it meant their support network was not only situated within AE. Extending students' support networks outside of AE could be difficult due to time and financial restraints; this was an area identified for potential development. The relationship between rangatahi and their AE tutors function as a bridge between other service providers. Once a relationship of trust and respect had developed, AE tutors could facilitate a relationship between other healthcare service providers. AE youth do not typically seek help when addressing their acute health needs (Brooking et

al., 2009), so this was important. However, tutors also cautioned the need for cultural awareness by any service provider. Moreover, findings revealed rangatahi benefit from further connection with the wider community by extending their learning and developing special interests. Tutor specific findings highlighted areas to enhance further the relationship and connection between mainstream high schools, community projects, and increasing rangatahi access to extra-curricular activities and mentorship.

Tutors aimed to maintain a high level of communication with whānau and within their own AE teams to best support rangatahi. Rangatahi were also connected by tutors to outside resources and support services in order to widen their support networks. Uncovered in the stories shared by tutors was the need for a whole community approach to support the wellbeing needs of rangatahi. It demonstrated that these students cannot just be isolated in AE but need to connect with the larger community.

Looking Through a Socio-Ecological Lens

Within te ao Māori (the Māori world), individuals are positioned within an ecology of their tribal structures – whānau, hapū, and iwi (Walker, 1989). The traditional tribal structures of hapū, and iwi maintain a sense of belonging for whānau through their genealogical ties (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). In addressing the needs of Māori within education settings, research has identified the benefits of connecting with whānau, hapū and iwi (N. Z. P. P. T. Association, 2016; Berryman & Ford, 2014). Connections with whānau, hapū, iwi and communities, have the potential to enhance academic and social outcomes for students, particularly those who are at-risk (Berryman & Ford, 2014). N. Z. P. P. T. Association (2016) argues that whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities and schools working together to support Māori students can have a decisive role in influencing and supporting schools to work more effectively. All rangatahi once sat within a powerful traditional socio-ecosystem; however, few rangatahi in the study still have connections to their hapū and iwi. The impact of urban migration was evident in the fact that all rangatahi participants were no longer living in the area of their iwi, and did not have access to their whenua, marae or a support network of greater extended whānau.

The third key finding highlighted the need for a pūnaha hauropi (socio-ecological system) approach to support the wellbeing needs of rangatahi. The health of a tree is said to be an identifier of the health of an overall urban pūnaha hauropi. When trees are large and

healthy the ecological system of soil, air and water that support them are also healthy (Ellert, et al., 1997). When supported with the optimal soil for growth, the right air, and the water quality and frequency that support them, they can flourish with ease. This finding indicates that an increase in independence and self-determination when rangatahi are part of a wider pūnaha hauropi. When rangatahi stand independently within a healthy pūnaha hauropi, they can flourish and grow tall. When rangatahi are thriving, they can be viewed as part of a healthy wider pūnaha hauropi of whānau, hapū, iwi and/or within urban environments such as schooling, services and community. Just as healthy pūnaha hauropi within whānau and schooling can support the wellbeing of rangatahi, so too can the wider community. Williams' (2016) findings demonstrate the need to create pūnaha hauropi to facilitate sustainability and independence for rangatahi. When rangatahi feel a sense of belonging and connection, their tutors or teachers seek to connect with them and pathways become open to resources and community support. As a result, rangatahi fit into a broader support network and ecosystem of wellbeing that supports their needs.

Findings from this research reaffirm the benefit of whānau environments within the education system for our rangatahi. Overall findings from the present research highlight the need to extend this concept to include hapū and iwi environments in education. When connections are made to iwi, hapū and marae through opportunities such as various cultural practices (Hollis, 2013; Rata, 2012), this is beneficial for rangatahi. Supportive social networks that form the basis of whānau, hapū and iwi connections in their urban environments are also positive. Both rangatahi and tutor findings demonstrate the advantage of providing rangatahi in AE with a whānau environment and extending social support networks into the wider community, much like a hapū and iwi network. Rangatahi prosper when the people around them are working collaboratively (mahi tahi) to support them and create environments to achieve optimal wellbeing outcomes. When individuals, whānau, schools and the broader community place value on building networks, this leads to a sense of wellbeing and greater quality of life for our young people (Gilchrist, 2009).

The whānau environment of AE acts as a base point in adopting a whānau-hapū-iwi conceptual approach. Through the metaphor of hapū, support networks can be extended to include other AE centres and governing high schools, immediate health care providers, for example. Trusting relationships and established safety created by the AE tutors can also be utilised to connect with other community groups and people within the wider

community likened to the wider connections of iwi. When rangatahi operate within a supportive social-ecosystem, there is an increase in the likelihood of independence, self-determining and resilience.

A whānau, hapū and iwi conceptual approach, views the wellbeing needs of rangatahi from a multisystemic viewpoint and aligns with previous research involving Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory. Ecological systems theory focuses on the quality and context of the child's environment. Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory contributes to youth resilience research and the promotion of positive youth development including the ecological assets of at-risk youth and how they are promotive of protective factors (Bowers et al., 2015; Grych, et al., 2015; Moses & Villodas, 2017). According to Bowers et al. (2015) ecological assets are parents, peers, out of school time and youth development programmes. These are like the social connections identified in this study of tutors, health care providers and the greater community. An ecological system approach provides a holistic strength-based framework that integrates insights from theory and research on resilience, positive psychology, post-traumatic growth, stress and coping. Similarly, a whānau, hapū, iwi conceptual approach views ecological assets as a key to strengthening the wellbeing of rangatahi in AE.

When people are working together to support rangatahi, then Māori markers of good wellbeing can fall into place such as hinengaro (psychological), wairua (spiritual), tinana (physical), and whānau (family). Our relationships form the very basis of how we choose to interact with the world. They can help motivate us to pursue healthy activities, provide us with a sense of belonging and give us shared experiences to lift our emotional wellbeing. Our relationships and connections with people offer a gateway into achieving optimal wellbeing as they make our lives meaningful. For the rangatahi in this study, their schooling in AE became meaningful when they established a connection with their tutors. Spending time with the important people in their life brought them the most joy, and these relationships fostered autonomy, competence, engagement and a sense of purpose. These findings are congruent with eudemonic measures of wellbeing that consider good personal relationships, control, and meaning to encourage the flourishing of individuals (Keyes & Simoes, 2012).

Indigenous worldviews acknowledge the interconnectedness of all beings and aspects such as spirituality, engagement with cultural heritage and connectedness. These aspects are viewed as essential in the understanding of wellbeing (Reynolds et al., 2006; Strand & Peacock, 2003). Māori wellbeing models, such as Te Whare Tapa Whā and Te Wheke, highlight the integral relationship between multiple aspects of health for Māori (Durie, 1994; Pere, 1991). Similarly, findings from this study identify the need to view rangatahi wellbeing needs from an interconnected holistic perspective. This research demonstrates the advantage of viewing rangatahi wellbeing needs through a socio-ecological perspective, where wellbeing is optimal when people are working together to support rangatahi, and when rangatahi can experience a whānau, hapū and iwi approach. If whānau, schools and the wider community build relationships and develop a wellbeing ecosystem, rangatahi will flourish. If we come together in a common purpose to support rangatahi, build relationships and connections, rangatahi will have the ability to thrive and strengthen all aspects of wellbeing.

This thesis outlines research located in the context of rangatahi disenfranchisement from mainstream education and engagement in AE. Focusing on this context allowed an in-depth analysis of their schooling experiences and how these can have impact on their wellbeing. This study is one of the first pieces of research to specifically explore rangatahi wellbeing in AE and consequently has some limitations. The participants were sampled from a single geographical area in Auckland and therefore may not account for the experiences of rangatahi attending AE in other regions of New Zealand. However, the specific geographical sampling allowed for an homogenous sample and an in-depth investigation of the issues in this region. Also the research was limited by some problems in sampling participants. The sample size was smaller than anticipated because of accessibility issues; I experienced some difficulty in recruiting rangatahi and gaining the appropriate consent from both rangatahi and their whānau. One further, more minor difficulty in data collection, was that two of the rangatahi participants could not complete both interviews due to leaving AE during the time the research data collection was conducted. Students attending AE can at times be transient, moving houses, locations and schools frequently, impacting on their ability to participate in research. However, the final sample of rangatahi did allow for in-depth analysis and delivered insights into rangatahi wellbeing needs in AE.

I would also note that sampling to include only male rangatahi attending AE, and not include female rangatahi, was a deliberate decision in planning the research. Male rangatahi participants were specifically chosen due to the disproportionate number of males compared to females in AE, which provided homogeneity for the sampling. It is likely that females have different wellbeing needs and would offer different perspectives on AE. Having an only male participant sample ensured one narrative perspective was not subsumed by the other. There are several opportunities to develop further research arising from this project. Further research could explore these issues with a more extensive sampling of rangatahi that included rangatahi from different regions, and included both genders to investigate gender issues, including gender differences in wellbeing needs in AE. Moreover, the research could be extended to include the perspectives of whānau, as they were an important component of wellbeing in the present findings. Additionally, further research could explore the wellbeing of rangatahi through a pūnaha hauropi (socio-ecological) focused perspective, where connections between whānau, tutors/teachers and the wider community are explored in relation to the wellbeing of rangatahi. This could further develop the idea of a whānau, hapū, iwi approach to enhancing rangatahi wellbeing.



Mātauranga Māori and Western scientific discourses informed this research and the methodology employed a Māori-centred approach. Utilising pūrākau (Māori storytelling) as a framework for analysis, enabled an exploration of rangatahi past and current experiences in their daily lives and interactions, which have influenced their wellbeing. Pūrākau, as an analytical framework, was developed from the oral traditions of passing on mātauranga Māori in the process of wānanga (discussion). The symbolism of ngā harakeke (flax bush), Tāne te wānanga and Tī Kōuka (cabbage tree) were implemented to tell the stories of rangatahi wellbeing. This study provided valuable insights into the perspectives of rangatahi, their disenfranchisement and points of connection. Takarangi was also symbolically used to convey the dualistic nature of the worlds that rangatahi inhabit as Māori in Western education settings.

This study has shown critical insights into how rangatahi in AE view their wellbeing, tutor perspectives of rangatahi wellbeing and an overall picture of rangatahi wellbeing needs. It accomplished this, first, by highlighting how important it is for rangatahi to feel connected. When connected, rangatahi develop relationships that enhance wellbeing. These include relationships with whānau, relationships with their cultural heritage, school, tutors and social support networks. It was also revealed that tutors held congruent views of the wellbeing needs of rangatahi, and perceived connection with rangatahi and their whānau as crucial to rangatahi wellbeing. Findings from the research with tutors also indicated the importance of extending this connection to outside supports and resources. Lastly, this research has reflected how, when rangatahi are thriving, they can be viewed as part of a healthy wider pūnaha hauropi of whānau, hapū and iwi and urban environments, which include schooling, services and community. A socio-ecological perspective provides a whānau, hapū, iwi approach to a wellbeing ecosystem for our rangatahi to flourish in.

Nā tō rourou, nā taku rourou ka ora ai te iwi

With your food basket and my food basket the people will thrive

This whakataukī talks about positive collective solutions. Similarly, when people can come together and combine their skills, knowledge and resources to support rangatahi through a whānau, hapū, iwi conceptual approach, there is enormous potential to support their wellbeing.

Turukitanga: Epilogue

The data collection for this research project was completed between 2016 and 2017. Since this time there have been many changes to the particular Auckland AE consortium that participated in this research project. Some of the recommendations from this research and other initiatives have now been implemented and are successfully improving the outcomes for rangatahi in education.

Within the community where this research project was conducted, young people attending mainstream education who were identified as at risk of disenfranchisement now have an end-to-end continuum of support that is more integrated within the wider education system. Students have interventions put in place while they are attending mainstream education if they are at risk of disenfranchisement, and a plan is then developed to help the individual needs of the student and their whānau. This means that AE engagement is now planned for rather than being developed at entry for at-risk youth and being based on stand-downs, suspensions, exclusions and periods of non-enrolment. Students and their whānau are now better supported before these events have occurred so there is an element of foreseeability in their future.

If it is decided that a student's best option is to move to an AE setting, the referring school remains their main enrolling school, whereas previously one governing high school carried all AE student enrolments in the area. This provides a more inclusive approach for young people at-risk and their learning supports also remain open to them while they are engaged with AE. High schools and AE providers work together to ensure equitable access to school resources, facilities and information. Furthermore, local government and community agencies meet fortnightly to discuss the needs of at-risk youth in the community, who are likely engaged with AE, and who they collectively work with. This provides a wrap-around model for young people in AE and their whānau, where key stakeholders are able to work together to best meet the needs of these young people.

Once a student is identified as being at risk of mainstream education disenfranchisement, a meeting is made between the student, their whānau and AE. Sometimes these students are identified as early as primary or intermediate school. The AE consortium then begin

to work closely with the student and whānau to support and empower them. The young person and their whānau are provided with a range of options and a plan is developed to best suit the needs of the young person. They are also assigned a ‘managed move coordinator’ who manages their school transitions and support plan. The young person may also be assigned a kaitautoko (personal mentor) whose role is to offer individual mentoring, physical and academic support. This begins while the young person is still in mainstream education to support their engagement. The tasks they perform may include picking up and dropping the student to and from school, taking the young person out in the community (pro-social mentoring), having conversations with the young person or providing support as a teacher aide. If the best option for the young person is to move into AE, the kaitautoko accompanies them. Once a young person turns 16 and they are not eligible to stay in AE, they are then supported to transition back either into mainstream education, further education or employment.

The intensity of response from the AE consortium and stakeholders towards young people at risk of disenfranchisement depends on the changes needed to meet their wellbeing and learning needs. Criteria for entry is flexible and is based on the level of support needed. There is now a range of options where young people may attend AE for a few days a week and then their mainstream school on the other days. The decision to move completely into AE provision is now planned and made with the young person and their whānau. This end to end system has been developed to promote inclusive practices, young person and whanau-centred approaches and culturally responsive practices.

Rārangi Kupu Māori: Glossary of Māori Terms

- Āhurutanga** - Creating a safe space, warmth, comfort
- Ako Māori** - The Kaupapa Māori principle of culturally preferred pedagogy
- Aroha** - Love
- Aroha ki te tangata** - A respect for people
- Ata** - The Kaupapa Māori principle of growing respectful relationships
- Atua** - Spiritual beings
- Awa** - River
- Awhi** – Affection, helpfulness
- Hā a koro ma, a kui ma** - Breath of life from forbearers
- Hapū** - Sub-tribe
- Harakeke** - Flax bush
- Hauora** - Health
- He kanohi kitea** - Meeting people face-to-face
- Hinengaro** - Mental, psychological
- Hui** - focus group, meeting
- Io** - the source and flow of life energy
- Iwi** - Tribe
- Kai** - Food
- Kaitiakitanga** – Positive guidance, guardianship
- Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi** - Face-to-face
- Karakia** - Prayer
- Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata** - Do not trample on the mana (dignity) of a person
- Kaumātua** - a person of status within the whānau, older person
- Kaupapa** - The principle of collective philosophy
- Kaupapa Māori** - Māori approach, custom, institution
- Kete** - Basket
- Kia māhaki** - Be humble
- Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga** - The Kaupapa Māori principle of socio-economic Mediation
- Kia tūpato** - Be cautious
- Kōrero** – Talk, discussion
- Kōwhiringa** - Choices
- Kupenga** - Net

Mahi Tahi - Working together as one

Maioha - The first ceremony after a child is born, to greet affectionately, welcome

Mana - Power and prestige

Mana ake - Unique identity of individuals and family

Manaaki – Hospitality, nurturing, care

Manaaki ki te tangata - Sharing, hosting, being generous

Manaakitanga – Kindness, generosity and support

Manawaroa - Resilience

Māoritanga - Māori culture, practices and beliefs

Marae - Māori meeting grounds

Matatiki - Spring of water, resource

Mātauranga Māori - Māori knowledge, wisdom, understanding

Mātauranga-a-whānau - Family knowledge

Matua – Father, parent, uncle

Maunga - Mountain

Mauri - Life force in people and objects

Moana - Ocean, large lake

Mokemoke - Loneliness

Mokopuna - Grandchildren

Mōteatea - Traditional song

Motuhaketanga - Independence

Ngā Kete e Toru - The three knowledge baskets

Ngā taonga tuku iho - Ancestral treasures

Oriori - Lullabies

Pākehā - NZ European

Pēpi - Baby

Pōwhiri - Rituals of encounter

Pūnaha hauropi - Socio-ecological system

Pūrākau - Māori storytelling

Rākau - tree

Rāwaho - An outsider

Rito - Young centre shoots

Takarangi - Intersecting double spiral

Tamariki - Children

Tāne - God of the forest and son of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, male, man

Tāne te wānanga - Tāne, bringer of knowledge from the sky

Tāne-Mahuta - God of the forests and birds
Tāne-nui-a-rangi - Bringer of higher consciousness
Tāne-te-Waiora - Bringer of life, prosperity and sunlight
Tāne-te-Wānanga - Bringer of knowledge
Taonga - gifts
Taonga Tuku Iho - The kaupapa Māori principle of cultural aspiration
Tapu - Sacred
Taunekeneke - Interactions and relationships
Tautoko - Support
Te ao Māori - The Māori world
Te ao tūroa - Māori estates
Te Hinengaro - To the deep mind
Te Hiri - Pure energy
Te Kohanga Reo – Māori immersion preschool
Te Kura Kaupapa - Māori immersion primary and secondary schools
Te Mahara - The subconscious
Te reo Māori - The Māori language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi - The Treaty of Waitangi
Te Wānanga - the knowledge and wisdom
Te Whakaaro - Consciousness
Te Whe - The seed word
Tī Kōuka - Cabbage Tree
Tī-tahi - The lone Cabbage tree
Tiaki – Guidance
Tiakitanga - Protection, caring of, guardianship
Tika - True, correct, just
Tikanga - correct procedure, custom
Tikitiki-o-rangi - the uppermost realm
Tinana – Bodily, physical
Tino rangatiratanga - Self-determination
Tipu whenua - Access to tribal lands
Tipuna - Ancestors
Tipuna matua - Grandfather
Tipuna whaea - Grandmother
Titiro – To look, Looking
Tuakana-teina - Eldest brother, sister or cousin/youngest brother, sister or cousin

Tukutuku panels - Ornamental lattice work
Tungane-tuahine – Male sibling or cousin to a female/female sibling or cousin to a male
Tūrangawaewae – Tribal land
Urupā - Burial ground, cemetery
Wahakura - Bassinets
Waiora - Total wellbeing for the individual and family
Wairua – Spirit, spiritual
Wānanga - Discussion
Whaea – Mother, Aunty
Whaikōrero - Speech making
Whaiora - Emotionally distressed people
Whakamā - Shyness, embarrassment
Whakapapa - Genealogy
Whakarongo - Listening
Whakataukī - Proverbs
Whakawhanaungatanga - Process of establishing relationships, relationship, kinship, sense of family connection
Whānau – Family
Whanaunga - Relatives, kin
Whanaungatanga – A sense of family connection and belonging
Whare wānanga - House of learning
Whatukura - Stones
Whatumanawa - The open and healthy expression of emotion

Rāranga Pukapuka: References

- Adams, D. W. (1995). *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience, 1875–1928*. University Press of Kansas.
- Agnew, R. (1991). Interactive effects of peer variables on delinquency. *Criminology*, 29(1), 47-72. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.1991.tb01058.x>.
- Aguilar, J. L. (1981). Insider research: an ethnography of a debate. In D. A. Messerschmidt (Ed.), *Anthropologists at home in North America* (pp. 66). Cambridge University Press.
- Ahrens, J., Evans, R., & Barnett, R. (1990). Factors Related to Dropping out of School in an Incarcerated Population. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 50, 611-617. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013164490503017>
- Aluko, Y. (2009). Work - Family Conflict and Coping Strategies Adopted by Women in Academia. *Gender and Behavior*, 7(1), 2096-2124. <https://doi.org/10.4314/gab.v7i1.45032>
- Amin, V., Behrman, J. R., & Spector, T. D. (2013). Does more schooling improve health outcomes and health related behaviors? Evidence from U.K. twins. *Economics of Education Review*, 35, 134-148. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2013.04.004>
- Amiot, C. E., De la Sablonnière, R., Terry, D. J., & Smith, J. R. (2007). Development and integration of social identities in the self: Toward a cognitive-development model. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 11, 364-388. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868307304091>
- Anderson-Butcher, D., Stetler, E., & Midle, T. (2006). A case for expanded school-community partnerships in support of positive youth development. *Children & Schools*, 28(3), 155-163. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cs/28.3.155>
- Atkins, M. S., Hoagwood, K. E., Kutash, K., & Seidman, E. (2010). Toward the integration of education and mental health in schools. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research*, 37(1-2), 40-47. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10488-010-0299-7>
- Axford, N., Hobbs, T., & Jodrell, D. (2014). Objective or subjective well-being? In A. Ben-Arieh, F. Casas, I. Frønes, & J. E. Korbin (Eds.), *Handbook of Child Well-being*. Springer.
- Bacete, F., Perrin, G., Schneider, B., & Blanchard, C. (2014). Effects of school on the well-being of children and adolescents. In A. Ben-Arieh, F. Casas, I. Frønes, & J. E. Korbin (Eds.), *Handbook of Child Wellbeing*. Springer.
- Badiani, A., Boden, J. M., De Pirro, S., Fergusson, D. M., Horwood, L. J., & Harold, G. T. (2015). Tobacco smoking and cannabis use in a longitudinal birth cohort: Evidence of reciprocal causal relationships. *Drug Alcohol Depend*, 150(1), 69-76. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugalcdep.2015.02.015>
- Bahou, L. (2011). Rethinking the Challenges and Possibilities of Student Voice and Agency. *Educate - Special Issue*, 2-14.
- Barcham, M. (1998). The challenge of urban Māori: Reconciling conceptions of indigeneity and social change. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 39(3), 303-314. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8373.00071>
- Baroutsis, A., McGregor, G., & Mills, M. (2015). Pedagogic voice: Student voice in teaching and engagement pedagogies. *Pedagogy and Culture and Society*, 24(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681366.2015.1087044>

- Battisch, V., Watson, M., Solomon, D., Lewis, C., & Schaps, E. (1999). Beyond the three R's: A broader agenda for school reform. *Elementary School Journal*, 99, 415-432. <https://doi.org/10.1086/461933>
- Battistich, V., & Hom, A. (1997). The relationship between students' sense of their school as a community and their involvement in problem behaviors. *American Journal of Public Health*, 87(12), 1997-2001. <https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.87.12.1997>
- Benavides, S. P. (2009). *The usage of traditional Māori narratives as cognitive models and educational tools* [Master of Arts, Massey University]. <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/889>
- Benzies, K., & Mychasiuk, R. (2009). Fostering family resiliency: A review of the key protective factors. *Child and Family Social Work*, 14(1), 103-114. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2206.2008.00568x>
- Berndt, T. J. (1992). Friendship and friends' influence in adolescence. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 1(5), 156-159. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8721.ep11510326>
- Berryman, M. (2008). *Repositioning within indigenous discourses of transformation and self-determination* [Doctoral dissertation of Philosophy, University of Waikato] <https://hdl.handle.net/10289/2565>
- Berryman, M., & Eley, E. (2017). Succeeding as Māori: Māori students' views on our Stepping Up to the Ka Hikitia Challenge. *NZ Journal of Educational Studies*, 52(1), 93-107. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-017-0076-1>
- Berryman, M., & Ford, T. (2014). *Connecting with Māori communities: Whānau, hapū and iwi*. https://kep.org.nz/assets/resources/site/module8-v20a-up-16Apr15-w-image_5Jan16.pdf
- Besancon, M., Fenouillet, F., & Shankland, R. (2015). Influence of school environment on adolescents' creative potential, motivation and well-being. *Learning and Individual Differences*, 43, 178-184. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lindif.2015.08.029>
- Bingham, C., & Sidorkin, A. M. (2004). *No education without relation*. Peter Lang.
- Bishop, R. (1996). *Collaborative research stories: Whakawhānaungatanga*. The Dunmore Press.
- Bishop, R. (2008). Te kotahitanga: Kaupapa Māori in mainstream classrooms. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*. Sage Publications Ltd.
- Bishop R. (2011). *Freeing Ourselves (Transgressions: Cultural Studies and Education)*. SensePublishers.
- Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Cavanagh, T., & Teddy, L. (2009). *Te Kōtahitanga Phase 3 Whānaungatanga: Establishing a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations in mainstream secondary school classrooms*. Retrieved from https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0004/9922/Te_Kotahitanga_Phase3.pdf
- Blakely, T. A., Collings, S. C. D., & Atkinson, J. (2003). Unemployment and suicide. Evidence for a causal association? *Journal of Epidemiol Community Health*, 57, 594-600. <https://doi.org/10.1136/jech.57.8.594>
- Bold, C. (2012). *Using Narrative in Research*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Bonell, C., Humphrey, N., Fletcher, A., & Moore, L. (2014). Why schools should promote students' health and wellbeing. *British Medical Journal*, 348. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.g3078>

- Borck, C. R. (2019). "I belong here": Culturally sustaining pedagogical praxes from an alternative high school in Brooklyn. *The Urban Review: Issues and Ideas in Education*, 52, 376-391. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-019-00536-z>
- Borell, B. (2005). *Living in the city ain't so bad: Cultural diversity of South Auckland rangatahi* [Master's thesis of Philosophy, Massey University]. <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/5812>
- Borges, G., Benjet, C., Orozco, R., & Medina-Mora, M. E. (2018). A longitudinal study of reciprocal risk between mental and substance use disorders among Mexican youth. *Journal of Psychiatric Research*, 105, 45-53. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpsychires.2018.08.014>
- Boulton, A. (2005). *Provision at the interface: the Māori mental health contracting experience* [Doctoral dissertation of Philosophy, Massey University]. <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/254>
- Boulton, A., & Gifford, H. (2014). Whānau ora; He wakaaro ā whānau: Māori family views of family wellbeing. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 5(1). <https://doi.org/10.18584/iipj.2014.5.1.1>
- Bowers, E. P., Geldhof, G. J., Johnson, S. K., Hilliard, L. J., Hershberg, R. M., Lerner, J. V., & Lerner, R. M. (2015). Applying research about adolescence in real-world settings: The sample case of the 4-H study of positive youth development. In R. J. R. Levesque (Ed.), *Promoting Positive Youth Development*. Springer.
- Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment* (Vol. 1). Basic Books.
- Bradley, R. H., Whiteside, L., Mundfrom, D. J., Casey, P. H., Kelleher, K. J., & Pope, S. K. (1994). Early indications of resilience and their relation to experiences in the home environments of low birth weight, premature children living in poverty. *Child Development*, 65(2), 346-360. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1994.tb00755.x>
- Bradshaw, J., & Williams, J. (2000). Adult poverty in Britain. In D. Gordon, L. Adelman, K. Ashworth, J. Bradshaw, R. Levitas, S. Middleton, C. Pantazis, D. Patsios, S. Payne, P. Townsend, & J. Williams (Eds.), *Poverty and social exclusion in Britain*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Bridge, L. (2013). Seeing and telling households: A case for photo elicitation and graphic elicitation in qualitative research. *Graduate Journal of Social Science*, 10(2), 106-131.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Harvard University Press.
- Brooking, K., Gardiner, B., & Calvert, S. (2009). *Backgrounds of students in Alternative Education: Interviews with a selected 2008 cohort*. Retrieved from <https://www.nzcer.org.nz/research/publications/background-students-alternative-education-interviews-selected-2008-cohort>
- Brooks, V., & Coll, K. (1994). *Troubled youth: Identification and intervention strategies*. Paper presented at the The National Convention for the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance, Denver, CO.
- Broughton, D. (2015). Mātauranga Māori, tino rangatiratanga and the future of New Zealand science. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 45(2), 83-88. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03036758.2015.1011171>
- Brown, B. B., Feiring, C., & Furman, W. (1999). Missing the love boat: Why researchers have shied away from adolescent romance. In W. Furman, B. B. Brown, & C. Feiring (Eds.), *The development of romantic relationships in adolescence* (pp. 1-16). Cambridge University Press.

- Calman, R. (2012). Māori education – mātauranga. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of NZ*.
www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/Māori-education-matauranga/print
- Cambron, C., Kosterman, R., Catalano, R. F., Guttmanova, K., & Hawkins, J. D. (2018). Neighborhood, family, and peer factors associated with early adolescent smoking and alcohol use. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 47, 369-382. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-017-0728-y>
- Campion, J., & Nurse, J. (2007). A dynamic model for wellbeing. *Australasian Psychiatry*, 15(1), 24-28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10398560701701106>
- Cavell, T. A., & Hughes, J. N. (2000). Secondary prevention as context for assessing change processes in aggressive children. *Journal of School Psychology*, 38, 199-235. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-4405\(99\)00040-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-4405(99)00040-0)
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2010). Youth risk behavior surveillance - United States, 2009. *Surveillance Summaries*, 4(59), 1-142.
- Center for Promise (2016). Dispelling stereotypes of young people who leave school before graduation. American's Promise Alliance.
- Chandler, M. J., & Lalonde, C. (1998). Cultural continuity as a hedge against suicide in Canada's First Nations. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 35(2), 191-219. <https://doi.org/10.1177/136346159803500202>
- Chase, S. (2005). *Narrative inquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches, voices*. Sage.
- Chauhan, R., Awasthi, P., & Verma, S. (2014). Attachment and psychosocial functioning: An overview. *Social Science International*, 30(2), 331-344. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1132274>
- Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. Jossey-Bass.
- Clark, E., Smith, L., & Pomare, M. (1996). Alternative education provision: A discussion paper commissioned by Te Puni Kōkiri. Te Puni Kōkiri.
- Clark, T., Fleming, T., Bullen, P., Denny, S., Crengle, S., Dyson, B., Fortune, S., Lucassen, M., Peiris-John, R., Rossen, F., Sheridan, J., Teevale, T., & Utter, J. (2013). *Youth '12 Overview: The health and wellbeing of NZ secondary school students in 2012*. Retrieved from The University of Auckland, NZ: <https://www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/assets/fmhs/faculty/ahrg/docs/2012-overview.pdf>
- Clark, T., Johnson, E. A., Kekus, M., Newman, J., Patel, P. S., Fleming, T., & Robinson, E. (2014). Facilitating access to effective and appropriate care for youth with mild to moderate mental health concerns in New Zealand. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing*, 27(4), 190-200. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcap.12095>
- Clark, T., Smith, J., Raphael, D., Dixon, R., Ameratunga, S., Robinson, E., & Jackson, C. (2010). Youth '09: The health and wellbeing of young people in alternative education. In *A report on the needs of Alternative Education students in Auckland and Northland*. University of Auckland.
- Collier, J., & Collier, M. (1991). *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a research method*. University of New Mexico Press.
- Collins, W. A. (2003). More than myth: The developmental significance of romantic relationships during adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 13(1), 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1532-7795.1301001>
- Collishaw, S., Maughan, B., Goodman, R., & Pickles, A. (2004). Time trends in adolescent mental health. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 45(8), 1350-1362. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.2004.00842.x>

- Comer, J. P., & Haynes, N. M. (1991). Parent involvement in schools: An ecological approach. *The Elementary School Journal*, *91*(3), 271-277. <https://doi.org/10.1086/461654>
- Connor, J., Poyrazli, S., Ferrer-Wreder, L., & Grahame, K. M. (2004). The relation of age, gender, ethnicity, and risk behaviours to self-esteem among students in nonmainstream schools. *Adolescence*, *39*(155), 457-473.
- Cook-Sather, A. (2014). The trajectory of student voice in educational research. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *49*(2), 131-148.
- Cram, F., Smith, L., & Johnstone, W. (2003). Mapping the themes of Māori talk about health. *New Zealand Medical Journal*, *116*(1170), 1-7.
- Crengle, S., Clark, T. C., Robinson, E., Bullen, P., Dyson, B., Denny, S., Fleming, T., Fortune, S., Peiris-John, R., Utter, J., Rossen, F., Sheridan, J., Teevale, T., & The Adolescent Health Research Group (2013). *The health and wellbeing of Māori NZ secondary school students in 2012*. Retrieved from The University of Auckland, NZ: <https://www.mentalhealth.org.nz/assets/ResourceFinder/The-health-and-wellbeing-of-Maori-NZ-Secondary-school-students.pdf>
- Croghan, R., Griffin, C., Hunter, J., & Phoenix, A. (2008). Young people's constructions of self: Notes on the use and analysis of the photo-elicitation methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology: Theory & Practice*, *11*(4), 345-356. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570701605707>
- Crooks, C., Exner-Cortens, D., Burm, S., Lapointe, A., & Chiodo, D. (2016). Two years of relationship-focused mentoring for First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Adolescents: Promoting positive mental health. *The Journal of Primary Prevention*, *38*, 87-104. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10935-016-0457-0>
- Cunningham, C. (2000). A framework for addressing Māori knowledge in research, science and technology. *Pacific Health Dialog*, *7*(1), 62-69.
- Cunningham, C. (2011). Adolescent development for Māori. In P. Gluckman (Ed.), *Improving the transition: Reducing social and psychological morbidity during adolescence* (pp.145-152). Wellington, New Zealand: Office of the Prime Minister's Science Advisory Committee.
- De Jong, T., & Griffiths, C. (2006). The role of alternative education programs in meeting the needs of adolescent students with challenging behaviour: Characteristics of best practice. *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, *16*(1), 29-40. <https://doi.org/10.1375/ajgc.16.1.29>.
- De La Ossa, P. (2005). "Hear my voice": Alternative high school students' perceptions and implications for school change. *American Secondary Education*, *34*(1), 24-40. <https://doi.org/10.1.1.1040.170&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- De la Sablonnière, R., Saint-Pierre, F. P., Taylor, D. M., & Annahatak, J. (2011). Cultural narratives and clarity of cultural identity: Understanding the wellbeing of Inuit youth. *Pímatísíwín: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health*, *9*(2), 301-322.
- Dear, M., & Wolch, J. (1987). *Landscapes of despair: From deinstitutionalization to homelessness*. Princeton University Press.
- Denny, S., Clark, T., & Watson, P. (2003). Comparison of health-risk behaviours among students in alternative high schools from NZ and the USA. *Journal of Paediatric Child Health*, *39*, 33-39. <https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1440-1754.2003.00068.x>
- Denny, S., Clark, T., & Watson, P. (2004). The health of alternative education students compared to secondary school students: A New Zealand study. *The New Zealand Medical Journal*, *117*(1205). <https://www.researchgate.net/>

- publication/8157891_The_health_of_alternative_education_students_compared_to_secondary_school_students_A_New_Zealand_study
- Denny, S., Clark, T. C., Fleming, T., & Wall, M. (2004). Emotional resilience: Risk and protective factors for depression among alternative education students in New Zealand. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 74(2), 137-149. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0002-9432.74.2.137>
- Deutsch, N. L., & Spencer, N. (2009). Capturing the magic: Assessing the quality of youth mentoring relationships. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 121, 47-70. <https://doi.org/10.1002/yd.296>
- Diener, E. (2005). *Guidelines for national indicators of subjective well-being and ill-being*. University of Illinois,
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larson, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 49, 71-75. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa4901_13
- Diener, E., & Lucas, R. (2000). Explaining differences in societal levels of happiness: Relative standards, need fulfillment, culture, and evaluation theory. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 1, 41-78. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1010076127199>
- Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Lucas, R. E. (2002). Subjective well-being: The science of happiness and life satisfaction. In S. J. Lopez & C. R. Snyder (Eds.), *Handbook of Positive Psychology*. Oxford University Press.
- Diener, E., & Suh, E. M. (2000). *Culture and subjective well-being*. MIT Press.
- Dockery, A. M. (2020). Inter-generational transmission of Indigenous culture and children's wellbeing: Evidence from Australia. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 74, 80-93. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.11.001>
- Dodge, R., Daly, A. P., Huyton, J., & Sanders, L. D. (2012). The challenge of defining wellbeing. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 2, 222-235. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v2i3.4>
- Dolan, P., Peasgood, T., & White, M. (2008). Do we really know what makes us happy? A review of the economic literature on the factors associated with subjective well-being. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 29, 94-122. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.joep.2007.09.001>
- Douglas, K. (1998). Impressions: African American first-year students' perceptions of a predominantly white university. *Journal of Education*, 67(4), 416-413. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2668141>
- Drèze, J., & Sen, A. (1989). *Hunger and public action*. Clarendon.
- Durie, A. (1997). Te aka matua: Keeping a Māori identity. In P. Te Whāiti, M. McCarthy, & A. Durie (Eds.), *Mai i Rangiatea: Māori wellbeing and development*. Auckland University Press.
- Durie, M. (1985). A Māori perspective of health. *Journal of Social Science and Medicine*, 20, 483-486. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536\(85\)90363-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536(85)90363-6)
- Durie, M. (1994). *Whaiora: Māori health development*. Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. (1995). Tino Rangatiratanga: Self determination. *He Pūkenga Kōrero*, 1(1), 44-53.
- Durie, M. (1997a). Māori cultural identity and its implications for mental health services. *International Journal of Mental Health*, 26(3), 23-25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207411.1997.11449407>
- Durie, M. (1997b). Whānau, whanaungatanga and healthy Māori development. In P. Te Whāiti, M. McCarthy, & A. Durie (Eds.), *Mai i Rangiatea Māori Wellbeing and Development*. Auckland University Press.
- Durie, M. (2001). *Mauri ora: The dynamics of Māori health*. Oxford University Press.

- Durie, M. (2004). *Exploring the interface between science and indigenous knowledge*. Paper presented at the 5th APEC Research and Development Leaders Forum, Christchurch.
- Durie, M. (2006). *NZ Treasury Guest Lecture Series: Measuring Māori Wellbeing*. Massey University, Wellington.
- Durie, M. (2007). *Indigenous resilience: From disease and disadvantage to the realisation of potential*. Retrieved from Wellington: [https://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/fms/Te%20Mata%20O%20Te%20Tau/Publications%20-%20Monograph/\(2007\)_%20Matariki,%20vol_%201,%20no_%201.pdf?BF8E62F90E1A8BF8017F312AC701E794](https://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/fms/Te%20Mata%20O%20Te%20Tau/Publications%20-%20Monograph/(2007)_%20Matariki,%20vol_%201,%20no_%201.pdf?BF8E62F90E1A8BF8017F312AC701E794)
- Durie, M. H. (2005a). *Ngā tai matatū: Tides of Māori endurance*. Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (2005b). Race and ethnicity in public policy: Does it work? *Social Policy Journal of NZ*, 24, 1-11.
- Durie, M. H. (1995). Te hoe nuku roa framework - A Māori identity measure. *The Journal of Polynesian Society*, 104(4), 461-470.
- Edwards, S., McCreanor, T., & Moewaka Barnes, H. (2007). Māori family culture: A context of youth development in Counties/Manukau. *Kotuitui: NZ Journal of Social Sciences Online*, 2(1), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083X.2007.9522420>
- Eggleston, E. (2000). NZ youth gangs: Key findings and recommendations from an urban ethnography. *Social Policy Journal of NZ* (14).
- Ellert, B. H., Clapperton, M. J., & Anderson, D. W. (1997). An ecosystem perspective. In E. G. Gregorich & M. R. Carter (Eds.), *Soil Quality for Crop Production and Ecosystem Health* (pp. 115-141). Elsevier.
- Ellison-Loschmann, L., & Pearce, N. (2006). Improving access to health care among New Zealand's Māori population. *American Journal of Public Health*, 96(4), 612-617. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2005.070680>
- Emerson, L., Fear, J., Fox, S., & Sanders, E. (2012). *Parental engagement in learning and schooling: Lessons from research*. Retrieved from Canberra: https://www.aracy.org.au/publications-resources/command/download_file/id/7/filename/Parental_engagement_in_learning_and_schooling_Lessons_from_research_BUREAU_ARACY_August_2012.pdf
- Estrada de la Cerda, R. (2015). *Traditional knowledge systems and crops: Case studies on the introduction of kūmara (Ipomoea batatas) and taewa Māori (Solanum tuberosum) to New Zealand* [Master's thesis of AgriScience, Massey University]. <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/7117>
- Evans, J. (2017). *Polynesian navigation and the discovery of New Zealand* (3rd ed.). Oratia Books.
- Ewert, S., Skyes, B., & Petitt, B. (2014). The degree of disadvantage: Incarceration and inequality in education. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 65(1), 24-43. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716213503100>
- Exner-Cortens, D., Eckenrode, J., & Rothman, E. (2013). Longitudinal associations between teen dating violence victimization and adverse health outcomes. *Pediatrics*, 131(1), 71-78. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2012-1029>
- Fan, X., & Chen, M. (2001). Parental involvement and students' academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review*, 13(1), 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1009048817385>

- Fergusson, D. M., Horwood, L. J., & Lynskey, M. T. (1997). The effects of unemployment on psychiatric illness during young adulthood. *Psychological Medicine*, 27, 371-381. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291796004412>
- Fleming, J., & Ledogar, R. J. (2008). Resilience, an evolving concept: A review of literature relevant to aboriginal research. *Pimatisiwin* 6(2), 7-23.
- Fleming, T., Dixon, R., & Merry, S. (2012). 'It's mean!' The views of young people alienated from mainstream education on depression, help seeking and computerised therapy. *Advances in Mental Health*, 10(2), 195-203. <https://doi.org/10.5172/jamh.2011.10.2.195>
- Fleuret, S., & Atkinson, S. (2007). Wellbeing, health and geography: A critical review and research agenda. *NZ Geographer*, 63(2), 106-118. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-7939.2007.00093.x>
- Franken, A., Prinstein, M. J., Dijkstra, J. K., Steglich, C., Harakeh, Z., & Vollebergh, W. A. M. (2016). Early adolescent friendship selection based on externalizing behavior: The moderating role of pubertal development. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 44(8), 1647-1657. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-016-0134-z>
- Freeman, M. (2003). Identity and difference in narrative inquiry, psychoanalytic narratives: Writing the self into contemporary cultural phenomena. *Narrative Inquiry*, 13(2), 331-346. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ni.13.2.06fre>
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Continuum.
- Freudenberg, N., & Ruglis, J. (2007). Reframing school dropout as a public health issue. *Preventing Chronic Disease*, 4(4), 107.
- Fryberg, S. A., & Townsend, S. S. M. (2008). The psychology of invisibility. In G. Adams, M. Biernat, N. R. Branscombe, C. S. Crandall, & L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.), *Commemorating Brown: The social psychology of racism and discrimination* (pp. 173-193). American Psychological Association.
- Gable, R. A., Bullock, L. M., & Evans, W. H. (2006). Changing perspectives on alternative schooling for children and adolescents with challenging behavior. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth*, 51(1), 5-9. <https://doi.org/10.3200/PSFL.51.1.5-9>
- Garot, R., & Katz, J. (2003). Provocative looks, gang appearance and dress codes in an inner-city alternative school. *Ethnography*, 4(3), 422-454. <https://doi.org/10.1177/146613810343006>
- Gassin, T. (2019). *Māori mental health: A report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal for the Wai 2575 Health services and outcomes kaupapa inquiry*. Waitangi Tribunal. Retrieved from https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_153087514/Wai%202575%2C%20B026.pdf
- Gershoff, E. T., & Aber, J. L. (2006). Neighborhoods and schools: Contexts and consequences for the mental health and risk behaviours of children and youth. In L. Balter & C. Tamis-LeMonda (Eds.), *Child psychology: A handbook of contemporary issues* (2nd ed., pp. 611-645). Psychological.
- Gilchrist, A. (2009). *The well-connected community: A networking approach to community development* (2nd ed.). Policy Press.
- Giordano, P., Lonardo, R. A., Manning, W. D., & Longmore, M. A. (2010). Adolescent romance and delinquency: A further exploration of Hirschi's 'Cold and Brittle' relationships hypothesis. *Criminology*, 48(4), 919-946. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2010.00208.x>
- Giroux, H. A. (1988). *Teachers as intellectuals: Towards a critical pedagogy of learning*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

- Glover, M. (2002). *A literature review and commentary on the use of a kaupapa Māori approach within a doctoral study of Māori smoking cessation*. University of Auckland.
- Glover, M. (2005). Analysing smoking using Te Whare Tapa Whā. *NZ Journal of Psychology*, 34(1), 13-19. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-415921-1.00011-7>
- Glynn, T., Atvars, K., & O'Brien, K. (1999). *Resource teachers' guidance and learning research report: Culturally appropriate strategies for assisting Māori students experiencing learning and behavioural difficulties*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Glynn, T., Berryman, M., & Glynn, V. (2000). *Reading and writing gains for Māori students in mainstream schools: Effective partnerships in the Rotorua Home and School Literacy Project*. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED447489.pdf>
- Goldbeck, L., Schmitz, T. G., Besier, T., Herschbach, P., & Henrich, G. (2007). Life satisfaction decreases during adolescence. *Quality of Life Research*, 16(6), 969-979. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11136-007-9205-5>
- Goldenson, J. (2011). When there is no blueprint: The provision of mental health services in alternative school programs for suspended and expelled youth. *Child and Youth Services*, 32(2), 108-123. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0145935X.2011.581958>
- Goodyear-Smith, F., Martel, R., Darragh, M., Warren, J., Thabrew, H., & Clark, T. (2017). Screening for risky behaviour and mental health in young people: The YouthCHAT programme. *Public Health Reviews*, 38(1), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40985-017-0068-1>
- Goswami, H. (2012). Social relationships and children's subjective well-being. *Soc Indic Res*, 107, 575-588. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-011-9864-z>
- Gottfredson, D. (1989). Developing effective organisations to reduce school disorder. In O. Moles (Ed.), *Strategies to reduce student misbehaviour* (pp. 87-104). Office of Educational Research and Improvement.
- Gottfried, A., E, Fleming, J., & Gottfried, A., W. (2001). Continuity of academic intrinsic motivation from childhood through late adolescence: A longitudinal Study. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 93(1), 3-13. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.93.1.3>
- Govender, K., Naicker, S., Meyer-Weitz, A., Fanner, J., Naidoo, A., & Penfold, W. (2013). Associations between perceptions of school connectedness and adolescent health risk behaviors in South African high school learners. *School Health*, 83(9), 614-622. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josh.12073>
- Graham, A., Fitzgerald, R., Powell, M., Thomas, N., Anderson, D. L., White, N. E., & Simmons, C. A. (2014). *Improving approaches to wellbeing in schools: What role does recognition play? Final Report: Executive Summary*. Retrieved from Lismore: https://apst01.ext.exlibrisgroup.com/61SCU_INST/upload/1598403150865_fulltext.pdf?Expires=1598403271&Signature=kGJ3HGxOTCJshTqm5XcMflaN6ZortQNsWkNlnlxXb51taE0dZ4PiEp1ZRnszakBvi7q9C-LzjFZDCZEjJAdCTzLYPzuYzGjo7FAiAylvuj0OAAQ6fNNQvOIQoYfpqJka9Idcv7SEjNZFT50NQ18vHYAZU5TWxx13DhbugZU6vWXTkM5GU0mgVXXhGbWLL-AlqNNxCCEnCotML5sBBOo~el3Wzv1NQq0fV-EUZfVb8DRx9hV23y41CYJNFvFtWBHgIDh3dGpxTI2bnYYnfPN9CKqZcYqXQITChDm1tqKKtk9Oa0tjPLfvOjsB32vGwDwePXwSuX2FmiaP20Lsn28Qg__&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJ72OZCZ36VGVASIA

- Graham, A., Phelps, R., Maddison, C., & Fitzgerald, R. (2011). Supporting children's mental health in schools: Teacher views. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 17(4), 479-496. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2011.580525>
- Green, R. G., Harris, R. N., Forte, J. A., & Robinson, M. (1991). Evaluating FACES III and the circumplex model: 2240 families. *Family Process*, 30, 55-73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.1991.00055.x>
- Greene, M. J. (2014). On the inside looking in: Methodological insights and challenges in conducting qualitative insider research. *The Qualitative Report*, 19(29), 1-13. <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol19/iss29/3>
- Grossman, J. B., Chan, C. S., Schwartz, S. E. O., & Rhodes, J. E. (2012). The test of time in SBM: The role of relationship duration and re-matching on academic outcomes. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 49(1), 43-54. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-011-9435-0>
- Grossman, J. B., & Rhodes, J. E. (2002). The test of time: Predictors and effects of duration in youth mentoring relationships. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 30, 199-219. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014680827552>
- Grossman, J. B., & Tierney, J. P. (1998). Does mentoring work? An impact study of the Big Brothers Big Sisters Program. *Evaluation Review*, 22, 403-426. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193841X9802200304>
- Grunbaum, J., Lowry, R., & Kann, L. (2001). Prevalence of health-related behaviors among alternative high school students as compared with students attending regular high schools. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 29(5), 337-343. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1054-139X\(01\)00304-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1054-139X(01)00304-4)
- Grunbaum, J. A., & Basen-Engquist, K. (1993). Comparison of health risk behaviors between students in a regular high school and students in an alternative high school. *Journal of School Health*, 63, 421-425. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1746-1561.1993.tb06072.x>
- Grunbaum, J. A., Tortolero, S., Weller, N., & Gingiss, P. (2000). Cultural, social, and intrapersonal factors associated with substance use among alternative high school students. *Addictive Behaviours*, 25(1), 145-151. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0306-4603\(99\)00006-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0306-4603(99)00006-4)
- Grych, J., Hamby, S., & Banyard, V. (2015). The resilience portfolio model: Understanding healthy adaption in victims of violence. *Psychology of Violence*, 5(4), 343-354. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039671>
- Guhn, M., Gadermann, A., Schonert-Reichl, K. A., Hymel, S., & Hertzman, C. (2013). A population study of victimization, relationships, and well-being in middle childhood. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 14(5), 1529-1541. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-012-9393-8>
- Gulliver, A., Griffiths, K. M., & Christensen, H. (2010). Perceived barriers and facilitators to mental health help-seeking in young people: A systematic review. *BMC Psychiatry*, 10, 113. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-244X-10-113>
- Gut, E., & McLaughlin, J. M. (2012). Alternative education's impact on office disciplinary referrals. *The Clearing House*, 85, 231-236. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00098655.2012.695409>
- Hackett, L., Aslam, N., & Theodosiou, L. (2011). Understanding the mental health needs of older adolescents with behavioural disorders. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Science*, 30, 1205-1208. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2011.10.234>
- Hall, S. (2018). The West and the rest: Discourse and power. In D. Morley (Ed.), *Essential Essays: Identity and Diaspora* (Vol. 2). Duke University Press.

- Hanh, T. N. (2016). *At home in the world: Stories and essential teachings from a monk's life*. Parallax Press.
- Harmsworth, G. R., & Awatere, S. (2013). *Indigenous Māori knowledge and perspectives of ecosystems*. Retrieved from Lincoln, NZ: https://wwwuat.landcareresearch.co.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0007/77047/2_1_Harmsworth.pdf
- Harper, D. (2010). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies*, 17(1), 13-26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586022013734>
- Hart, M. A. (2010). Indigenous worldviews, knowledge, and research: The development of an indigenous research paradigm. *Journal of Indigenous Voices in Social Work*, 1(1), 1-16.
- Harwood, R., Miller, J., & Irizarry, N. L. (1995). *Culture and attachment: Perceptions of the child in context*. Guilford Press.
- Hatten, K., Forin, T., & Adams, R. (2013). *A picture elicits a thousand meanings: Photo elicitation as a method for investigating cross-disciplinary identity development*. Paper presented at the 120th ASEE Annual Conference & Exposition, Atlanta.
- Hawley, P. H. (2007). Social dominance in childhood and adolescence: Why social competence and aggression may go hand in hand. In P. H. Hawley, T. D. Little, & P. C. Rodkin (Eds.), *Aggression and adaption: The bright side to bad behavior* (pp. 1-30). Erlbaum.
- Haynes, N. M., Comer, J. P., & Hamilton-Lee, M. (1989). School climate enhancement through parental involvement. *Journal of School Psychology*, 27(1), 87-90. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-4405\(89\)90034-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-4405(89)90034-4)
- Heggen, K., Jorgensen, G., & Paulsgaard, G. (2003). *The others: Youth, risk zones and marginalization*. Fagbokforlaget.
- Heisley, D., & Levy, S. (1991). Autodriving: A photoelicitation technique. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18(3), 257-272.
- Helman, C. (2000). *Culture, health & illness* (4th ed.). Butterworth Heinemann.
- Henry, B., Feehan, M., McGee, R., Stanton, W., Moffit, T. E., & Silvia, P. (1993). The importance of conduct problems and depressive symptoms in predicting adolescent substance use. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 21, 469-480. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00916314>
- Herr, E. (1989). *Counseling in a dynamic society: Opportunities and challenges*. American Association for Counseling and Development.
- Hicks, S., Tinkler, L., & Allin, P. (2013). Measuring subjective well-being and its potential role in policy: Perspectives from the UK Office for National Statistics. *Social Indic Res*, 114, 73-86. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-013-0384-x>
- Hikuroa, D. (2017). Mātauranga Māori—the ūkaipō of knowledge in NZ. *Journal of the Royal Society of NZ*, 47(1), 5-10. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03036758.2016.1252407>
- Hill, K. G., Howell, J. C., Hawkins, J. D., & Battin-Pearson, S. R. (1999). Childhood risk factors for adolescent gang membership: Results from the Seattle Social Development Project. *Journal of Research in Crime Delinquency*, 36, 300-322. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427899036003003>
- Hodgman, M. (2016). The history of youth academy within the context and history of alternative schooling. *Journal of Unschooling and Alternative Learning*, 10(19).
- Hoffman, J. H., Welte, J. W., & Barnes, G. M. (2001). Co-occurrence of alcohol and cigarette use among adolescents. *Addictive Behaviours*, 26, 63-78. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0306-4603\(00\)00089-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0306-4603(00)00089-7)

- Hogg, M. A., Sherman, D. K., Dierselhuis, J., Maitner, A. T., & Moffit, G. (2007). Uncertainty, entitativity, and group identification. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 43*, 135-142. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2005.12.008>
- Hollis, J. T. (2013). *Te Atuatanga: Holding Te Karaitianatanga and Te Māoritanga Together Going Forward* [Doctoral dissertation of Philosophy, University of Canterbury]. <http://hdl.handle.net/10092/8723>
- Holt, L., Bry, B., & Johnson, V. (2008). Enhancing school engagement in at-risk, urban minority adolescents through a school-based, adult mentoring intervention. *Child & Family Behavior Therapy, 30*(4), 297-318. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07317100802482969>
- Houkamau, C., & Sibley, C. (2010). Māori cultural efficacy and subjective wellbeing: A psychological model and research agenda. *Soc Indic Res (103)*, 379-398. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-010-9705-5>
- Hundleby, J. D., & Mercer, G. W. (1987). Family and friends as social environments and their relationship to young adolescents' use of alcohol, tobacco, and marijuana. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 49*(1), 151-164. <https://doi.org/10.2307/352679>
- Ianes, D., Cappello, S., & Demo, H. (2017). Teacher and student voices: A comparison between two perspectives to study integration processes in Italy. *European Journal of Special Needs Education, 32*(3), 301-313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08856257.2016.1223402>
- Ibrahim, S. A., Thomas, S. B., & Fine, M. J. (2003). Achieving health equity: An incremental journey. *American Journal of Public Health, 93*, 1619-1621. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.93.10.1619>
- Isherwood, G. I., & Ahola, J. A. (1981). School life: A conceptual model, or where you stand depends on where you sit. In J. K. Epstein (Ed.), *The quality of school life* (pp. 173-177). Lexington Books.
- Jenkins, K., & Harte, M. (2011). *Traditional Māori parenting: An historical review of literature of traditional Māori child rearing practices in pre-European times*. <http://www.ririki.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/TradMaoriParenting.pdf>
- Jenkins, K., & Ka'ai, T. (1994). Māori education: A cultural experience and dilemma for the state – a new direction for Māori society. In E. Coxon, K. Jenkins, J. Marshall, & L. Massey (Eds.), *The politics of learning and teaching in New Zealand* (pp. 148-179). Dunmore Press.
- Johnson, C., Eva, A. L., Johnson, L., & Walker, B. (2011). Don't turn away: Empowering teachers to support students' mental health. *The Clearing House, 84*, 9-14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00098655.2010.484441>
- Johnson, K. E., & Taliaferro, L. A. (2012). Health behaviours and mental health of students attending alternative high schools: A review of the research literature. *Journal for Specialists in Pediatric Nursing, 17*(2), 79-97. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6155.2011.00311.x>
- Jones, A., & Harrison, F. (2014). Wellbeing and the school environment. In *Wellbeing*. Published online.
- Jordan, B. (2008). *Welfare and well-being*. Policy Press.
- Jose, P., & Schurer, K. (2010). Cultural differences in coping among New Zealand Adolescents. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 41*(1), 3-18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002202210934783>
- Joyner, K., & Udry, J. R. (2000). You don't bring me anything but down: Adolescent romance and depression. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 41*(4), 369-391. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2676292>

- Kahneman, D., & Riis, J. (2005). Living, and thinking about it: Two perspectives on life. In A. Hupper, N. Baylis, & B. Keverne (Eds.), *The Science of Well-being* (pp. 285-304). Oxford University Press.
- Karreman, A. (2012). Attachment and well-being: The mediating role of emotion regulation and resilience. *Personality and Individual Differences, 53*(7), 821-826. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2012.06.014>
- Keddell, E. (2017). *The Child Youth and Family review: A commentary on prevention*. <https://thepolicyobservatory.aut.ac.nz/>
- Keelan, T. J. E. (2001). E tipu e rea: An indigenous theoretical framework for youth development. *Development Bulletin, 56*, 62-65.
- Kennedy, V., & Cram, F. (2010). Ethics of researching with whānau collectives. *MAI Review, 3*.
- Keyes, C. L. M., & Simoes, E. J. (2012). To flourish or not: Positive mental health and all-cause mortality. *American Journal of Public Health, 102*(11), 2164–2172. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2012.300918>
- Kidman, J. (2014). Representing Māori youth voices in community education research. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 49*(2), 205-218.
- King, P., Hodgetts, D., Rua, M., & Morgan, M. (2018). When the marae moves into the city: Being Māori in urban Palmerston North. *City and Community, 17*(4), 1189-1208. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12355>
- King, S. M., Iacono, W. G., & McGue, M. (2004). Childhood externalizing and internalizing psychopathology in the prediction of early substance use. *Addiction, 99*, 1548-1559.
- Kingi, T. K. (2005). *Cultural interventions and the treatment of Māori mental health consumers*. Paper presented at the Auckland University Conference Centre, Auckland.
- Kirmayer, L. J., Sehdev, M., Whitley, R., Dandeneu, S., & Isaac, C. (2009). Community resilience: Models, metaphors and measures. *Journal of Aboriginal Health, 5*, 62-117.
- Kobak, R., & Cole, C. (1994). Attachment and Meta monitoring: Implications for adolescent autonomy and psychopathology. In D. Cicchetti (Ed.), *Rochester symposium on development and psychopathology* (Vol. 5) (pp. 267-297). Rochester University Press.
- Kolb, B. (2008). Involving, sharing and analyzing: Potential of the participatory of photointerview. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 9*(3). <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/viewArticle/1155>
- Komosa-Hawkins, K. (2012). The impact of school-based mentoring on adolescents' social-emotional health. *Mentoring & Tutoring: Partnership in Learning, 20*(3), 393-408. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13611267.2012.701965>
- Konu, A., & Rimpelä, M. (2002). Well-being in schools: A conceptual model. *Health Promotion International, 17*(1), 79-87. <https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/17.1.79>
- Kosterman, R., Hawkins, J. D., Hill, K. G., Abbott, R. D., Catalano, R. F., & Guo, J. (1996). *The developmental dynamics of gang initiation: When and why young people join gangs*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Chicago.
- Kral, M., Idlout, L., Minore, J., Dyck, R., & Kirmayer, L. (2011). Unikkaartuit: Meanings of well-being, unhappiness, health, and community change among Inuit in Nunavut, Canada. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 48*(3), 426-438. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-011-9431-4>

- La Placa, V., McNaught, A., & Knight, A. (2013). Discourse on wellbeing in research and practice. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 3, 116-125.
<https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v3i1.7>
- Labov, W., & Waletzky, J. (1967). Narrative analysis. In J. Helm (Ed.), *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts* (pp. 12-44). Washington Press.
- LaFromboise, T. D., Hoyt, D. R., Oliver, L., & Whitebeck. (2006). Family, community and school influence on resilience among American Indian adolescents in the upper Midwest. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 34(2), 193-209.
- Lane, R. E. (2000). *The loss of happiness in market democracies*. Yale.
- Laursen, B. (1995). Conflict and social interaction in adolescent relationships. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 5(1), 55-70.
- Le Grice, J., Braun, V., & Wetherell, M. (2017). “What I reckon is, is that like the love you give to your kids they’ll give to someone else and so on and so on”: Whanaungatanga and mātauranga Māori in practice. *NZ Journal of Psychology*, 46(3), 88-97.
- Lee, J. (2005). *Māori cultural regeneration: Pūrākau as pedagogy*. Paper presented at the Centre for Research in Lifelong learning International Conference, Stirling, Scotland.
- Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *MAI Review*, 2(3).
- Leighton, J. P., Guo, Q., Chu, M., & Tang, W. (2018). A pedagogical alliance for academic achievement: Socio-emotional effects on assessment outcomes. *Educational Assessment*, 23(1), 1-23.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10627197.2017.1411188>
- Lester, L., Waters, S., & Cross, D. (2013). The relationship between school connectedness and mental health during the transition to secondary school: A path analysis. *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 23(2), 157-171.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/jgc.2013.20>
- Levesque, R. J. R. (1993). The romantic experience of adolescents in satisfying love relationships. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 22(1), 219-251.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01537790>
- Linnehan, F. (2001). The relation of a work-based mentoring program to the academic performance and behavior of African American students. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 59, 310-325. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jvbe.2001.1810>
- Lundstron, L., & Oygard, L. (2014). Domination and resistance in school – The alternative school day for ‘at-risk students’: What does it mean for them to be there, and to what extent do they benefit? *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 20(1), 17-31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2014.948019>
- Luthar, S. S., Cicchetti, D., & Becker, B. (2000). The construct of resilience: A critical evaluation and guidelines for future work. *Child Development*, 71(3), 543-562.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00164>
- Macfarlane, A., Glynn, T., Cavanagh, T., & Bateman, S. (2007). Creating culturally safe schools for Māori Students. *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 36, 65-76. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1326011100004439>
- Magadley, W., Amara, M., & Jabareen, Y. (2019). Alternative education in Palestinian-Arab society in Israel: Rationale and characteristics. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 67, 85-93.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2019.04.002>
- Marsden, M. (2003). *The Woven Universe: Selected readings of Rev. Māori Marsden*. The Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden.

- Marsh, L., McGee, R., Nada-Raja, S., & Williams, S. (2008). Perceptions of physical aggression in New Zealand Secondary Schools. *Journal of Educational Studies*, 43(2), 89-104.
- Martin, A. J., & Marsh, H. W. (2006). Academic resilience and its psychological and educational correlates: A construct validity approach. *Psychology in the School*, 43(3), 267-280. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.20149>
- Martin, A. J., Nejad, H., Colmar, S., & Liem, G. A. D. (2012). Adaptability: Conceptual and empirical perspectives on responses to change, novelty and uncertainty. *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 22(1), 58-81. <https://doi.org/10.1017/jgc.2012.8>
- Martindale, K., & Phillips, R. (2009). Applying quality of life in mental health social work practice. *NZ Social Work Review*, 21(4), 55-63. <https://doi.org/10.11157/anzswj-vol21iss4id261>
- Martinez-Torteya, C., Bogat, G. A., Von Eye, A., & Levendosky, A. (2009). Resilience among children exposed to domestic violence: The role of risk and protective factors. *Child Development*, 80(2), 562-577. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2009.01279>.
- Maslow, A. H. (1943). A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50(4), 370-396. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0054346>
- Mathews, G. (1996). *What makes life worth living? How Japanese and Americans make sense of their worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- May, S., Hill, R., & Tiakiwai, S. (2006). *Bilingual Education in New Zealand. Key findings from bilingual/immersion education: Indicators of good practice*. https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0008/6956/831_Bilingual.pdf
- Mayeux, L., & Cillessen, A. H. (2008). It's not just being popular, it's knowing it too: The role of self-perceptions of status in the associations between peer status and aggression. *Social Development*, 17(4), 871-888. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.2008.00474.x>
- McCarthy, B., & Casey, T. (2008). Love, sex and crime: Adolescent romantic relationships and offending. *American Sociological Review*, 73(6), 944-969. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240807300604>
- McGee, C., & Fraser, D. (2011). *The professional practice of teaching*. Cengage Learning Australia.
- McGillivray, M. (2007). *Human wellbeing: Concept and measurement* (19th ed.). Palgrave MacMillan.
- McGregor, G., & Martin, M. (2012). Alternative education sites and marginalised young people: 'I wish there were more schools like this one'. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 16(8), 843-862. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2010.529467>
- McMahan, E. A., & Estes, D. (2011). Hedonic versus eudaimonic conceptions of well-being: Evidence of differential associations with self-reported well-being. *Social Indicators Research*, 103(1), 93-108. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-010-9698-0>
- McMillan, J., & Reed, D. (1994). At-risk students and resiliency: Factors contributing to academic success. *Clearing House*, 67(3), 137-140. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00098655.1994.9956043>
- McNeely, C., & Falci, C. (2004). School connectedness and the transition into and out of health-risk behavior among adolescents: A comparison of social belonging

- and teacher support. *Journal of School Health*, 74(7), 284-292.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1746-1561.2004.tb08285.x>
- McWhirter, B. T., Besett-Alesch, T. M., Horibata, J., & Gat, I. (2002). Loneliness in high risk adolescents: The role of coping, self-esteem, and empathy. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 5(1), 69-84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260120111779>
- Mead, H. M. (1998). He kupu whakataki: foreward. In J. Simon (Ed.), *Ngā kura Māori: The Native Schools System 1867–1969* (pp. viii-xi). Auckland University Press.
- Mead, H. M. (2016). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*. Huia Publishers.
- Meo, A. I. (2010). Picturing students' habitus: The advantages and limitations of photo-elicitation interviewing in a qualitative study in the city of Buenos Aires. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 9(2), 149-171.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/160940691000900203>
- Metge, J. (1990). Te rito o te harakeke: Conceptions of the whānau. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 99(1), 51-91.
- Metge, J. (2015). *Taurira: Māori methods of learning and teaching*. Auckland University Press.
- Miller, R., & Pedro, J. (2006). Creating respectful classroom environments. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 33(5), 293-299. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10643-006-0091-1>
- Milne, M. (2005). *Māori perspectives on kaupapa Māori and psychology: A discussion document*. https://www.pbanz.org.nz/docs/KAUPAPA%20MAORI%20AND%20PSYCHOLOGY%20Moe%20Milnes%20Report_doc1.pdf
- Ministry of Education. (2013). *Ka Hikitia - accelerating success: The Māori education strategy*. <https://www.education.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Ministry/Strategies-and-policies/Ka-Hikitia/KaHikitiaAcceleratingSuccessEnglish.pdf>
- Ministry of Education. (2016). Alternative education.
<https://alternativeeducation.tki.org.nz/Alternative-education>
- Ministry of Education. (2019). Māori education overview.
<https://www.education.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Ministry/Publications/Briefings-to-Incoming-Ministers/4-1093092-Māori-Education-BIM-Annex-ABC.PDF>
- Ministry of Social Development (2016). *The Social Report 2016: Te pūrongo oranga tangata*. <http://socialreport.msd.govt.nz/documents/2016/msd-the-social-report-2016.pdf>
- Mitchell, M., & Egudo, M. (2003). *A review of narrative methodology*.
<https://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/css506/506%20readings/review%20of%20narrative%20methodology%20australian%20gov.pdf>
- Moeke-Pickering, T. (1996). Maori identity within whanau: A review of literature. University of Waikato. <https://hdl.handle.net/10289/464>
- Moen, T. (2006). Reflections on the narrative research approach. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(4), 56-69.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690600500405>
- Mohi, C. (1993). *Mātauranga Māori — A national resource*. Retrieved from <http://www.natlib.govt.nz/collections/online-exhibitions/matauranga-maori/matauranga-maori>
- Moses, J., O, & Villodas, M., T. (2017). The potential protective role of peer relationships on school engagement in at-risk adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 46(11), 2255-2272. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-017-0644-1>
- Muriwai, E., Houkamau, C. A., & Sibley, C. G. (2015). Culture as cure? The protective function of Māori cultural efficacy on psychological distress. *NZ Journal of Psychology*, 44(2), 14-24.

- Nepe, T. M. (1991). *Te toi huarewa tipuna: Kaupapa Māori, an educational intervention system*. University of Auckland.
- Newman, F. (1981). Reducing student alienation in high schools: Implications of theory. *Harvard Education Review*, 51(4), 546-564. <https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.51.4.xj67887u8715t66t>
- New Zealand Post Primary Teacher's Association. (2016). *PPTA workload taskforce report: Report of the 2015 investigation into issues of workload intensification for secondary school teachers in NZ*. <https://www.ppta.org.nz/dmsdocument/133>
- Nichols, J. D., & Utesch, W. E. (1998). An alternative learning program: Effects on student motivation and self-esteem. *Journal of Education Research*, 91(5), 272-278. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220679809597554>
- Nicholson, L. J., & Putwain, D. W. (2014). Facilitating re-engagement in learning: A disengaged student perspective. *The Psychology of Education Review*, 39(2), 37-41.
- Noble, T., Wyatt, T., McGrath, H., Roffey, S., & Rowling, L. (2008). *Scoping study into approaches to student wellbeing: Final report*. <https://docs.education.gov.au/documents/scoping-study-approaches-student-wellbeing-final-report>
- Noel, H., Denny, S., Farrant, B., Rossen, F., Teevale, T., Clark, T., . . . Fortune, S. (2013). Clustering of adolescent health concerns: A latent class of analysis of school students in New Zealand. *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health*, 49(11), 935-941. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jpc.12397>
- Norberg-Hodge, H. (1996). The pressure to modernise and globalise. In J. Mander & E. Goldsmith (Eds.), *The case against the global economy (and for a turn toward the local)* (pp. 14-15). Sierra Club Books.
- O'Brien, P., Thesing, A., & Herbert, P. (2001). *Alternative education: Literature review and report on key informants' experiences*. Retrieved from Auckland College of Education <https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/schooling/5003>
- Oberle, E., Schonert-Reichl, K. A., & Thomson, K. C. (2010). Understanding the link between social and emotional well-being and peer relations in early adolescence: Gender-specific predictors of peer acceptance. *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, 39(11), 1330-1342. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-009-9486-9>
- Olcott, L. (2010). Where do (some) dropouts go? *Phi Delta Kappan*, 91(7), 80. <https://doi.org/10.1177/003172171009100719>
- Openshaw, R., Lee, G., & Lee, H. (1993). *Challenging the myths: Rethinking New Zealand's educational history*. Dunmore Press.
- Oppenheim, D., & Goldsmith, D. F. (2007). *Clinical application of attachment theory: Bridging the gap between theory, research, and practice*. Guilford Press.
- Orkibi, H., & Tuaf, H. (2017). School engagement mediates well-being differences in students attending specialized versus regular classes. *Journal of Educational Research*, 110(6), 675-682. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220671.2016.1175408>
- Orth, U., Robins, R. W., & Roberts, B. W. (2008). Low self-esteem prospectively predicts depression in adolescence and young adulthood. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95, 695-708.
- Oyserman, D., & Fryberg, S. (2006). The possible selves of diverse adolescents: Content and function across gender, race and national origin. In C. Dunkel & J. Kerpelman (Eds.), *Possible selves: Theory, research, and applications* (pp. 17-39). Nova Science.

- Parkin, S., & Coomber, R. (2009). Value in the visual: On public injecting, visual methods and their potential for informing policy (and change). *Methodological Innovations Online*, 4(2), 21-36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/205979910900400203>
- Pasche, S. (2012). Exploring the comorbidity of anxiety and substance use disorders. *Current Psychiatry*, 14, 176-181. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-012-0264-0>
- Pavot, W., & Diener, E. (1993). The affective and cognitive context of self-reported measures of subjective well-being. *Social Indicators Research*, 28(1), 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01086714>
- Pearce, N., Foliaki, S., & Sporle, A. C. (2004). Genetics, race, ethnicity and health. *British Medical Journal*, 328, 1070-1072. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.328.7447.1070>
- Pere née Russell, L. M. (2006). *Oho mauri: Cultural identity, wellbeing, and tāngata whai ora/motuhake* [Doctoral dissertation of Philosophy, Massey University]. <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/1567>
- Pere, R. (1997). *Te Wheke: A celebration of infinite wisdom*. National Library of New Zealand.
- Pere, R. T. (1982). *Ako: Concepts of learning in the Māori tradition* [Monograph]. Wellington.
- Pere, R. T. (1991). *Te Wheke: A celebration of infinite wisdom*. Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand
- Phinney, J. S., & Ong, A. D. (2007). Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54(3), 271-281. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.271>
- Pihama, L. (2001). *Tihei mauri ora: Honouring our voices: Mana wahine as a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework*. University of Auckland.
- Pihama, L., Cram, F., & Walker, S. (2002). Creating methodological space: A literature review of Kaupapa Māori research. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 26(1), 30-43.
- Pihama, L., Smith, K., Taki, M., & Lee, J. (2004). *A literature review on Kaupapa Māori and Māori education pedagogy*. https://www.academia.edu/7909873/A_LITERATURE_REVIEW_ON_KAUPAPA_MAORI_AND_MAORI_EDUCATION_PEDAGOGY
- Poananga, S. (2011). *Positive 'whānau management': Privileging the centrality of whānau and culturally specific understandings of child discipline for effective psychological practice with Māori* [Doctoral dissertation of Clinical Psychology, Massey University]. <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/3194>
- Pohatu, T. W. (2013). Āta: Growing respectful relationships. *Journal of Psychotherapy New Zealand*, 17(1), 13-26. <https://doi.org/10.9791/ajpanz.2013.02>
- Pohatu, T. W. (2015). Mātauranga-ā-whānau - He Kōnae Aronui. *New Zealand Social Work*, 27(4), 32-38. <https://doi.org/10.11157/anzswj-vol27iss4id435>
- Pole, C. (2004). *Seeing is believing?: Approaches to visual research*. Oxford.
- Powick, K. (2003). *Māori Research Ethics*. University of Waikato.
- Pullman, M. E., & Robson, S. (2006). A picture is worth a thousand words: Using photo-elicitation to solicit hotel guest feedback. *Cornell Hospitality Tools*, 7, 6-14. <https://doi.org/10.12968/sece.2006.10.729>
- Raboteg-Saric, Z., & Sakic, M. (2014). Relations of parenting styles and friendship quality to self-esteem, life satisfaction and happiness in adolescents. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 9(3), 749-765. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-013-9268-0>

- Rangihuna, D., Kopua, M., & Tipene-Leach, D. (2018). Te mahi a atua. *Journal of Primary Health Care*, 10(1), 16-17. <https://doi.org/10.1071/HC17076>
- Rata, A. (2012). *Te Pitau O Te Tuakiri: Affirming Māori Identities and Promoting Wellbeing in State Secondary Schools* [Doctoral dissertation of Philosophy, Victoria University of Wellington].
- Rath, T., Harter, J. K., & Harter, J. (2010). *Wellbeing: The five essential elements*. Gallup Press.
- Ratima, M. (2001). *Kia Uruuru Mai a Hauora: Being Healthy, Being Māori*. University of Otago.
- Rawls, J. (1971). *A theory of justice*. Harvard University Press.
- Raywid, M. A. (1994). Alternative schools: The state of art. *Educational leadership*, 26-31.
- Reid, N. (2002). Detached lives and faint voices. *Adults Learning*, 13(2), 21-25.
- Reynolds, R. J. (2009). "Clean, clad and courteous" revisited: A review history of 200 years of Aboriginal education in New South Wales. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 78(1), 83-94.
- Reynolds, T. (1990, Jan-Mar.). The Treaty today - What went wrong and what are we doing about it? *NZ Geographic*(5). <https://www.nzgeo.com/stories/the-treaty-today-what-went-wrong-and-what-are-we-doing-about-it/>
- Reynolds, W. R., Quevillon, R. P., Boyd, B., & Mackey, D. (2006). Initial development of a cultural values and beliefs scale among Dakota/Nakota/Lakota People: A pilot study. *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research*, 13(3), 70-93. <https://doi.org/10.5820/aian.1303.2006.70>
- Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. SAGE Publications Inc.
- Roberson, L. (2015). *Perceptions of educators regarding the effectiveness of alternative programs in a southern state* [Doctoral dissertation of Education, Nova Southeastern University]. <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED556499.pdf>
- Roberts, J. E., Gotlib, I. H., & Kassell, J. D. (1996). Adult attachment security and symptoms of depression: The mediating roles of dysfunctional attitudes and low self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 310-320. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.2.310>
- Robinson, D. V. (2017). Collaborative partnerships between high poverty and minority parents and educational leaders: Reversing the school and home divide. *Journal for Multicultural Education*, 11(1), 2-18. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JME-11-2015-0035>
- Roeser, R. W., Eccles, J. S., & Strobel, K. (1998). Linking the study of schooling and mental health: Selected issues and empirical illustrations at the level of the individual. *Educational Psychologist*, 33, 153-176. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15326985ep3304_2
- Rothon, C., Arephin, M., Klineberg, E., Cattell, V., & Stansfeld, S. (2011). Structural and socio-psychological influences on adolescents' educational aspirations and subsequent academic achievement. *Social Psychology of Education*, 14(2), 209-231. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-010-9140-0>
- Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988). *The April Report*. <https://www.publicgood.org.nz/wp/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/RCSP-All-volumes-NEW-latest.pdf>
- Royal Health Commission (2011). *Breaking through young people at work*. https://www.hrc.co.nz/files/2814/4910/7293/Final_report-28Jan11.pdf

- Royal, T. A. C. (2005). Māori creation traditions. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of NZ*. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/Māori-creation-traditions/print>
- Royal, T. A. C. (2007a). Papatūānuku – the land - Tūrangawaewae – a place to stand. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of NZ*. www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/Papatūānuku-the-land/page-5
- Royal, T. A. C. (2007b). Te Waonui a Tāne – forest mythology – Tāne and his forests. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-waonui-a-tane-forest-mythology/page-1>
- Russell, L., & Thomson, P. (2011). Girls and gender in alternative education provision. *Ethnography and Education*, 6(3), 293-308. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457823.2011.610581>
- Rutter, M., & Maughan, B. (2002). School effectiveness findings 1979–2002. *Journal of School Psychology*, 40(6), 451-475. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-4405\(02\)00124-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-4405(02)00124-3)
- Ruwhiu, D. (2008). *Raranga kōrero: The utility of narrative analysis for kaupapa Māori research*. University of Otago.
- Ruwhiu, D., & Wolfgramm, R. (2006). *Kaupapa Māori research: A contribution to critical management studies in New Zealand*. Massey University.
- Ruwhiu, L. A. (2001). Bicultural issues in New Zealand social work. In M. Connolly (Ed.), *New Zealand social work: Contexts and practice* (pp. 54-71). Oxford University Press.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, 55, 68-78. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.1.68>
- Ryan, R. M., & Niemiec, C. P. (2009). Self-determination theory in schools of education: Can an empirically supported framework also be critical and liberating? *Theory and Research in Education*, 7(2), 263-272. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477878509104331>
- Ryff, C. D., & Keyes, C. L. M. (1995). The structure of psychological well-being revisited. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(4), 719-727. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.69.4.719>
- Sabol, T. J., & Pianta, R. C. (2012). Recent trends in research on teacher–child relationships. *Attachment and Human Development*, 14(3), 213-231. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616734.2012.672262>
- Saks, M., & Allsop, J. (2007). *Researching health: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Samdal, O., Wold, B., & Bronis, M. (1999). Relationship between students' perceptions of school environment, their satisfaction with school and perceived academic achievement: An international study. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 10, 296-320. <https://doi.org/10.1076/sesi.10.3.296.3502>
- Sánchez, B., Colón, Y., & Esparza, P. (2005). The role of school belonging and gender in the academic adjustment of Latino adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 34, 619-628. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-005-8950-4>
- Savin-Williams, R. C. (1996). Dating and romantic relationships among gay, lesbian, and bisexual youths. In R. C. Savin-Williams & K. M. Cohen (Eds.), *The lives of lesbians, gays, and bisexuals: Children to adults* (pp. 166-180). Harcourt Brace & Co.
- Sawka, K. D., McCarthy, B. L., & Mannella, M. C. (2002). Strengthening emotional support services: An empirically based model for training teachers of students with behavior disorders. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioural Disorders*, 10(4), 223-232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10634266020100040401>

- Scanlon, T. (1993). Value, desire, and quality of life. In M. C. Nussbaum & A. Sen (Eds.), *The quality of life* (pp. 185-200). Clarendon.
- Searle, B. A. (2008). *Well-being: In search of a good life?* Policy Press.
- Sen, A. (1993). Capability and well-being. In M. C. Nussbaum & A. Sen (Eds.), *The quality of life* (pp. 30-53). Clarendon.
- Settles, I. H. (2004). When multiple identities interfere: The role of identity centrality. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30, 487-500. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167203261885>
- Shaw, P. (2012). Ti Kouka or Cabbage Tree. <https://phoebeshaw.wordpress.com/category/ti-koukacabbage-tree/>
- Simmonds, H., Harré, N., & Crengle, S. (2014). Te kete whanaketanga - rangatahi: A model of positive development for rangatahi Māori. *MAI Journal*, 3(3), 211-226.
- Simoës, F., & Alarcão, M. (2014). Teachers as school-based mentors for at-risk students: A qualitative study. *Child Youth Care Forum*, 43, 113-133. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10566-013-9228-8>
- Simon, J. (1990). *The place of schooling in Māori-Pakeha relations* [Doctoral dissertation of Philosophy, University of Auckland]. <http://hdl.handle.net/2292/2328>
- Simons, R. L., & Barr, A. B. (2012). Shifting perspectives: Cognitive changes mediate the impact of romantic relationships on desistance from crime. *Justice Quarterly*, 1, 1-29. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10566-013-9228-8>
- Simpson, P. (2000). *Dancing leaves: The story of New Zealand's cabbage tree, ti kouka*. Canterbury University Press.
- Skipper, Y., & Douglas, K. (2015). The influence of teacher feedback on children's perceptions of student-teacher relationships. *The influence of teacher feedback on children's perceptions of student-teacher relationships*, 85, 276-288. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjep.12070>
- Slan-Jerusalim, R., & Chen, C. (2009). Work/family conflict and career development theories: A search for helping strategies. *Journal of Counselling and Development*, 87(4), 492-500. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2009.tb00134.x>
- Slaten, C. D., Irby, D. J., Tate, K., & Rivera, R. (2015). Towards a critically conscious approach to social and emotional learning in urban alternative education: School staff members' perspectives. *Journal for Social Action in Counseling and Psychology*, 7(1), 41-62. <https://doi.org/10.33043/JSACP.7.1.41-62>
- Smith, A., & Thomson, M. M. (2014). Alternative education programmes: Synthesis and psychological perspectives. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 30(2), 111-119. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02667363.2014.891101>
- Smith, G. H. (1990). *Research issues related to Māori education*. Paper presented at the NZARE Special Interest Conference, Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia.
- Smith, G. H. (2003). *Indigenous struggle for the transformation of education and schooling*. Paper presented at the keynote address to the Alaskan Federation of Natives Convention, Anchorage, Alaska.
- Smith, L. T. (1995). *Toward kaupapa Māori research*. Paper presented at the Matawhanui Conference, Palmerston North.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books; University of Otago Press.
- Smith, L. T., & Reid, P. R. (2000). *Māori research development: Kaupapa Māori principles and practices, a literature review*. Retrieved from http://www.rangahau.co.nz/assets/SmithL/Maori_research.pdf

- Snow, D. (1992). Still colonising: The limits of the liberal text in the historiography of Aboriginal education, a review essay. *ACCESS: Critical Perspectives on Education Policy*, 11(2), 131-146.
- Snowshoe, A., Crooks, C., Tremblay, P., Craig, W., & Hinson, R. (2015). Development of a cultural connectedness scale for First Nations youth. *Psychological Assessment*, 27(1), 249-259. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037867>
- Sokratov, A., & O'Brien, J. M. (2014). *Hikaka te manawa: Making a difference for rangatahi*. Retrieved from Wellington: <https://terauora.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Hikaka-te-Manawa-Making-a-difference-for-rangatahi.pdf>
- Soller, B. (2014). Caught in a bad romance: Adolescent romantic relationships and mental health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 55(1), 56-72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022146513520432>
- Spiller, C. (2011). Tane's journey to retrieve knowledge. In J. Marques, & S. Dhiman (Eds.), *Stories to tell your students: Transforming toward Organizational Growth* (pp.127-130). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Squire, C. (2008). Experience-centred and culturally-oriented approaches to narrative. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing Narrative Research* (pp. 41-63). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Staff, J., & Kreager, D. A. (2008). Too cool for school? Violence, peer status, and high school dropout. *Social Forces*, 87(1), 445-471. doi 10.1353/sof.0.0068
- Stanton-Salazar, R. D., Chávez, L. F., & Tai, R. H. (2001). The help-seeking orientations of Latino and non-Latino urban high school students: A critical-sociological investigation. *Social Psychology of Education*, 5, 49-82. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1012708332665>
- Stephenson, M. (2006). Closing the doors on the Māori Schools in New Zealand. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 9(3), 307-324. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613320600807717>
- Stevenson, E., & Worthman, C. (2013). Child well-being: Anthropological perspectives. In A. Ben-Arieh, F. Casas, I. Frones, & J. E. Korbin (Eds.), *Handbook of child well-being* (pp. 485-512). Springer.
- Stewart, D., & Sixsmith, J. (2007). Children's, parents' and teachers' perceptions of child wellbeing. *Health Education*, 107(6), 511-523. <https://doi.org/10.1108/09654280710827911>
- Strand, J. A., & Peacock, R. (2003). Resource guide: Cultural resilience. *Journal of American Indian Higher Education; Mancos*, 14(4), 28-31.
- Stuart, J., & Jose, P. E. (2014). The protective influence of family connectedness, ethnic identity, and ethnic engagement for New Zealand Māori adolescents. *Developmental Psychology*, 50(6), 1817-1826. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036386>
- Sung, M., Erkanli, A., Angold, A., & Costello, E. J. (2004). Effects of age at first substance use and psychiatric comorbidity on the development of substance use disorders. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 75, 287-299. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugalcdep.2004.03.013>
- Szwedo, D. E., Hessel, E. T., Loeb, E. L., Hafen, C. A., & Allen, J. P. (2017). Adolescent support seeking as a path to adult functional independence. *Developmental Psychology*, 53(5), 949-996. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000277>
- Tākao, N., Grennell, D., McKegg, K., & Wehipeiana, N. (2010). *Te piko o te māhuri: The key attributes of successful Kura Kaupapa Māori*. https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0005/81158/954-KWA-English-21092010.pdf

- Te Huia, A. (2015). Perspectives towards Māori identity by Māori heritage language learners. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 44(3), 18-28.
- Thomas, M. E. (2009). *Auto-photography*. The Ohio State University.
- Thornberry, T. P., Lizotte, A. J., Krohn, M. D., Smith, C. A., & Porter, P. K. (2003). Causes and consequences of delinquency: Findings from the Rochester Youth Development Study. In T. P. Thornberry & M. D. Krohn (Eds.), *Taking stock of delinquency: An overview of findings from contemporary longitudinal studies* (pp. 11-46). Kluwer Academic/Plenum.
- Thrane, C. (2006). Explaining educational-related inequalities in health: Mediation and moderator models. *Social Science and Medicine*, 62(2), 467-478. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.06.010>
- Titus, D. (2001). *High stakes down under for indigenous peoples: Learning from Māori education in New Zealand, an outsider's perspective*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Association for Multicultural Education, Las Vegas.
- Tomyn, A., Cummins, J., & Robert, A. (2011). The subjective wellbeing of high-school students: Validating the personal wellbeing index - school children. *Social Indicators Research*, 101(3), 405-418. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-010-9668-6>
- Traylor, A. C., Williams, J. D., Kenney, J. L., & Hopson, L. M. (2016). Relationships between Adolescent Well-Being and Friend Support and Behavior. *Children & Schools*, 38(3), 179-186. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cs/cdw021>
- Treasury, N. Z. (2019). *The Wellbeing Budget*. <https://treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2019-05/b19-wellbeing-budget.pdf>
- Tremblay, R., Masse, L., Vitaro, F., & Dobkin, P. L. (1995). The impact of friends' deviant behavior on early onset of delinquency: Longitudinal data from 6 to 13 years of age. *Development and Psychopathology*, 7(4), 649-667. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579400006763>
- Tresidder, J., Macaskill, P., Bennett, D., & Nutbeam, D. (1997). Health risk and behaviour of out-of-school 16 year olds in New South Wales. *Australian, NZ Journal of Public Health*, 21, 168-174. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-842x.1997.tb01678.x>
- Urberg, K. A., Degirmencioglu, S. M., & Tolson, J. M. (1998). Adolescent friendship selection and termination: The role of similarity. *Journal of Social & Personal Relationships*, 15(5), 703-710. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407598155008>
- Usborne, E., & Taylor, D. M. (2010). The role of cultural identity clarity for self-concept clarity, self-esteem, and subjective well-being. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36(7), 883-897. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167210372215>
- Utter, J., Izumi, B. T., Denny, S., Fleming, T., & Clark, T. (2018). Rising food security concerns among NZ adolescents and association with health and wellbeing. *Kōtuitui: NZ Journal of Social Sciences*, 13(1), 29-38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083X.2017.1398175>
- Van Acker, R. (2007). Antisocial, aggressive, and violent behavior in children and adolescents within alternative education settings: Prevention and intervention. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth*, 51(2), 5-12. <https://doi.org/10.3200/PSFL.51.2.5-12>
- Van der Werf, G., Opdenakker, M., & Kuyper, H. (2008). Testing a dynamic model of student and school effectiveness with a multivariate multilevel latent growth

- curve approach. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 19(4), 447-467. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09243450802535216>
- Veenstra, R., Dijkstra, J. K., Steglich, C., & Van Zalk, M. H. W. (2013). Network-behavior dynamics. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 23(3), 299-412. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12070>
- Waitoki, W. (2012). *The development and evaluation of a cultural competency training programme for psychologists working with Māori: A training needs analysis*. [Doctoral dissertation of Philosophy, University of Waikato]. <https://hdl.handle.net/10289/6654>
- Walker, M. L., & Schmidt, L. M. (1996). Gang reduction efforts by the task force on violent crime in Cleveland, Ohio. In C. R. Huff (Ed.), *Gangs in America* (pp.75-91). Sage.
- Walker, R. (1988). Kōrero: The new whānau. *Listener*, 120(2503), 69. <https://doi.org/10.1093/fs/XLII.1.120>
- Walker, R. (1989). Māori identity. In D. Novitz & B. Willmott (Eds.), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand* (pp. 35-52). GP Books.
- Walker, R. (1991). Liberating Māori from educational subjection. In *Monograph 6*. International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, University of Auckland.
- Walker, R. J. (2004) *Ka whawhai tonu matou: struggle without end* (2nd edn.) (Auckland, Penguin).
- Walker, S., Eketone, A., & Gibbs, A. (2006). An exploration of kaupapa Māori research, its principles, processes and applications. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 9(4), 331-344. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570600916049>
- Walker, T. (2011). Whānau - Māori and family. *Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of NZ*. www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/whānau-Māori-and-family
- Walsh-Tapiata, W., Metuamate, A., Rikihana, T., Webster, J., Warren, T., & Kiriona, D. (2006). Māori youth (rangatahi) lead positive social change in identifying health issues. *Commonwealth Youth and Development Journal*, 4(1), 2-16.
- Wang, M., Selman, R. L., Dishion, T. J., & Stormshak, E. A. (2010). A tobit regression analysis of the covariation between middle school learners' perceived school climate and behavioral problems. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 20(2), 274-286. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00648.x>
- Warbrick, I., Wilson, D., & Boulton, A. (2016). Provider, father, and bro - Sedentary Māori men and their thoughts on physical activity. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 15(22), 15-22. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-016-0313-0>
- Wassell, E., & Dodge, R. (2015). A multidisciplinary framework for measuring and improving wellbeing. *International Journal of Sciences: Basic and Applied Research*, 21(2), 97.
- Waterman, A. S. (1993). Two conceptions of happiness: Contrasts of personal expressiveness (eudaimonia) and hedonic enjoyment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64(4), 678-691. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.64.4.678>
- Weisner, T. (2014). Culture, context, and child well-being. In A. Ben-Arieh, F. Casas, I. Fronese, & J. E. Korbin (Eds.), *Handbook of Child Well-being* (pp. 87-103). Springer.
- Wells, L. (1997). *Photography: A critical introduction*. Routledge.
- Wenn, J. (2006). *Kaupapa hauora Māori: Ngā whakaaro whakahirahira o Ngā Kaumātua* [Doctoral dissertation of Philosophy, Massey University]. <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/995>

- Western, M., & Tomaszewski, W. (2016). Subjective wellbeing, objective wellbeing and inequality in Australia. *PLoS ONE*, *11*(10).
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0163345>
- Williams, J. (2000). *The nature of the Māori community*. Paper presented at the PSSM Conference, Wellington.
- Williams, L. R. T., & Henare, M. (2009). The double spiral and ways of knowing. *MAI Review*, *3*.
- Williams, T. (2016). *Tū ake ngā uri o Muriwai: Understanding key factors that lead to the success of rangatahi Māori from Ōpōtiki* [Master's thesis of Arts, Auckland University of Technology]. <http://hdl.handle.net/10292/10222>
- Wirtz, D., Chiu, C. Y., Diener, E., & Oishi, S. (2009). What constitutes a good life? Cultural differences in the role of positive and negative affect in subjective well-being. *Journal of Personality*, *77*(4), 1167-1196. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2009.00578.x>.
- Woodruffe, P., & Patmore, M. (2017). The street as teaching space: A case study. *The Design Journal*, *20*, 1430-1447.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14606925.2017.1352668>
- Woodward, L. J., & Fergusson, D. M. (2000). Childhood peer relationship problems and later risks of educational under-achievement and unemployment. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, and Allied Discipline*, *41*(2), 191-201.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S002196309900520X>
- World Health Organization. (2014). Mental health: A state of well-being.
http://origin.who.int/features/factfiles/mental_health/en/
- Yamauchi, L. A. (1998). Individualism, collectivism, and cultural compatibility: Implications for counselors and teachers. *Journal of Humanistic Education and Development*, *36*(4), 189-198. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2164-4683.1998.tb00391.x>
- Yampolsky, M. A., Amiot, C. E., & R., D. I. S. (2013). Multicultural identity integration and well-being: A qualitative exploration of variations in narrative coherence and multicultural identification. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *4*(126).
<https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2013.00126>
- Zigmond, N. (2000). Reflections on a research career: Research as detective work. *Exceptional Children*, *66*, 295-304. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001440290006600301>
- Zolkoski, S. M., Bullock, L. M., & Gable, R. A. (2016). Factors associated with student resilience: Perspectives of graduates of alternative education programs. *Preventing School Failure*, *60*(3), 231-243.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1045988X.2015.1101677>

Appendix I: Research Information Sheets

*Ko Matawhaura toku maunga
Ko Rotoiti toku moana
Ko Te Arawa toku waka
Ko Ngāti Pīkiao toku iwi
Ko Ngāti Kawiti toku hapū
Ko Tapuaeharuru toku marae
Ko Stephen Albert toku matua tāne*

*Ko Taratara toku maunga
Ko Matauri toku moana
Ko Mataatua toku waka
Ko Ngāpuhi toku iwi
Ko Ngāti kura toku hapū
Ko tapui toku marae
Ko Tina-Marie Sharman toku whaea*

Ko Madeleine Haerewa toku ingoa

Dear Parent/Caregiver,

I would like to introduce myself to you, I am a PhD researcher and am currently studying through Massey University. I am interested in learning about the wellbeing needs of rangatahi Māori in alternative education. I am also a child and adolescent psychologist who has been working in the West Auckland area for the past 4 years. For many years my whānau have been living in this area.

I believe it is important to gain the views of rangatahi Māori who attend alternative education and hope my research may contribute to improved healthcare services, as well as health and education policies. With your consent I would like to ask your child to participate in my research. Your child will be asked to attend two interviews and to take some photographs that show their wellbeing needs.

Interview questions will cover a range of topics related to wellbeing such as; school, whānau and home, physical wellbeing, safe sex, alcohol and drugs, culture, relationships, belonging in the community and emotional wellbeing. Interviews will be conducted at your child's school or at the Youth Health Hub (HealthWEST) if they prefer. Please read the attached information sheet that outlines in more detail what is required of people who take part.

Please do not hesitate to contact me by phone call or text message on [REDACTED] or email [REDACTED]

If you have any questions related to your child's participation or the research project. Alternatively you may contact any of my supervisors:

Madeleine Haerewa (PhD student)	[REDACTED]	ph: [REDACTED]
Prof Kerry Chamberlain (Main Supervisor)	K.Chamberlain@massey.ac.nz	ph: (09) 414 0800 ext. 43107
Dr Hukarere Valentine (Supervisor)	H.Valentine@massey.ac.nz	ph: (09) 414 0800 ext 84971
Dr Simon Bennett (Supervisor)	S.T.Bennett@massey.ac.nz	ph: (09) 414 0800 ext 63609

Ngā mihi,

Madeleine Haerewa

Wellbeing needs of rangatahi Māori in alternative education

STUDENT INFORMATION SHEET

Who is conducting the research?

Kia ora, I'm Madeleine Haerewa. My whānau have been living in West Auckland for the past 50 years (I'm not that old...yet). My iwi is Ngāpuhi, and Ngāti Pikiao. I also have Malaysian and European in my whānau. At the moment I am completing a research project as part of my PhD at Massey University. When I'm not studying, looking after my three kids or trying to act coordinated at zumba classes, I also work as a psychologist.

What is the project about?

The purpose of the study is to gain your perspective on what you need to be happy, healthy and comfortable around your whānau, friends, school and community. I want to know what's important to you in order for you to feel good. I hope my research will be able to contribute to providing better health care for rangatahi Māori in the future. I will be visiting local alternative education schools in West Auckland to talk with rangatahi Māori. I would like to ask you to participate in my study.

What are participants expected to do?

After you have consent from your parents/caregivers, I will come and meet with you at school to introduce myself and talk about my project. If you feel comfortable and would like to participate I will ask you to sign a consent form. We'll then have our first interview at your school or the Youth Health Hub (HealthWEST) if you prefer. I will ask you to talk about what is important to you in your life. Questions will be based on a range of topics in relation to your wellbeing needs such as; school, whānau and home, physical wellbeing, safe sex, alcohol and drugs, culture, relationships, belonging in the community and emotional wellbeing. Once the first interview has been completed I then will ask you to take photos over the next two weeks that show what you need to feel happy, healthy and comfortable in your daily life. After the two weeks from our first interview is up, I'll come back to your school and I will ask you to share and talk about the photos you have taken.

If you don't have a camera or a camera on your phone I can give you a disposable one. When I come and visit you at school I will make sure we are somewhere quiet and private.

Please be aware that if you disclose any information that shows illegal activity or that you are at risk of harm to yourself, others or harm from someone else, then I will have to share that information.

What are your rights?

You will be providing important information to help improve health services for rangatahi Māori and you might enjoy the experience and have fun.

Interviews will be tape recorded and typed up word for word. However I will take care to make sure nobody can identify you in anything I write about the project. You can make up a pretend name for me to use when I type up the interview if you want.

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you do agree to participate, you have the following rights:

- To ask any questions at any time during participation.
- To decide not to talk about any particular subject or topic.
- To ask for the tape recorder to be turned off at anytime.
- To choose what photos can be used for the project.
- To withdraw from the project up to one week after the second interview.
- To be given a summary of the project findings.
- To have someone to accompany you as a support person.

Project Contacts

I am lucky to have three supervisors helping me from Massey University. If you have any more questions about the project please contact any of my supervisors or myself.

Madeleine Haerewa (PhD student)	████████████████████	ph: ██████████
Prof Kerry Chamberlain (Main Supervisor)	K.Chamberlain@massey.ac.nz	ph: (09) 414 0800 ext. 43107
Dr Hukarere Valentine (Supervisor)	H.Valentine@massey.ac.nz	ph: (09) 414 0800 ext 84971
Dr Simon Bennett (Supervisor)	S.T.Bennett@massey.ac.nz	ph: (09) 414 0800 ext 63609

NB: Participants will be given a \$25 Westfield voucher for taking part in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application ___/___ (*insert application number*). If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Andrew Chrystall, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x43317, email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz.

The wellbeing needs of rangatahi Māori in alternative education

ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION TUTOR INFORMATION SHEET

Who is conducting the research?

Kia ora, my name is Madeleine Haerewa and I will be completing the research project. I am currently undertaking a PhD at Massey University. My supervisors for the project are Professor Kerry Chamberlain, Dr Hukarere Valentine and Dr Simon Bennett. I have been working in the West Auckland area as a psychologist for HealthWEST over the past 4 years.

What is the project about?

The purpose of the study is to gain a better understanding of the wellbeing needs of rangatahi Māori who attend alternative education. I am particularly interested in finding out the opinions of rangatahi Māori attending alternative education schools. I will be visiting local alternative education schools in West Auckland to talk with rangatahi Māori. I want to find out what is important to rangatahi Māori in regard to their wellbeing and am also interested to gain your views and insight into working with these youth.

Project Procedures

If you agree to participate in the study, you will join a group of other alternative education tutors who teach in West Auckland to be involved in two discussion groups. The first discussion group will be centered on two hypothetical case studies of rangatahi Māori experiencing various issues in their life. The case studies will be drawn from my interviews with rangatahi Māori and will not describe any particular student who you work with. I will be asking for your input into what you think the wellbeing needs are of the example case studies, drawing on your experiences working with rangatahi Māori.

A second discussion group will be held a fortnight later where I will be asking your direct feedback in response to how rangatahi Māori view their wellbeing needs from my interviews with them. Topics covered in the interviews were; school, whānau and home, physical wellbeing, safe sex, alcohol and drugs, culture, relationships, belonging in the community and emotional wellbeing. I will be asking whether you agree, disagree or can provide more information given your experiences in working alongside rangatahi Māori.

The discussion groups will each take approximately 1.5 hours. Together with the data I have obtained from rangatahi Māori, the results from your discussions will form part of my thesis. As a token of appreciation, you will be given a voucher at the end of the second discussion group.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you agree to participate you are free to ask questions at any time throughout your participation. You are free to contribute as much or as little as you would like with any topic that might come up. You can withdraw from the study at any time but I will keep the data from the focus groups you have completed at that time. All the data will be made anonymous and I will ensure that no information that identifies you will be published from this project. I will invite you to a voluntary meeting to talk about the findings of the discussion groups once the research has been completed.

Project Contacts

If you have any further questions regarding this study please contact me or my supervisors:

Madeleine Haerewa (PhD student)	████████████████████	ph: ██████████
Prof Kerry Chamberlain (Main Supervisor)	K.Chamberlain@massey.ac.nz	ph: (09) 414 0800 ext. 43107
Dr Hukarere Valentine (Supervisor)	H.Valentine@massey.ac.nz	ph: (09) 414 0800 ext 84971
Dr Simon Bennett (Supervisor)	S.T.Bennett@massey.ac.nz	ph: (09) 414 0800 ext 63609

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application / (*insert application number*). If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Andrew Chrystall, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x43317, email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix II: Human Ethics Application Approval



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
ALBANY

15 October 2015

Madeleine Haerewa

Dear Madeleine

HUMAN ETHICS APPROVAL APPLICATION – MUHECN15/043

Getting insights into the health needs of Maori youth: Perspectives of students attending alternative education

Thank you for your application. It has been fully considered, and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern.

Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, a re-approval 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

Dr Andrew Chrystall
Acting Chair
Human Ethics Committee: Northern

cc Professor Kerry Chamberlain
School of Psychology
Albany Campus

Dr Hukarere Valentine
School of Psychology
Palmerston North

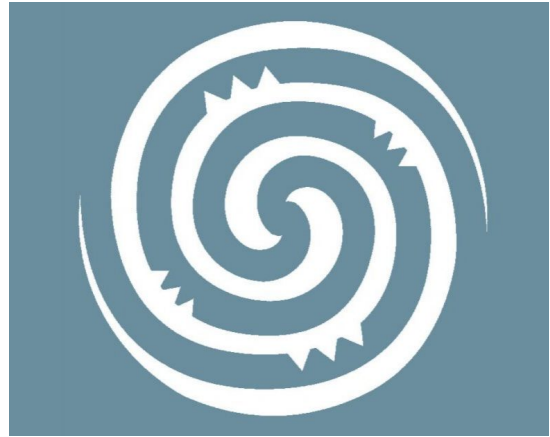
Dr Simon Bennett
School of Psychology
Wellington Campus

Professor James Liu
Head of School of Psychology
Albany Campus

**Te Kunenga
ki Pūrehuroa**

Research Ethics Office
Private Bag 102 904, Auckland, 0745, New Zealand Telephone +64 9 414 0800 ex 43276 humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

Appendix III: Research Booklet



Getting Insights into the Health
Needs of Māori Youth: Perspectives
of Students Attending Alternative
Education

Title: Getting Insight into the wellbeing needs of Māori Youth: Perspectives of Students Attending Alternative Education

Study completed by Massey University PhD research candidate Madeleine Haerewa

Contact details:

[REDACTED]

Main supervisor: Professor Kerry Chamberlain

Contact details: K.Chamberlain@massey.ac.nz

Secondary supervisor: Simon Bennett

Contact details: S.T.Bennett@massey.ac.nz

Secondary supervisor: Hukarere Valentine

Contact details: H.Valentine@massey.ac.nz

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank and acknowledge all students and tutors who welcomed me into their Alternative Education (AE) classrooms and willingly participated in my interviews and focus groups. I have appreciated your patience and flexibility during the data collection and the wonderful photos AE students have shared with me. I could not have completed my research without you. My gratitude to everyone involved in my research for the valuable and insightful information you have provided. Furthermore, I would like to thank my supervision team and Te Rau Puawai and the Pūrehuroa office of deputy vice chancellor Māori for their support.

*All names of participants in this study have been changed to protect confidentiality.

Contents

KEY FINDINGS	4
RESEARCH OVERVIEW	5
SIGNIFICANCE: WHY STUDY ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION	5
RESEARCH METHODS	6
PERSPECTIVES OF RANGATAHI WELLBEING NEEDS IN ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION	6
WHĀNAU	6
The value of whanaungatanga	6
Māoritanga (Māori way of life) and Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge).....	7
Spending time with whānau	7
Whānau as Kaitiakitanga (guardians).....	7
EDUCATION	8
Loneliness in mainstream	8
Pathways to AE	9
Creating a safe place in AE	9
Meeting Basic Needs	9
Tiakitanga	10
Resources	10
RESILIENCE, INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-DETERMINATION	11
Resilience and adaptability	11
Resilience and cohesiveness	11
Independence.....	12
Mahi Tahī (working together as one).....	12
Self-determination	12
RECOMMENDATIONS	13
REFERENCES	14

Key Findings

Whānau

- Rangatahi experiences reinforce the Māori concept of whānau, where extended family members are viewed inclusively as immediate family members. Māori family structures with extended family and with siblings were found to be important to wellbeing.
- Whānau provided a potential base for developing a connection with Māoritanga transferring mātauranga Māori.
- Identifying with their cultural heritage and Māoritanga was meaningful despite differences in accessibility for rangatahi Māori who participated in the study.
- Rangatahi Māori experienced challenges within their whānau including navigating two households where parents had separated, having only one available parent or economic stressors impacting the availability of parents.
- Time spent with whānau offered a place to connect, share and experience new memories and was important to rangatahi Māori wellbeing.
- Rangatahi Māori accounts of alcohol use were constructed around whānau being key people in their promoting drinking safety or influencing initiation and accessibility.

Education

- Rangatahi Māori commonly felt loneliness and isolation in their mainstream schooling experiences.
- Rangatahi Māori often felt labelled as the 'problem' which they were unable to negate.
- Common pathways for rangatahi Māori from mainstream schooling into AE were missing too much school and being involved with truancy officers. AE students also helped support friends and/or relatives into AE.
- Establishing consistent boundaries and classroom practices, gave students a safe environment and certainty.
- Safety was enhanced within AE through sharing information and working together with other tutors as a team to support rangatahi Māori.
- It was important that rangatahi Māori had their basic needs met (e.g. sufficient food) on a regular basis in order to sustain engagement and learning.
- Tutors utilised their networks with external support services to engage students through their individual interests. This was viewed to benefit rangatahi Māori wellbeing.
- Resources available to AE, such as funding, support services, and access to extra-curricular activities, were viewed by tutors as crucial, but they were limited.

Resilience, Independence and Self-determination

- The majority of rangatahi Māori participants reported they did not feel safe in their community and frequently shared stories of aggression.
- Positive relationships with whānau, tutors, peers and girlfriends were an important aspect of resilience for rangatahi Māori.
- Girlfriends could act as a major component of rangatahi Māori support systems but could also be a point of emotional conflict and distress.
- Throughout the stories of rangatahi Māori, there were common themes of managing emotions independently (e.g. through using marijuana), finding ways to calm themselves down (walking away), and thinking through situations.
- Involvement in community projects were meaningful for some rangatahi and allowed them to grow. Such projects allowed them to act independently within these projects and gain a greater sense of connection to their community and ownership of the direction of their work and input.
- Rangatahi demonstrated their own self-determination in an array of healthy choices throughout the study, particularly for those who were invested in achieving academically in AE.

Research Overview

This PhD research sought to explore the wellbeing needs of rangatahi Māori (Māori youth) who attend alternative education (AE) in New Zealand (NZ). Rangatahi Māori who attend AE are at an even greater disadvantage as they have been excluded from mainstream education and in attending AE, are identified as a population of youth who display the highest proportion of health risk behaviours (Clark, Raphael, Dixon, Ameratunga, Roninson & Jackson, 2010). Relatively little is known about how rangatahi Māori view their own wellbeing needs. Consequently, this research aimed to close this gap.

This research also sought to explore how AE tutors responded to the perceived wellbeing needs of rangatahi Māori and confirm information gathered from rangatahi Māori. Previous research has identified the important role teachers play in keeping students' interest in school, which ultimately has an overall effect on their wellbeing (Slaten et al, 2015; Sánchez, Colón, & Esparza, 2005). Therefore, AE tutors play an important role in facilitating student re-engagement. I was interested to learn more about the perceptions of AE tutors and aspects of AE education that are conducive to rangatahi wellbeing. The research investigated concepts of rangatahi Māori wellbeing to advance further knowledge in rangatahi Māori health development.

Significance: why study Alternative education

Leaving school early can have a potentially detrimental effect on a young person's life as well as impact on society at large. Numerous studies in Western countries show school drop-outs as representing nearly half of the population in both welfare and prison (Ahrens, Evans, & Barnett, 1990; Ewert, Sykes, & Petitt, 2014; Olcott, 2010). The gap is widening between those who can easily fit into mainstream education and those who may struggle. Gable, Bullock, and Evans (2006) argue this is due to today's increasingly culturally, socially and linguistically diverse backgrounds in segments of the school attendee population. Remaining engaged in school can also play a crucial factor in facilitating better health outcomes and health-related behaviours later on in life (Amin, Behrman, & Spector, 2013). There is a need for educational policy and practice to pay careful attention to these factors in order to prevent further socioeconomic disadvantage and health problems. Furthermore having a society comprised of large numbers of people lacking in high school education sets the foundations for an ill-prepared workforce, limiting individual potential for young people to successfully transition into maturity and care for themselves and their families (Smith & Thomson, 2014).

Current adolescent health research reveals that AE students have been found to have higher level of mental health needs compared to mainstream secondary students (Clark et al., 2010; Johnson & Taliaferro, 2012). More importantly studies have shown that the mental health needs of AE students are largely unmet (De Jong, & Griffiths, 2006; Roberson, 2015). Unmet health needs in youth can lead to academic failure, family disruption, offending and antisocial behaviour, often continuing cycles of difficulty in the young person's life. Hackett, Aslam, and Theodosiou's (2011) research investigated the mental health needs of AE students in the UK, revealing that many AE students exhibited conduct disorderly behavior. They hypothesized many pupils were inappropriately channeled to AE schools rather than mental health services. This research signifies the importance of adequate social services, mental health support for AE students, and indicating earlier intervention windows that may be identified while students are in mainstream education.

AE in New Zealand has been developed over the last 21 years, as a response to school, family and community concerns over the growing numbers of students being excluded from mainstream education with few educational options (Denny, Clark, & Watson, 2004). Currently, students are enrolled in AE between the ages of 13 to 15, years 9 to 11. There are approximately 3500 AE places nationally amounting to 1.6% of the student population for that age bracket. Places are distributed across the country according to greatest need. The Ministry of Education does not seek to create an alternative educational environment to mainstream

education, and students are only offered places at AE schools if all other avenues have been exhausted. Often, by the time these children arrive at AE, they have a range of negative experiences with mainstream education and disruption to their learning.

Research methods

The research was completed in two phases. Participants in phase one were students who identified as Māori and were aged between 14-16. They were 6 male students who attended three separate AE providers, with time spent in AE ranging from 1 term to 2 years. These rangatahi Māori had attended between 3 and 6 schools, most had lived in urban areas all their life, with one participant having lived in a rural township. They had between 1 and 10 siblings in their whānau (family).

During phase one, rangatahi Māori completed a semi-structured interview to explore their perspectives of their wellbeing. They were then asked to take photographs of items representing their wellbeing needs, followed by another interview two weeks later to discuss the stories underpinning the photographs. The photographs were utilized as an ancillary tool to the second interview. Data collected during the interviews provided insights into how adolescent Māori attending AE view their wellbeing needs and explored a range of topics in relation to wellbeing such as school, whānau and home, physical wellbeing, alcohol and drugs, culture, relationships, belonging in the community, and emotional wellbeing.

Participants in phase two were eight tutors that worked in the AE units involved in phase one of the project. Tutors were culturally diverse; some had only been working in AE for a few months while others had been working in AE for several years. Most came from youth worker backgrounds, two were provisionally registered teachers, and one was a registered teacher. These tutors participated in two focus group discussions with the researcher. In the first focus group, tutors were presented with hypothetical case studies of rangatahi Māori in AE, with topics based on findings from phase one. In the second focus group, the tutors were asked to discuss their own experiences and perspectives of rangatahi Māori wellbeing needs in AE, to gain a broader understanding of these views and the context in which they sat.

Perspectives of Rangatahi wellbeing needs in Alternative Education

The research findings will be presented in the following section in three main categories. Firstly, *Whānau* acknowledges the importance of family to rangatahi Māori wellbeing. Secondly *Education* demonstrates wellbeing needs of rangatahi Māori in both mainstream and AE environments. Thirdly, *Resilience, Independence and Self-determination* shows how rangatahi Māori make decisions for themselves and can empowered by those around them to be independent and self-determining.

Whānau

The family system that rangatahi Māori are embedded within can be understood as a vital part of the context in which their wellbeing can be embraced and enhanced. The concept of family wellbeing is not separate from individual wellbeing from a Māori perspective as the health of an individual is reflective in the health of the family. Wellbeing models such as Te Whare Tapa Wha (Durie, 1985) and Te Wheke (Pere, 1982) conceptualise the health of the family as a core component, integral to all areas of Māori wellbeing. This next section explores research findings of wellbeing in relation to rangatahi Māori and their whānau.

The value of whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga is the value of family, kinship and oneness. Rangatahi participants in the study were also observed to experience and value whānaungatanga in their everyday experiences through their shared group experiences, passing of knowledge, and roles they played within their whānau. Rangatahi Māori who had younger family members such as younger siblings or nephews or nieces valued their time with them, strengthening the position that tuakana-teina relationship structures continue to operate for these rangatahi. Within the Māori concept of whānau, extended family members are viewed inclusively

as immediate family members. Findings supported evidence of flourishing relationships within whānau, in particular rangatahi Māori felt close to their mothers.

Rangatahi Māori also experienced challenges within their whānau relationships. Challenges were viewed in the relationships of Rangatahi such as navigating two households where parents had separated, having only one available parent or economic stressors impacting the availability of parents. Challenges that created further distance between rangatahi Māori relationships with their fathers included incarceration, long work hours, living outside the family home and difficulties in resolving points of conflict. Some whānau have limited support structures and inaccessibility to wider whānau resources which can perpetuate strain and pressure when facing external stressors. Despite changes in traditional Māori social structures whānaungatanga continues to exist in the everyday life of these rangatahi. When in effect, nurturing relationships through tuakana-teina roles, whānau structural patterns and whānaungatanga, provide a ready-made network of relationships to support rangatahi in their development of healthy wellbeing.

Māoritanga (Māori way of life) and Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge)

Whānau provided a potential base for developing a connection with Māoritanga transferring mātauranga Māori. Through the connection with whānau members, rangatahi identified a sense of belonging or yearning to explore their ancestry. For some, there was an absence of connection with hapu, iwi, and their marae, but these aspects of Māori culture were still viewed as places of importance for rangatahi Māori. Identifying with their cultural heritage and Māoritanga was meaningful despite differences in accessibility. From a holistic Māori wellbeing standpoint, developing further sites of belonging and supporting rangatahi connection with Māoritanga and mātauranga Māori would advantage the development of identity and support wellbeing.

Spending time with whānau

Whānau health was observed in my research through the many enjoyable experiences shared by rangatahi Māori that provided feelings of happiness, belonging and meaningfulness. These findings were supportive of Māori models of wellbeing where aspects of family wellbeing were visible in the overall wellbeing of rangatahi. The stories of rangatahi revealed manaakitanga (kindness, generosity, support) was often shown to them through time spent together with whānau and occurred in a wide variety of ways. Some rangatahi travelled to rural destinations over holiday periods to stay with aunts or uncles who showed manaakitanga by providing hunting, fishing and motorbike activities. Others who were less mobile found simple activities such as skateboarding with a sibling as a meaningful way to develop their bond as demonstrated in the extracts below:

Researcher: What makes you feel connected to your whānau?

Ethan: Oh probably like the love aye. We're a close family.... we go out and do things as a family...things like, like if we're all at home on a Saturday doing nothing and then out of nowhere someone will say should we all go beach? And we all off.

Kahu: We go out every weekend like with the whole family. We normally go beach and that. But yesterday we went to the beach and there was like jelly fish in the water and we didn't even see them. And then me my sister and my little brother we jumped in and swam out to the pontoon, and we hopped up on the pontoon and we saw all these jelly fish.

Whānau as Kaitiakitanga (providing guardianship)

Whānau acted as kaitiaki through sharing their own experiences whether positive or negative to help guide rangatahi. Whānau could also enable unhealthy behaviours or expose rangatahi to potential wellbeing threats. The influence of whānau affected rangatahi in their decisions around physical health, alcohol and drugs and the way they managed emotional difficulties. Findings reveal the importance of meaningful relationships with whānau could promote messages around setting limits and safety with alcohol. Findings also showed some whānau members provided free access to alcohol for rangatahi and influenced unhealthy

choices. In the overall accounts of rangatahi Māori, whānau were a source of support and emotional comfort. Whānau support was described as those closest to them offering guidance and support, wanting them to succeed in life, warning of challenges they may face, promoting values of kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga, and encouraging them to take positive paths to their future.



Figure 1. Tama visiting his older sister in Wellington

Education

The following segment, presents and discusses the interview conversations of the rangatahi and AE Tutors. These stories offer themes that can provide insight into the wellbeing needs of rangatahi within education environments.

Loneliness in mainstream

Mokemoke, the experience of loneliness and isolation, was one of the common strands identified among the rangatahi in their korero (conversations) about their feelings relating to attending a mainstream school. They believed they were permanently labelled as problematic. Tama describes his feelings about his mainstream schooling experiences below:

Tama: I didn't like it. They cared more about their uniform than they did about the education to be honest. Then sometimes they'll be unfair, and sometimes they wouldn't speak the truth about me.

Researcher: How did that make you feel?

Tama: I felt like I was treated differently. I felt like they were giving me more than what I was being deserved

A prominent thread throughout the rangatahi experiences in mainstream education settings revealed some negative perceptions they held of their teachers. Other factors such as level of noise, large classroom sizes, and the many different classes undertaken with different teachers also were perceived by rangatahi as detrimental to their ability to concentrate, participate and learn, and develop a sense of belonging. These systemic factors also may have contributed to the perception held by most of the rangatahi in this study, that their teachers had little or no time for them. Rangatahi also spoke of the large isolating environment of mainstream education and how it impacted them socially:

Dean: 'Cause I think High Schools are different because there are so many people and they kind of get into their own groups, and if you don't know anyone you're kind of alone. Like alone but with heaps of people. Which is weird, but yeah.

Pathways to AE

After leaving mainstream education most rangatahi Māori either spent long periods of time at home, or attempted to enrol in another high school, or both. Unfortunately, some of the rangatahi Māori lost months disengaged from learning leading to feelings of isolation and boredom before finding an AE option. 'Behavioural issues' and/or 'low attendance' were cited as the reasons for these young Māori learners' exit from state schooling without qualifications. These findings align with the typical pathways of AE students in Aotearoa New Zealand (Brooking, Gardiner & Calvert, 2009; Clark et al., 2010). The AE tutors confirmed much of rangatahi Māori experiences of mainstream education and how these led into AE. They also spoke of enrolled AE students supporting their friends/relatives into their unit and providing them with a welcoming network of learners. However, this practice was perceived as making the AE environment difficult for fostering a culture of learning and discipline, possibly due to groups of students being close friends and who had previously got in trouble together.

Creating a safe place in AE

Tutors shared their stories of establishing consistent boundaries and classroom practices, that when put in place gave students a safe environment and certainty. The meaning they attributed to these actions was to create an environment conducive for optimal engagement and learning in the classroom as well as providing students with a feeling of safety within themselves and with each other. Tutors spoke of creating a classroom culture that was pre-established with the arrival of new students, so expectations were already in place. The classroom culture was described as giving students a sense of belonging they can walk into. Tutors emphasised the importance of consistency in setting boundaries and in their own behaviours as role models. The rangatahi Māori and the tutors likened their interpersonal relationships in the classroom to a whānau. In the following interview segment Dean and Tutor Tahi share their thoughts about how whānau is established creating the culture of the classroom.

Tutor Tahi: ... make them feel welcome. We highlight that when we have new students start here that they all have to treat each other with respect because every child deserves a chance and they deserve to feel welcome. We look at ourselves as a family and look out for each other. You know how silly they get at that age, but we don't encourage that sort of thing. We want this to be their safe place, and we want them all to have the same start. They can figure out on their own and not have pressure from the other kids, making them feel uncomfortable.

Dean: Like if someone was hurt, we'd help or if someone was in trouble, we'd all like stick together pretty much. Like a family which is cool.

Meeting Basic Needs

The collective stories of the tutors and rangatahi Māori demonstrate the importance of having basic needs met in order to sustain engagement and learning. The tutors identified Maslow's (1954) Hierarchy of Needs as being relevant to rangatahi Māori in AE and the importance of having their basic needs met. They discussed how many of the students in AE did not have their basic needs adequately met which negatively impacted on their learning and engagement. Some issues were somewhat mitigated through transport assistance to and from the AE organisation, and some provision of kai (food) during the day. The tutors' stories revealed the high levels of effort put in place to focus on the needs of the students to develop engagement. Practices such as playing sports in the afternoon after lunch when concentration levels are low, networking with providers in the community that can offer extra-curricular activities and thinking about the individual behavioural and emotional needs of each student required consistent, attentive work. Tutors utilised their networks with external support services to engage students through their individual interests and rangatahi Māori benefited from these activities and projects. Tutors also shared stories of tending to the emotional needs of students and how this can often be neglected in the enrolment information. The following interview segment reveals a tutor's reflections around a student's emotional and psychological needs.

Tutor Tah: You [can] misunderstand a child when they've come in and you don't know anything and they act up and you know, you automatically deal to them, and [then] you find out ... 'I am so sorry. I didn't know you had these issues.' If I had known, I think I would have been a bit different.

Tiakitanga

The tiakitanga (guardianship, caring for, protection) by the tutors over rangatahi Māori was perceived as crucial in developing quality relationships. The experiences of both the tutors and the rangatahi Māori illustrated how trust was the foundation to forming a relationship where rangatahi Māori were engaged in their environment and felt a sense of belonging. In exploring the experience aspects of trust in the quality of relationships of rangatahi Māori and their tutors, cultural awareness was identified as a prominent element. A lack of cultural awareness and competency among adults interacting with AE rangatahi could act as a barrier to rangatahi Māori accessing support. For example, one tutor noticed when external health practitioners came into AE, some students were automatically mistrustful of those who were of a different cultural background to theirs.

Tutor Rua: Yes I do see that with the Māori students... They feel like, 'Nah I'm not even going to go near you' to start off with.

'We are actually here to help you'.

'No thanks'

Resources

Resources available to AE such as funding, support services, and access to extra-curricular activities were viewed by tutors as crucial. The tutors recognise areas that could be further developed for rangatahi Māori to gain more benefits. In exploring the tutors' ideas for addressing the wellbeing needs of rangatahi Māori in AE, mentoring arose as a likely beneficial resource. Although the potential for mentoring was discussed by the tutors, accessing such support was difficult for a number of reasons. For example, the tutors spoke of AE students being in the 'too hard basket' for church youth groups, or the issue of organisations only picking up students if they had the funding, or not having the time to network with external organisations. A potential solution to finding available and funded mentoring organisations is to provide in-house mentoring. This was offered by one of the AE providers in the area however was not available to all providers. As illustrated in the literature there are benefits of school-based mentoring such as matching mentors with mentees (Simoes, 2014), establishing longer mentoring relationships (Grossman et al., 2012), and more frequent and consistent meetings (Deutsch & Spencer, 2009). In this context teachers can have



Figure 2. AE students playing cards with their tutors at break time

the double role of being teacher and mentor to students in the school. However, this solution did not appear practical when applied to AE tutors as their time was already viewed as extremely stretched in their current role. The tutors saw potential possibilities for strengthening the bridge between high school and AE. They recognised some rangatahi Māori had the desire to be involved in and playing in a sports team but were unable to because they belonged to AE. AE students still fell under the overarching umbrella of a mainstream high school, however, were not able to collaborate in areas such as sport.

Resilience, Independence and Self-determination

When rangatahi Māori are able to act independently and be self-determining their wellbeing needs are optimally supported. The following segment reveals findings exploring the resilience, independence and self-determination of rangatahi Māori.

Resilience and adaptability

Rangatahi Māori demonstrated their ability to adapt in difficult circumstances and find solutions to persevere, particularly in the neighbourhoods near their AE centres where stories of fighting and aggression were familiar. The majority of rangatahi Māori who participated in this study, reported they did not feel safe in their community and frequently shared stories of aggression. Although positive aspects of their community were identified such as it was familiar, whānau members inhabited the area, and there were other people they knew in their neighbourhood, they still felt the need to protect themselves or be alert for potential dangers. Most of the stories shared by rangatahi Māori reflected fighting and aggression as a necessity or expectation amongst youth in the community. Understanding rangatahi Māori adaptability is a way of perceiving their capacity to respond to uncertain and changing circumstances, conditions and situations. Having the capacity to adapt in the face of environmental challenges can be viewed as a core component of resilience. Notable was the resilience shown by rangatahi Māori in responding to threatening and dangerous situations. Rangatahi Māori chose different pathways in their responses, either by responding themselves to aggressive situations or avoiding places they could be possibly targeted or seen as 'troublemakers'.

Resilience and cohesiveness

Relationships were an important aspect of resilience and rangatahi Māori experiences of cohesiveness. Whānau offered a source of aroha (love), manaakitanga and happiness that strengthened their connection with rangatahi Māori. Whānau appeared to promote resilience through offering emotional support, the strong bonds established with rangatahi Māori and spending time together. Whānau was found to act as a cohesive support system for some rangatahi Māori that directly assisted them through managing emotional difficulty, this is demonstrated in the extract below:

Researcher: If you had a problem who would you go to?
Kahu: Ahh someone close to me, yea I'd talk to them about it.
Researcher: Yea, so you feel like you can talk to the people close to you in your life?
Kahu: Yea cos um...my best friend died. Passed.
Researcher: Where were you when you found out what had happened?
Kahu: Um, I was at home. My sister found out first on facebook. Cos his sister posted it on facebook. And yea but I couldn't believe it. He was like a happy boy and yea.
Researcher: That must of been really hard. How did that make you feel?
Kahu: Um sad like but yea its all good.
Researcher: What got you through that?
Kahu: Um? Just support from family friends and that.

Girlfriends could act as a major component of rangatahi Māori support systems. When functioning positively they were a source of comfort, care, encouragement to stay in school and reduce health risk behaviours such as drug and alcohol use. Although romantic relationships could be beneficial, they could also be a place of conflict and a catalyst for emotional turmoil for rangatahi Māori in the study. Adolescent relationships, as with any other poorly functioning relationship, can act as either a resilience or risk factor. When relationships with whānau, tutors, peers and girlfriends remained consistent and positive rangatahi Māori were able to have a functioning support system wrapped around them. These support systems assisted in adverse situations and in addressing their own high-risk behaviours.

Independence

Throughout the stories of rangatahi Māori, there were common themes of managing emotions independently. As discussed previously rangatahi Māori also reached out to significant whānau members in times of need and when experiencing emotional difficulties. However, the majority of rangatahi Māori, also managed heightened emotions independently. Cigarettes, marijuana and spending time alone were ways rangatahi Māori described problem solving and attempting to manage unwanted emotions. As demonstrated in the extract below Tama had used marijuana to manage emotions of boredom and anger. Marijuana was used to commonly manage anger and/or low moods amongst rangatahi Māori who smoked.

Tama: Happy, that's the only thing that can make me happy.

Researcher: So if you're not smoking it how do you feel?

Tama: Angry and bored, weed just puts me in a happy place. It makes me feel like I don't have to worry about all the bad stuff. Yea. It just makes me think about stuff that makes me happy.

Rangatahi Māori also demonstrated responsibility and assertiveness in emotional management. Several rangatahi Māori shared stories of how they removed themselves from anger triggers in order to calm down and think the situation through. This was particularly the case with anger as demonstrated in the extracts below:

Researcher: Can anything calm you down when you are feeling angry?

Kahu: Yea I just go to my room and just calm down in there. Yea cos it's my own area and that.

Researcher: What happens when you get angry what do you do?

Rawiri: I just walk off and try to calm myself down

Seeking personal relationships with peers

Rangatahi Māori in the present study shared stories of their independent personal relationships with peers. Some rangatahi Māori chose to socialise with friends they had made through course, mainstream school or through other friends, while some only socialised within their whānau (e.g. with cousins and siblings). All rangatahi Māori in the study shared stories of their independent development and continuation of personal relationships and the importance this had on their wellbeing.

Mahi Tahi (working together as one)

When rangatahi Māori are thriving, they can be viewed as part of a healthy wider system working as one. Mahi Tahi is a term that has been used to illustrate the unity of people working towards a common purpose in a 'hands-on' fashion (Berryman, 2014). When schools, services and the community come together to work together collaboratively, rangatahi are well supported. Some rangatahi Māori study spoke of community projects that had been meaningful to them and allowed them to grow. They were able to act independently within these projects and gain a greater sense of connection to their community and ownership. The support and collaboration between AE and community providers demonstrated the positive affect of mahi tahi. When rangatahi are able to have positive experiences that connect them with the community they have opportunities to develop their strengths and increase confidence and independence.

Self-determination

Rangatahi Māori in the present study highlighted their self-determination through the stories they shared, revealing their personal choices and decision-making processes and subsequent actions. They demonstrated their own self-determining in an array of healthy choices, particularly those who were invested in achieving academically in AE and those who avoided illegal

activity despite pressure from others around them. Throughout their journey from mainstream education and into AE, rangatahi have demonstrated their ability to be resilient, independent and in some experiences self-determining. These findings show rangatahi have the capacity to make healthy choices that support their wellbeing and self-determination.

Recommendations

This study has provided important insights into how rangatahi in AE view their wellbeing, tutor perspectives of rangatahi wellbeing and an overall picture of rangatahi wellbeing needs. It accomplished this, firstly, by highlighting how important it is for rangatahi to feel connected. When connected, rangatahi are able to develop relationships that enhance wellbeing. These include relationships with whānau, relationships with their cultural heritage, school, tutors and social support networks. Rangatahi need to have positive connections with the people in their life and



Figure 3. AE students recording music as part of a project in the community

their environment to best support their wellbeing. When these connections are healthy and functioning, rangatahi are able to thrive. Through their journey of mainstream education, disenfranchisement and into AE settings, rangatahi experience a process of disconnection and reconnection, with their relationships with AE tutors being essential. It is through their relationships that they are able to connect with their family, school and others. Therefore, the sense of connection rangatahi have to the people in their lives and their surroundings provides a foundation for fulfilling their wellbeing needs.

Secondly, findings revealed that tutors held congruent views of the wellbeing needs of rangatahi, and perceived connection with rangatahi and their whānau as highly important to rangatahi wellbeing. Tutors identified the main wellbeing need for rangatahi coming into AE was to form a connection with them. This was facilitated by creating a whānau environment within the AE setting. Findings supported the idea that a whānau environment promoted school engagement. Once a connection with rangatahi was established tutors placed importance on connecting rangatahi with the outer world such as outside support and resources. Tutor specific findings highlighted areas to further enhance the relationship and connection between mainstream high schools, community projects, and increasing rangatahi access to extra-curricular activities and mentorship.

Thirdly, this research has reflected how, when rangatahi are thriving, they can be viewed as part of a healthy wider social ecosystem. Rangatahi would benefit from supportive social networks in their urban environments such as their school, support services and the wider community which can be likened to the Māori tribal structures of whānau, hapu, iwi network. Both rangatahi and tutor findings demonstrated the advantage of providing rangatahi in AE with a whānau environment and extending social support networks into the wider community. Rangatahi prosper when the people around them are working collaboratively (mahi tahi) to support them and create environments where they can achieve optimal wellbeing outcomes. When individuals, whānau, schools and the wider community place value on building networks, this leads to a sense of wellbeing and greater quality of life for our young people (Gilchrist, 2009).

References

- Ahrens, J., Evans, R., & Barnett, R. (1990). Factors Related to Dropping out of school in an incarcerated population. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, (50), 611–617. Retrieved from 10.1177/0013164490503017.
- Amin, V., Behrman, J. R., & Spector, T. D. (2013). Does more schooling improve health outcomes and health related behaviors? Evidence from U.K. twins. *Economics of Education Review*, 35, 134–148. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2013.04.004>
- Berryman, M., & Ford, T. (2014). *Connecting with Māori Communities: Whānau, Hapū and Iwi*. Ministry of Education. Retrieved from https://kep.org.nz/assets/resources/site/module8-v20a-up-16Apr15-w-image_5Jan16.pdf
- Brooking, K., Gardiner, B., & Calvert, S. (2009). *Background of Students in Alternative Education: Interviews with a selected 2008 cohort*. Ministry of Education. Retrieved from <https://www.nzcer.org.nz/research/publications/background-students-alternative-education-interviews-selected-2008-cohort>
- Clark, T., Smith, J., Raphael, D., Dixon, R., Ameratunga, S., Robinson, E., & Jackson, C. (2010). *Youth '09 : The Health and Wellbeing of Young People in Alternative Education*. The University of Auckland, Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences. Retrieved from <https://www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/assets/fmhs/faculty/ahrg/docs/2010ae-report.pdf>
- De Jong, T., & Griffiths, C. (2006). The Role of Alternative Education Programs in Meeting the Needs of Adolescent Students with Challenging Behaviour: Characteristics of Best Practice. *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 16(1), 29–40. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1375/ajgc.16.1.29>.
- Denny, S., Clark, T., Fleming, T., & Wall, M. (2004). Emotional Resilience: Risk and Protective Factors for Depression Among Alternative Education Students in New Zealand. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 74 (2), 137-149.
- Deutsch, N. L., & Spencer, N. (2009). Capturing the magic: Assessing the quality of youth mentoring relationships. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 121, 47–70.
- Durie, M. (1985). A Māori Perspective of Health. *Social Science and Medicine*, 20(5), 483–486.
- Ewert, S., Sykes, B., & Pettitt, B. (2014). The degree of disadvantage: Incarceration and inequality in education. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 65(1), 24–43. <http://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/10.1177/0002716213503100>
- Gable, R. A., Bullock, L. M., & Evans, W. H. (2006). Changing Perspectives on Alternative Schooling for Children and Adolescents With Challenging Behavior. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth*, 51(1), 5–9. <http://doi.org/10.3200/PSFL.51.1.5-9>
- Gilchrist A (2009) *The well-connected community: a networking approach to community development*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Grossman, J. B., Chan, C. S., Schwartz, S. E. O., & Rhodes, J. E. (2012). The test of time in SBM: The role of relationship duration and re-matching on academic outcomes. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 49(1), 43–54.
- Hackett, L., Aslam, N., & Theodosiou, L. (2011). Understanding the mental health needs of older adolescents with behavioural disorders. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 30, 1205–1208. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2011.10.234>
- Johnson, K. E., & Taliaferro, L. A. (2012). Health behaviors and mental health of students attending alternative high schools: A review of the research literature. *Journal for Specialists in Pediatric Nursing*, 17(2), 79–97. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6155.2011.00311.x>
- Maslow, A. (1954) *Motivation and personality*. Harper and Row: New York.
- Olcott, L., Knife, F. S., Family, R., & Out, T. M. W. (2010). Where Do (Some) Dropouts Go ? *Phi Delta Kappan*, (4), 80.
- Pere, R. (1982). *Ako: Concepts and learning in Māori Tradition*. Hamilton: Department of Sociology, University of Waikato.
- Roberson, L. (2015). *Perceptions of Educators Regarding the Effectiveness of Alternative Programs in a Southern State*. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Nova Southeastern University.
- Sánchez, B., Colón, Y., & Esparza, P. (2005). The role of school belonging and gender in the academic adjustment of Latino adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 34, 619–628. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-005-8950-4>
- Simoes, F., & Alarcao, M. (2014). Teachers as School-Based Mentors for At-Risk Students: A Qualitative Study. *Child Youth Care Forum*, 43, 113-133.
- Slaten, C., Irby, D., Tate, K., Rivera, R. (2015). Towards a Critically Conscious Approach to Social and Emotional Learning in Urban Alternative Education: School Staff Members' Perspectives. *Journal for Social Action in Counseling and Psychology*, 7(1), 41-62.
- Smith, A., & Thomson, M. M. (2014). Alternative education programmes: synthesis and psychological perspectives. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 30(2), 111–119. <http://doi.org/10.1080/02667363.2014.891101>