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Thriving Rangatahi

A review of protective & risk factors

Vodafone New Zealand Foundation

CENTRE for SOCIAL IMPACT

Vodafone New Zealand Foundation

Contents

Ngā mihi - Acknowledgements

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Executive Summary

Overview

The Vodafone New Zealand Foundation (VFNZ) has a vision to see all young people in Aotearoa, New Zealand living lives they value and having access to the resources they need to thrive. To support this vision VFNZ has developed a strategic goal to halve the number of excluded and disadvantaged young people in Aotearoa New Zealand by 2027. To achieve this goal, VFNZ is developing an impact model for use by the philanthropic and community sectors that seeks to identify strategic levers of change with the greatest potential to enhance protective factors and address risk factors for this population group. This report presents findings from a literature review undertaken to identify protective and risk factors which will support the development of the impact model.

Protective factors are resources, people, skills and circumstances that can support young people to be more resilient to risk factors and/or positively enhance their life outcomes. Conversely, risk factors are understood as conditions, experiences or circumstances that have a negative impact on a young person's wellbeing, development and future life outcomes.,

To meet the scope of this work, this review sought to identify and prioritise recent literature with relevance to the Aotearoa New Zealand context. Where feasible, literature that privileges the voices of young people was also prioritised.

Protective and risk factors were identified using a framework that provides a holistic understanding of excluded and disadvantaged young people's lived experience. The framework considered multiple interconnected dimensions – including health, safety, education, housing, employment, income, cultural identity, social connections, the environment, civic participation, resilience and leisure and recreation. These dimensions align with established frameworks of wellbeing, including the Living Standards Framework and the Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy which will drive systems and policies affecting young people in the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

To support the philanthropic sector, including VFNZ, in considering the full possibilities of its role as a change agent, protective and risk factors were considered at an individual, whānau and community and structural level.

High level findings

- There are a broad range of factors that can make young people less or more likely to experience barriers to inclusion (**exclusion)** from full and equitable participation in education, employment, communities and society, and **disadvantage** in relation to future life outcomes as adults.
- Both the local and international literature in this review describe protective and risk factors that are experienced across the life course and result in exclusion and disadvantage during this life course, inclusive of the 12-24 age range of priority focus for VFNZ.
- Protective factors can support young people to cope with adversity and be less susceptible to risk factors.

- Young people are at greater risk of becoming or remaining excluded and disadvantaged when they experience: risk factors early and over sustained periods of time; multiple risk factors; and when risk factors experienced are exacerbated by wider structural issues.

- Risk factors are not a full-proof predictor of outcomes. Some young people may experience one or many risk factors, but not experience disadvantage or exclusion. Some young people may be exposed to few risk factors but still experience poor outcomes.

- The earlier a risk can be addressed, the more likely it is that youth can overcome barriers and experience positive outcomes.

- A summary of these protective and risk factors is provided on pages 38-40.

Key themes and considerations for philanthropic funders

1. **Engagement in positive life opportunities is an important protective factor**. This includes equitable opportunities for young people to participate in: education; employment; leisure, recreation, and civic activities that build skills, connections, resilience and self-efficacy; environments that are responsive to and support cultural identity and enhance wellbeing in alignment with that identity.

   To reduce the number of excluded and disadvantaged young people, consideration should be given to investing in mechanisms for providing at-risk young people with equitable access to life opportunities. This may be achieved through direct investment in programmes and services, as well as through systems-approaches to addressing the underlying structural inequalities that reduce life opportunities.

2. **Protective and risk factors are experienced from pre-birth.** A young person's experiences in early life have a significant impact on their outcomes during adolescence and into adulthood – both in relation to protective and risk factors. Considering opportunities to promote protective factors and address risk factors for children and young people before the age of 12 years is a significant strategic opportunity with potential for impact on the number and long-term pipeline of excluded and disadvantaged young people in Aotearoa New Zealand.

3. **Risks are perpetuated through intergenerational disadvantage.** Young people are at increased risk of exclusion and disadvantage when they experience risk through family circumstances. Young people who have lived experience of family violence, suicide, incarceration, welfare etc. are more vulnerable to these risks.

   When young people become young parents, particularly aged 18 or below, the cycle of risk and disadvantage is often continued. Addressing exclusion and disadvantage of young parents, from pre-birth through the early childhood of their own children, represents a strategic opportunity for VFNZ to prioritise early intervention whilst retaining a focus on young people aged 12-24 years *and* interrupting the ongoing cycle of exclusion and disadvantage.

4. **Education, employment and implications of the future of work.** There are strong links between outcomes in education, employment, income and mobility into and out of exclusion and disadvantage. The most effective responses will require philanthropic funders to engage with all these aspects of a young person's life, in ways that will enhance interconnected positive opportunities and outcomes.

A key concern for the immediate future, and over the 10-year VFNZ strategy, will be the changing nature of work and the implications for education and youth employment. The challenges around the future of work – such as globalisation, automation and the loss of entry level jobs – have potential to exacerbate the existing inequalities for excluded and disadvantaged young people. Addressing these risks should be an area of strategic concern for philanthropic funders and will involve looking at gaps in the current education system and future-focused opportunities to support youth transitions to employment.

5. **The importance of addressing underlying structural inequalities.** Structural inequalities create risk for young people by affecting the family and community context in which they live, and their ability to participate equitably in systems of education, employment, health and civic society.

   In Aotearoa New Zealand, and for indigenous youth internationally, literature identifies the impact of colonisation as a significant driver of structural inequalities. Intergenerational trauma and disadvantage, and ongoing racial bias, discrimination and the privileging of western world views and systems disadvantage and exclude Māori and Pacific young people. Addressing these structural inequalities within existing systems is an important strategic opportunity for the philanthropic sector. Activating this will require a deep focus on the philanthropic sector's ability to embed culturally responsive practice, respond effectively to the aspirations of rangatahi Māori, and operate as an effective Treaty partner.

1 Introduction

1.1 Purpose of this Review

In 2017, the Vodafone New Zealand Foundation (VFNZ) launched an ambitious new strategy with a goal to halve the number of excluded and disadvantaged young people in Aotearoa New Zealand by 2027. To support the implementation of this strategy, VFNZ is seeking to develop an impact model, which will be shared with the philanthropic sector. The impact model intends to:

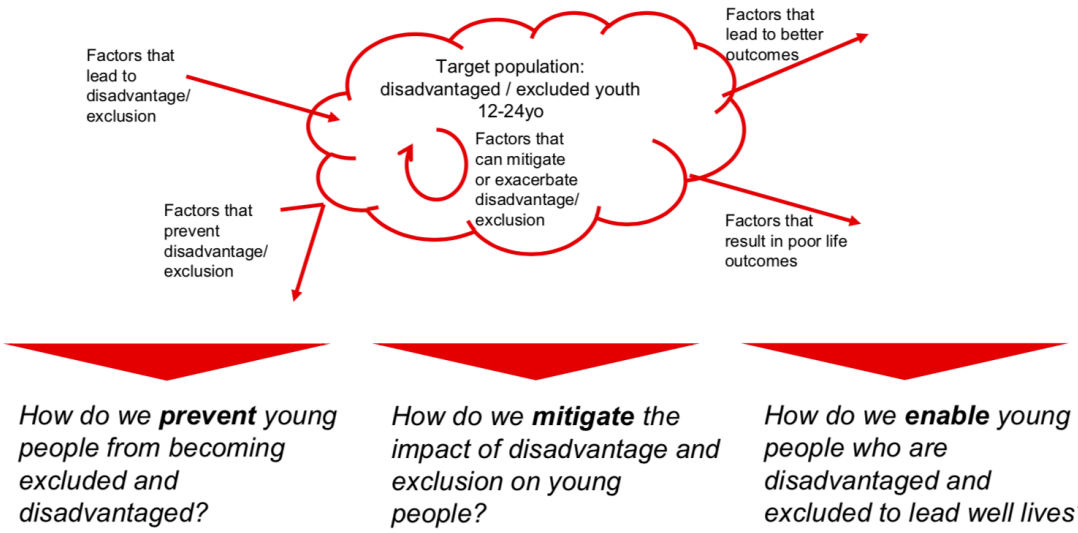
1. **Define the criteria** under which young people can be considered to be 'excluded and disadvantaged'. This requires an understanding of the **protective** and **risk factors** that influence whether young people move into and out of this category of young people

2. Identify **key levers of change** that have the greatest potential to generate positive change for young people – both at an individual and systems level. This requires an understanding the ecosystem of providers, policies and approaches that influence outcomes for young people

3. Identify **where and how philanthropic funders can have the greatest impact and influence** – i.e. where to focus, who to partner with, and how to best utilise its unique resources

4. Design and utilise a **data visualisation tool** to track and measure change over time, and support philanthropic funder to understand how they are contributing to these changes.

Through this impact model, VFNZ and other philanthropic funders will be well positioned to direct resources in ways that have the greatest potential to deliver on this strategic goal. VFNZ and other philanthropic funders will also be able to track and understand impact through effective use of internal and external data.



This evidence review supports the identification of protective and risk factors that prevent or lead to young people from becoming excluded or disadvantaged.

1.2 Principles of this Review

A series of principles were developed by the Centre for Social Impact (CSI) in this review of protective and risk factors. Where feasible, literature was sought that:

- Privileges the voices and experiences of young people
- Describes protective and risk factors relevant to young people in Aotearoa New Zealand, with further priority given to identifying literature that describes evidence in relation to Māori and Pacific young people
- Provides supplementary insights from international evidence where appropriate; particularly when related to the enhancement of life opportunities for indigenous young people
- Pays close attention to structural and historical factors that contribute to risk and protective factors for young people
- Provides insights in relation to the overall conceptual model of this research (see below), which places young people at the centre, within the context of their whānau/family, community and broader structural factors
- Presents findings from recent literature (2017-present), supplemented by other established research has also been included where relevant to the context of this review.

1.3 Definitions

Excluded and Disadvantaged Young People

For the purposes of this review, the term 'excluded and disadvantaged' young people' describes those young people who:

- Are aged 12-24 years
- have had interactions with Police and the justice system
- have had interactions with care and protection
- have experienced disengagement from the education system, from early childhood to 18 years of age
- have experienced engagement with the benefits system and disengagement with employment
- And who live in communities where population level indicators of material hardship are evident in a young person's household, family/whānau and community of residence.[1]

These considerations have been identified based on indicators within Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI) datasets.

[1] Based on definition developed by Nicholson Consulting, 2019.

It is anticipated that these considerations will form an overall definition of excluded and disadvantaged young people, which may further evolve over time based on evidence and data – including the findings from this and other reports currently under development.

Protective Factors

Protective factors are resources, people, relationships, skills, traits, strategies and wider environmental factors that can influence the wellbeing, development and life outcomes of a young person.

Protective factors can enhance life opportunities and create positive conditions in which young people can thrive. They can also help to mitigate risks by enabling young people to develop skills, connections and strategies that allow them to be more resilient against issues that may threaten their immediate or long-term wellbeing and development.

Risk Factors

Risk factors describe conditions, experiences or circumstances that may have a negative effect on a young person's wellbeing, development and life outcomes. The presence of multiple risk factors increases the likelihood of a young person experiencing challenges to their health, development and future wellbeing (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002).

Risk factors may be experienced during pre-birth or childhood and impact on a young person's future life outcomes. As a young person reaches adolescence, they may continue to be exposed to experiences or conditions that place them at risk of poor long-term outcomes as they transition to adulthood.

1.4 Evidence Review – Framework

A conceptual framework (Diagram 1) has been developed by CSI to present findings from the evidence reviews in a way that meets the above described principles. The framework is designed to demonstrate that:

- Young people exist within the context of their peers, family/whānau, community and a wider socio-political context
- Young people engage directly and indirectly with the wider socio-political context through key systems, such as the education system or justice system
- There are structural, political and historical factors within these systems that may exacerbate risk or protective factors for young people.

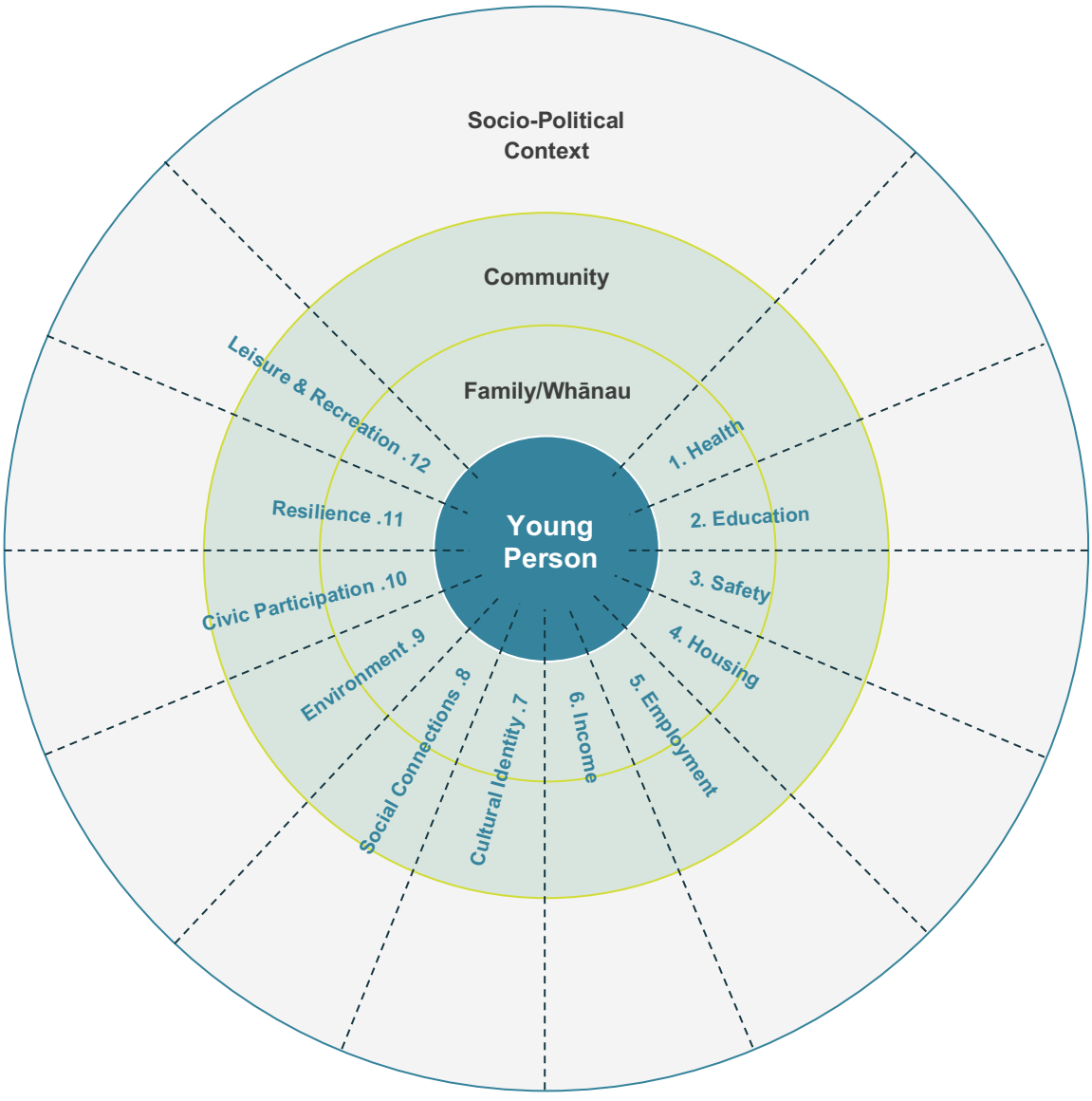
Across these three levels (individual, whānau/community, socio-political), the framework considers 12 domains or high-level factors that can be considered to influence outcomes for all young people, including those that are, or are at-risk of being, excluded and disadvantaged:

1. Health
2. Education
3. Safety (with a particular focus on youth justice)
4. Housing

5. Employment
6. Income
7. Cultural identity
8. Social connections
9. Environment
10. Civic participation
11. Resilience
12. Leisure and recreation

These domains have been developed to align with emergent wellbeing frameworks in use in Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly the Living Standards Framework (The Treasury, n.d.), the Wellbeing Measurement Approach (Social Investment Agency, 2018), and the Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2019). For the purposes of this review, some of the language and concepts of the domain have been adapted to increase their relevance to young people.

Diagram 1



In the sections below, priority protective and risk factors are identified based on research findings. Where practical, these findings are outlined as issues at the individual level, issues within the family/whānau or community context, or wider structural factors (social, political, historical issues) that young people may experience.

Key:

Context	**Individual Level** 	**Whānau/Community** 	**Socio-Political** 
Factors	***Protective Factors*** 	***Risk Factors*** 	

Information is presented as summative statements in order to make findings from the literature as relevant and accessible as possible.

1.5 Limitations

There are some gaps in the findings presented in this report, where the authors were not able to find suitable reference literature. Where reference material could not be found, this was due to:

- A lack of alignment to the intentions of this work and VFNZ's focus on excluded and disadvantaged young people aged 12-24 years
- A lack of alignment to the conceptual framework domains
- Limitations of time to find relevant reference materials across the broad scope of issues concerned.

Much of the literature that exists with a specific focus on protective and risk factors relates to children and young people, including those under 12 years. Although children under 12 years are not within the scope of VFNZ's focus on young people, the importance of considering the impact of protective and risk factors experienced in childhood, as well as the compounding effect of exposure to these factors during adolescence, is outlined in the findings of this report.

A further and very important consideration is the lack of literature that captures the holistic nature of young people's lived experiences. Most literature identified through this research had a single identity focus e.g., young people with a history of corrections. Whilst much of this literature acknowledges the diversity of youth identities that exist, the same literature does not always present findings that fully respond to the whole person and explore the complexity and intersectionality of lived experience informed by e.g., ethnicity, cultural identity, gender identity, sexuality, disability, life stage, and socio-economic background. It is important that these identities are not conflated with risk, but rather are

understood as factors that affect how a young person engages with and experiences systems and structures.

2 Protective and Risk Factors

2.1 Health

Individual Level

Cultural understandings of health

Indigenous young people value the connections between physical health, mental or emotional health, spiritual health and family health (Burnette & Figley, 2016).

Online access to mental health support

Young people that are experiencing physical and mental health challenges, including eating disorders, self-harm or suicidal thoughts, are able to access support information online that may otherwise be inaccessible. Online services may provide viable ways to reach young people at risk, alongside other complementary services (Utter, Lucassen, Denny, Fleming & Peiris-John 2017).

Experience of long-term health issues

Chronic illness, mental health issues, long-term disabilities or learning difficulties are common risk factors that may impact on a young person's health, development and wellbeing (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002).

Mental health risk factors

Treasury identifies mental health service use as a risk-factor for future poor outcomes. Young people aged 15-19 years with a history of school stand-downs and/or history of engagement with Child, Youth and Family are identified as being at significant risk (Treasury, 2016).

There are a large number of risk factors experienced in childhood and adolescence that can influence youth mental health. These include insecure attachment, early life traumatic experiences, material hardship, parental drug/alcohol abuse, early substance use and peer rejection (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2009; Burnette & Figley,2016).

Early engagement with mental health and/or drug and addiction services is a risk factor for future poor outcomes. Early engagement is more likely for young people that have a family history of mental illness or addiction, have experienced abuse or neglect, and are disengaged from school (Families Commission, 2012).

Individual Level

Suicide risk factors

Aotearoa New Zealand has the highest rate of youth suicide in the OECD (Ministry of Social Development, 2016). Risk factors for youth suicide include a history of depression, family violence, sexual abuse, intergenerational trauma and panic attacks.

Young people that have a family member or friend that committed suicide are also at higher risk. Experience of racism can be a risk factor for young people in Aotearoa New Zealand (Clark, Robinson, Crengle, Fleming, Ameratunga & Denny, 2011).

Suicide risk factors for Pacific youth include being female, experiencing household food insecurity, self-harm and having a family member or friend that has attempted or committed suicide (Teevale, Lee, Tiatia-Seath, Clark & Denny, 2006).

Teenage parents

Young parents – under the age of 22 years, and especially under the age of 18 – are at risk of poor outcomes. Teenage mothers are more likely to disengage from education, have low levels of education, depend on benefits and experience income deprivation (McLeod, Templeton, Ball, Tumen, Crichton & Dixon, 2015; Families Commission, 2012).

Whānau/Community

Supporting parents

Improving the ability of parents to cope with depression, stress and family conflict, and to develop positive parenting skills, can have an associated positive impact on outcomes for young people (Devenish et al., 2017).

Supporting parents and children between pre-birth and age three years has the highest positive return on investment in terms of future outcomes (Centre for Social Impact [CSI], 2015).

Rangatahi Māori value whānau as a context that supports wellbeing

Urban Māori youth value the whānau environment as important to their wellbeing. “Positive transformation for Māori is seen to turn upon the closely linked processes of whānau support, whānau healing (where necessary) and whānau development. (Durie, 2004).

The wellbeing of rangatahi Māori is crucially affected by the quality of whānau as a context for Māori youth development and the quality of whānau is the future wellbeing of the Māori population. Whānau are key sites for the intergenerational transfer of knowledge, wealth and power in Māori society and all means to strengthen and build these structures will benefit Māori and the wider community (Edward, McCreanor & Moewaka Barnes, 2007, p20).

Whānau/Community

Whānau connections reduce suicidality for rangatahi Māori and Pacific youth

Research from Aotearoa New Zealand demonstrates that where rangatahi Māori have strong whānau connections and perceive their whānau to be caring and supportive, this can play a significant role in reducing suicide risk at all risk levels (Clarke et al., 2011).

"Programs and policies that enhance indigenous families' knowledge through whānau (family) transformation processes, positive whānau development, and enhance mana (prestige and integrity) are more likely to actively engage Māori/indigenous families rather than mainstream programs of parenting that are often perceived as blaming or judgemental" (Clarke et al., 2011, p26).

The Pacific family environment is also an important protective factor in relation to youth suicidality (Teevale et al., 2006).

Poor parental mental health

Parent depression is consistently linked to poor outcomes for young people, via associated economic stress on the family, the impact on parenting quality and prevalence of conflict in the home (Devenish, Hooley & Mellor, 2017).

Socio-Political

Cultural responsiveness

Public health programmes and policies that address equity for rangatahi Māori, and that are culturally specific in design, are key to mental health and suicide prevention (Williams, Clark & Lewycka, 2018).

"Biculturalism, or identifying and navigating effectively in more than one culture without compromising either, has been protective for self-esteem, mental health, and substance abuse among American Indian and Alaskan Native populations" (Burnett & Figley, 2016).

Multiple protective factors support indigenous youth health

Indigenous adolescent health can be supported by creating environments that are rich in multi-dimensional protective factors (Henson et al., 2017).

Socio-Political

Legislative influence on health risk-taking behaviour

There is some evidence that legislation changes affecting young people in relation to tobacco and alcohol taxation, and drink-driving limits for young people under 20 years of age, have contributed to reductions in drink-driving and substance abuse (Clarke et al., 2018).

Other macro influences in the Aotearoa New Zealand context – including policies, public campaigns and social media – may be linked to positive trends in major areas of youth risk-taking behaviours, including smoking, binge drinking, drug use, risky driving and violence (Lewycka et al., 2018).

Income inequalities drive mental health risks

Exposure to material hardship and poverty as a result of wider systemic inequalities is a major driver of youth mental health and suicidality (Clarke, Le Grice, Moselen, Fleming, Crengle, 2018).

Structural barriers to accessing services

Youth not in school, training or employment can experience difficulty in accessing adequate mental health support. Transport costs can also be a barrier to service access (The Social Policy, Research and Evaluation Unit [SUPERU], 2017). This means that young people in rural or isolated areas face additional barriers to accessing support.

Racism, bias and the impacts of colonisation on wellbeing

Inequalities in health status between Māori and non-Māori young people are driven by structural bias in health and social service delivery (Clarke et al., 2018).

“One-quarter of Māori participants in this study experienced some form of ethnic discrimination at school, in healthcare or with the police, ethnic discrimination has a real influence on wellbeing, particularly mental health, for Māori students. This may be understood as a consequence of the cumulative effect of colonising practices on indigenous people, constituting historical trauma and having a negative impact on health through stress, coupled with the effects of ongoing racism that has a measurable biological influence on health. Living in environments with racism, social marginalisation and scarce resources limits contextual whānau function and the likelihood of young people flourishing” (Clarke et al., 2018).

Internationally, historical trauma and oppression – including daily experiences of discrimination and intergenerational inequities – is evidenced as having a significant impact on indigenous mental health outcomes and the disparities experienced by indigenous peoples (Burnette & Figley, 2016).

2.2 Education

Individual Level

Long-term engagement with mainstream education

Long-term school engagement is a protective factor for young people. The longer a young person is engaged with tertiary study whilst under the age of 22 years, the less likely they are to experience poor future outcomes (CSI, 2017a).

Access to positive opportunities through school

Opportunities – through school – to build positive social connections (see section 2.8) and participate in extra-curricular activities (see section 2.12) can act as protective factors.

Youth development interventions can support academic achievement

Overseas randomised control studies show that positive youth development interventions did not have an impact on antisocial behaviour, substance use and risky sexual behaviours; however, did have a positive impact on reducing emotional distress and increasing academic achievement (Ciocanel, Power, Eriksen, & Gillings, 2017).

Educational attainment

Education is a key determinant of a person's future social and economic wellbeing, social development, future employment opportunities, income and economic wellbeing, and overall personal wellbeing including health and social capital (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002; Education Counts, 2013). Educational attainment can be negatively influenced by a lack of engagement in early learning, school transience, stand-downs and suspensions and wider factors such as family income (Education Counts, 2017).

Disengagement with mainstream education and alternative education

Young people are at higher risk of poor outcomes if they are not enrolled in education, have low commitment to school attendance or are truant, and if they are stood-down or suspended from attending school. Where young people disengage from school during the transition to high school, they are particularly vulnerable (McLeod et al., 2015).

Young people engaged in Alternative Education are identified by the Ministry of Education as having risk factors that include: regular consumption of alcohol, marijuana and other drugs; sexual abuse, family violence, association with a gang, self-harm and suicide, habitual truancy and returnees from youth justice facilities. Alternative Education students are also "more likely to experience risk in a more concentrated way, with longer periods of time supported by welfare, and more CYF notifications, stand-downs and suspensions" (Ministry of Education, 2017).

Individual Level

Special education

Young people are at higher risk of poor outcomes if they are attending a special school or if they have received special education services.

Young people with disabilities

Young disabled people are almost twice as likely as young non-disabled people to leave school without a qualification, which is a long-term risk factor related to employment and income (CSI, 2017a).

Whānau/Community

Whānau engagement in education

Whānau is a strong motivator for school students within Aotearoa New Zealand to engage and achieve. A report based on voices from young people in Aotearoa New Zealand identified family as a significant support and motivator. This includes young mothers in teen parent units who are driven to success by their children (Office of the Children's Commissioner [OCC], 2018).

Relationships between schools and Māori whānau can be strengthened by having open communication, being flexible, valuing te ao Māori, and collaborating with whānau and iwi (Controller and Auditor General, 2015).

Parents with low/no qualifications

Children and young people whose mothers have no formal qualification are identified as being at risk of poor future outcomes (The Treasury, 2016).

Family circumstances

The Ministry of Education (2017) identifies a strong correlation between the presence of two key risk factors and NCEA achievement. The risk factors are experienced by students during childhood and relate to their wider family circumstances – (1) at least five years spent on welfare by age 13 and (2) notified to Child, Youth and Family by the age of 13. Around nine per cent of young people have both of these risk factors, whilst 27% of Alternative Education students have both risk factors.

Socio-Political

Qualifications support employment

Educational achievement is strongly related to future labour force status and income. Adults without a qualification at level two or above have an unemployment rate that is 45% higher than those with a level two qualification (Education Counts, 2018a).

Positive school environments and teaching practices

Research into youth wellbeing shows that a positive school ethos and environment can be a protective factor for young people. Positive student-teacher relationships, a positive learning climate and schools that create a sense of belonging can support learning, youth development and wellbeing (OCC, 2018; SUPERU, 2017; Search Institute, n.d.).

Education system – what young people say they need

Engagement with children and young people from Aotearoa New Zealand identified that young people want: to have their strengths, cultural identity and cultural world view recognised and supported by teachers; to have strong relationships with peers and teachers; relevant content that caters to different learning styles; a safe, positive and comfortable learning environment; and the ability to make decisions about their own education (OCC, 2018).

Education inequalities drive income inequalities

Inequalities in education can lead to income inequality. This then perpetuates existing cycles of poverty and causes intergenerational disadvantage (Chartered Accountants of Australia and New Zealand, 2017).

Low decile schools

Young people attending low decile schools are at higher risk of achieving poor outcomes (McLeod et al., 2015). School deciles are indicators of higher socio-economic deprivation in the school zone. Deprivation can be a risk factor for young people (see section 2.6). Students from low deciles schools are less likely than other students to achieve NCEA level two or above (Ministry of Social Development, 2016).

Racial bias in teaching

Deficit-thinking by teachers can generate low expectations for Māori students, becoming a significant barrier for Māori student achievement (Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, 2011). Experiences of racism and negative stereotyping from teachers are concerns experienced by school students aged 0-18 years in Aotearoa New Zealand, which impacts on their self-efficacy and behavioural attitudes (OCC, 2018).

2.3 Safety

Individual Level

Youth justice protective factors

Young people developing positive relations with peers who are not involved in anti-social behaviour or in substance abuse can be a significant protective factor in relation to the prevention of youth offending (Maxwell & Marsh, 2010).

When young people are supported to develop pro-social thinking styles, engage in skills development and pro-social relationships with adults, this can be protective factors for youth offending (Ludbrook, 2012).

Youth justice risk factors

Prior engagement with police, youth justice and corrections can be a significant risk factor for young people. Treasury identifies young people at significant risk of poor future outcomes as being boys aged 15-19 years with a history of youth justice engagement, young offenders aged 20-24 years with a custodial sentence, and young people aged 20-24 years with a community sentence and further history of engagement with Child, Youth and Family (The Treasury, 2016).

Youth receiving youth justice referral by age 22, or who have a youth justice placement, are substantially more likely to go on to receive a corrections sentence between the ages of 25 and 34 years (McLeod et al., 2015).

Young people are more at risk of youth offending if they have a history of anti-social behaviour, experience anxiety or depression, have experience of substance use/abuse, and have a conduct disorder or condition such as ADHD (Ludbrook, 2012).

Whānau/Community

Education and pro-social engagement

Young people that are engaged in mainstream school, and engaged in pro-social activities, are at reduced risk of youth offending (Ludbrook, 2012).

Whānau/Community

'Crossover' youth

Treasury identifies children and young people aged 0-14 years with a Child, Youth and Family finding of abuse or neglect as being at significant risk of poor future outcomes (Treasury, 2016). "'Crossover' youth are those who move from our child welfare system into our youth justice system". Young people are at increased risk of engagement with corrections if they have prior histories of engagement with care and protection as children (Henwood, George, Cram & Waititi, 2018, p14).

Reducing the harm and risks caused by incarceration of young people "must begin by addressing the relationship between criminal offending and the care and protection system" (Just Speak, 2017, p4).

Family risk factors for youth offending

Family risk factors that can influence the likelihood of young people engaging in youth offending include parental disharmony or separation, witnessing of family violence, a lack of positive family role models, inconsistent parental engagement, a lack of parental bonding and a lack of parental monitoring and supervision (Ludbrook, 2012).

Family history of prison

Treasury identifies children and young people aged 0-14 years with a parent or family member serving a custodial sentence as being at significant risk of poor future outcomes (Treasury, 2016). The 15% of most at-risk young people aged 15 years are eight times more likely to have a caregiver that has served a custodial sentence (McLeod et al., 2015).

Negative peer influence

Peers can have an influence on risk factors for youth offending. Young people are at greater risk if they have peers with gang affiliations, peers with histories of offending and peers that engage in substance use (Ludbrook, 2012). Young people can engage in things that they would not normally engage in, in order to feel more connected (Henwood et al., 2018)

Socio-Political

Revised youth justice system

Therapeutic court processes, including Iwi Panels and Rangatahi Courts, have potential to more effectively address health and wellbeing outcomes for young offenders in ways that meet the cultural needs of rangatahi Māori. “Recognising tikanga and kaupapa Māori approaches within the criminal justice system has the potential to bring about transformative change that is by Māori, for Māori” (Just Speak, 2017, p3).

In a conference address, Judge Andrew Becroft (2015) outlined areas of opportunities for revising the youth court system for improved outcomes. These changes include: greater diagnosis and responsiveness to brain development disorders; addressing disproportionate incarceration of Māori youth caused by socio-economic disparity, systemic discrimination, cultural marginalisation and the impacts of colonisation; a more developed and supported role for lay advocates; integrated youth court processes supported by a suite of expert practitioners; and youth court assessment and responsiveness to a young person’s education status and needs.

Early intervention

Early intervention can be significant in reducing the likelihood of at-risk youth engaging with the justice system (McLeod et al., 2015).

Remand

Young people are placed in youth justice residences when they are on remand awaiting their next court appearance, and when other suitable placements cannot be found for them. “There is a lack of quality community places for young people with complex needs” (Henwood, et al., 2018, p11).

A lack of systemic will and structure to reduce Māori youth incarceration

There is no strategic plan in place to manage and structure the policies and processes that shape the youth justice system, no mechanisms of accountability to whānau and no mobilisations of opportunities for partnership with iwi (Henwood et al., 2018).

Neighbourhood safety linked to community socio-economic deprivation

Neighbourhoods with prevalent violence and safety concerns can be a risk factor for adolescents. Neighbourhood safety is often linked to wider structural issues such as socio-economic deprivation (Devenish et al., 2017).

2.4 Housing

Individual Level

Quality, affordable and secure housing

Having quality and secure housing during early childhood can be a protective factor that reduces the risk of poor outcomes during adolescence (CSI, 2015).

For young people, having quality, affordable and secure housing can support educational attendance and achievement, health and mental health outcomes, the ability to form social connections and access and maintain employment (Jiang, Pacheco & Dasgupta, 2018; CSI, 2017a).

Having secure housing away from the parental home is important for young people's transition to adulthood (National Youth Agency, 2014).

Unmet housing needs exacerbate vulnerability

Experience of housing transience, sub-standard housing, unstable/insecure housing are risk factors for young people (McLeod et al., 2015).

According to service providers, unmet housing need contributes to and exacerbates the vulnerability of young people and their likelihood of engaging in undesirable behaviours. For those young people coming from dysfunctional families, being in insecure or unsafe housing recreates and perpetuates a history of chaotic lifestyles. They suggest unmet housing need cements young people into prostitution, criminality and makes gang affiliations rational, albeit undesirable choices. Insecure and unsafe housing among vulnerable and at-risk young people tends to become a vicious cycle in which poor housing becomes an embedded experience" (Saville-Smith, James, Warren, & Fraser, 2008, p3).

Housing vulnerability risk factors

The National Youth Agency (2014) in the UK identifies young people at most risk of housing vulnerability as being those: not in education, employment or training; young people leaving care; young offenders; young parents; young people with disabilities; young people with a "chaotic housing pathway" (p.1) and unaccompanied asylum seekers. Young people on welfare and experiencing financial hardships are also vulnerable, as this affects their ability to save deposits, pay market rents and maintain healthy homes.

Disabled young people often face additional barriers when trying to access appropriate housing. Disabled youth dependent on health sector funding, those renting, those on low incomes and those without family support are the most vulnerable (Human Rights Commission, 2010).

Whānau/Community

Housing protective factors – what at-risk young people say they need

Young people say that they need housing that: is affordable; is suited to their needs; is close to public transport and facilities; is close to education and training facilities; and has supported living options for young people with disabilities, mental health issues or addiction.

Young people also want: access to housing information services; support to develop capacity to engage with the housing sector and to make good choices; advocacy support to access tenancies; access to wrap-around services that include accommodation plus other supports; and reduced stigmatisation by the housing sector (Saville-Smith, et al., 2008).

Vulnerable transience

Vulnerable transience is defined as frequent (at least three times in three years) and/or involuntary housing moves that lead to worse living situations i.e. higher community deprivation, and/or disrupting family lives in ways that can cause youth exclusion and disadvantage through impact on school attendance, parent labour market participation, and youth labour market participation.

Risk factors for vulnerable transience include: dependence on welfare benefits; facing court charges – for adults or youth in the family; having a Child, Youth and Family event for a child or young person in the family; having a mental health event or emergency department visit. The experience of these events has more significant impact on the occurrence of vulnerable transience, than the seriousness or longevity of the events (Jiang, Pacheco & Dasgupta, 2018).

Socio-Political

Housing affordability

Research in South Auckland demonstrates a link between housing transience, private rental housing price instability and the unaffordability of home ownership. These issues impact low income communities and areas where state housing provision limitations increase housing transience (Johnson, 2002).

2.5 Employment

Individual Level

Achievement of qualifications

Young people who attain qualifications have significantly increased employment opportunities (Education Counts, 2018a).

Employability

Growing a young person's 'employability' can help them to transition more effectively from school to work. Employability factors include: a qualification; networks through which work can be referred; work experience – through jobs, family businesses or school schemes; soft skills sought by employers such as teamwork and willingness to learn; practical considerations such as a driver licence; and career management skills (Sutton, Tuatagola & Johnson, 2013).

Unemployment and use of benefits

Treasury identifies unemployment as a risk factor for young people aged 20-24 years. Risks for unemployed young people are further exacerbated for solo parents and young people that are experiencing poor health (The Treasury, 2016).

Treasury identifies engagement with the benefits system as a risk factor. This includes teenage girls aged 15-19 supported by a benefit (The Treasury, 2016).

Young people that are not in employment, education or training (NEET) for longer periods of time are at greater risk of exclusion and disadvantage (CSI, 2017a).

Whānau/Community

Family engagement with benefits

Treasury identifies engagement with the benefits system as a risk factor - this includes children and young people aged 0-14 years who are mostly supported by benefit income within their family context (The Treasury, 2016).

Socio-Political

Preparing young people for the future of work

Young people need to be supported to be prepared for the future of work; and young people in Aotearoa New Zealand "worry they are not being equipped with the life skills and knowledge they need to be flourishing in the 21st century" (ActionStation, 2018, p24).

Equipping young people for the future of work will require digital literacy and adaptability skills as job mobility becomes more commonplace. Policy positions with potential to protect young people and ready them for the future of work include prioritisation of digital literacy and enterprise skills within education (Foundation for Young Australians, 2017).

Connecting school to work

Developing pathways between schools and employment/industry can be successful in supporting young people to transition to work. "The interface between school and work is critical to the success of young people in gaining and retaining meaningful employment. This interface needs to be managed radically differently if school leavers without basic skills are to meet the expectations and needs of employers. This radical change should involve a more deliberate pathway for school leavers into identified employment or further training. In essence, it should become the expectation of school leavers and the wider society that no school leaver leaves school to nothing" (Johnson, 2016, p50).

Education inequalities

Structural inequalities in educational achievement are a significant underlying risk factor driving inequalities for young people in relation to access to employment opportunities and dependence on welfare (Johnson, 2016).

Future of work exacerbating inequalities

Changes in technology are also likely to increase inequalities, through increased automation and employment skills premiums and gaps. As technology becomes more automated and high skilled, there are likely to be fewer entry level jobs, which will affect those already disadvantaged by unemployment, including young people (International Monetary Fund, 2015; Foundation for Young Australians, 2017).

"Future workforce forecasts point to a continuing need for immigration to provide not only essential skills in short supply, but also workers to fill the places left by an aging population. However, persistent unemployment among younger workers and the difficulty many have in finding a place in the labour market suggest their needs are not being given sufficient importance when decisions are made around immigration policy settings" (Johnson, 2016, p50).

Socio-Political

Education system not preparing young people for the future of work

In reviewing Aotearoa New Zealand's vocational education system, the Minister of Education stated that "The strong labour market is encouraging young people to move directly into the workforce rather than continue in formal education, and our system isn't geared up for the future economy, where re-training and up-skilling will be a regular feature of everyone's working life. It's time to reset the whole system and fundamentally rethink the way we view vocational education and training, and how it's delivered. We need to move from a system where educational institutions and on the job training compete with one another, to a system where on the job and provider-based learning is seamlessly integrated" (New Zealand Government, 2018).

Employment attitudes and norms

Research from a youth employment initiative in South Auckland showed that there can be gaps in norms and expectations between employers and young people. These norms often relate to workplace culture, family obligations, and communication. The gap in expectations can perpetuate disengagement by both parties, creating systemic barriers to youth employment (Auckland Co-Lab, 2016).

Employment systems and processes

Current employment systems – including recruitment, workplace culture and training approaches – can be disenfranchising for young people, and businesses often do not know how to adapt and "build on the strengths and diversity of young people" (Auckland Co-Lab, 2016).

2.6 Income

Individual Level

Higher incomes through education and employment

"People with higher-level qualifications have a substantial earnings advantage", particularly those with a bachelors or higher qualification (Education Counts, 2018b).

Where young people are able to achieve qualifications, develop employability and transition to work effectively, their potential for incomes that support wellbeing can be increased (see section 2.5).

Individual Level

Low income a driver of risk for young people now and in the future

"Inequalities are a driver behind a range of important life outcomes, so threaten future wellbeing and prosperity. Inequalities in education can lead to income inequality. This then perpetuates existing cycles of poverty and causes intergenerational disadvantage" (CSI, 2018b).

Whānau/Community

Childhood disadvantage

Treasury identifies experience of childhood disadvantage as being a significant risk factor for children and young people aged 0-14 years (The Treasury, 2016). It is important that families have sufficient income to maintain a healthy, safe and secure environment for children and young people.

Socio-Political

Socio-economic deprivation

Young people that reside in areas of low socio-economic deprivation are more likely to be disadvantaged. There is a clear correlation between increased deprivation and increased risk of poor outcomes. (Devenish et al., 2017). Proportionally, more young people are at risk in high deprivation communities such as Kawerau and the Far North; however, there are larger numbers of young people at risk through residing in high deprivation communities within the major urban centres (CSI, 2017a).

2.7 Cultural Identity

Individual Level

Connections to cultural identity

Recognising, respecting and affirming young people's cultural identity and cultural context, and the diversity of these identities within groups of young people, is an important protective factor (CSI, 2018a). Being connected to culture and cultural identity can be a particularly important protective factor for indigenous young people (Ware, 2013).

Studies demonstrate that a strong sense of Māori cultural identity is associated with stronger wellbeing and reductions in symptoms of depression (Williams et al., 2018). Aspects of Māori development include tino rangatiratanga/autonomy, environmental integrity and secure cultural identity, which can support both economic security and wellbeing (Hudson, 2008). A strong cultural identity "results from individuals being able to access te ao Māori and to participate in those institutions, activities and systems that form the foundations of Maori society" (Durie, 2006, p7).

Positive youth development programmes may help to support whanaungatanga, belonging and a sense of collective identity salient to Māori world views (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2018).

Online spaces to express identity

For rangatahi Māori, their sense of identity is "how they perceive themselves, how they would like to see themselves, and how they want others to see them"; and social networking spaces provide rangatahi Māori with levels of control about how they choose to represent themselves and express their identities (O'Carroll, 2013, p56). Indigenous young people can use social media positively to help form, affirm and strengthen their cultural identity (Rice, Haynes, Royce & Thompson, 2016).

Lack of identity recognition and responsiveness

Young people's world views are often influenced by their cultural background. "Rangatahi often live in conflicting systems of two cultures" (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002, p40). This can be a particular issue for Māori and first generation migrant young people from Pacific and other migrant ethnic backgrounds. Where young people are required to navigate alternative world views in situations where their identity is not recognised, valued or responded to, young people can be marginalised and excluded, and in some cases disconnected to their cultural identity.

Whānau/Community

Connections to te ao Māori

For Māori, connections with whānau members, hapū and iwi can support young people to understand and develop their cultural identity. The Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy's proposed outcomes framework identifies children and young people being connected to their "heritage, their whakapapa, family, whānau, community, culture, place (tūrangawaewae) and beliefs" as an integral component of wellbeing (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet [DPMC], 2018).

Durie (2006) identifies whānau capacities as critical measures of Māori wellbeing. These capacities include the capacity to care for children and young people in ways that are consistent with tikanga Māori, that maximise mobility and independence, that promote and pass on cultural knowledge, and that empower members of their whānau (including young people) to engage in community and participate fully as Māori.

"Active participation in the Māori world is closely linked to a secure cultural identity. In fact, the measurement of a secure cultural identity hinges around involvement with the range of institutions, activities and systems that underlie Māori society. Indicators include marae participation, involvement in Māori networks and knowledge of whakapapa" (Durie, 2006, p8).

Culture-based practice (youth sector)

Young people can be supported to achieve positive outcomes through youth programmes and services that adopt effective practice that is relevant to Aotearoa New Zealand's cultural context. Cultural frameworks and culture-based practice are important protective factors for Māori, Pacific and ethnically diverse young people (CSI, 2018a).

Socio-Political

Societal cultural inclusion

Improving communications and relationships between indigenous young people and the wider community can help to address issues of social exclusion and disadvantages that indigenous young people often experience (Rice et al., 2016).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

The covenants of the Treaty of Waitangi protect all Māori, including rangatahi Māori, as tangata whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand. The Treaty should act as a driver for action in terms of how organisations support youth as Treaty partners (Clark et al., 2018).

Socio-Political

Institutional racism and colonisation

Studies show that discrimination has a "serious impact on youth mental health" (Williams et al., 2018, p1).

Institutional racism can have a significantly negative impact on the health, wellbeing and development of young people. "The ill-effects of racism have shown to support the wholesale disenfranchisement of ethnic diversity, which it reinforces through cultural suppression, violence and inequitable access to social and structural resources such as education, employment and housing" (Moewaka Barnes, 2013, p64).

Māori development is influenced by a range of structural factors that include colonisation, access to te ao Māori (the Māori world), the application of the Treaty of Waitangi and globalisation (Hudson, 2008).

Challenges in measuring the cultural wellbeing of Māori youth

International and Aotearoa New Zealand-based indicators of wellbeing are often limited in their ability to appropriately consider cultural wellbeing, particularly for indigenous communities. The new Living Standards Framework (The Treasury, n.d.) has evolved OECD wellbeing frameworks with the inclusion of a cultural wellbeing domain. However, the availability of suitable data has been a challenge to the development of appropriate indicators; and many indicators of wellbeing for Māori are criticised for being overly deficit-focused and simplistic (The Treasury, 2018; Hudson, 2008).

2.8 Social Connections

Individual Level

Quality relationships with adults

Young people benefit from having access to high quality relationships with at least one significant adult outside of their family – such as teachers, church elders, mentors or youth workers. It is important that these adults are trained and experienced in working with young people (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002).

Some research suggests that young people need three or more non-parental adult relationships (Search Institute, n.d.). Positive relationships with adults can help to role-model behaviour, provide support, set boundaries and expectations.

Individual Level

Digital platforms to connect

Digital technology enables young people engage in online communities that they may not otherwise have opportunity to access and connect to (Rice et al., 2016).

The online space is one that is highly valued by young people, providing opportunities to access learning information, build and maintain connections with friends/peers and create and express their identity(s). Online communities can provide young people with greater levels of social freedom and choice. The anonymity of online spaces can also help young people to engage more openly (Bellerose et al., 2016). This can help to reduce social isolation. It is important that young people's digital engagement and their attitudes towards their online lives are respected (Research First, 2017).

Social media can provide indigenous youth with a sense of power and control over their own lives, and help them to make and maintain social connections with family and other communities. Social media can be a tool that utilises oral and visual communication relevant to traditional indigenous cultures, therefore providing a relevant platform for indigenous youth to express themselves, and build and maintain social connections (Rice et al., 2016).

Supporting young people to understand respectful relationships and key concepts such as consent can help to mitigate the risks of engaging with peers and other communities online (Research First, 2017).

Digital harm

Online communities can be spaces of risk for young people. The negative impacts of online connectivity can include cyber bullying, harassment, exposure to explicit content, and access to suicide and violence content (Research First, 2017). Almost half (45%) of youth aged 9-14 years in Aotearoa New Zealand have been exposed to things online that they found distressing (NZ on Air, 2015).

Cyber racism is a key risk for Māori and Pacific young people. Māori teens are more likely than other ethnic groups to be threatened online or have rumours spread about them. Pacific teens, especially girls, are more likely to experience negative incidents on social media (Pacheco & Melhuish, 2018).

Young people often have technical expertise that exceeds the teachers and adults that support them. This has potential to exacerbate the risks associated with harmful digital engagement (Research First, 2017).

Whānau/Community

Peer and community connections

Developing strong social connections with peers can support positive youth outcomes. This can be achieved through engagement in multiple contexts – including family, school and other positive social environments such as church, marae, school and youth groups/programmes (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002).

Communities can be places of belonging and connectedness that "can create supportive and enriching environments for all young people that will lead to positive outcomes as well as reducing negative outcomes" (Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, 2011). Nurturing is critical to the development of young people, and is the responsibility of communities as well as parents (Keelan, 2014).

Connections with whānau, hapū, iwi

Where Māori are able to develop and maintain healthy and consistent communication with family members, marae, hapū and iwi, they are more connected and can achieve whānau ora (family wellbeing). Online communication can further facilitate this social connectedness (O'Carroll, 2013). Whakawhanaungatanga and family connectedness is an important protective factor for indigenous young people (Henson et al., 2017; Statistics New Zealand, 2015).

Structured mentoring

Structured mentoring programmes, that include high quality relationships and help to set personal goals can have a positive, protective impact on young people (Farruggia et al., 2011).

Stability of living situation

The stability of a young person's living situation, and the associated number of school moves, is identified as a social connections indicator by the Social Investment Agency (2018).

2.9 Environment

Individual Level

Connectedness to the land

Engagement with nature can have a positive impact on a wide range of youth wellbeing indicators, including physical health, mood, resilience in response to stress, concentration, self-discipline and control, academic achievement, ethics and identity (Gifford, R. & Chen, A., 2016).

Socio-Political

The environment and intergenerational Māori wellbeing

Te Ngāhuru is a Māori outcomes wellbeing framework (Durie, 2006) that outlines key domains and measures of wellbeing for Māori. Te Ao Turoa (the Māori estate) refers to the concept of current generations of Māori as trustees of the land and resources for future generations, and the importance of recognising that human wellbeing is inseparable from the environment. “Māori world-views place value on the environment and the values that underpin kaitiakitanga. An important [wellbeing] outcome area for Māori is therefore related to access to an environment that is clean and healthy” (p11).

To support the wellbeing and resilience of indigenous youth, fostering a sense of connectedness to the land is important. Spending time with elders can support young people to reconnect with the land and enable the transfer of knowledge (Isbister-Bear, Hatala, & Sjoblom, 2018).

Environmental risks and impact on wellbeing for Māori

“The wellbeing of the environment is intrinsically linked with the wellbeing of iwi, hapū, whānau and Māori communities are affected by changes to the environment” (Auckland Council, 2018, p25). Environmental risks represent risks to the wellbeing of young people and their whānau.

2.10 Civic Participation

Individual Level

Participation generates a sense of purpose

Through effective participation, young people are able to control what happens to them and around them. Participation includes organising, advocacy, leadership, service and governance (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002). Participating in community and civic life can help young people to develop a sense of purpose. This can help them to feel valued and optimistic about the future (Search Institute, n.d.).

Individual Level

Barriers to civic participation

When young people are not able to participate in communities, they are prevented from accessing pro-social environments, participating in recreation and leisure activities, developing skills and support networks, and strengthening their cultural identity and resilience (see sections 2.7, 2.8, 2.11, 2.12).

Key barriers to youth participation in voting include lower socio-economic status, a lack of access to civic education and engagement, and a lack of 'civic literacy' and political knowledge for young people, particularly those who do not have tertiary level education (Zhang, 2015).

Whānau/Community

Enablers of participation in community planning

Research into youth participation in urban planning processes in Christchurch found that inclusive spaces that cater to the diverse needs of young people is necessary for engaging marginalised youth. This also ensures that all young people's voices are listened to, so that young people feel valued and encouraged (Stringer, 2018).

Communities that value young people

Communities can act as protective factors for young people when they demonstrate that young people are valued. Young people feel valued when they are given community roles and have opportunity to participate in community decision-making (Search Institute, n.d.).

In te ao Māori (Māori world view) it is important to create opportunities for young people to take action as part of whānau and communities (Keelan, 2014).

Informal civic engagement

"Informal modes of youth civic engagement, such as serving as a support for extended family, peer, and neighbourhood members, are key venues for expression of civic identities and contributions" (Romero, London & Erbstein, 2010).

Socio-Political

Empowering processes for civic participation

Democratic processes that demonstrate to rangatahi Māori that their views matter to leaders (Māori and non-Māori) can support civic participation by rangatahi Māori (Keelan, 2014).

Empowering young people with authentic opportunities to influence decision-making can support active civic participation and support young people to have a positive influence on the outcomes of their peers. “Young people, provided with real opportunities to participate in meaningful democracy and citizenship opportunities, can become responsible democratic citizens and make decisions on issues that affect them and their communities” (Seilala Peteru, 2006, p133).

Participation as Māori

It is important that Māori are able to participate in society as Māori. “Māori are more able to participate in society as Māori if they have a secure cultural identity. Indicators might include enrolment on the Māori electoral roll, employment in Māori designated positions, participation in Māori affirmative action programmes, and involvement in Māori cultural and sporting teams” (Durie, 2006, p8).

Structural barriers to political agency for rangatahi Māori

Historically, rangatahi Māori were participants in whānau, hapū and iwi democratic processes. Under the New Zealand electoral system, only young people over 18 are permitted to vote, and this age restriction is further replicated within iwi authorities’ democratic processes. This excludes rangatahi Māori from developing political agency in both Māori and non-Māori settings. Such barriers to civic participation can contribute to feelings of apathy and ongoing non-participation as adults (Keelan, 2014).

Lack of opportunities to be heard

Young New Zealanders do not always feel that their voices will genuinely be considered. They feel that their voices are undervalued, that adults in positions of power do not listen to their views, and that they struggle to be heard by formal political institutions (ActionStation, 2018; Wood, 2013).

2.11 Resilience

Individual Level

Developing self-efficacy

Developing confidence and self-efficacy can help to strengthen young people's development and wellbeing (Lerner & Lerner, 2011).

"Programs and health promotion efforts that incorporate social media and use active engagement to promote feelings of high self-esteem, power and control and resilience have the potential to reach Indigenous young people in effective ways to increase self-efficacy" (Rice et al, 2016, p14).

Behaviour and control

The New Zealand Pathways to Resilience Study presents findings from research with young people about their views on risk, behaviour and resilience and findings about risk and protective factors. Many of the participants had lived experience of deprivation and exposure to other risk factors. In order to survive challenging circumstances, young people can behave in intentionally disruptive ways – such as running away, committing crime – in order to bring attention to their needs and develop a sense of control over their situation. Adults often respond by punishing this behaviour, rather than taking time to understand the drivers and needs of the young person (Dewhurst, Munford, Sanders, 2014).

Whānau/Community

Relationships with family and other adults

Interpersonal relationships with family members are closely related to the resilience of children and young people, helping them to cope with adversity. Meaningful relationships with other adults can also support young people to develop greater resilience (see section 2.8) (César Dias & Cadime, 2017).

Strengths-based approaches build resilience

Strengths based programmes and services can support young people to develop their skills, helping them to feel more confident and resilient (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002). Programmes develop resilience by building "on individual strengths and aim at addressing those factors that predispose an individual to one or multiple risks" (McCreanor & Watson, 2004, p4). Such programmes develop connection, character, competence and confidence; and require the sustained involvement of caring adults in the context of group-based relationships.

Whānau/Community

Family resilience risk factors

Family circumstances – particularly during childhood and early adolescence – can have a significant impact on resilience outcomes. Risk factors include family violence, alcohol and drugs abuse, mental health issues impacting on parenting, involvement in crime, social isolation, financial hardship, family breakdown, isolation from extended family, experience of discrimination and persistent adversity e.g. long-term unemployment (CSI, 2015).

Socio-Political

Cultural continuity

"Research now links cultural connections and continuity with [indigenous] resilience outcomes… The term 'cultural continuity,' or the degree to which a community engages in actions symbolic of their sense of community as a cultural group, can function as a powerful protective factor for many behavioural health problems within Indigenous communities. These processes are also linked to what Kirmayer and colleagues (2012) referred to as collective identity; a sense of pride in history and traditional culture that are fostered by modes of traditional storytelling, connections to traditional Indigenous languages, relationships to the land and sacred place, and spirituality. Building culture-based strengths can develop wellness at all levels, and has been shown in Canada to reduce youth suicide, self-harm and youth entering care, and raise school completion rates and resilience outcomes." (Isbister-Bear et al., 2018, pp82-83).

Marginalisation

For indigenous people experiences of structural racism, discrimination and marginalisation are further substantiated by years of colonisation. Within these contexts, young people require a strong sense of identity and the development of skills and practices that help them to ensure their own survival in difficult situations (Isbister-Bear et al., 2018).

2.12 Leisure and Recreation

Individual Level

Pro-social engagement through leisure, recreation and youth development activities

Having hobbies and interests and participating in extra-curricular activities can support young people to build new skills that enhance their life opportunities, as well as enabling them to develop a support network that can help them overcome issues and challenges (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002).

For young people, leisure time facilitates pro-social behaviour, the development of social connections (see section 2.8), and meaningful participation within communities (World Assembly of Youth, n.d.).

Spending more than three hours per week engaged in creative activities, sports, youth programmes or religious communities can support young people's development and wellbeing by helping them to develop social competencies, including the ability to make decisions, cope with new situations, and interact effectively with others (Search Institute, n.d.).

Quality youth development programmes provide a sense of membership and belonging, help young people to develop goals, set expectations of success, build self-efficacy and resilience, nurture ideas, and support leadership and skills development. The Ministry of Youth Development's guidance to youth development practitioners sets expectations for young people to: (1) build capability i.e. develop the skills required to live and participate in communities; and (2) build resilience i.e. sense of self-worth and supportive networks (CSI, 2017b).

Positive risk-taking

Exposure to new and challenging environments and experiences can help young people learn to take positive risks in supported environments (Nobilo, 2017).

Whānau/Community

Family leisure time

A family's everyday activities such as playing games, as well as special events such as holidays or sporting activities, support greater emotional bonding within the family. Families that are engaged in leisure activities, including religious activities, are more likely to know a young person's friends and networks. (World Assembly of Youth, n.d.).

Whānau/Community

Family/community barriers to engagement

Some young people may experience barriers to participation in structured leisure and youth development activities. These barriers include access to transportation, cost and family support. Young people from more disadvantaged families and communities, and young people from less engaged, supportive families, participate in fewer activities, for less time (CSI, 2017b).

Socio-Political

Increasing sports participation for young people in lower socio-economic communities

Sport New Zealand research findings suggest that young people from low-decile schools would be more likely to participate in sports if they were more readily available in the school context, available before school and at lunchtimes, and if they were focused on friendly participation instead of competition (Q&A Research, 2014).

Systemic barriers to engagement

Participation in sports is constrained for young people with economic barriers, including those from lower socio-economic communities, and those from low income families who need to prioritise paid work over recreation time (Sport New Zealand, 2014).

3 Summary Considerations

The balance between risk and protective factors

Literature presents a wide range of factors that can influence the health, wellbeing, development and life outcomes of young people. Protective factors support young people to achieve positive life outcomes. The presence of protective factors can protect young people from risk and/or support them to cope with adversity and achieve positive outcomes despite the presence of risk factors in their lives.

In contrast, other factors can act as barriers or risks that make young people more susceptible to:

- Exclusion from full and equitable participation in education, employment, communities and society
- Disadvantage i.e. low likelihood of positive future life outcomes as adults.

Young people are at greater risk of becoming and/or remaining excluded and disadvantaged when:

- They experience risk factors from a young age i.e. from birth and early childhood
- They experience risk factors over sustained periods of time i.e. from birth to adolescence and the transition to adulthood
- They experience multiple risk factors, including experience of risk factors in adolescence that further exacerbate/compound risks experienced during childhood
- They become young parents themselves, and their children experience circumstances that perpetuate risk exposure, driving intergenerational disadvantage.

It should be noted that some young people may experience one or many of the risk factors described in this report but may not experience exclusion and disadvantage. Conversely, some young people may experience few risk factors but still become excluded or disadvantaged. Evidence shows, however, that the earlier that risk factors can be addressed, the more likely it is that at-risk young people can overcome barriers and experience positive outcomes.

Summary of identified risk and protective factors

The table below provides a summary of the risk and protective factors identified through the literature view. The characteristics of protective factors often mirror risk factors. For example, where insecure and unaffordable housing is a risk factor for excluded and disadvantaged youth, secure and affordable housing is a protective factor.

Protective Factors		Risk Factors
Strong mental, physical, cultural, spiritual health Parental attachment and bonding Stable family environment and whānau support Income security Pro-social activities Family health and wellbeing Enhancement of whānau connections for Māori Accessible support including online Culturally responsive communities and practices Cultural understandings of holistic health Reduced income inequality Legislative influences i.e. restrictions, laws	**Health**	Long-term health issues Insecure attachment Family violence or abuse Early experience of material hardship Substance abuse Family history of mental health and suicide Teenage parents Barriers to accessing support Racism and discrimination Colonisation and intergenerational trauma Income inequalities
High educational achievement and qualifications Long-term engagement with education Access to positive opportunities through school	**Education**	Low educational achievement and qualifications Disengagement with mainstream education School transience, stand-downs and suspensions

Protective Factors		Risk Factors
		Young people with disabilities
		Engagement with special education
Whānau support and engagement with school		Parents with low/no qualifications
Stable home environments		Family history of welfare
Equitable achievement		Family history of CYF
High decile schools (low community socio-economic deprivation)		Educational achievement inequalities
Culturally responsive teaching		Low decile schools (high community socio-economic deprivation)
Positive school environments		Racial discrimination
No prior engagement with Police and youth justice	**Safety**	Engagement with Police and youth justice
		Young offenders 20-24 years
Early intervention		Youth justice referral by age 22
Stable home environments		Prior engagement with CYF (crossover youth)
Expert support via youth justice practitioners		Mental health issues
		Substance use
Pro-social connections with peers and adults		Negative peer influence
No family history of offending		Family history of offending and incarceration
Whānau and iwi support during remand		Lack of placements during remand
Greater responsiveness to the needs of young people		Structural issues including racial discrimination and systems that don't work for Māori
Reduced income inequalities		Income inequalities
Secure and safe housing	**Housing**	Insecure and unsafe housing
Suitable housing e.g. close to transport, supporting living options		Young people with unmet housing needs e.g. disabled youth, young people leaving care
Income security		NEET and low-income youth
Affordable housing		Unaffordable housing
Stable housing		Vulnerable transience - dependence on welfare, mental health events, CYF events
Employment	**Employment**	Youth unemployment – especially solo parents
Higher family income		Engagement with benefit system
Equitable educational achievement		Benefits as primary family income age 0-14 years
Qualifications that support employment		Educational achievement inequalities
Employability		Reduced entry level jobs through automation
Effective transitions from school to work		Unpreparedness for the future of work
		Employer norms and systems
Higher income through education and employment	**Income**	Low income and unemployment/reliance on benefits
Financial stability during childhood		Childhood experience of low income
Reduced income inequalities		Income inequalities

Protective Factors		Risk Factors
Secure cultural identity and connectedness Culturally responsive schools, programmes, communities, society Participation as Māori Online spaces to express identity Connections to identity through whānau Inclusive communities, systems and practice Te Tiriti o Waitangi	**Cultural Identity**	Disconnected cultural identity Navigating cultural world views different to one's own Marginalisation and exclusion A lack of whānau connectedness to culture Institutional racism Lack of measures to understand cultural wellbeing
Quality relationships with non-familial adults Mentoring Digital space to connect, belong, express identity Stable peer and community connections Engagement in pro-social environments Connections with whānau, hapū and iwi	**Social Connections**	Lack of quality relationships with adults Exposure to digital harm Transience disruption Disengagement from pro-social environments
Connectedness with land/whenua The importance of environment to intergenerational wellbeing for Māori	**Environment**	Environmental risks disrupting connections to land/whenua
Sense of purpose through active participation in community and civic life Authentic participation in community planning Communities that value and give roles to youth Opportunities for participation as Māori Informal civic engagement through home and peers	**Civic Participation**	Barriers to participation in communities through e.g. transience, school disengagement Lack of authentic opportunities to be heard Structural barriers to tino rangatiratanga and political agency
Relationships with other adults to cope in adversity Strengths-based opportunities that develop skills, character, confidence and connections Secure and stable childhood with no extreme exposures to risk Engagement opportunities congruous with and supportive of cultural identity	**Resilience**	Disruptive behaviours to keep a sense of control in adversity Limited opportunities to develop skills, character, confidence and connections Risk experienced in childhood e.g. family violence, financial hardship, mental health, family offending Discrimination and marginalisation
Engagement with pro-social activities and environments Membership and belonging through clubs Opportunities for positive risk-taking Opportunities to participate in family leisure activities Reduced income inequalities	**Leisure & Recreation**	Lack of engagement with pro-social activities and environments Lack of accessibility to leisure and recreation activities due to e.g. cost and family circumstance Income inequalities

Significant issues/themes

Risk and protective factors are often interrelated across the 12 domains of the conceptual framework used in this review. For example, risk factors within the education context are inextricably linked to risk factors related to employment and income. The meta-themes across the 12 domains are described below, along with implications for the philanthropic sector in general, as well as for the VFNZ impact model.

1. Engagement in positive life opportunities is as an important protective factor

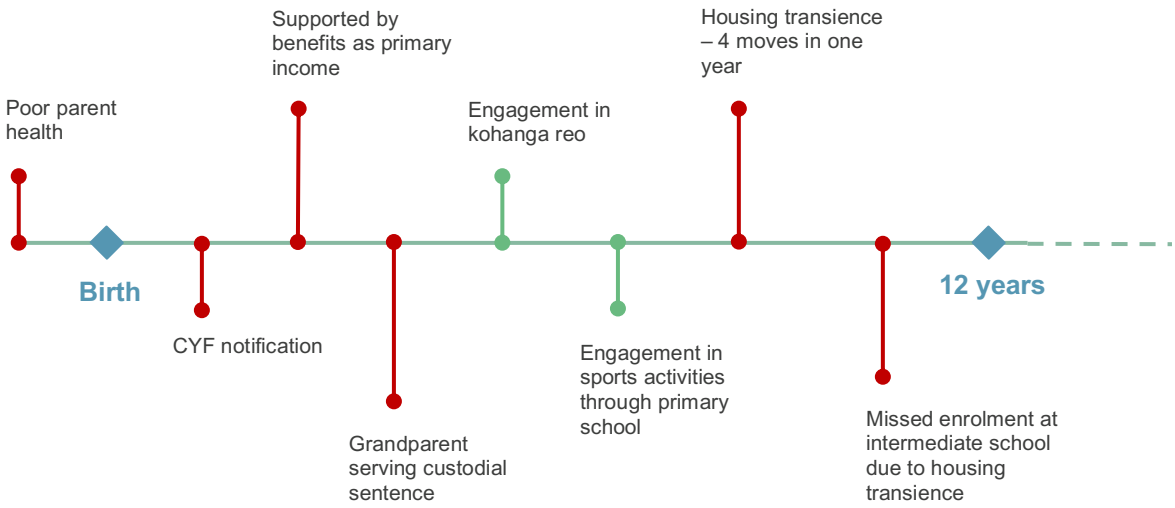
Throughout the literature explored in this review, the importance of engagement in positive life opportunities is underlined. Positive life opportunities include:

- Equitable participation in education and the opportunity to obtain opportunities that support future economic wellbeing
- Opportunities to participate in meaningful employment and achieve income security
- Participation in leisure and recreation activities, as well as the development of relationships with other adults, which support young people to build resilience, develop strengths and skills, build social networks and supports and connectedness, and lift their educational achievement
- Opportunities to strengthen wellbeing through the development of strong cultural identity, which can be supported by connectedness to whānau, hapū and iwi, and enables rangatahi Māori to participate in civic life as Māori
- Opportunities for civic participation.

To reduce the number of excluded and disadvantaged young people, consideration should be given to investing in mechanisms for providing at-risk young people with equitable access to life opportunities. This may be achieved through direct investment in programmes and services, as well as through systems-approaches to addressing the underlying structural inequalities that otherwise reduce life opportunities (see below). Priority should be given to investment in programmes and services that adhere with and reflect positive youth development practices, as described in Mana Taiohi: Ngā Tikanga Whanaketanga – Youth Development Principles Aotearoa (Ara Taiohi, 2019).

2. Protective and risk factors are experienced from pre-birth

A young person's experiences in early life have a significant impact on their outcomes during adolescence and into adulthood – both in relation to protective and risk factors. This is demonstrated in the diagram example below:



Literature describes the importance of early intervention to interrupt and protect young people from exclusion and disadvantage, and also describes exposure to multiple risk factors as increasing the likelihood of poor outcomes. Risk factors experience during adolescence may further compound exposure to multiple risks during childhood.

Whilst VFNZ is one example of a philanthropic funder that has historically focused its resources on young people aged 12-24 years, considering opportunities to address risk factors and promote protective factors for children and young people before the age of 12 years is a significant strategic opportunity with potential for impact on the number and long-term pipeline of excluded and disadvantaged young people in Aotearoa New Zealand.

3. Risks are perpetuated through intergenerational disadvantage

Young people are at increased risk of exclusion and disadvantage when they experience risk through family circumstances. Young people who have lived experience in the family context of e.g., unemployment, low income and prolonged use of benefits, family violence, parental substance abuse, family mental health issues or experience of suicide, housing transience and incarceration, are exposed to risks that in turn means they are vulnerable to similar experiences as adolescents and adults.

When young people become young parents, particularly aged 18 or below, the cycle of risk and disadvantage is continued. Addressing exclusion and disadvantage of young parents, from pre-birth through the early childhood of their own children, represents a strategic opportunity for philanthropic funders to prioritise early intervention whilst retaining a focus on young people aged 12-24 years and interrupting the ongoing cycle of exclusion and disadvantage.

4. Education, employment and implications of the future of work

Across the literature, a clear link emerges between educational engagement and achievement, employment opportunities, income, socio-economic status and mobility into/out of exclusion and disadvantage. It is important, therefore, that the philanthropic sector engages with these interrelated issues in ways that recognise intersectionality and respond in ways that are holistic and joined-up.

A key concern for many philanthropic funders will be the changing nature of work and the implications for education and youth employment. The challenges around the future of work – such as globalisation, automation and the loss of entry level jobs – have potential to exacerbate the existing inequalities for excluded and disadvantaged young people. Addressing these risks should be an area of strategic concern for the philanthropic sector and will involve looking at gaps in the current education system and future-focused opportunities to support youth transitions to employment.

5. The importance of addressing underlying structural inequalities

Structural inequalities were identified throughout this review as significant drivers of youth exclusion and disadvantage. Structural inequalities create risk for young people by affecting the family and community context in which they live, and their ability to participate equitably in systems of education, employment, health and civic society.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, and for indigenous youth internationally, literature identifies the impact of colonisation as a significant driver of structural inequalities. Intergenerational trauma and disadvantage, and ongoing racial bias, discrimination and the privileging of western world views and systems disadvantage and exclude Māori and Pacific young people.

Addressing these structural inequalities within existing systems is an important strategic opportunity for all philanthropic funders. Activating this will require a deep focus on the philanthropic sector's abilities to embed culturally responsive practice, respond effectively to the aspirations of rangatahi Māori, and operate as an effective Treaty partner.

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