Enhancing the development of refugee-background youth in Aotearoa New Zealand through non-formal education

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Ko ngā pae tawhiti whāia kia tata, ko ngā pae tata, whakamaua kia tina.

The potential for tomorrow depends on what we do today.

Abstract

Globally, non-formal education (NFE) plays an important role in youth development. However, while universal approaches to youth development are well researched, there is little research on what influences positive youth development (PYD) for refugee-background youth and how NFE can be adapted to address the inequities experienced by refugee-background youth. In Aotearoa New Zealand, refugee-background youth currently lack equitable access to NFE which supports youth development on an individual level, and which can also build wider societal understanding and empathy across boundaries of class, race, migration status and religion.

To address this gap, this project worked within a transformative epistemology infused with Appreciative Inquiry (AI) to ask:

1. What key factors influence positive youth development for refugee-background youth?
2. What key factors lead to positive youth development for refugee-background youth through non-formal education?
3. How might non-formal education be adapted to enable greater positive youth development outcomes for refugee-background youth?

Using a qualitative methodology, I carried out semi-structured interviews with five refugee-background youth or former refugee-background youth and 20 NFE providers, of whom three were former refugees. Through thematic analysis of their reflections, the key factors influencing PYD for refugee-background youth were identified to be a sense of belonging, everyday citizenship, and equitable access to opportunities to participate. NFE also provided refugee-background youth with valuable opportunities to form connections with people, and with the land, culture and history of Aotearoa, to build confidence and to have fun.

From this analysis, the research contributes to development practice by developing a PYD model for refugee-background youth, guidelines for NFE providers, and areas for further research.

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1   Introduction and context

The Global Compact on Refugees (2018) recognises the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by working to ensure refugees are not left behind (UNHCR, n.d.). In the last decade the number of refugees globally has doubled to 26 million, with increased growth experienced since 2018 (UNHCR, 2020) and expected to continue (UNHCR, 2020a).

Aotearoa New Zealand[1] is one of 29 countries that offers resettlement to UNHCR designated refugees, as well as others seeking asylum or arriving via family reunification, community organisation sponsorship and other pathways (UNHCR, 2018). New Zealand's refugee quota doubled to 1500 per annum effective from 2020. Resettlement was temporarily halted in 2020 due to the covid-19 pandemic. Approximately 900 refugees were resettled in Aotearoa in 2021 and 1800 refugees per annum will be resettled from 2022 (New Zealand Immigration, 2019). Of those people resettled in Aotearoa, over half have been children or youth under 25 years of age (UNHCR, 2020).

In the context of forced migration, it can be hard for youth to thrive. Yet the years 12-24 are critical for human development (Ministry of Youth Development, 2002). These years are a period of profound individual and ecological change (Lerner, Lerner, & Benson, 2011) where young people acquire the skills and attitudes which allow them to thrive now and in adulthood. Thriving youth are described as having holistic wellbeing, contributing to a socially just society (Lerner et al., 2018), embracing life and using their talents and resources to benefit themselves and others (Benson & Scales, 2009). Investing in youth development, for all youth, is critical to achieving inclusive, equitable and sustainable development (United Nations, 2019).

Upon resettlement, former refugees are often societally disadvantaged in comparison with those from non-refugee backgrounds (Willette, 2020) and often experience inequitable access to education and employment (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2018). Equitable youth development for refugee-background youth is critical to

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[1] Aotearoa New Zealand is the bilingual name for New Zealand. Kennedy, G. D., & Deverson, T. (2005). *The New Zealand Oxford Dictionary*. Oxford University Press. The terms Aotearoa and New Zealand are used interchangeably throughout this document but reflect different origins. The meaning of Aotearoa as referring to New Zealand is contested as Aotearoa was the name Māori gave to the North Island of the country. New Zealand was the name conferred by Abel Tasman, a Dutch explorer in 1642.

achieving the SDGs and requires inclusiveness and shared prosperity (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2018). Furthermore, the intersectionality of gender, age of arrival, ethnicity, religion, personal education levels and education levels of their parents or caregivers[2], English language fluency and pre-migration experiences can all impact refugee-background young people's access to opportunities and support required for social, educational and economic participation (Deane et al., 2019). Frequently, there is little recognition that the process of youth development continues while a person is resettling, and that formal and non-formal education (NFE) have important roles to play within it.

Within the discipline of development studies, it is widely accepted that education is both a means and an end to development (Overton et al., 2020; UNESCO & UNICEF, 2007). Education is recognised as contributing to economic wellbeing, and the development of social capital which can provide the capabilities needed to exercise freedoms and access fundamental human rights (McGrath & Gu, 2016). Education underpins the achievement of the SDGs, reducing poverty, preventing inequalities, supporting social justice, health and wellbeing, at individual, community and global levels (Global Partnership for Education, 2015).

Conversely, little attention is paid to NFE, understood as structured activities that are outside formal education curricula such as youth development programmes, sport, arts and cultural activities (Rogers, 2016). This lack of attention is despite increasing acknowledgement that NFE supports Positive Youth Development (PYD), achievement in formal education (McGrath & Gu, 2016), the building of social capital (i.e. bonding and bridging networks with peers and adults) at individual and community levels, and generates social change and community development (Calvert et al., 2013; Spaaij, 2009a).

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[2] The term 'parents' in this thesis refers to biological and adoptive parents of refugee-background youth and other caregivers who are parenting refugee-background youth in the absence of biological or adoptive parents.

As Aotearoa continues to resettle an increasing number of refugee-background young people, it is timely to consider how best to support them, and their host communities[3], particularly by examining what role NFE may play in enhancing both PYD and Refugee Resettlement as means to achieve the SDGs.

The Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (YDSA) outlines guidance for New Zealand government agencies and non-government organisations (NGOs) providing services to youth (Pears, 2002)[4]. Within the context of resettlement, the New Zealand National Refugee Resettlement Strategy (NZRRS) frames the arenas of support and service provision for all former refugees as: Housing, Health, Education, and Employment Participation.

Neither the YDSA or NZRRS specifically consider the unique and diverse assets, aspirations and challenges of refugee-background youth. This absence can further marginalise them, increase disparities and/or constrain social capital (Calvert et al., 2013). It can also reinforce two myths:

1. that while refugee-background youth are resettling youth development stops, or resettlement activities supersede youth development, and
2. that universal approaches to youth development adequately serve refugee-background youth.

In Aotearoa refugee-background youth are aged 12 -24 years who have been resettled here as a result of forced migration or displacement, or who were born to parents[5] who were resettled here as a result of forced migration or displacement. They have diverse migration pathways and life experiences which influence their youth development. For instance, they may not have parents or other relatives in Aotearoa or they may be cared for by older siblings or other relatives.

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[3] Host society, host community, wider society and wider community are terms commonly used when discussing resettlement of former refugees to distinguish established members of the community from former refugees. While these terms are problematic because they ignore that such identities are fluid and former refugees and refugee-background youth may also identify as established members of the host community, they are used in this thesis to simplify communication of ideas.

[4] During examination it was brought to my attention that a review of the YDSA principles resulted in a new principle-based framework for youth development, Mana Taiohi. Ara Taiohi. (2019). *Mana Taiohi*. Ara Taiohi. Retrieved 26 September 2022 from https://arataiohi.org.nz/mana-taiohi/.

This thesis contends that through NFE, refugee-background youth can make connections with others, participate in key social contexts and build skills for adulthood that will enhance their economic and social participation. It takes a strengths-based approach to learn from participants in, and providers of, NFE involving refugee-background youth to generate recommendations for practice which can contribute to New Zealand's efforts towards achieving;

> • SDG 3 'good health and wellbeing' which includes promoting wellbeing for all, at all ages,
>
> • SDG 4 'quality education', which includes ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education for all, and
>
> • SDG 10 'reduced inequalities' which includes reducing inequalities within countries, promoting universal social inclusion, ensuring equal opportunities, and ending discrimination (United Nations, 2018).

1.1 Positive youth development and refugee resettlement

Positive Youth Development (PYD) asserts that youth are more likely to thrive now and in adulthood if they are provided with opportunities and support to develop the key positive characteristics of confidence, competence, character, connection and caring which will result in them contributing in their contexts (Lerner, Lerner, & Benson, 2011). The development of these characteristics occurs through interactions with external environments that are facilitated by participation and quality relationships (Deane & Dutton, 2020). Cultural aspects are taken into account through the contextualised view of youth development (Masten, 2014). External environments encompass the contexts where youth spend time and will include home, places of learning, workplaces, and private and public social spaces. Youth require opportunities offered by adults as well as positive connections and engagement with family and other people to develop the key characteristics (Benson, 2002). Figure 1-1 provides a pictorial representation of the concept of PYD and Table 1-1 provides a description of the key characteristics for PYD.
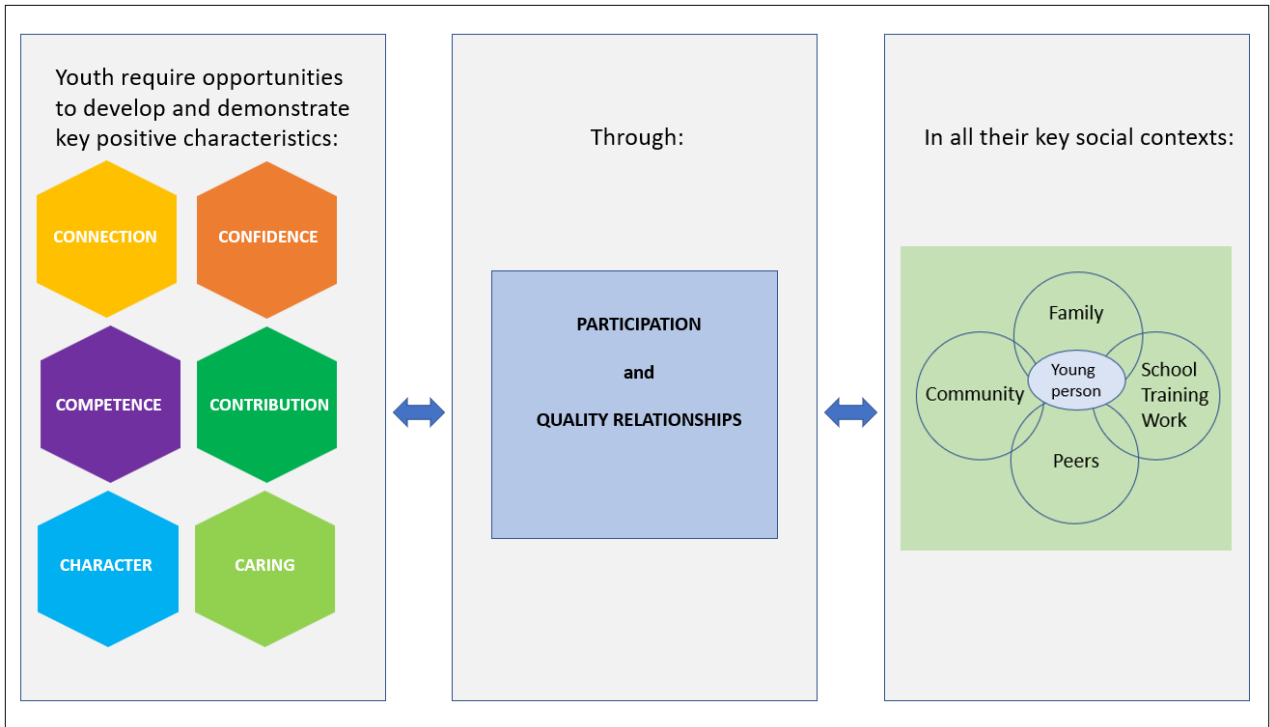
Figure 1-1 A pictorial representation of positive youth development (Source: Author)

Key characteristics	Description
Confidence	An internal sense of overall positive self-worth and self-efficacy.
Competence	A positive view of one's skills including social and academic skills.
Character	Respect for societal and cultural norms, a sense of right and wrong (morality) and integrity. A sense of responsibility and independence.
Connection	Positive bonds with people and institutions. A sense of belonging.
Caring	A sense of sympathy and empathy for others.
Contribution	Giving to yourself and others including family, community, and institutions.

Table 1-1 Key characteristics for positive youth development (Lerner et al., 2015; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003)

PYD can be seen as a developmental process in which all young people can develop positively, and as an approach to working with youth (Deane & Dutton, 2020). There are many frameworks and models of PYD which have different emphases but which all focus on supporting youth to thrive (Deane & Dutton, 2020). In this research I use the PYD Aotearoa Framework (PYDA) (Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, 2021) and the Five Cs of PYD (Lerner et al., 2005) to analyse data and present findings. These frameworks are discussed in chapter three.

For refugee-background youth, youth development occurs simultaneously with, and is impacted by, resettlement and adjustment to a new culture (Oppedal, 2006). Refugee-background youth development exists within the broader contexts of resettlement, national youth related policy and practice, and international youth development theory and practice. Refugee-background youth who were either born in Aotearoa or arrived at an early age, while not adjusting to a new culture themselves, are impacted by how their parents and other family and community members are adjusting to the culture of Aotearoa (Deane & Dutton, 2020).

Resettlement encompasses the activities and processes of becoming established in a new country (Valtonen, 2004). Both newly arrived and established, individuals and groups must adjust to different cultural values, behaviours and beliefs. The mutual and reciprocal change, that occurs at both group and individual levels, as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups is known as acculturation (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2005).

There are a number of acculturation strategies which are described in Table 1-2. Integration is seen as the strategy which results in the best long term outcomes for those resettling in a new country and is reflected in the New Zealand Refugee Resettlement Strategy (NZRRS) (Immigration New Zealand, 2012) . The NZRRS vision is:

> "Refugees are participating fully and integrated socially and economically as soon as possible so that they are living independently, undertaking the same responsibilities and exercising the same rights as other New Zealanders and have a strong sense of belonging to their own community and to New Zealand." (Immigration New Zealand, 2012, p. 3).

Acculturation strategy	Description
Assimilation	Choosing to interact with and take on parts of the majority culture while placing little value on maintaining cultural heritage.
Separation	Placing high value on retaining ethnic culture and avoiding interaction with other cultures.
Integration	Retaining ethnic culture and interacting and adopting elements of the majority culture.
Marginalization	Neither retaining ethnic culture or participating in the wider society or adopting elements of the majority culture.

Table 1-2 Acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997, 2001; Berry, 2005)

While the definition of integration is contested and can have varying meanings (Strang & Ager, 2010), for the purposes of this research, integration involves a person maintaining or developing a sense of belonging to their own ethnic culture, other identity groups and Aotearoa as a nation, building social networks and being able to participate fully in society while maintaining key aspects of cultural traditions as they see fit (New Zealand Immigration, 2018). Integration is achieved where members of all social groups have the ability to live freely with equitable access to rights and services and have equitable opportunities for mutual respect and harmony (Rogers et al., 2013). Integration implies that former refugees are granted everyday citizenship by the host society which means they are allowed to inhabit spaces free from discrimination (Butler, 2004; Staeheli et al., 2012). Everyday citizenship shapes the social space available to former refugees (Strang & Ager, 2010) and provides an overall sense of safety, trust and belonging to wider society (Yzelman & Bond, 2020). Within Aotearoa, the terms resettlement and integration are often used interchangeably.

The links between positive youth development and integration

Integration is the acculturation strategy that best aligns with PYD. Both PYD and integration approaches aim to provide opportunities to develop resources so individuals can flourish. PYD aims to enable youth to develop the skills and attitudes they need to thrive, now and in

adulthood while integration aims to enable those resettling in a new country to participate fully and equally in the society that they are now living in.

Social inclusion and participation are key components of both PYD and integration theories. Social inclusion seeks to provide all members of society with the opportunities, resources, and rights necessary to participate fully in economic, social, and cultural life, to enjoy a standard of living and wellbeing that is considered normal and participate in decision-making that affects their lives (Rogers et al., 2013). Participation requires inclusion which encompasses equitable access to opportunities, welcoming diversity, avoiding discrimination and having opportunities to participate in social networks within the host community (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). Social inclusion is about being allowed or enabled to take part, while participation is the act of taking part (Tisdall, 2006). Each of the core domains of integration in the conceptual framework of integration suggested by Ager and Strang (2008)[6] and discussed in chapter three, support social inclusion and participation. PYD recognises participation as a key ingredient in developing the characteristics youth require to flourish (Cambron et al., 2019).

Developing social capital, a sense of belonging, having opportunities to contribute and being free to maintain cultural or ethnic identity, are recognised as key facilitators of positive outcomes in both PYD and integration. Social capital is included in the integration framework as bonding, bridging and linking connections which require relationships of reciprocity and trust to be built across social contexts. Social capital is contained in PYD as the characteristic of connection and through the recognition that the characteristics youth need to develop will be built through quality relationships, of reciprocity and trust, in key social environments.

A sense of belonging is a critical component of PYD (L. K. Brendtro et al., 2014) and also critical for integration. Belonging requires feeling accepted, welcome, safe and respected, forming supportive social networks, and contributing to community and social activities (Skyrme, 2008). Social capital increases participation which fosters a sense of belonging (Ager & Strang, 2008). Integration and PYD approaches recognise that contributing to one's

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[6] The conceptual framework of integration proposed by Ager and Strang (2008) is referred to as the integration framework in this thesis.

society also fosters a sense of belonging. Everyday citizenship, being free to maintain and express cultural identity while participating fully in society, supports a sense of belonging (Yzelman & Bond, 2020), and is reflected in PYD and integration approaches. Everyday citizenship is supported by social bridges and links. Social bonds, bridges and links establish reciprocity and trust that enable further social bonds, bridges and links to be built, resulting in an upward spiral of social capital (Calvert et al., 2013; Strang & Ager, 2010).

Achieving wellbeing is an overarching aim of both PYD and integration approaches. Belonging, participation, positive connections to people, and wellbeing are interdependent (Willette, 2020). Wellbeing encompasses physical and mental health, social wellness and being satisfied with one's life. Wellbeing is characterized by good health, prosperity, strong connections to family and friends, job satisfaction, sufficient social supports, freedom of expression, and low stress (Rogers et al., 2013). Wellbeing is also connected to personal development and individual competence (Willette & Kindon, 2020).

1.2   Contextual issues

Host society actions and attitudes have a significant impact on youth development for refugee-background youth (Stuart, 2014; Yzelman & Bond, 2020). Many refugee-background youth do not feel settled or accepted in Aotearoa society and experience significant racism and discrimination (Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2006). Several factors make refugee-background youth more likely to experience discrimination, including ethnicity, religion, race, and socioeconomic status (New Zealand Red Cross, 2020). European, Māori[7] and Pasifika[8] are the largest ethnic groups in Aotearoa with 70% of children and youth identifying as European. Refugee populations in Aotearoa are reflected in Asian, African, South American and Middle Eastern communities (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019). While the population of Aotearoa is becoming more multi-cultural, Aotearoa has legal

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[7] Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa. Moorfield, J. C. (2011). *Te aka : Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index* (New expanded ed. ed.). Pearson.
[8] The term Pasifika is used to describe those who identify as Polynesian and have their roots in the South pacific Culbertson, P. L., Agee, M. N., & Makasiale, C. O. (Eds.). (2007). *Penina uliuli : Contemporary challenges in mental health for Pacific peoples*. University of Hawaii Press. https://doi.org/10.21313/9780824863913. .

foundations as a bi-cultural nation[9] (Deane & Dutton, 2020) which is reflected in youth policy, practice and resource allocation. More equitable access to opportunities for refugee-background youth require more knowledge and cultural understanding from the host society (Humpage, 2009; Yzelman & Bond, 2020).

Affiliation with a religion that is culturally distant from the majority religion makes acculturating more difficult for youth (Stuart, 2012). In the 2018 census, 48% of New Zealanders reported having no religion, while Christianity remained the largest religion (Statistics NZ, 2019) Affiliations to Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism are growing but accounted for less than 4% collectively of the population in 2014 (Stuart, 2014).

Refugee-background youth in Aotearoa are also growing up in a context with high rates of child and youth poverty and mental illness and suicide (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019; New Zealand Red Cross, 2020). They often find it difficult to access opportunities to participate in activities, including NFE, and to build social networks with other New Zealanders (Johnstone & Kimani, 2010; Kale, 2019; O'Connor, 2014). Language difficulties, either their own or their parents', can make accessing education and services difficult (Deane et al., 2019). Schools and tertiary institutions struggle to provide adequately for students from a refugee-background due to a lack of knowledge, funding and resources (Changemakers Refugee Forum et al., 2011; Strauss & Smedley, 2009; Willette, 2020) and parents can struggle to support their children's education due to barriers such as finances, knowledge and language barriers (Deane et al., 2019). The provision of NFE often occurs through grassroots organisations, with limited funding and resources, and relies on volunteers (Wheaton et al., 2017). NFE providers often lack knowledge of how to better meet the needs of refugee-background youth.

As noted in Section 1.1, there is no government strategy (either youth development or resettlement) that specifically considers the unique assets, strengths or needs of refugee-background youth. This thesis aims to address this gap by bringing together theories of PYD

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[9] The bi-cultural foundation of New Zealand is contained in the Treaty of Waitangi, a political compact between Māori and the British Government, containing the principles for founding and governing a nation state. The meaning and application of the Treaty of Waitangi are contested. Viewing New Zealand as a bi-cultural nation relies on the simplified assumption that there are two cultures, Māori (colonised) and Pākehā (the coloniser) and this view, which ignores the diverse realities of identities and relationships is also contested Meredith, P. (1999). Hybridity in the third space : Rethinking bi-cultural politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *He pūkenga kōrero : a journal of Māori studies, 4*(2), 12-16.

and integration to identify principles and best practice for adapting NFE for refugee-background youth in Aotearoa. PYD needs to be informed by effective research and evaluation (Ministry of Youth Development, 2002) and learning advances when theory, policy and local practices are bought together and are accessible to both researchers and practitioners (Lavis et al., 2008, as cited in Strang & Ager, 2010). The outputs of this research are intended to help those working in youth development and those offering NFE to better enhance youth development outcomes for refugee-background youth.

1.3   Research questions

Given the study's aim, I seek to answer the following questions:

1. What key factors influence positive youth development for refugee-background youth?
2. What key factors lead to positive youth development for refugee-background youth through non-formal education?
3. How might non-formal education be adapted to enable greater positive youth development outcomes for refugee-background youth?

This research works within transformative ontology and epistemology, which focus on research with marginalised groups and the inequities they experience, in order to transform them (Creswell, 2014). A transformative paradigm provides a way for researchers who feel a moral obligation to contribute to a more just society to express issues of social justice for and with people who are generally excluded from the mainstream (Mertens et al., 2009). Within this framing, I used a strengths-based qualitative methodology infused with Appreciative Inquiry (AI) to explore what is working well and identify potential to improve (Cooperrider, 2008; Reed, 2007; Watkins et al., 2011).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 23 participants in Aotearoa who were refugee-background youth, parents of refugee-background youth and/or who worked with refugee-background youth in the youth development arena. The transcripts of these interviews were analysed thematically and an expert advisory group, made up of two refugee-background youth, provided their perspectives on the themes generated.

My interest in refugee-background youth development was sparked by my experience providing a youth development programme, The Duke of Edinburgh's Award, in an ethnically diverse high school. Through this programme I saw the positive impacts of students' participation in NFE. I also witnessed how some students, including refugee-background youth, faced barriers to participation. As I worked to remove barriers and increase student diversity, I faced practical challenges and a lack of knowledge to draw on to inform my practice. I hope that this thesis and any publications arising from it can provide others with resources and guidance in their own work.

1.4   Structure of chapters

The remainder of this thesis is divided into seven chapters:

Chapter two draws insights from research on refugee resettlement, adolescent health and wellbeing, resilience, and PYD to identify the key factors influencing PYD for refugee background youth. Insights are drawn from Māori and Pasifika youth development approaches and research on migrant and refugee-background youth. The role of NFE in PYD for refugee-background youth is explored.

Chapter three describes the theoretical frameworks used in this research and outlines the methodological approach that has guided this research. By overlaying an integration framework on PYD frameworks I have been able to identify additional factors of youth development that should be considered for refugee-background youth. I also describe how I ensured the perspectives of refugee-background youth were privileged over other research participants and discuss the steps taken to reduce the power differential between myself and research participants.

Chapter four presents the findings of the first research question; *What key factors influence PYD for refugee-background youth?* It shares the narratives of refugee-background youth and those working with refugee-background youth in the field of youth development, some of whom also have lived experience as former refugees. This chapter illustrates the importance of focussing not only on supports for refugee-background youth themselves, but also on supporting their families.

Chapter five responds to the second research question; *What key factors lead to PYD for refugee-background youth through NFE?* This chapter highlights which factors should be prioritised and concludes by suggesting a proposed model of PYD for refugee-background youth.

Chapter six answers the third research question; *How might NFE be adapted to enable greater PYD outcomes for refugee-background youth?* Here I identify factors for practitioners to consider when designing and delivering NFE to ensure refugee-background youth are able to access opportunities and feel welcome.

Chapter seven explores how funding, passion and knowledge are essential to support NFE providers to provide development opportunities for refugee background youth that are accessible and inclusive.

Chapter eight draws together the key themes that emerged throughout this research. It highlights that to enhance PYD for refugee-background youth, a nuanced approach that understands their diversity, unique assets and challenges must be taken. A wider societal and intergenerational lens is also required.

2   Literature review

As noted in chapter one, the development of refugee background youth occurs within the paradigms of PYD and resettlement. This chapter discusses the trends and debates surrounding PYD in general, and PYD for Māori, Pasifika, migrant and refugee-background youth more specifically within disciplines of refugee resettlement, adolescent health and wellbeing, resilience, and PYD. Considering youth development for Māori and Pasifika and models of health and wellbeing provide perspectives that contest western[10] views and align to PYD principles that development is culturally and contextually grounded (Deane & Dutton, 2020). I also review literature regarding the contribution of NFE to PYD generally and to refugee-background youth in particular. I conclude by outlining the research gaps and research questions for this study.

2.1   Positive youth development

PYD theory, as described in chapter one and discussed in more detail in chapter three, emerged in the United States in the 1980s through recognition that traditional problem centred approaches to youth development were dispiriting and had limited effectiveness (Lerner et al., 2003). The PYD movement was supported by resilience research showing the ability of young people to overcome adversity and thrive (Benard, 1993) and Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (2009) which recognised that youth development is significantly impacted by the interactions youth have with the contexts in which they grow up (Lerner, Lerner, & Benson, 2011).

While PYD research has been criticised for having an overly western bias, recent research considers PYD for culturally diverse groups of youth in Aotearoa (Deane & Dutton, 2020; Deane et al., 2019) and provides insights relevant to contemporary refugee-background youth development.

Firstly, connection with natal culture and positive ethnic identity is recognised as important to the process of PYD (Deane et al., 2019). The natal cultures of young people need to be acknowledged and valued in their key social environments so they feel accepted and

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[10]The term 'western' refers to perspectives, values and culture that originated from North America and non-communist European states.

respected (Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). Understanding their heritage helps youth understand their identity, connections to others and sense of place, land and time (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019).

Secondly, marginalised youth, including refugee-background youth, are often excluded from leadership and decision making opportunities within civic organisations, including NFE programmes, that support PYD. This negatively impacts their sense of belonging and ability to participate fully (Deane et al., 2019).

Finally, the skills, knowledge and characteristics of people working with marginalised youth in formal and informal roles need to be improved to ensure development opportunities are culturally responsive and provide an inclusive environment for marginalised youth including refugee-background youth (Deane et al., 2019). The relationships youth have with important people at home, school and in the broader community fundamentally impact their development.

2.2 Key factors influencing positive youth development for Māori and Pasifika youth

Māori and Pasifika approaches to youth development can provide alternative perspectives to western research and provide valuable insights for refugee-background youth development in Aotearoa. In common with refugee-background youth, Māori and Pasifika youth live with the expectations of two or more cultures, face challenges of retaining their cultural heritage, values and languages, and experience misunderstanding and lack of acceptance of their culture by the predominantly White, Pākehā[11] society (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019; Culbertson et al., 2007; Kele-Faiva, 2010; Pears, 2002).

While there are no comprehensive models of youth development for Māori or Pasifika youth in Aotearoa, lessons can be drawn from Māori and Pasifika models of health and wellbeing such as Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1998), Te Wheke (Pere & Nicholson, 1997) and Fonofale (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019). There is also recognition that Māori and Pasifika approaches to youth development should incorporate

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[11] The term Pākehā refers to New Zealanders of European descent. Moorfield, J. C. (2011). *Te aka : Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index* (New expanded ed. ed.). Pearson.

their worldviews, definitions of success and values (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019; Durham et al., 2019; Reynolds, 2018).

Currently the key factors of Māori and Pasifika youth development approaches can be distilled as follows:

- Development of skills to negotiate natal and western cultures
- Support from extended family, whānau and kaupapa whānau[12]
- Mentoring from natal culture and faith community
- Contribution to the collective including extended family, whānau and wider community
- Pride in cultural identity
- Cultural efficacy
- Development of personal characteristics of service, humility and acting in the interest of the collective

Māori and Pasifika youth need to develop the skills to confidently navigate their own and Pākehā contexts (Simmonds et al., 2014; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010) and to be proud of their own identity/ies (Durham et al., 2019; Simmonds et al., 2014). To do so requires participation in arts, sports, cultural and faith-based activities, as well as knowledge of and opportunities to express and share cultural values and practices with others (Durham et al., 2019; Ioane, 2017; Kele-Faiva, 2010; Simmonds et al., 2014; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). Resilience in Māori and Pasifika youth is fostered through social and cultural connectedness with their communities of identity (Culbertson et al., 2007; Kele-Faiva, 2010; New Zealand Red Cross, 2020).

Māori and Pasifika peoples place great importance on extended family (or whānau) and value collective wellbeing, often over individual wellbeing (Alefaio, 2017; Durie, 1998), which tends to be found at school, socializing with peers and in the media (Culbertson et al., 2007). A whānau approach to youth development is understood as being culturally responsive (Alefaio, 2017; Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019; Culbertson

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[12] Extended family, or whānau can mean immediate family or much wider family. Whānau can also mean kaupapa whānau; people joined together for a common purpose with a group unity Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group. (2019). *Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy*. https://childyouthwellbeing.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2019-08/child-youth-wellbeing-strategy-2019.pdf.

et al., 2007; Edwards et al., 2007; Simmonds et al., 2014). Whānau provide youth with advice and support, a wide range of social experiences and cultural knowledge (Edwards et al., 2007). The wellbeing of whānau has a critical impact on youth development for Māori (Edwards et al., 2007) and Pasifika youth (Culbertson et al., 2007). As such, great value is placed on youth understanding their responsibility towards the collective (Alefaio, 2017; Simmonds et al., 2014). Personal characteristics such as humility and service are valued highly (Alefaio, 2017; Ioane, 2017; Simmonds et al., 2014; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010), but may need to be intentionally taught to youth growing up in western contexts (Alefaio, 2017), and need to be valued outside of traditional cultural contexts (Ioane, 2017; Simmonds et al., 2014; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010).

Pasifika generally have strong ties to religion which, along with ethnicity, is an important part of their identity (Alefaio, 2017; Culbertson et al., 2007; Durham et al., 2019). Therefore, youth development approaches for Pasifika youth need to recognise the significant role of the church in their development (Culbertson et al., 2007). The church is often the centre of community life, providing spiritual sustenance, social connections, leadership opportunities, mentors, enjoyment and practical support (Alefaio, 2017; Durham et al., 2019). It reinforces a sense of wellbeing, belonging and cultural identity (Durham et al., 2019) through language, cultural practices and cultural expression through dance and music (Ioane, 2017).

Having mentors and positive role models from within communities of identity fosters a sense of belonging, provides support, encourages cultural connectedness and supports the development of aspirations for Māori and Pasifika youth (Alefaio, 2017; Culbertson et al., 2007; Edwards et al., 2007; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). The tuakana-teina[13] relationship is recognised as a key support for Māori youth (Edwards et al., 2007; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010) through which knowledge is shared between two people of differing status or age through a respectful and reciprocal relationship (Mead, 2003). Tuakana support the development of cultural efficacy and personal characteristics and provide mentoring and guidance in expressing their Māori culture in both traditional and non-traditional contexts

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[13] Tuakana refers to elder siblings or cousins of the same gender as the teina or a formal mentor such as a prefect. Teina are junior to the tuakana. Moorfield, J. C. (2011). *Te aka : Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index* (New expanded ed. ed.). Pearson.

(Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). Opportunities for Māori youth to act as tuakana for others are also valuable for their own development (Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010).

Youth development for Māori and Pasifika also needs to counter deficit narratives that reinforce negative stereotypes and lead to discrimination and bullying (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019; Durham et al., 2019). Negative stereotypes and bullying contribute to cultural dislocation which negatively impacts confidence and a sense of belonging for youth (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019). Negative stereotypes and discrimination create inequities in access to education and development opportunities for Māori and Pasifika youth (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019). Individual and systemic discrimination results in inequitable treatment of Māori, Pasifika and other ethnic minorities by teachers and healthcare professionals and results in services that do not adequately support them. Systemic discrimination also results in underfunding for services for Māori and Pasifika youth. Discrimination creates barriers to developing bridging social capital which hinders participation and full social and economic participation in society (Durham et al., 2019; Kele-Faiva, 2010). In addition, a lack of access to material and economic resources restricts access to opportunities for Māori and Pasifika youth to explore their full potential (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019) and often constrains their aspirations (Durham et al., 2019).

2.3   Key factors influencing positive youth development for migrant and refugee-background youth

To understand the risk and protective factors for refugee-background youth both acculturation and development theories need to be integrated (Stuart, 2012). Without specific youth development frameworks for refugee-background youth, it is often assumed that acculturation takes precedent over youth development (Sam & Oppedal, 2003), This is not the case.

Berry's model of acculturation strategies (chapter one) is widely used to inform government policy on resettlement. However, Berry's model ignores the wider political, economic and social context and the impact that host society attitudes and behaviours have on former-

refugees' ability to participate, build social capital (Rudmin, 2009) and access social goods such as formal education and NFE (Correa-Velez et al., 2010).

Literature on resettlement often focuses on what those resettling can do to integrate but little attention is paid to how established members of a community can or should contribute to the process and outcomes. In addition, acculturation research historically has been conducted with adults and then generalised to youth and children (Pfafferott & Brown, 2006). However, due to their development stage, young people face more complex issues of adjustment than adults (Oppedal, 2006) and acculturating youth have specific development needs (Rudmin, 2009). Therefore, the complex needs of migrant and ethnic minority youth are often not addressed in acculturation research (Hedegaard, 2005).

Refugee-background and migrant youth can face additional risk factors in their development that impact their wellbeing and their ability to participate and develop social networks. These factors can include the challenges of navigating two or more cultures (James, 2013; Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2017; Pink et al., 2020; Whitley et al., 2016), being marginalised because of ethnicity or religion (Humpage, 2009; James, 2013; O'Connor, 2014; Sampson et al., 2016; Spaaij, 2015; Stuart, 2012) and limited financial resources (O'Connor, 2014; Spaaij, 2015; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). Refugee-background youth often experience negative attitudes or discrimination (Deane et al., 2019; O'Connor, 2014; Pink et al., 2020; Stuart, 2012). This experience is particularly true for groups who are physically or visibly different to, or culturally distant from, the wider society (Stuart, 2012). Refugee-background youth are often managing educational disturbances, a greater burden of caring or helping in their families which often includes supporting parents with childcare and translating for them at appointments (Changemakers Refugee Forum et al., 2011; Humpage, 2009; James, 2013), and coping with separation, loss or trauma (Cerna, 2019). They may also be adapting to a new education system, and an unfamiliar language and culture (Ziaian et al., 2019).

However, refugee-background youth often display adaptive qualities including skills to form social bonds with people from different backgrounds, learn new languages and customs and form identities capable of straddling the norms of both their adopted and original countries. These adaptive capabilities help refugee-background youth meet the many demands on their present and future lives (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Nunn et al., 2014). Refugee-

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background youth come up with ways of embracing two or more separate cultures. Sometimes they switch between cultures, sometimes they lean more towards the host society dominant culture, often holding strong ties to both cultures, or creating a mixed identity (Hedegaard, 2005).

Youth development theory and frameworks that are generalised for all youth, overlook or downplay the heterogeneity as well as the unique strengths, assets and needs of refugee-background youth. For example, the New Zealand Child Youth Wellbeing Strategy (2019) states that the unique needs of former-refugees and migrants should be met but does not specify how. As a result, refugee-background youth often miss out, while the wider community loses opportunities to learn from the contributions, insights and networks of refugee-background youth and build cultural understanding. The lack of information specific to refugee-background youth makes it hard to identify and address their challenges (United Nations, 2019).

Additionally, much of the literature on refugee-background youth is deficit-based and barriers focussed (Willette, 2020) which is contradictory to PYD. A deficit framing reinforces pre-existing biases and perceptions that limit the aspirations and participation of refugee-background youth, and fails to recognise the resilience, strengths and assets they have (Mupenzi, 2018). A deficit framing often fails to account for integration as a non-linear ongoing process and frequently focuses on newly-arrived refugee-background youth rather than recognising that many have been born in Aotearoa to parents who are former-refugees or were resettled at a young age.

As described in chapter one, PYD happens through quality relationships and participation (Ministry of Youth Development, 2002). PYD can therefore provide a strengths-based lens to the development of refugee-background youth. In the following sections I explore how forming a positive self-identity, acceptance of diversity by the host nation, belonging, participation and social capital are interdependent and enable participation and quality relationships to occur.

2.3.1 Self-identity

For youth navigating two or more cultures, one of the most important requirements for youth development is their achievement of a positive and coherent cultural self-identity

(Cerna, 2019; Sam & Berry, 2010). Identity formation encompasses the way people view themselves and their social groups (Stuart, 2012). How former refugees see themselves and how they perceive that society sees them, impacts their participation (Berry, 2001).

For migrant youth, achieving a positive and coherent identity can be more difficult as they are negotiating and consolidating the values and behaviours of their ethnic group and faith, and those prescribed by the host nation (Farver et al., 2007). At home they can be expected to uphold traditional values and beliefs, and at school they are expected to fit in with potentially individualistic values of their peers (Stuart & Ward, 2011). Positive and coherent identity formation for refugee-background youth also requires feelings of connection and belonging to Aotearoa (Kuwee, 2005) and opportunities to contribute within and outside of their communities of identity (Sampson et al., 2016; Strang & Ager, 2010). Refugee-background youth need their cultures and religions to be recognised, valued and accommodated in their key social contexts including in schools, workplaces, social spaces and the wider community to support a positive self-identity and a sense of belonging (Horner et al., 2006; Humpage, 2009).

2.3.2 Acceptance of diversity

Acceptance of diversity by host nationals has a significant influence on PYD for refugee-background youth (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; James, 2013; Sampson et al., 2016; Strang & Ager, 2010; Yzelman & Bond, 2020). Refugee-background youth identity can be impacted by negative labels that are frequently associated with being a refugee (Kuwee, 2005), but society has the power to allow refugee-background youth to inhabit spaces free from discrimination and racism and to fully participate (Spaaij, 2015).

Refugee-background youth in Aotearoa often experience social exclusion (New Zealand Red Cross, 2020). Exclusion is not being able to take part in activities and relationships. Exclusion can occur at individual, local and societal levels (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012; Tisdall, 2006) and occurs due to inadequate resources to participate (for example, financial or material resources), lack of information or knowledge or social barriers such as not sharing common characteristics with existing members of a group or experiencing discrimination (Correa-Velez et al., 2010). The existing membership of a group can affect inclusion or exclusion through policies, attitudes and individual or collective behaviours, and through the personal

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characteristics including gender, disability, ethnicity, age or appearance of existing group members. Access to activities does not guarantee inclusion. Inclusion requires activities to be culturally welcoming (Pink et al., 2020) and participants and providers to be kind, respectful, and to value diversity (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012; Yzelman & Bond, 2020).

Creating a positive environment for diversity requires the development of multicultural competencies and acceptance of diversity by individuals within the host nation (Stuart, 2012). This requires host nationals to commit effort to understand cultural differences rather than merely tolerating them or judging refugee-background youth because of them (Stuart, 2012). It also requires discrimination to be recognised and addressed.

2.3.3   Belonging and participation

Participation, supportive social networks and a sense of belonging to a person's community of identity and to the broader host community are essential for PYD (Cerna, 2019; Correa-Velez et al., 2010; David Osher, 2020; Immigration New Zealand, 2012; Lerner, 2017; Ministry of Youth Development, 2002; Sampson et al., 2016; Skyrme, 2008). Participation and belonging are relational and social and are impacted by ongoing relations of inclusion and exclusion in places such as at home, at school and in their communities (Wood, 2013). Enhancing feelings of belonging can impact on how individuals engage with communities and places (Kale et al., 2019).

Opportunities to demonstrate competence and be valued in both their natal and host cultures enhances a sense of belonging (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; David Osher, 2020; Lerner, 2017; Ministry of Youth Development, 2002; Sampson et al., 2016; Willette & Kindon, 2020). Respect and connections from the host society impact belonging, participation, positive connections to people and place, and wellbeing for refugee-background youth (Ager & Strang, 2008; Correa-Velez et al., 2010; O'Connor, 2014; Skyrme, 2008; Valtonen, 2004; Yzelman & Bond, 2020).

Poverty is a barrier to participation in activities that support PYD for refugee-background youth (Block & Gibbs, 2017; Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019; Deng & Marlowe, 2013; O'Connor, 2014; Willette, 2020) and reinforces social exclusion (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019). For example, when researching refugee-

background youth in Australia, Ziaian et al., (2019) found poverty had a greater impact than trauma on pathways to tertiary education or employment.

Differing cultural norms can limit participation in activities and social events for refugee-background youth. Social situations with gender mixing, alcohol or activities involving overnight stays are uncomfortable for some refugee-background youth. However, not participating can make refugee-background youth feel awkward and excluded. Parents differ in what they will allow their children to do (James, 2013).

Gender and religion also impact how refugee-background youth experience youth development. Gender roles, expectations and dress codes, especially for women, impact experiences (Block & Gibbs, 2017). Male youth may find it easier to participate in activities and their similar dress code helps them to fit in (Humpage, 2009). Young women who wear a hijab see this is a cause of discrimination and exclusion (James, 2013). Female refugee-background youth are often expected to take control of household duties and care for younger children making it harder for them to participate in activities and integrate into wider society (Humpage, 2009). Fathers or men may have a significant influence on what young women are allowed to do (James, 2013).

Belonging and participation are also related to place. When refugee-background youth have positive interactions in places associated with opportunity, restoration, sociability and safety, they begin to build attachments to them (Sampson & Gifford, 2010). Conversely feeling vulnerable or upset reduces attachment to places (Kale, 2019). Thus, for former refugees, building place attachment is related to belonging and self-esteem, and enjoying places of pleasure increases wellbeing (Kale, 2019; Sampson & Gifford, 2010). This attachment is informed by diverse intersecting factors including pre and post-migration experiences, race, gender, culture, class, family circumstances and age.

2.3.4   Social capital

Social capital (bonding, bridging and linking connections) has been shown to have a significant impact on youth development (Calvert et al., 2013) and for refugee-background youth development specifically (Correa-Velez et al., 2010). Social capital refers to the social networks and relationships of trust and reciprocity that provide opportunities for collaboration and cooperation and connect people to emotional support, resources and

information (Putnam, 2001). Social bonds refer to connections within groups with a shared identity such as ethnicity or religion. Social bridges are connections that cut across social groups, and social links encompass connections between individuals and institutions (Block & Gibbs, 2017). Social capital is built through participation in shared activities at home, school, communities of identity and the wider community (Calvert et al., 2013; Ministry of Youth Development, 2002; Putnam, 2001). Through the connections made with peers and adults, youth access support, opportunities and experiences, emotional growth, and life skill development, and are more likely to experience a successful transition to adulthood (Calvert et al., 2013). For refugee-background youth, social capital generated through bonded social networks, provides access to emotional support, information and material resources, as well as a sense of belonging and connections of influence (Pink et al., 2020; Strang & Ager, 2010). This in turn supports personal confidence and capacity building (Strang & Ager, 2010). However, access to social capital is not equally available to all members of society (Calvert et al., 2013) and refugee-background youth often experience social exclusion (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; O'Connor, 2014).

Families can foster social capital development (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Stuart, 2012). Parents of refugee-background youth often have a cohesive cultural community and determination to see their children succeed (Deng & Marlowe, 2013) motivating their children to do well in Aotearoa (Stuart, 2012). Parents tend to value education (Block & Gibbs, 2017; Pink et al., 2020) and making connections with the broader community (Pink et al., 2020). Family relationships can also help consolidate connectedness while living in an individualistic society (Stuart, 2014). For example, if family members are more accepting of the host culture and are active participants themselves, refugee-background youth will feel more included and connected (Chen & Sheldon, 2012).

That said, families can also hinder socio-cultural adaption when intergenerational tensions arise as youth acculturate faster than their parents (Chen & Sheldon, 2012; Deng & Marlowe, 2013; James, 2013; Stuart, 2012). While parents want their children to integrate they may be concerned with ensuring cultural practices are maintained (Deng & Marlowe, 2013). Youth and their families need to be better supported to navigate these issues (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019; Deng & Marlowe, 2013). It is also important

to recognise that some refugee-background youth have no family in Aotearoa or have fractured family structures (Deng & Marlowe, 2013; New Zealand Red Cross, 2020).

Community is an important context for youth development. Community encompasses both people in the same place and people with shared characteristics, attitudes, interests, values and purpose (Merriam-Webster, 2020). Community is scalar and includes ethnic communities, peers, schools, suburban communities, faith-based communities, organisation-based communities such as sports clubs, and wider imagined communities such as 'New Zealanders'. For refugee-background communities, there is usually a sense of shared experience and a desire to maintain identities and cultural values of their native country (Liev, 2008 as cited in James, 2013).

Feeling part of one's own ethnic or religious community provides a sense of belonging and supports self-identity (Stuart, 2012) which is particularly important when youth don't feel a sense of belonging to school or the wider community (Correa-Velez et al., 2010). Ethnic and faith-based communities provide a context outside the family where youth can learn and express cultural values and behaviours (Stuart, 2012). They also provide access to material and emotional support, positive role models and mentors, and opportunities to socialise and develop leadership skills (Stuart, 2012; Wilkinson et al., 2017).

Positive connections with host nationals outside their communities of identity (bonding and bridging connections) assist refugee-background youth to learn about the culture of the host nation, increase English language competency, feel safe and feel a sense of belonging (Correa-Velez et al., 2010). These connections also link refugee-background youth and their families to resources, information, and influence (Forget et al., 2019). Non-governmental organisations working with refugee-background youth, and ethnic and religious organisations also provide opportunities to form bonding, bridging and linking connections (James, 2013).

Quality and functional relationships with adults in a mentoring role outside their communities of identity help to increase confidence in broadening social networks, provide practical support, enhance employment opportunities and provide a sense of belonging to a wider and more inclusive community. (Pink et al., 2020; Sampson et al., 2016). They can also help refugee-background youth broaden their perspectives on who they can become (Pink

et al., 2020). School is a prime location for former refugee youth to build their identity and sense of belonging (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Sampson & Gifford, 2010; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012; Ziaian et al., 2019). If refugee-background youth and their families do not feel included it impacts how they adjust and work towards their future goals (Reese, 2002). A lack of encouragement from key people at schools can constrain refugee-background youth aspirations (James, 2013; Ziaian et al., 2019).

2.4   The role of non-formal education in positive youth development

NFE facilitates PYD through experiential learning, access to skilled adult role models, mentors, and opportunities to be part of a cohesive group which provides support for its members (Deane et al., 2019). Where NFE adheres to PYD principles, youth-adult partnerships can encourage long-term participation in community-oriented activities and result in an upward spiral of social capital across the community, benefiting the youth and adults involved, as well as the community as a whole (Calvert et al., 2013). NFE also facilitates the building of social capital through relationships and connections made with adults and peers within the family, faith and ethnic communities, school and wider community (Calvert et al., 2013). Community level youth development programmes are one of the most effective ways to realise PYD among young people (Eccles & Gootman, 2002).

There is extensive quantitative, qualitative and mixed-methods research, undertaken in Aotearoa and internationally, which asserts the benefits of participation in NFE for refugee-background youth (Block & Gibbs, 2017; Dhillon et al., 2020; Jeanes et al., 2015; Spaaij, 2015; Whitley et al., 2016; Whitley & Gould, 2011; Whittington & Budbill, 2013; Wilkinson et al., 2017). Table 2-1 provides a summary of the key benefits identified by researchers.

Benefits	Reference
Enhanced sense of belonging	(Block & Gibbs, 2017; Dhillon et al., 2020; Spaaij, 2015; Whitley et al., 2016)
Increased confidence and self-esteem	(Block & Gibbs, 2017; Whitley & Gould, 2011; Whittington & Budbill, 2013)
Broadened social networks	(Ager & Strang, 2008; Block & Gibbs, 2017; Jeanes et al., 2015; Wilkinson et al., 2017; Wood, 2013)
Development of transferable personal skills	(Block & Gibbs, 2017; Whitley et al., 2016; Wilkinson et al., 2017)
Increased engagement and success at school	(Block & Gibbs, 2017; Dhillon et al., 2020; Whitley & Gould, 2011; Wilkinson et al., 2017)
Increased inclusion in the school and wider community	(Kale, 2019; Sampson et al., 2016)
Increased aspirations	(Wilkinson et al., 2017).

Table 2-1 Benefits of participation in non-formal education for refugee-background youth (Source: Author)

Refugee-background youth in Aotearoa and internationally often find it difficult to access NFE which provides opportunities to participate in activities and build social networks with other New Zealanders (Johnstone & Kimani, 2010; Kale, 2019; O'Connor, 2014), due to the intersectionality of diverse factors including gender, race, religion, socio-economic circumstances and their personal histories (Jeanes et al., 2015; Sampson et al., 2016; Student et al., 2017). Barriers include costs, lack of transport , language difficulties, lack of information, unfamiliar social practices (Block & Gibbs, 2017; O'Connor, 2014; Student et al., 2017) and a lack of culturally appropriate activities (James, 2013). Additionally, many organisations struggle to provide authentic opportunities for marginalised youth to be part of decision making and leadership opportunities limiting full participation by refugee-background youth (Deane et al., 2019).

This is unfortunate as when refugee-background youth and members of the host society participate in activities together, relationships can be built across class, ethnic and socio-economic boundaries (Ager & Strang, 2008; Block & Gibbs, 2017; Whittington & Budbill, 2013; Wilkinson et al., 2017; Wood, 2013). That said, the benefits can be overstated (Cole et al., 2020; Jeanes et al., 2015). Often only the perspectives of those who have successfully

participated are included in research, not those who withdrew from activities or never participated.

There is a small body of literature, predominantly in the context of sport, which recognises that the stated benefits of NFE cannot be guaranteed. If activities and providers are not meeting the needs of refugee-background youth, or are not inclusive, the benefits of the activity are decreased and can reinforce exclusion (Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Jeanes et al., 2015; Spaaij, 2015).

2.5 Enhancing positive youth development through non-formal education for refugee-background youth

For NFE to support PYD for refugee-background youth all participants need to support its aims (Pink et al., 2020; Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009). People joining activities may prefer to participate with people like themselves (Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009). Therefore, the aim of building bridging and linking connections for refugee-background youth may be at odds with why people join activities (Kale, 2019; Spaaij, 2009a; Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009). Program design and implementation will affect the mitigation or reproduction of disparities, the production of inclusivity, and the creation of relationships among members of diverse communities (Calvert et al., 2013). Intentional programme design is needed to build reciprocal and trusting connections across different social groups (Calvert et al., 2013; Pink et al., 2020; Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009) and to ensure that the social capital created is transferable to other contexts (Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009).

NFE best supports PYD for refugee-background youth when personal histories and present circumstances are respected, diversity is celebrated and friendly, respectful and non-hierarchical relationships with adults and peers are present (Pink et al., 2020).

There are a small number of case studies that provide insights into best practice when providing NFE for refugee-background youth and these insights are outlined below. Welcoming diversity and avoidance of discrimination are required to facilitate participation for refugee-background youth (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; New Zealand Red Cross, 2020; Student et al., 2017; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). To aid social inclusion racism must be recognised and challenged, stories of culture should be shared to help understanding, and to redefine

what a kiwi is (New Zealand Red Cross, 2020). Intentional actions to support inclusivity and diversity will help refugee-background youth feel welcomed and included, build cross cultural understanding amongst all participants, and facilitate a safe and respectful environment (Pink et al., 2020). Examples include recognising cultural or religious requirements such as halal food, sharing stories of culture, incorporating prayers from multiple faiths, and greetings in multiple languages (Pink et al., 2020). Inclusion education, cultural training and opportunities to connect youth of different ethnic backgrounds are gaps in NFE currently offered in Aotearoa (New Zealand Red Cross, 2020).

Facilitating participation for refugee-background youth also requires the building of trusting relationships between activity providers and the families and communities of refugee-background youth (Gibson & Kindon, 2013; Humpage, 2009; Kale, 2019; New Zealand Red Cross, 2020; Sampson et al., 2016; Van Niekerk, 2018). Parents may face barriers to engaging with providers such as work, transport and language competency. However, in some cases parental endorsement of an activity may be enough to ensure participation and PYD outcomes (Pink et al., 2020). To gain parental endorsement activities should align with the goals and objectives or meet needs of refugee-background youth and their families. Activities that enhance education or employment, provide opportunities for cultural expression or help make connections with others may align with the goals of refugee-background youth and their families (Pink et al., 2020).

Adults involved in NFE need to be friendly, respectful and empowering and be prepared to dedicate significant time to outreach, relationship building, and information sharing to achieve PYD outcomes for refugee-background youth (Pink et al., 2020). The most important factor in engaging underrepresented youth is the sustained leadership of adults with the ability to build authentic relationships with them (Calvert et al., 2013). Adult mentors are able to recognize and build on the skills, aspirations, and knowledge of youth (Calvert et al., 2013; Pink et al., 2020; Sampson et al., 2016). Youth will often seek assistance from adult leaders for personal challenges (Calvert et al., 2013) and for help with education and securing employment (Pink et al., 2020).

Facilitation of NFE for refugee-background youth therefore requires knowledge and intercultural understanding from adult leaders (Pink et al., 2020). Intercultural understanding can be built among adults and youth through participating together in

activities and intentionally facilitating the sharing and expressing of cultures (Pink et al., 2020). Utilising existing networks of adults with shared culture, language and experience can build competence among adult leaders as will training and relevant experience (Calvert et al., 2013; Deane et al., 2019; Sampson et al., 2016).

Activity providers will need to recognise and address practical barriers such as cost, transport, information, language barriers, and equipment. Adult leaders play important roles helping facilitate transport, stepping in when parents are unable to do so (Calvert et al., 2013; Pink et al., 2020; Preston, 2017). Ensuring that refugee-background youth are able to fully participate often requires funding to cover all costs associated with participation (Pink et al., 2020; Preston, 2017). For young people who are also negotiating unstable or challenging life circumstances or working in an unfamiliar language and cultural context, participation in NFE may require flexibility in time commitment requirements (Calvert et al., 2013; Pink et al., 2020; Preston, 2017).

2.6   Gaps in literature

Research on the development experiences of refugee background youth in Aotearoa is scarce, particularly research that privileges their voices (Deane et al., 2019). Research on refugee-background youth in Aotearoa tends to focus on educational settings, especially school and university and focuses on formal educational pathways (Anderson et al., 2021; Changemakers Refugee Forum et al., 2011; Gao & Reid, 2017; Horner et al., 2006; Willette, 2020) rather than more holistic youth development outcomes (James, 2013; Sampson et al., 2016).

Much of the PYD literature focuses on description and policy but fails to explore practice, especially for refugee-background youth (Pollock, 2006). Until theory, understanding of best practice, and the expertise of practitioners can be integrated, the question of what features of PYD programs for specific youth (e.g. age, ethnicity, religion, gender, ability status, immigrant status, location, family circumstances, histories) result in what immediate and long-term outcomes (Lerner, Lerner, Lewin-Bizan, et al., 2011), cannot be answered.

There is very little research on NFE for refugee-background youth in Aotearoa, including how NFE can enhance feelings of belonging or build social bridges among peers at school or

in the wider community (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Pink et al., 2020) . I also did not find any research that explores the assets refugee-background youth bring to NFE and how refugee-background youth might support the youth development of other participants. While some research explores the barriers of refugee-background youth accessing NFE, research that identifies best practice for making NFE more accessible and inclusive for refugee-background youth, or how established members of the host society can support the development of refugee-background youth is scarce.

Based on the research gaps identified above, the questions this research seeks to answer are as follows:

1. What key factors influence positive youth development for refugee-background youth?
2. What key factors lead to positive youth development for refugee-background youth through non-formal education?
3. How might non-formal education be adapted to enable greater positive youth development outcomes for refugee-background youth?

2.7   Conclusion

The absence of a PYD framework for refugee-background youth in Aotearoa perpetuates the myth that adjusting to a new society takes precedence over youth development. This myth manifests in Government policy and inequitable access to youth development opportunities for refugee-background youth. It constrains the aspirations of refugee-background youth, and how they and others perceive their capabilities and potential.

Positive-youth development theory and approaches that are generalised for all youth fail to recognise the specific assets and challenges for refugee-background youth. Research on youth development for Māori, Pasifika and other ethnic or religious minorities, can provide valuable insights to inform future PYD approaches for refugee-background youth.

Support is needed for both established members of the host society, and refugee-background youth and their families, to create the conditions to enable PYD for refugee-

background youth. It is important to recognise that both refugee-background youth and established members of the host community are heterogenous groups. Further research is needed to determine the key factors that influence PYD for refugee-background youth and to inform best practice for those who seek to provide NFE for refugee-background youth. Research is also needed to determine how members of the host society can support PYD for refugee-background youth.

3   Research approach

This chapter provides an overview of the research approach. First, I describe the theoretical frameworks used in the research and the reasons each was chosen. I then discuss my epistemology and methodology and describe the methods I used to collect and analyse data. I conclude with ethical considerations and limitations of the research.

The research design evolved as my contextual knowledge of how NFE is provided for refugee-background youth in Aotearoa grew. Initially I intended to do a case study of the Duke of Edinburgh's award where, as an award unit leader, I had an established network of contacts. The Duke of Edinburgh's award contains all the elements required for PYD and is offered widely across Aotearoa through schools and youth organisations. However, during my research it became apparent that only one Duke of Edinburgh's award unit was pro-actively providing the award to refugee-background youth in Aotearoa. Therefore, I switched my focus to organisations and individuals providing youth development opportunities to refugee-background youth in a way that was inclusive and addressed the inequities of access.

3.1   Theoretical frameworks

Frameworks informed by theory facilitate interpretation and evidence-informed action (Lerner & Chase, 2018). Youth development programmes that are based on empirically supported theories have been found to be more effective than atheoretical programmes (Kim et al., 2015). PYD frameworks and models explain how to facilitate PYD (Deane & Dutton, 2020).

Because there is no framework for youth development for refugee-background youth, I have chosen to overlay an integration framework onto PYD frameworks in order to identify additional factors of youth development that should be considered for refugee-background youth. By doing this, I aim to answer the call for more research that considers youth from non-western cultures (Deane & Dutton, 2020) and the call to critically consider the appropriacy of western PYD models in the Aotearoa context (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019). The PYDA framework, the Five C's model of PYD and Ager and Strang's conceptual framework of integration were used to analyse the literature reviewed in chapter two and

the data generated and analysed in subsequent chapters. These models were also used to guide the design of the proposed model of PYD for refugee-background youth (chapter five) and the guidelines for NFE providers (chapter eight).

3.1.1 Positive Youth Development models

PYD is a strengths-based approach to youth development based on two principles. The first principle is that all youth have strengths and assets and, given opportunities to nurture these, they are more likely to thrive now and in adulthood. PYD aims to maximise the potential of youth through understanding them and engaging them in productive activities rather than correcting them or treating them for problems (Damon, 2004). The second principle is that youth development occurs through participation and quality relationships in all the key social contexts of youth, the places they live, learn, work and play (Ministry of Youth Development, 2002).

PYD theory originated in the USA, from Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 2009), and resilience research (Lerner, Lerner, & Benson, 2011). Resilience research investigated how youth were able to thrive despite significant challenges. Ecological systems theory recognises youth development occurs in the context of interactions with key social contexts including family, school and wider community and these influence the opportunities and outcomes they experience (Lerner et al., 2015).

Researchers have shown that the benefits of a PYD approach apply after accounting for demographic factors such as ethnicity, gender and socio-economic status (Benson et al., 2012; Scales et al., 2016). PYD can be seen as a developmental process in which all young people can develop positively. It is also a philosophy or approach to programmes that enhance development (Deane & Dutton, 2020; Lerner, Lerner, & Benson, 2011).

PYD theory is appropriate for research on refugee-background youth development as it is a strengths-based approach. Focussing on the strengths of refugee-background youth helps to counter negative stereotypes and representations, which constrain aspirations and opportunities for them.

While the PYD approach recognises the existence of challenges for youth in their development it doesn't consider the development process simply as an effort to overcome deficits and risks (Stuart, 2012). PYD identifies assets from all cultures such as moral values

and spirituality (Masten, 2014). Therefore, PYD is particularly appropriate for refugee-background youth in Aotearoa who are often members of an ethnic minority, and may also be members of a religious minority, as well as frequently experiencing social and economic disadvantage.

This research situates refugee-background youth in their developmental contexts, taking into account experiences with family, faith communities, ethnic groups and wider communities. There are many PYD frameworks and models which articulate the core principles of PYD theory. I have used the PYD Aotearoa (PYDA) framework in this research as it is applicable to young people from diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds and is the most comprehensive and current framework for youth development in Aotearoa. I have also worked with the Five Cs Model of PYD because of their applicability to both individual and collectivist cultures and their relevance to Aotearoa today.

Positive Youth development Aotearoa Framework (PYDA)

The PYDA (Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, 2021) asserts that PYD should seek to achieve two outcomes; developing the whole person and developing connected communities. Developing the whole person requires developing physical, emotional, social, intellectual and spiritual dimensions. Strong, connected communities facilitate and support PYD. Youth need to have opportunities to be included and engaged in the larger social environments of whānau, peers, school, training, work and community. PYD is supported by strengths-based approaches to youth development which prioritise respectful relationships and empower youth to determine their own development (Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, 2021). The PYDA recognises that different models work together to support PYD in Aotearoa. The PYDA framework illustrates that formal and informal activities intentionally weave together to create the whole, captured by the phrase tūhonohono rangatahi - strengthening connectedness (Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, 2021) (Figure 3-1). Evidence of permission to reproduce figure 3-1 is contained in Appendix one.

Figure 3-1 Individual elements weaving together to make the PYDA framework (Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, 2021 p.7.)

The vision of the PYDA is to enable strong, inclusive, connected, resilient, supportive communities which foster unconditional, positive, genuine relationships, instil a sense of identity and belonging, and support the healthy development of young people (Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, 2021). The PYDA is built on the following principles:

- Approaches to PYD need to be strengths-based, built on respectful relationships and affirm young people's agency and participation in their development
- All young people are valuable members of and contributors to society regardless of their circumstances
- Youth require ongoing support and opportunities to succeed
- Youth are active participants in their own development journeys which are embedded in their wider whānau and community systems

The PYDA recognises that a young person's development is interdependent with the connectedness of their family, whanau, and communities where they live, learn, work and play. This relational approach reflects the Treaty of Waitangi and the values of collectivist cultures. The PYDA builds on international PYD theory, incorporating evidence and grassroots experiences from youth and organisations in Aotearoa. The framework was developed in collaboration with experts, practitioners and youth and brings together local,

international, western and Indigenous models of youth development, health and wellbeing, and participation.

The Five Cs Model of Positive Youth development

The Five C's model of PYD is a way of conceptualising the PYDA outcome of developing the whole person (Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, 2021). It focuses on key characteristics of the individual to be developed and strengthened for PYD to occur (Lerner & Israeloff, 2007; Pittman, 2003). The premise of the model is that given opportunities to develop the five characteristics of competence, connection, confidence, character and caring, youth will gain the skills and attitudes that lead to contribution and are more likely to thrive now and in adulthood (Lerner, Lerner, & Benson, 2011).

Although the Five Cs Model originated in North America there is merit in applying it to the Aotearoa context (Mercier et al., 2019; Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, 2021). The Five Cs holistic and strengths-based approach aligns to indigenous approaches to youth development and Māori and Pasifika models of wellbeing discussed in the previous chapter (Arahanga-Doyle et al., 2019; Deane & Dutton, 2020; Deane et al., 2017) although there is some variation in detail. For example, Arahanga-Doyle et al., (2019) suggest that indigenous approaches see connection as the key to identity, whereas the Five Cs Model sees the individualised characteristic of confidence as the key to identity.

The Five Cs Model has also been shown to be an effective tool for evaluating how NFE contributes to PYD for youth in Aotearoa (Mercier et al., 2019). It is the most well researched (Mercier et al., 2019), possibly the most well-known of all PYD models (Deane & Dutton, 2020) and provides a useful framework for answering my research questions.

3.1.2   A Conceptual framework of integration

Ager and Strang (2008) identified ten domains for successful integration. These are:

- Rights and citizenship

- Language and cultural knowledge

- Safety and stability

- Social Bridges

- Social Bonds

- Social Links

- Employment

- Housing

- Education

- Health

The domains act as resources that former refugees invest in and draw upon to grow other resources (Strang & Ager, 2010). While this integration framework is not specifically focussed on refugee-background youth, all of the domains will impact them either directly, or indirectly through impacting family or community members.

Within Ager & Strang's integration framework (2008) the domain of citizenship has two components; legal rights and everyday citizenship, as discussed in chapter one. Language competency and cultural knowledge of the country of residence features as a core domain. However, it is worth noting that the PYDA and Five Cs Model assume that youth have knowledge of the dominant culture and language of the country they are living in.

The integration framework also incorporates Putnam's (2001) categories of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking connections I discussed in chapter two, as key facilitators of inclusion. While this framework shows bonding and bridging connections as discrete, the authors later recognised the multiplicity and fluidity of identity and social relations (Strang & Ager, 2010), and that bonding and bridging networks often converge and may be built with the same people (Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009).

3.1.3   Positive youth development for refugee-background youth

Through considering integration and PYD theory and models together I identified that the core domains of integration support the two overarching outcomes of PYD as described in the PYDA; developing the whole person and developing connected communities. There are also six common themes within PYDA and the integration framework which are as follows:

- Equitable access and opportunities to participate in social, economic and educational contexts
- Quality relationships of reciprocity and trust
- A sense of belonging
- Opportunities to contribute
- Freedom to maintain cultural identity
- Welcoming of diversity and an absence of discrimination

By identifying these themes, I was able to generate a refugee-background lens to PYD, which guided data analysis and informed both the proposed model of youth development for refugee-background youth in chapter five and the suggested guidelines for NFE providers in chapter eight.

3.2   Ontology and epistemology

I chose to adopt a transformative ontology and epistemology for this research which focuses on marginalised groups and the inequities they experience, and aims to transform or make improvements(Creswell, 2014). A transformative paradigm provides a way to express issues of social justice for a diverse range of people who are generally excluded from the mainstream in society (Mertens et al., 2009) and challenges factors that may support oppressive social and political structures (Mertens, 2020). A transformative paradigm recognises the strengths of marginalised communities and the individuals within them (Mertens et al., 2009). An approach that assumes strengths and resilience of refugee-background youth is important to counter the deficit narratives that can prevail in both resettlement and youth development literature as noted in previous chapters.

The power of a transformative approach is that it allows for multiple versions of reality, is action oriented, requires collaboration with the communities the research is intended to benefit, and researcher reflexivity (Reed, 2007). Refugee-background youth come from many different cultures and religions and have varied experiences both prior to being forced to migrate and after arriving in Aotearoa. A transformative view acknowledges that many factors including race, ethnicity, religion, gender, economic status, disability and immigration status, intersect and contribute to an individual's privilege in society, and impact their reality (Mertens, 2020).

Transformative research also aims to incorporate pathways to action for personal and societal transformation rather than leaving this to chance (Mertens, 2017). It also understands that research has the capacity to empower the researchers and the participants (Creswell, 2014). A transformative epistemology is congruent with my intention to use the research to advocate for more equitable youth development opportunities for refugee-background youth and to better equip those providing NFE to meet the needs of refugee-background youth.

Transformative approaches require collaboration with research participants and reflexivity of researchers to ensure changes designed to benefit them meet their objectives and needs (Mertens, 2017, 2020). The relationship between researcher and participants should be interactive and empowering, which requires trust to be built through observance of appropriate cultural norms (Mertens et al., 2009).

In this research, I had two broad groups of participants; refugee-background youth and their parents, and NFE providers. While some NFE providers that participated in the research have lived experiences as refugee-background youth in Aotearoa, many were not from former-refugee backgrounds. NFE providers view experiences of refugee-background youth through their own lenses. What they see is influenced by their own positionality (Higgins et al., 2007). While NFE providers have needs that must be met to enable them to provide accessible and inclusive activities for refugee-background youth, it is refugee-background youth for whom inequity needs to be addressed. Therefore, building relationships to enable effective consultation and collaboration with refugee-background youth was essential to ensuring refugee-background youth' perspectives were privileged over those of other participants.

While I had considerable current experience, contacts and interactions with NFE providers for youth, the first in-depth interactions I had with refugee-background youth and former-refugee communities was in 2020 when I engaged in academic literature, poetry and creative writing by former refugees in Aotearoa as part of a university course. Realising that building relationships was critical to my fieldwork and that research can be enhanced by learning from those whose expertise is derived by lived experience (Chacko, 2004), I built relationships with refugee-background youth and former refugees through participating in forums and groups concerned with addressing their needs in Aotearoa. In 2021 I attended a 'Learning and Innovating with New Kiwis' workshop where I worked with former refugees and refugee-background youth to develop ideas for solutions to problems they had identified. I attended a number of other events including the World Refugee Day festival in Wellington, an Islamic Women's camp and various social gatherings with former refugees including refugee-background youth. These activities helped me build cultural awareness and understanding of the experiences and perspectives of refugee-background youth, and the contextual issues impacting their lives.

Trusting relationships are also essential to refugee-background communities but can take significant time to develop (Block et al., 2013; Cain & Trussell, 2019; Changemakers Resettlement Forum, n.d.; Gibson & Kindon, 2013; Miller, 2004; Student et al., 2017). I sought to build these relationships through organisations in whom former refugees already had trust, and through participation at the events noted above.

I needed to be very conscious of how I built relationships over time to ensure participants felt safe and comfortable sharing their experiences honestly with me during the research process. There was a power differential between me as a researcher and participants, which may have impacted the depth or accuracy with which participants recalled their experiences or shared their knowledge (Block et al., 2013; Symonette, 2009). Aspects of identity such as gender, age, class and race create unequal power relations between the researcher and participants which impacts the field research and the knowledge produced (Chacko, 2004).

As a middle-aged, married woman and mother of New Zealand European heritage, I needed to recognise the impact of these factors and my position as a researcher when interviewing participants, as well as other factors such as religion and lived experience. Transformative research recognises that all researchers occupy a place of privilege and it is necessary that

researchers recognise the factors that both privilege them and potentially marginalise participants or privilege some participants over others (Symonette, 2009).

3.3   Methodology

I worked within a qualitative methodology which sought to explore the meaning ascribed by individuals or groups to a social problem. Qualitative approaches take account of the complexities of a situation, involve questions emerging through the research process, inductive data analysis, and the researcher interpreting data (Creswell, 2014). They allow in-depth explorations of people's experiences and recognise that participants have multiple and diverse experiences (Hay, 2010) which is important when considering the diversity of refugee-background youth and their lived experiences. Qualitative approaches have been shown to be culturally sensitive and able to reflect youth perspectives (Deane & Dutton, 2020). They can consider individual contextual interactions and are important to support theoretical development to move beyond hegemonic western ideas (Ungar, 2019). Qualitative research also allows dialogue between the researcher and participants which is essential to a transformative epistemology (Mertens et al., 2009) and which enables participants to reflect on their experiences and knowledge to suggest better ways of doing things (Hay, 2010). This process of reflection can encourage transformation of practice by individual participants.

Appreciative Inquiry (AI) also influenced the research design. AI is a strengths-based approach that explores what's working well and identifies potential to improve a situation, process or organisation (Cooperrider, 2008; Reed, 2007; Watkins et al., 2011). AI brings theory and practice together enabling change informed by good practice and research (Reed, 2007) and is capable of inspiring, mobilising and sustaining change (Cooperrider, 2008). AI is based on principles and assumptions which are summarised below (Reed, 2007):

- By focussing on what works participants are more likely to be energised and their interest captured and sustained.
- Focussing on what works creates a sense of possibility rather than a sense of limitation.

- People have different realities at different times. AI is not concerned with reaching consensus but with working with multiple realities.

- Asking questions gets people to think about their activities in new ways and this new thinking can lead to new ways of doing.

- Exploring and building on current acts gives people confidence to go forward. It reaffirms their ability and potential and is less daunting than starting with something completely new.

- Different views and perspectives should be valued. They create more ideas and ways of moving forward.

- The language we use creates our reality. Language has the power to shape and reflect how people think and act.

AI is therefore an approach which can be used to recognise the assets and strengths of refugee-background youth and build on them to disrupt negative public perceptions of youth which exist in Aotearoa (France, 2012). It is consistent with PYD and integration frameworks.

By focusing on the positive, organisations are more likely to be comfortable with the research being conducted (Reed, 2007). However, problems and critique will still emerge during the research process and will also inform findings. I felt that using an AI informed methodology was a more comfortable experience for participants because they were being asked to focus on positive experiences and on their ideas for how to improve things rather than being asked to criticise others or dwell on negative experiences. Such an approach was also compatible with calls in PYD research for individual needs and contexts needs to inform effective practical youth development initiatives (L. K. Brendtro et al., 2014; Ungar, 2018). My research was guided by the four phases of the AI cycle summarised in Figure 3-2.
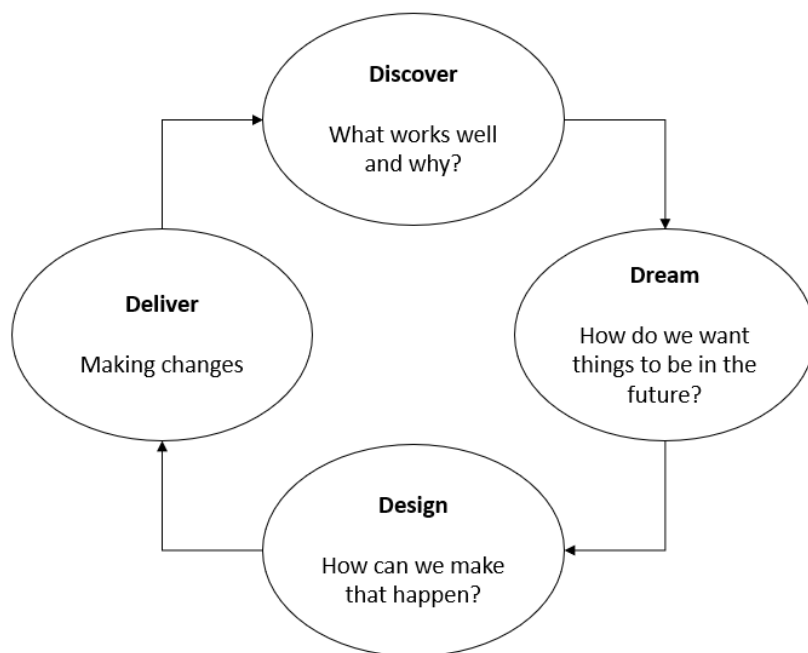
Figure 3-2 The four phases of the Appreciative Inquiry cycle (adapted from Watkins et al., 2011)

To lay the foundation for my research in the Discover phase, I reviewed secondary sources discussed in chapter two. I then extended the Discover and Dream phases through semi-structured interviews, and informal meetings and interactions with former refugee community members, refugee-background youth and NFE practitioners. The formulation of the proposed model of PYD for refugee-background youth and proposed guidelines for NFE providers formed the Design phase. Beyond the writing of this thesis, I intend to disseminate the model, guidelines and suggestions for further research and this will form the Deliver phase.

3.4   Participant sampling and recruitment

I recruited participants through purposive sampling and snowball techniques. Initially I met with New Zealand Red Cross, and my supervisor, Sara Kindon. From these meetings I developed a list of suitable participants and people who would be able to connect me to people who could contribute to the research. A number of participants told others of the

research and they contacted me asking to take part. To ensure I did not put undue pressure on individuals, I recruited all refugee-background participants through an organisation that already had a trusting relationship with them and let that organisation decide who to ask. I only asked former refugees directly to participate where I had already built a relationship with them and they had shown enthusiasm for my research. As refugee-background youth don't necessarily want to identify with the label of refugee, and youth often do not want to be singled out as different to their peers (Gibson & Kindon, 2013; Humpage, 2009; Spaaij, 2015; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012), this meant sensitivity and care was needed when inviting refugee-background youth to participate in the research.

3.4.1   Participants and semi-structured interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews with experts on refugee-background youth development and practitioners working with refugee-background youth in Aotearoa, including NFE providers, teachers, social workers and youth workers, and parents of refugee-background youth. I also interviewed tertiary educators who train teachers, youth workers, and outdoor instructors, many of whom will go on to provide NFE to refugee-background youth. Some of the experts and practitioners interviewed were former refugees who had spent at least some of their youth in Aotearoa. They provided perspectives from both their personal experiences as refugee-background youth in Aotearoa and from their work with other refugee-background youth. Research participants are listed in Table 3-1. A first name pseudonym is given for those who requested anonymity.

Research Participant	Date of interview	Relevant role or experience
Alex Britton	12/07/2021	Youth worker, Ignite Sport[14]
Aliya Danzeisen	02/06/2021	Islamic Women's Council of New Zealand (IWCNZ), Waikato Women's Muslim Association (WOWMA)[15], high school teacher
Ana	12/08/2021	Mixit[16] alumni, former migrant youth
Brendon Crompton	19/08/2021	Chief Operating Officer, NZ Blue Light Ventures (Blue Light)[17]
Elizabeth Magabbo	22/06/2021	Youth worker, New Zealand Red Cross[18], former refugee-background youth
Dylan	12/08/21	Mixit alumni
Hannah Ward	16/08/21	National Programmes Manager, NZ Blue Light Ventures (Blue Light)
Jared	12/07/2021	Youth worker, Ignite Sport
Kate Parr	12/06/2021	Managing Director, First Step Outdoors; Outdoor activity provider for former refugee and new migrant youth
Kodrean Eshae	03/08/2021	Refugee-background student advisor, Victoria University; Youth advocate and community connector, Changemakers Resettlement Forum; Former refugee
Kris	09/08/2021	Three Outward Bound staff who have been directly involved with refugee-background youth attending Outward Bound[19]
Mae	24/09/2021	Refugee-background youth
Marie	03/08/2021	Former refugee-background youth
Naaz Shah	16/08/2021	Teacher and former refugee coordinator, Hamilton Boys High School
Nicola Fleming	12/07/21	Youth Worker, Ignite Sport
Pauline	13/08/2021	Youth Worker, Refugees as Survivors New Zealand
Peter	12/08/2021	Mixit Alumni; former refugee-background youth
Rachel Tallon	15/07/21	Tutor, Bachelor of Youth Development, former New Zealand Red Cross resettlement volunteer, former high school teacher
Ramia Saidawi	14/07/2021	Forced migrant; refugee resettlement worker; parent of refugee-background youth
Wendy Preston	12/08/2021	Co-founder of Mixit, a creative arts initiative supporting refugee and migrant youth development
Zara	22/09/2021	Refugee-background youth; Vic without Barriers member[20]

Table 3-1 Research participants (Source: Author)

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[14] Ignite sport is a Wellington based community trust running youth development programmes based around sport for marginalised youth including targeted programmes for refugee-background youth.

[15] Waikato Women's Muslim Association runs a youth development programme for female Muslim youth which involves outdoor activities, leadership development and incorporates Muslim teaching.

[16] Mixit is a creative arts project for youth from refuge, migrant and local backgrounds.

[17] NZ Blue Light Ventures runs youth development programmes for youth including targeted programmes for refugee-background youth.

[18] New Zealand Red Cross run resettlement programmes for former refugees in Aotearoa

[19] Outward Bound runs adventure-based youth development courses including a three week residential course specifically for refugee-background and migrant youth.

[20] Vic without Barriers is the refugee-background student club at Victoria University of Wellington.

Thirteen individual interviews and three group interviews, with participants from the same organisation, were conducted involving a total of 23 participants. Of the 23 participants, eight were from a refugee-background, with three aged between 18 and 25 years, and a further two having spent at least part of their youth in Aotearoa (see figure 3-3). Refugee-background participants migrated from countries including Syria, Uganda, Sudan, Rwanda, Iraq and Myanmar and had a range of post-migration experiences, influenced by their age of arrival in Aotearoa, English language fluency on arrival, and religious variation from dominant culture. NFE providers also had a range of lived experiences including having a refugee- background, migrating to Aotearoa from a non-western context, migrating to Aotearoa from a western context, growing up in Aotearoa, and parenting refugee-background youth in Aotearoa.
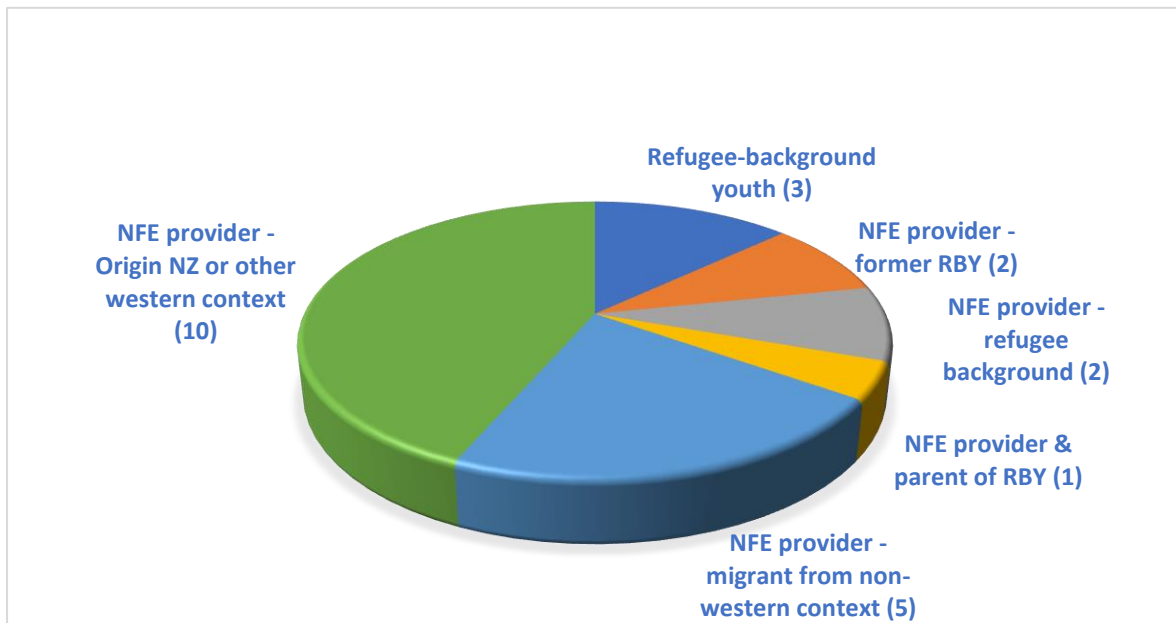
Figure 3-3 Research participants (Source: Author)

Semi-structured interviews with these participants allowed the questions to be broad and the interview schedule flexible. This flexibility allowed me to conduct the interviews in a conversational style and enabled participants to direct the conversation to what they felt was important, express ideas, opinions and recount experiences (Hay, 2010; Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Several participants expressed how reflecting on their practice during interviews had

allowed them to see new possibilities and formulate improvements to their practice that would benefit refugee-background youth.

The interview questions were designed to allow participants to relay their learnings of good practice, to envisage the best possibilities for the future and provide ideas to enhance youth development opportunities for refugee-background youth. I explored the factors that influence PYD for refugee-background youth in Aotearoa, how practitioners have built trusting relationships with refugee-background youth, their families and communities, and what works well for refugee-background youth when participating in NFE. Each interview was tailored to the role and experiences of the interviewee. (Appendix four provides an interview schedule example).

3.4.2   Expert advisory group

I recruited two refugee-background youth through 'Vic Without Barriers', a Victoria University of Wellington student club for refugee-background students, to be part of an expert advisory group to help analyse the interview findings and to ensure the findings reflected the realities of refugee-background youth, and the information gained from research participants was not reinforcing stereotypes or misinformation. The mantra 'nothing about us without us' arose in disability activism (Charlton, 1998) and has become used across minority groups to reflect the need to include the voices of the marginalised, which are often silenced in the research process (Mertens, 2020). While I had initially hoped to have a larger expert advisory group, covid lockdowns made it difficult to recruit participants. I planned to hold a focus group but participants were unable to meet at the same time so I worked individually with each of them. Recognising that refugee-background youth are diverse in many aspects, including gender, ethnicity, religion, financial resources, pre and post migration experiences, length of time in Aotearoa, age, family circumstances, and disability it was not possible to get a group that could represent all refugee-background youth. However, the two participants had a diversity of religion, ethnicity, length of time in New Zealand and post-migration experiences.

The expert advisory group followed a line of AI questioning to provide perspectives from their lived experiences. They also critiqued the findings from the semi-structured interviews through interactive exercises where they ranked themes by importance and identified

connections between findings as shown in Figure 3-4. (Appendix five provides the expert advisory group interview schedule.)
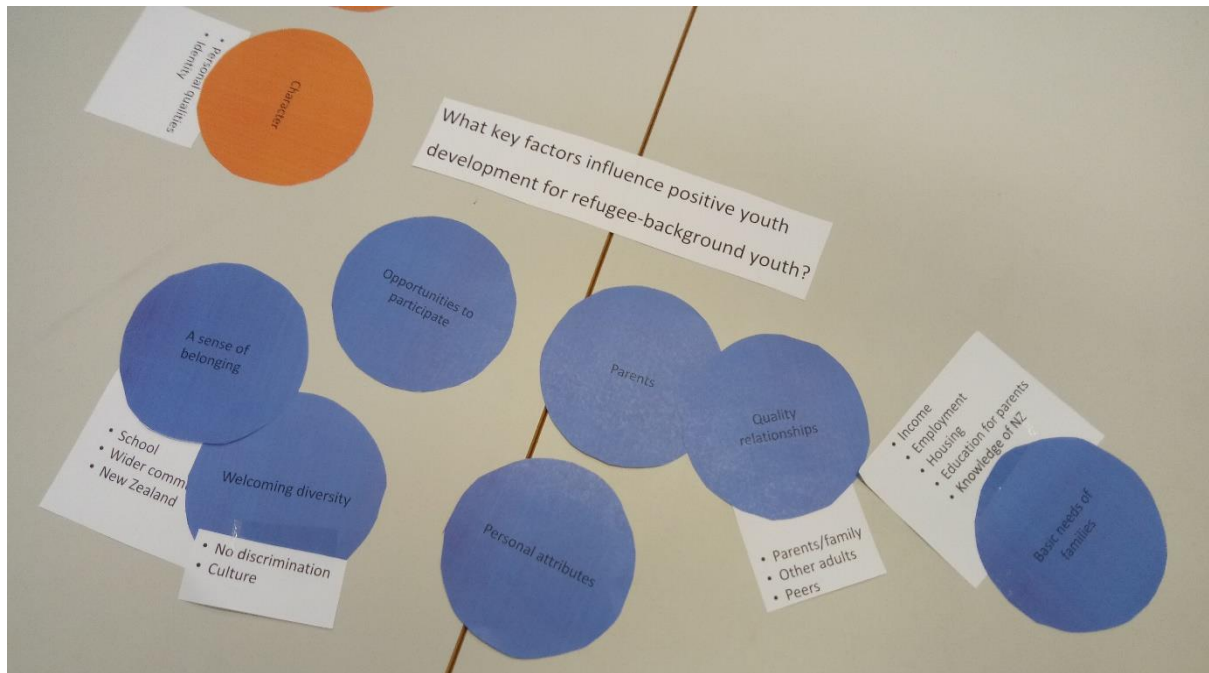
Figure 3-4 Exercise to rank findings and identify connections between themes with advisory group members (Source: Author)

I was also invited to discuss my findings with refugee-background youth at an Islamic women's summer camp. I spent 24 hours with approximately 25 refugee-background youth and validated my findings through formal sessions and informal discussions while participating in activities and sharing meals. (See Figure 3-5).

Figure 3-5 The author and refugee-background and migrant youth walking the Tongariro Alpine Crossing where findings were validated through informal discussions (Source: Islamic Women's' Council of New Zealand, 2022)

3.4.3   Thematic analysis

After each interview or event I attended, I reviewed the data and recorded reflections in a fieldwork journal. I reflected on what participants were saying, what was important to them, what they were not saying, and what their circumstances or personal characteristics were. I considered how their messages had similarities or differences to other participants and whether this was similar or different to what I had observed or read in literature. I also reflected on the PYD and integration frameworks discussed above to identify the importance afforded by participants to components of those frameworks, additional themes that were not contained in the current frameworks and themes in the current frameworks not discussed by research participants. I developed a draft coding structure from the key themes and messages in the interviews and from the theoretical frameworks described above. This process was iterative and inductive which allowed for understanding to be generated and systematically built as data was collected (Mertens, 2020).

I then used NVivo software to carry out a deductive process, applying coding to the transcripts and adding additional codes where appropriate. Coding allows patterns,

commonalities, relationships and differences to be identified (Hay, 2010). It also allows the researcher to be reflexive and self-critical, considering their own research practice and strategies of knowledge creation (Hay, 2010). Finally, interrelationships between codes and themes were identified. These were further critiqued by the expert advisory group as discussed previously.

3.5   Ethics

Ethics approval for this research was granted by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (approval 29442) and the protocols outlined in the ethics application were strictly adhered to. I also gained ethics approval from those organisations that required me to do so (New Zealand Red Cross and Islamic Women's Council of New Zealand) using their own processes, before interviewing any of their staff. Permission to identify organisations named in this research was granted by the Chief Executive or equivalent of the organisations that are named.

Photos provided by three organisations appear in this thesis. Those appearing in the photos supplied gave permission to the relevant organisation for images taken in relation to their participation in programmes to be used by that organisation and disclosed to third parties.

All participants were aged 16 years and over and volunteered to be part of the research. Informed consent was obtained from all participants. (Appendix two provides a sample information sheet given to participants prior to requesting consent and Appendix three contains the consent form.) Interview venues were public enough to ensure safety of both the researcher and participants but private enough to ensure conversations were not overheard by others. Venues included cafes, libraries, hotel lobbies and participants' workplaces. Several interviews were conducted virtually due to the interviewee being located outside Wellington.

In accordance with AI methodology, all questions were positive or neutral. While I was not asking participants to recount negative experiences, I was aware that these experiences could come up in interviews. I reminded participants that they could stop the interview at any time, pause, or skip questions, and that I was happy to turn off the recorder at any stage during the interview.

I manually transcribed interview recordings and these were stored securely on my university one-drive account. All participants were given the choice as to whether they wanted to remain anonymous, be named in the research and have their input attributed to them, or to be identified by their role only. I gave participants the choice of being named, as having your input attributed to you can be empowering for participants. As the voices of refugee-background youth are often not heard it was important to give them an opportunity to be identified in the research. Where participants had requested anonymity, recordings and transcriptions were labelled with a pseudonym rather than the participant's name. Each interviewee was sent a copy of the transcript of their interview and invited to add, delete or modify any content. Where an interview transcription was modified, I destroyed the original and used the modified version in the research.

3.6   Dissemination of findings

There was a palpable enthusiasm among research participants for the research and for ensuring the findings were disseminated in ways that could make a practical difference. Therefore, I adapted the PYD framework and created guidelines for providers of NFE in plain English (chapter eight) and will disseminate these to research participants and interested organisations including schools and other NFE providers once my thesis is submitted. I also did a guest lecture for training secondary school teachers at The University of Otago and presentations to The University of Otago School of Education staff, other NFE providers in Otago, Islamic Women's Council camp participants and Outward Bound staff. By disseminating my work beyond academic forums I hope to challenge inequitable and exclusionary access to this information.

3.7   Positionality

All knowledge is contextual, relational and the construction of that knowledge is impacted by the positionality of the researcher (Hay, 2010; Mertens, 2020). The position I occupied as a researcher and my cultural lenses also impacted how clearly I understood the data provided by research participants (Mertens, 2017). "Too often, we researchers, from our

privileged standpoints, look but still do not see, listen but do not hear, touch but do not feel." (Symonette, 2009, p.279.)

During my research I tried to be acutely aware at all times of how my identities, lived experiences and cultural lenses impacted the research process and the knowledge produced. Recognising that interviews can be intimidating for participants (Mcfarlane & Hansen, 2007), interviews were conducted at venues and times chosen by participants to ensure they were as comfortable as possible in the interview, and to reduce the power differential between myself as the researcher and interviewees. Strategies to aid my understanding of data provided by participants included taking opportunities to work alongside, listen and observe refugee-background youth and former refugee communities, and to listen to understand, rather than to listen to confirm what I thought I knew. However, as Reed and Procter (1995) and Chacko (2004) assert I found that my identity was not fixed but fluid and relative to each research participant. As a middle-aged New Zealand born European, a postgraduate researcher, a NFE provider, a mother of youth, a wife and a member of a faith community, I occupied shifting identities depending on who I was interviewing. For example, when interviewing parents of refugee-background youth I was an outsider as a New Zealand born European with very different lived experiences. However, I was often of similar age and shared some similar experiences around parenting youth in Aotearoa. Also being an outsider to former refugee communities required me to go through a lengthy and complex process of establishing relationships and learning. However, my unfamiliarity with former refugee communities allowed me to ask questions and propose views that might not be voiced by someone more familiar with refugee-background youth.

3.8   Limitations of the research

The time constraints of a one-year Masters prevented a fully participative approach to the research. It took considerable time to build relationships in the former-refugee community and to recruit participants. I determined the research topic and goals, methodology, approach and interview questions without collaborating with refugee-background youth. I assumed that NFE could provide benefits for refugee-background youth. While this assumption was supported by academic literature and anecdotal evidence, it was not tested

with refugee-background youth prior to the research commencing. I also decided how the research was written up and disseminated. I partially mitigated the limitations by being guided on who to include as participants by former-refugee communities and how to disseminate findings. I also included as wide a range of perspectives as possible and was guided by participants on what topics were important to address.

The participants of this study were never meant to be representative of refugee-background youth or NFE providers. Both are diverse groups of people. Instead, in accordance with the aims of qualitative research I sought to understand the in-depth perspectives, knowledge and lived experiences of a smaller number of diverse participants (Creswell, 2014). Throughout the research I considered what the important dimensions of diversity were to include in the research, to give appropriate representation to refugee-background youth. Refugee-background participants came from diverse cultures, religions, and post-migration experiences. However, I was acutely aware that refugee-background participants were skewed by conducting interviews in English meaning all participants were fluent in English. All refugee-background participants had also been in Aotearoa for at least two years and were either in meaningful employment or in tertiary education. Therefore, their experiences did not reflect the full range of experiences of refugee-background youth in Aotearoa.

AI is a flexible process which allows researchers and participants to revisit different phases as they create knowledge and adapt practice (Reed, 2007). However, in respect of the amount of time I could expect participants to give I followed a more linear process. I partially mitigated this by having the expert advisory group critique the findings from the semi-structured interviews and further validating findings with refugee-background youth participating in an Islamic Women's camp.

3.9   Conclusion

This chapter discussed the theoretical frameworks and epistemological and methodological influences on the research and the way the research was carried out. Adopting a transformative epistemology allowed me to carry out research that facilitated change as part of the research process.

Using AI-infused qualitative methodology ensured the research remained strengths-based throughout and the semi-structured interviews were a positive and affirming experience for research participants. Additionally, following the four phases of AI ensured that the research designed and delivered change that would enhance youth development opportunities for refugee-background youth through NFE. The critique of data by the refugee-background youth advisory group ensured that the perspectives of refugee-background youth were privileged over other research participants.

In the following four chapters I discuss the findings that emerged from this research using my research questions to provide the focus for each of chapters four, five and six.

4 Key factors that influence positive youth development for refugee-background youth

This chapter draws on the Discover and Dream phases of AI (chapter three) to answer the first research question: What key factors influence PYD for refugee-background youth? I begin by outlining the three most significant factors identified by interviewees; a sense of belonging, everyday citizenship and equitable access to opportunities to participate. I then outline the contribution that parents, quality relationships and personal attributes were thought to make to PYD for refugee-background youth. I conclude by discussing how improved supports for families of refugee-background youth have the potential to enhance youth development for refugee-background youth in Aotearoa. Interviewees' ideas throughout this chapter are largely consistent with PYD theory and the PYDA (chapter two).

4.1 A sense of belonging

Having a sense of belonging to school, the wider community and Aotearoa was the key factor identified by interviewees as having a significant influence on PYD for refugee-background youth. This finding aligns with other researchers who have identified belonging as one of the most important factors for PYD (Deane & Dutton, 2020) including Brendtro et al., (2014) who assert that without a sense of belonging the development of the characteristics of PYD will fail. Wood (2013) found that a sense of belonging increased refugee-background youth participation, contribution and confidence while a number of interviewees explained that a sense of belonging comes from participation in activities and being accepted by others. They conveyed a sense of belonging as being scalar, something that was felt in small communities such as clubs or local faith organisations, larger contexts such as schools, in wider contexts such as their community, town or city, and to the imagined community of Aotearoa. For many, school was an important context for belonging aligning with the work of Ziaian et al., (2019) with Arab American youth.

Several interviewees from a refugee-background said that they found a sense of belonging in small groups first which had helped them to feel a sense of belonging in wider contexts. Finding a sense of belonging at school or in a club often began with one person proactively including a refugee-background young person, supporting them to participate in an activity,

overcoming barriers of access, and providing a welcoming and encouraging environment on an ongoing basis. Several refugee-background youth praised teachers, youth workers and sports coaches for proactively supporting them to join activities and feel welcomed. Ziaian et al., (2019) and Wood (2013) found that feelings of belonging at school impacted feeling of belonging in other contexts.

Interviewees also described how feeling a sense of belonging in New Zealand was enhanced by participating in stereotypical New Zealand activities and exploring places outside an individual's local community. Refugee-background youth and former refugee-background youth talked about how 'being Kiwi-ised', 'feeling Kiwi' or helped them feel a sense of belonging to Aotearoa and provided a point of connection to peers outside of their cultural group. Activities such as learning to swim, farm visits, tramping and camping were referred to positively as 'doing something New Zealandy'. Figure 4-1 shows refugee-background youth visiting a dairy farm. Aliya (teacher and Muslim migrant) explained how New Zealand is portrayed in the media as being a place of sport and outdoor recreation and refugee-background youth need opportunities to experience this aspect of Aotearoa to feel they belong here. Refugee-background interviewees referred to trips to beaches and national and regional parks as helping them feel they belong; a point acknowledged in the work of Kale (2019) and Sampson & Gifford (2010).

Figure 4-1 Hamilton Boys High School refugee-background and new migrant students visiting a Waikato dairy farm with teachers and peer mentors (Source: Naaz Shah, 2021)

In addition to this element, some interviewees described how when their culture was made visible in a positive way refugee-background youth felt acceptance. Naaz (teacher) and Mae (refugee-background youth) specifically explained that a sense of belonging came from the wider community recognising, embracing and validating their cultures. Mae said, "*I liked [my] school because they celebrated all cultures. They had Tokelau week, Māori week, Samoan week and then they also did like some [of my culture] activities. So it was really welcoming and made me feel good to be part of the school.*" In her research in Auckland, Humpage (2009) also found that refugee-background youth needed their cultures and religions to be recognised, valued and accommodated in key social contexts including schools, workplaces, social spaces and the wider community.

Interviewees spoke more widely of how having opportunities to celebrate and share their culture through food, dress, performance and celebrations helped them feel accepted by others and proud of who they were. A sense of belonging was also connected to experiences of everyday citizenship which I discuss next.

4.2   Everyday citizenship

Everyday citizenship, as discussed in chapter one, is granted to refugee-background youth by the kinds of acts mentioned in the previous section which communicate a welcoming of diversity. The host society has the largest impact on enabling everyday citizenship for former refugees, (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Yzelman & Bond, 2020). Interviewees described the welcoming of diversity as acts which made refugee-background youth feel accepted as they are, where others from the host community were wanting to learn more about them, were embracing of their cultures and ensured that environments were free from racism and discrimination. Everyday citizenship allowed refugee-background youth to feel like New Zealanders while also feeling free to maintain their pre-existing identities. Zara (refugee-background youth) for example, described how, *"When people are open to different ideas and different cultures and they're inclusive, that really helps because I feel like I can like actually be myself, which is really comforting. I don't have to pretend to be someone else. You can just go and have fun."*

Sadly, several interviewees reflected on the limited understanding about, and acceptance of, former refugees in New Zealand society. They identified the need for education of host communities about the journeys of refugees and the issues they face in Aotearoa. For example, Elizabeth (New Zealand Red Cross youth worker and former refugee-background youth) explained that many refugee-background youth experienced social exclusion and described how a lack of understanding of her culture affected her own sense of belonging, "*I found that there wasn't really a place that I belonged in, and I think it's just simply because not many people understand the journey of immigrants, not many people understand the difference of culture.*"

Mae and Elizabeth experienced difficulty making friends in Aotearoa due to others' lack of understanding of the journeys of refugees and of different cultures. Their experiences were consistent with O'Connor's (2014) research that indicated refugee-background youth often have difficulty making friends with host-nationals and that of Stuart (2012) who found that Muslim youth immigrants to New Zealand found it easier to make friends with other non-nationals than with host-nationals. Several refugee-background youth also talked about how they were seen as different from their peers and how they themselves found it difficult to relate to peers at school because the problems they had were not similar.

Interviewees frequently recounted experiences of racism and discrimination aimed at refugee-background youth. Several interviewees noted that while most New Zealanders were pleasant, they generally didn't make the effort to get to know former refugees or include them in social activities. In response, Naaz (teacher) and Pauline (youth worker) both expressed that eliminating racism and discrimination must start with educating the host community about the refugee journey and cultural knowledge. For example, Naaz noted, "*Without education people make judgements based on what they've heard or what they think they know. When people interact with former refugees their perception changes completely.*"

Through education of the host community, (such as through activities in schools and communities to mark World Refugee Day), Naaz and Pauline felt that increased

understanding and acceptance would help refugee-background youth build bonding and bridging connections with others in their communities and be proud of who they are. For these connections to be built, there needed to be more equitable access to opportunities to participate, which I explore next.

4.3   Equitable access to opportunities to participate

Interviewees identified equitable access to opportunities to participate as a key factor influencing refugee-background youth development and explained refugee-background youth often face more barriers to access than other youth. Other researchers have also linked opportunities to participate with building social connections and belonging (Cambron et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2015). While interviewees noted that refugee-background youth weren't categorically excluded from opportunities, they often observed a lack of action which fostered refugee-background youth participation. Aliya (teacher) gave an example from her school:

> *"My school provides an outdoor education program that is amazing. It's totally unreachable, not just for refugee-background youth but for the vast majority of diverse communities, and when you see the bus pull out, it is full of Pākehā from wealthy backgrounds. And I'm sitting there going 'Why are they not looking for solutions when the school is 48% ethnic?"*

Further, Jared (youth worker) noted that, "*When I think about the young people we know who are thriving, it's because they've been connected into opportunities and supported to participate.*" Thus, proactive support from others is key to facilitating access to opportunities to participate for refugee-background youth.

Several interviewees identified the importance of opportunities to participate and excel in spaces where refugee-background youth feel free from judgement and expectations. Such spaces allow refugee-background youth to meet a different group of peers without the labelling they may experience at school. Elizabeth explained that refugee-background youth often experience bullying in school or people just don't connect with them because they are different, not yet fluent in English or considered to be 'behind' academically.

Both accessibility and inclusion were identified by interviewees as necessary for refugee-background youth to have equitable opportunities to participate. For example, Aliya stated, *"The door is open but they are not inviting them in. And will they be comfortable when they come in?"* This sentiment was echoed by other interviewees and mirrored the findings of Pink et al., (2020) that access does not equal inclusion. Ungar's (2012) assertion that for youth to access resources (such as youth development opportunities) those controlling the resources need to be willing to provide them in a way that resonates culturally with the youth concerned speaks to the importance of development opportunities that are accessible and inclusive for refugee-background youth.

Importantly, interviewees noted that when an activity provider caters well for refugee-background youth, they become known as a safe provider and word-of-mouth means more refugee-background youth pursue opportunities to participate with them in the future. Kate (outdoor instructor) explained that her outdoor centre had become known as a safe provider for groups of Muslim and ethnic minority youth. She relayed feedback from one Muslim youth who described how she experienced inclusivity at the outdoor centre, *"Kate upholds the dignity of Muslim women, does not discriminate, and meets their needs swiftly by listening*."

Youth and former youth from a refugee-background also cited parents' expectations and desire for their children to do well in education and careers, and to integrate well, as significant supportive factors for PYD. High expectations and clear boundaries from parents support PYD (Benson & Scales, 2009). A number of interviewees stated that refugee-background parents want their children to have a better life, with education often being the main focus for parents (see also Pink 2020; Block and Gibbs (2017). Some interviewees reflected that refugee-background parents encourage their children to participate in activities, take opportunities and make friends. They explained that parents don't need to fully understand or be involved in the activities themselves, provided that the parents trust the activities to be culturally and physically safe. A number of interviewees identified that parents also role model personal attributes such as work ethic and perseverance that can support their children's PYD.

The link parents provide to culture was mentioned by several refugee-background youth and this was thought to strengthen their sense of identity and support PYD. As Marie

(former refugee-background youth), whose parents facilitated a connection to her culture through a dance group, explained, *"The parents had a dancing group that they started for us girls. That was the first step of understanding my culture, appreciating it and sharing it with people, like with New Zealanders as well."* Stuart (2014), in her study with Muslim immigrant youth in Aotearoa, similarly observed that families were the most important context for sharing culture with migrant youth and this was significant in their identity formation. Similarly, Fox et al., (2018) found that retaining cultural practices and knowledge supported wellbeing in Māori youth in Aotearoa.

Some interviewees described how parents can also play a significant gatekeeping role for refugee-background youth, hindering participation in some activities to ensure physical and cultural safety. They noted that some parents don't understand the value of participation or that activities could be done in a culturally safe way. Ramia (refugee-background parent and resettlement worker) observed that, "t*hey [refugee-background parents] can feel people are trying to change their kid and they don't necessarily trust the Kiwi way."* Consistent with James' (2013) findings from working with Somali female refugee-background youth, the experiences recounted by interviewees demonstrated that parents differ in what they will allow their young people to do, with some being very open to their children participating in unfamiliar activities, and some being much more guarded. Zara explained how although her Mum often wasn't comfortable with an activity, once she understood how cultural requirements could be met she would allow her daughter to participate. However, Zara recognised not all refugee-background youth had the same experience when she reflected:

> *"Sometimes parents don't really realize how it's like being at the university. Like, for example, yesterday I was saying to my Mum, 'I'm going to the swimming pool with my friends'. She was like, 'No, you're gonna have to wear bikini!' I'm like, 'Mum, you have the freedom to wear whatever you want. I'm not going to wear a bikini. I'm comfortable wearing modest swimming clothes because I can'. I'm not going to be forced to [wear a bikini], but my Mum has this idea that you have to do it the Kiwi way. I've had friends with parents who don't listen to their kids, so they end up not participating because they can't get the idea across to their parents."*

Counter to the narrative that refugee-background parents may restrict their young people's participation in activities, Ramia (refugee-background parent) described the efforts by her

and her husband, to ensure their teenage daughters connected with their peers and participated in a variety of activities. She said:

> "We don't know much of Kiwi people [when we first came to New Zealand] who have kids so their [daughters'] [Kiwi] friends at school became more important. I encouraged them, like birthday parties, we even did joint birthday parties with them. All the extra activities like when they had swimming or camping. All those, we make sure that they go to, and even sometimes they don't feel they wanted to participate. I keep pushing them to actually go because I felt like this will bond them more."

Addressing barriers to participation and ensuring activities are inclusive are essential to providing equitable access to opportunities for refugee-background youth. Quality relationships are often the foundation that supports refugee-background youth to access opportunities and participate fully and are discussed in the next section.

4.4   Quality relationships

Several interviewees described quality relationships as the basis of community and support systems for refugee-background youth. Elizabeth (youth worker) elaborated:

> "The reason they're [refugee-background youth] thriving is they have a good support system, really good relationships around them, be it a youth worker or teachers at school. They have a connection with people who are supporting them through the process [of growing up in Aotearoa]. From that support system and being reassured they are doing a great job, a lot of them develop the confidence and security to go out there and do whatever it takes to be the best version of themselves."

Quality relationships are trusting, respectful and reciprocal; all parties are giving to and receiving from the others (Pekel et al., 2018). Reciprocity was often described by interviewees in terms of learning from each other about each other's culture. The concept of respect was extended by interviewees to people showing care to refugee-background youth. US researchers (Benson & Scales, 2009; Larry K Brendtro et al., 2014; Pekel et al., 2018) have identified caring relationships with adults and peers as a necessary ingredient

for PYD. Peter (former refugee-background youth) described the care he felt through attending Mixit when he said:

> *"There's someone actually out there who cares for you and celebrates with you when you achieve something. For example, Mixit does that a lot, like someone passed the learner's test, or the restricted, or whatever achievement they did, Mixit was acknowledging that."*

Interviewees explained that quality relationships with peers and adults provide guidance and support to refugee-background youth and help connect them to opportunities or to navigate unfamiliar systems such as the education system. Scales et al., (2010) found that when caring individuals support youth to access opportunities and a sense of empowerment, they were more likely to have better academic performance and wellbeing. Other researchers have confirmed the contribution made by peer and adult mentors to the positive development of refugee-background youth (Pink et al., 2020; Stuart, 2012) and other youth from minority cultures in Aotearoa (Alefaio, 2017; Edwards et al., 2007; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). Marie (former refugee-background youth) recounted her experience of this situation when she commented that, "*I was going to church quite a lot so I'd ask the older girls heaps of questions [about applying for university]."*

In addition, Naaz (teacher) described how having good relationships with peers also helped youth develop a sense of belonging in social contexts including at school (see figure 4-2). Several interviewees explained how peer mentors played a significant role in supporting and encouraging refugee-background youth, helping them feel part of a group and providing opportunities for fun. Peter and Marie observed that peers also helped to connect refugee-background youth with opportunities to participate in activities they would not have known about or not been confident enough to join on their own.

Figure 4-2 Refugee-background students and peer mentors enjoying a day hike together (Source: Naaz Shah, 2021)

4.5   Personal attributes

Many interviewees credited refugee-background youth with personal attributes that helped them thrive. Ideas of thriving were connected to attributes of being self-motivated, goal driven and hard working. Pauline (youth worker) described personal attributes such as self-motivation and drive as key influences on the positive development of refugee-background youth she was supporting. Reflecting on one young woman she noted that, "*She has the tenacity and the drive to want to be a contributing citizen of New Zealand. It's her character, in regard to making the most of the opportunities life gives to her. She goes for it*."

In their research with refugee-background high school students in Dunedin and Invercargill, Anderson et al., (2021) also identified them to display self-motivation, determination, a strong work ethic and a focus on achieving goals. Some activity providers interviewed noted that many refugee-background youth were inquisitive and very keen to fully immerse themselves in the opportunities available to them. Outward Bound staff described how

refugee-background youth coming on their courses tended to have a strong self-concept which helped them cope with being the only one in a group with a different background, culture or religion.

The sections in this chapter have thus far focussed on supports for refugee-background youth. However, consistent with PYDA, interviewees identified that the wellbeing of the family significantly influenced development outcomes for refugee-background youth. The remainder of this chapter outlines the factors interviewees identified that assist refugee-background families to support PYD.

4.6 Supporting the families of refugee-background youth

As part of the Dream phase of AI, I asked interviewees what was the one thing that they would do to enhance the development of refugee-background youth in Aotearoa. Their responses concentrated on connecting young people to individual support through mentors, providing opportunities to participate, improving host communities' understanding of former refugees and improving support for the families of refugee-background youth.

Several interviewees articulated how the overall wellbeing of family had a significant impact on the development of refugee-background youth. Similarly Blum et al., (2014), based on evidence from global literature, assert that structural factors such as poverty and inequalities associated with ethnicity and immigration status have the greatest impact on positive development of youth. Ramia discussed how services and programmes for refugee-background youth need to be complemented with support for their families:

> *"You can't expect a kid to be healthy and happy and well settled if his actual house is so disturbed from the whole process of being settled as refugees. It's just not logical. And it's not like only him. So you can do whatever programmes in school, you ask whatever service givers to help. They still have that other side in their life [home and family]."*

Within this discussion, two main issues emerged: meeting the material needs of families including income, housing and meaningful employment for parents; and improving parents' understanding of, and comfort with, New Zealand culture. The latter issue impacted their

parenting and how much they encouraged their young people to participate outside of their home and own cultural community.

A number of interviewees described how poverty restricts the opportunities that refugee-background youth have to participate in activities. Poverty means it is hard for families to pay for activities, or may result in young people being sent out to work in order to supplement family income (rather than join activities) or being kept at home to do unpaid work like childcare while parents work. The significant impact of poverty on refugee-background youth is well documented with Ziaian (2019) finding that poverty has a greater impact on refugee-background youth in Australia than trauma. Durham (2019) and the Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group (2019) also noted that a lack of material and economic resources constrains youth aspirations and their access to development opportunities.

Interviewees identified income, poverty and housing as related issues and expressed the importance of having adequate and secure housing for refugee-background youth. In Ana's words: "W*hen you have a home you just feel more grounded. It's a great start."* While meaningful employment has clear links to meeting material needs, interviewees spoke of meaningful employment for parents in terms of the self-respect and dignity it provided for their parents and the message it sent to refugee-background youth about their families and culture being valued and accepted in Aotearoa.

Many interviewees spoke of how employers did not value the skills, qualifications and experience of former refugees which caused a loss of confidence and dignity for parents. Interviewees explained that support for parents to access meaningful employment or start their own business would make a significant difference to the positive development of refugee-background youth. Ana summed up the feelings expressed by a number of the interviewees when she said, *"Why do they have to come here and start by cleaning when they have so much to add to the country? Just because they've got that status [refugee] and they can't speak English, that means they can't add value. No!"*

Finally, support for parents to integrate and parent in Aotearoa were factors that interviewees felt could make a significant difference for refugee-background youth. Chen and Sheldon (2012) in their study with Arab American youth also found if family members

were more accepting of the host culture and were active participants themselves, refugee-background youth will feel more included and connected. Blum et al., (2014) identified the family context as the primary context for youth development and parents that promote family connection and respect for the developing youth's autonomy are significant for PYD.

While formal education, English language and practical skills, such as getting a driver's licence, were mentioned by interviewees as important for parents of refugee-background youth, most emphasis was on the need to support parents to parent well in Aotearoa. Aliya explained that often parents don't understand that their young people need different things to what they had, because they are growing up in a different context and as a minority group.

Ramia suggested that understanding New Zealand culture, youth culture and education systems, and developing ways to parent in Aotearoa that were culturally appropriate and facilitated participation of their youth in contexts outside the family or cultural community, would enable their youth to participate and integrate more fully, while enhancing the relationships between the youth and their parents. Ramia discussed parenting at length in her interview. She explained how the knowledge she gained working with the New Zealand Red Cross, resettling former refugees when she first arrived in Aotearoa, helped her feel confident about encouraging her daughters to participate fully in school and extra-curricular activities:

> "Part of my job there had to be understanding New Zealand culture and, of course, the Syrian culture, and making the bridges between, and educating both sides on how to deal with the other. So that helped me to actually understand the New Zealand community faster. I could imagine if I came directly to my IT job, I wouldn't have that understanding of the community, which would have been resulting to me more afraid to actually push them [daughters]. I was more exposed to the community, but also to the Kiwi culture. And that's why we enrolled them [daughters] in a lot of things. I can say someone else going directly, or even me going directly, to a normal job would maybe need five to ten years to accumulate all that knowledge."

Ramia felt there was a lack of parenting information that enabled refugee-background parents to relate parenting in Aotearoa to their cultural norms and values. Sampson et al.

(2016) similarly found that parenting programmes in Aotearoa often contain a 'white-middle class bias' that may challenge the values of refugee-background parents. Deng and Marlowe (2013) and Child Welfare and poverty Reduction Group (2019) also call for better support for refugee-background parents in Aotearoa to parent youth navigating two cultures.

4.7   Conclusion

This chapter has explored what key factors influence PYD for refugee-background youth in Aotearoa. A sense of belonging, everyday citizenship, equitable access to opportunities to participate, quality relationships are reflected in the PYDA and the integration framework (chapter three). In addition, personal attributes, parents, and supports for the families of refugee-background youth were identified as additional key factors supporting PYD for refugee-background youth.

All the factors identified are interdependent, with positive outcomes in one factor supporting positive outcomes in another confirming Strang and Ager's (2010) work. Interdependence between the factors was reflected in the way interviewees often described two or more factors as intertwined, such as a sense of belonging and welcoming of diversity, or quality relationships and opportunities to participate.

The findings in this chapter speak to the importance of both outcomes of the PYDA; developing the whole person and developing connected communities, where communities, parents and whānau are supported to nurture refugee-background youth. Integration and youth development discourses often focus on development for and of the individual. However, this chapter has highlighted the importance of focussing on both developing refugee-background youth and developing the skills and attitudes of the wider host community to welcome diversity so refugee-background youth can live, learn, work, play and socialise in an environment that is free from discrimination and racism. This chapter has also highlighted the importance for PYD of supporting refugee-background families to understand the context in which their young people are growing up, and to develop ways of parenting that are culturally appropriate in Aotearoa.

5 The contribution of non-formal education for positive youth development for refugee-background youth

This chapter describes the key factors of NFE that contribute to PYD for refugee-background youth. I outline the key factors that interviewees identified during the Discover phase of AI and conclude by suggesting an adapted model of youth development for refugee-background youth. The model is informed by the findings detailed in this chapter and the key influences on PYD for refugee-background youth detailed in chapter four.

The key factors in this chapter are organised according to the Five Cs Model of PYD described in chapter three. Two additional factors, connection to Aotearoa and fun, were identified by interviewees. Connection to Aotearoa encompassed connection to the imagined community of New Zealanders, connection with New Zealand culture and history, as well as connection to the physical places and environment through participating in common New Zealand experiences and exploring a wider physical geography. Fun was recognised as a key facilitator of participation, and essential to the development of connection, confidence and competence through NFE. Competence was the next most valued contribution made by NFE. While NFE also provided opportunities to develop character, contribution and caring, these characteristics received much less focus from interviewees.

5.1 Connection to people

When considering the contribution made by NFE to PYD, connection was the strongest theme identified by interviewees. This finding aligns with findings by Calvert et al., (2013) in their study with American youth, that connection has the second most significant impact on youth development, behind poverty.

Interviewees found that participation in NFE provided a forum for making connections and developing friendships. Building social capital (bonding, bridging and linking connections with peers and adults) requires opportunities to be involved and participate in shared activities (Cambron et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2015; Putnam, 2001). NFE can act as a 'boundary object' connecting groups with divergent perspectives and interests through participation in shared activities (Green, 2010). Why people participate in an activity may be different for

different groups but the 'how' is shared (Green, 2010). Several interviewees discussed how Connection contributed to overall wellbeing and a sense of belonging for refugee-background youth by providing a sense of having a community around them that cares for them. Interviewees also described how participation in NFE often led refugee-background youth to adopt caring roles, through mentoring or leadership and building empathy for others through meeting people from outside their cultural communities, This aligns with findings by Spaaij (2015) and Block and Gibbs (2017) who observed refugee-background youth proactively seeking out opportunities to learn about other ethnic groups through sport.

The connections made through NFE were also attributed to helping refugee-background youth combat social exclusion. Peter (former refugee-background youth) talked about Mixit as being "*a family*". Elizabeth (former refugee-background youth) elaborated on how NFE contributed to feeling a sense of belonging to her school:

> "*When you come to New Zealand, you're still dealing with trying to figure out what your place is in this country, whether you belong. You tend to become a bit of a cast-out [outcast]. It's difficult for you to make friends. But I had an amazing Media Studies teacher and I also enjoyed Media Studies and I enjoyed filmmaking, photography. So, I guess, I found my place [through NFE activities at school] and it's through finding my place in that small escape that I was able to find myself and feel accepted and feel like I belonged somewhere.*"

NFE provided opportunities for refugee-background youth to build social bonds, bridges and links within and outside their communities of identity, and to connect to the land, history and culture of New Zealand which is discussed in the next section. Connections made through participating in NFE also led to refugee-background youth securing volunteering and paid work opportunities.

Many interviewees observed that for refugee-background youth, participating in NFE built connections to, and a sense of belonging within, the group in which they were participating. Interviewees described friendships being built through NFE with peers who have common ethnic, cultural or religious backgrounds, peers who share migration experiences, and peers who may have otherwise never met. Sampson et al. (2016) also identified the need for

refugee-background youth in Aotearoa to be able to share experiences with peers, learn from each other and provide mutual support. Kris (Outward Bound Instructor) observed that participating in activities with peers who share common migration experiences provided a space for shared empathy where refugee-background youth could speak openly about their experiences. Refugee-background youth also spoke of the trust and support that existed in these settings. As discussed in chapter four, NFE can also provide opportunities for refugee-background youth to connect with their cultural community and understand their culture and continue to practice it.

Wendy (Co-founder of Mixit) and Peter (former refugee-background youth Mixit member) observed that refugee-background youth also valued the opportunity to meet new people and make friends outside of their faith, ethnic or former-refugee communities through NFE. Similarly, Durham et al., (2019) found that Pasifika youth in Australia needed opportunities to connect with people outside their communities of identity to access the full benefits of participation in society. Pekel et al., (2018) in their work with youth living in poverty and from marginalised communities, found that connections with people and places that broadened their world expanded possibilities for the youth. Several interviewees in my study described how connection to peers outside communities of identity provided refugee-background youth with opportunities to learn more about New Zealand culture and local knowledge such as how to apply for a part-time job.

Opportunities to share culture through NFE increased refugee-background youths' feeling of acceptance among peers from outside their community of identity. Kris described the impact of a cultural dinner (figure 5-1) shared with all students at Outward Bound:

> *"After the cultural dinner my students spoke quite openly about that feeling of acceptance. Our students felt like their culture has not just been accepted but has been embraced. We did a karakia and one of the students did a reading from the Quran in Arabic and it was well received. All of a sudden they felt there are people who will accept me and I don't have to conform."*

Figure 5-1 Outward Bound Cultural Dinner (Source: Outward Bound, 2020)

Similarly, in their research with refugee-background youth in Australia, Pink et al., (2020) found that incorporating opportunities to share cultural rituals and food significantly increased the feelings of acceptance and belonging among refugee-background youth.

Additionally, when NFE is offered through school, the connections made extend into the wider school context. This helps teachers and other students to recognise refugee-background youth for their strengths outside the academic setting and can increase cultural awareness and knowledge of the issues refugee-background youth may face. In turn, this can enhance experiences of everyday citizenship for refugee-background youth in the school context. Naaz (teacher) observed that once refugee-background youth build friendships they feel a lot more belonging at school and are more willing to get involved and engaged both inside outside the classroom. She described how a peer-led swimming programme at school (figure 5-2) helped friendships form across identity groups and then facilitated refugee-background youth joining in other activities:

"The boys who teach our refugee-background students to swim are local kids. ...
There's a huge bonding happening that goes beyond the classroom. They see each
other on the playground and walking around the school and they high-five each other
and they're having lunch together. So that also really helps these young men adjust
within the community. And now these boys can take part in swimming sports, be part
of the excitement rather than having to sit on the side."

Figure 5-2 Peer led swimming lessons at Hamilton Boys
High School (Source: Naaz Shah)

NFE also connected refugee-background youth to mentors and role models which supports
a sense of belonging. Relationships with supportive adults supports PYD for youth generally
(Benson & Scales, 2009; Pekel et al., 2018). Interviewees described mentoring as being
either intentionally facilitated or happening coincidentally through the mixing of different
ages and experience levels. Mentors and role models provided practical support such as
helping with university applications, and emotional support by talking through experiences
that youth might be facing like family pressures. Mentors checking in with group members
and supporting them, especially if they were absent from formal sessions, helped refugee-
background youth feel valued by the group. Dylan (Mixit alumni) recounted his experience
of refugee-background youth being mentored in a performing arts programme; *"Through*

the mentorships the mentees can feel they really belong in the space, because of how the mentors are empowering these Mixers [in-group term for members of Mixit] in a way that will benefit the Mixers in the long run."

Connection to people and to Aotearoa were the most significant contributions of NFE and support a sense of belonging and connect refugee-background youth to support, knowledge, opportunities and funding.

5.2 Connection to Aotearoa

Participating in NFE provided stereotypical 'Kiwi' experiences which helped refugee-background youth feel a part of the imagined community of New Zealanders, embrace what Aotearoa has to offer, and provided a point of connection with peers. Stereotypical Kiwi experiences described to me included learning to swim, farm visits and outdoor activities such as camping, hiking, rock-climbing, abseiling, waka ama, mountain biking, Outward Bound and Spirit of Adventure courses.

Figure 5-3 Refugee-background youth participating in outdoor activities with their group at Outward Bound (Source: Outward Bound, 2020)

Teachers also described an increase in engagement and performance in the classroom as a result of being involved in stereotypical Kiwi activities outside the classroom. Aliya told me that teachers had reported improved writing from refugee-background students as a result of being involved in outdoor activities. She went on to say, *"When we asked why that was, the youth told us it was because they were writing from a point of experience now. Before they were writing about what they thought it was like and now they know. They have the feelings to go with the words."*

Some interviewees attributed NFE with providing opportunities for refugee-background youth to explore places outside of their immediate local area, which helped refugee-background youth to feel they know where they are and to support a sense of belonging. For example, Ramia (resettlement worker) observed that often refugee-background youth moved in a very small geographical area bounded by their school, local shops, their home and perhaps the homes of other ethnic community members. She explained the importance of the young people experiencing places outside of this local area when she said, *"For refugee-background youth who have experienced being on the run and feeling they don't belong because they are always fearing, it is important to feel they can move around in New Zealand safely because they belong*."

Even day trips help refugee-background youth become familiar with the city or town in which they live. For instance, Peter (former refugee-background youth) recounted how participating in a Mixit project that involved performing on the mountains all over Auckland was significant for getting to know the city better.

Several interviewees attributed experiencing beautiful parts of Aotearoa through NFE with helping refugee-background youth to feel good about the country and about being here. For example, refugee-background youth from Auckland described trips to Piha and the Waitakere Ranges as being significant for them. Although only a forty minute drive from their school, the participants had never been there and were amazed by the environment.

Although outdoor activities are widely available in school and community settings many interviewees articulated that refugee-background youth often have trouble accessing these 'Kiwi' activities making them feel less like they belonged in Aotearoa. For example, Aliya (WOWMA) described her experience with female Muslim youth:

"We asked them [female Muslim youth] what did they need to feel Kiwi. They listed about 25 things and all but one of them were outdoor activities. It really surprised us but it was what they weren't getting. Outdoor activities are a big part of our culture [in Aotearoa] but a lot of the refugee-background youth just weren't getting the opportunity. They haven't come from a culture where holidaying is the norm, going camping or going to the bach [holiday home]."

Refugee-background youth also described how having opportunities to see more of Aotearoa (figure 5-4) helped them feel safe to explore further and increased their parents 'comfort with them moving around Aotearoa. This greater freedom led some to pursue study and careers that otherwise wouldn't have been open to them. By way of illustration, Aliya attributed the WOWMA outdoor education programme with enabling two graduates to attend university in another city and paving the way for their younger siblings to do the same. She told me, *"Those two girls travel all over the world now. They have medical careers. The programme has built their success. They have siblings behind them and it's not a question they can do it now."*

Figure 5-4 Refugee-background and other female Muslim youth, exploring Tongariro National Park (Source: Author 2022)

Several interviewees discussed how opportunities through NFE helped refugee-background youth gain an understanding of Aotearoa, through both intentional actions to build in learning about the history and culture of places visited and through spending time with established New Zealanders and in a variety of locations. Elizabeth (youth worker and former refugee-background youth) articulated how visiting a marae and learning about the history of Aotearoa helped her connect to the country more generally:

> "I still felt very out of place even though I had worked very hard to align myself with different cultures and the people, the land here. But when I went to the marae and understood the history, the culture, and also some of the things that are similar to my own culture, I felt like this [Aotearoa] was home and I settled. My soul settled completely. In order to build a great future for yourself in this country, you need to understand how this country came to be. Having that knowledge really changes who you are as an individual."

Opportunities to connect to the land, history and culture of Aotearoa strengthened a sense of belonging and allowed refugee-background youth to identify similarities between their natal culture and other cultures in Aotearoa. Similarly, James (2013) found that experience of Māori culture helped Somali refugee-background youth feel belonging in Aotearoa through identifying with a similar cultural emphasis on wider family and because Māori were seen to uphold their cultural traditions and still be considered New Zealanders.

5.3   Confidence

As well as developing connections as discussed above participation in NFE built refugee-background youth' confidence and self-worth, which often led to improved academic performance and participation in a wider variety of contexts. Refugee background youth spoke of NFE as a forum where their voices are heard, their opinions matter and they can contribute. Other researchers have also concluded that contributing in a variety of contexts is important for PYD (Lerner et al., 2015) and aids identity development for people from a refugee-background (Ager & Strang, 2008). Several interviewees described how participation in NFE gave refugee-background youth the confidence to contribute to ethnic, faith, school, former-refugee and wider civic communities. The building of confidence and a

sense of pride inspired the youth to also set, identify with, and work towards, goals of which they felt proud.

Working towards something of value helped them to have a higher sense of courage and purpose. For example, when reflecting on feedback from participants on a female Muslim youth outdoor programme, Aliya relayed that, "*One young woman said 'I never would have imagined that I'd be doing this now. I would never have had the courage.' And they will say it is because of being on that programme.*" Similarly, Elizabeth explained the impact of building confidence for refugee-background youth development when she told me, "*After they have developed that security and confidence, they have the courage to go out there and do whatever it takes to be the best version of themselves.*" Block and Gibbs (2017) in their research with refugee-background youth in Australia found that confidence and a positive sense of self was enhanced when the youth had the opportunity to excel and showcase their talents through participation in sport.

Participating in activities specifically for refugee-background or minority youth often led to them participating in wider contexts. For example, Pauline (youth worker) recounted that youth she supported in a refugee-background football team joined local clubs the following season. Aliya also found that refugee-background youth who took part in a Muslim outdoor programme began to participate in physical education classes at school rather than sitting on the side-lines. Pauline elaborated by saying, "*They [refugee-background youth] do feel they need that confidence to just try something, so they've increased their level of skill and to make them feel like they can take that next step into mainstream activity*."

In addition to the development of skills and confidence, NFE can provide refugee-background youth with opportunities to gain experiences independent of their families. Several interviewees explained how refugee-background families can be so connected that youth often have little opportunity for independent experiences. Being away from family for overnight stays was attributed by some interviewees as helping refugee-background youth develop independence, understanding of others, and openness to other perspectives and ways of doing things.

Youth workers described how being away from family often provided space for open discussions about issues facing refugee-background youth and opportunities to help them

develop their confidence and sense of identity. For example, Peter explained how his participation in Mixit had helped him develop a coherent sense of identity, *"Through being in this programme I can find my identity in a way that's so organic to me, of being a refugee, a migrant and a local. I'm mixed, that's who I am."*

NFE provided a forum for acknowledgement and celebration of achievements which developed young people's confidence, positive self-concept, and increased awareness of their capabilities. Examples of acknowledgement described to me included; being acknowledged for passing driver licence tests at Mixit, a headmaster attending cultural celebrations at school and talking with refugee-background youth and their families, and youth receiving Duke of Edinburgh's awards at a school ceremony. As Brendon (Blue Light) commented, *"One school principal said, oh gosh, some of these boys are often in my office in trouble and now they are on stage receiving an award."*

Elizabeth also articulated how NFE could dispel myths about the abilities of refugee-background youth by providing opportunities for refugee-background youth to be recognised for skills and talents outside academic settings. She told me, "*There's a misconception that English language competency is a measure of intelligence or capability"* and indicated that this led to the capabilities of refugee-background youth not being recognised and them being denied opportunities to participate in activities and realise the associated benefits for their development.

5.4 Fun

One of the most important factors of NFE for refugee-background youth identified by all interviewees, but one that does not currently feature in any youth development frameworks, was the opportunities it provided to have fun. Fun can be defined as enjoyment or light-hearted pleasure (Dictionary.com) and when asked to rank the factors identified by interviewees, both members of the expert advisory group also ranked fun as the most important aspect of NFE for refugee-background youth.

In her interview, Elizabeth explained that many refugee-background youth do not have fun outside specific spaces that have been created for them because of heavy family or community responsibilities and expectations. This made having a forum where refugee-

background youth can de-stress and have fun perhaps more important than for other young people. Peter described how Saturday afternoons at Mixit were the highlight of his week during his high school years because this was the time when he could feel free and be himself, despite not being fluent in English. Wendy (Director of Mixit) reinforced this point when summing up the feedback she had received from Mixit participants:

> "Mixit participants have always said, and it doesn't change no matter who is participating over the years, "This is the time of the week I can be free. I'm having fun. I'm meeting new friends. I haven't got my parents watching me, I haven't got my community looking on and judging me, I don't have my homework, I don't have a whole lot of expectations. I can just feel free and be myself.""

Interviewees articulated that the combination of a safe space where refugee-background youth felt cared for, equal to other participants, and where they could experience freedom from other expectations provided the necessary conditions for fun to happen. Similarly, in their study with refugee-background youth participating in an arts-based project in Australia, Ramirez and Matthews (2008) found that refugee-background youth need a safe, respectful and welcoming environment to have fun.

Fun was considered by interviewees as a) a facilitator of participation, b) the reason refugee-background youth would join an activity and stay involved, and c) an enabler of connection and confidence. Zara (refugee-background youth) explained:

> "Once you're having fun with someone, you feel like you're connecting. When you're having fun, you kind of let go of that very logical part of your brain, like 'I'm playing an activity and so we're all like in an adrenaline rush, and so I will immediately, without even thinking, maybe raise my hand and shout something or the right answer'. So after that I feel that confidence boost like, 'Oh I can do it. I can actually speak up!' It's that fun that creates connection and confidence which are very important."

These findings echo Ramirez and Matthews (2008) findings that fun was a key enabler of Connection with peers for refugee-background youth and that fun kept refugee-background youth engaged in NFE. Therefore, I am curious about its absence from current youth development frameworks in Aotearoa.

5.5   Competence

The opportunities to develop competence through NFE was the next most significant factor identified by interviewees after connection to people and Aotearoa, confidence, and fun. NFE developed leadership and vocational skills through formal training and through offering responsibilities that were not dependent on English language capability or academic performance and these skills were transferable to other contexts. Dylan, for example, stated that NFE provided leadership opportunities that were often difficult for refugee-background youth to access.

Several interviewees attributed their involvement in NFE with securing job interviews or gaining relevant experience or employment in their chosen fields. Several interviewees also attributed the development of resilience and goal-setting skills to refugee-background youth involvement in NFE. Similarly Block and Gibbs (2017) found that participation in sport by refugee-background youth led to an enhancement of personal skills such as resilience and goal setting that were transferred to educational and other contexts. Interviewees also described personal growth from sharing experiences with people from varied backgrounds.

Some interviewees also valued opportunities to learn or retain cultural skills. The value of retaining cultural skills is supported by Stuart (2012) who found that Muslim immigrant youth living in western contexts who retained their religious practices had better wellbeing outcomes than those who didn't. Other researchers have also observed that Māori and Pasifika youth in Aotearoa need to be able to confidently navigate Māori, Pasifika and Pākehā contexts (Durham et al., 2019; Simmonds et al., 2014), which requires knowing cultural values and cultural practices (Ioane, 2017; Simmonds et al., 2014) and sharing these with others (Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010).

5.6   Character, contribution and caring

While character, contribution and caring are key aspects of youth development these were assigned less importance by interviewees than connection, confidence, fun and competence. Several interviewees articulated that character was generally well developed

in refugee-background youth, because of the challenges many navigated as minority youth, and because of strong cultural and religious values reinforced at home and in ethnic and religious communities. Some interviewees gave examples of how NFE reinforced societal norms through teamwork or incorporated the teaching of religious or cultural values.

Having opportunities to contribute through NFE was identified by interviewees as contributing to a positive self-concept, confidence and feeling valued as discussed above. Interviewees predominantly talked about caring in the context of NFE being a place where there was someone who cared about refugee-background youth including mentors, role models, peers, teachers and youth workers. Similarly, American researchers have identified relationships with caring adults as a significant contributor to PYD for all youth (Benson & Scales, 2009; Pekel et al., 2018). Interviewees linked caring to connecting to people and enabling fun as discussed earlier in this chapter. This finding supports the finding in chapter four that quality relationships include people showing care to refugee-background youth and all parties wanting to learn about each other's culture.

5.7   Discussion

As discussed in chapter four a sense of belonging has a significant impact on PYD for refugee-background youth. NFE contributes to a sense of belonging through providing opportunities to build bonding, bridging and linking connections to people and connections to the land, history and culture of Aotearoa. NFE also provides a forum for refugee-background youth to excel outside of academic contexts and evolve their interests. Many academic studies have concluded that NFE can significantly contribute to the positive development of refugee-background youth (Block & Gibbs, 2017; Dhillon et al., 2020; Jeanes et al., 2015; Spaaij, 2015; Whitley et al., 2016; Whitley & Gould, 2011; Whittington & Budbill, 2013; Wilkinson et al., 2017) and this was consistent with the narratives of the interviewees. While resettlement support focusses on the basic needs of housing, enrolling in healthcare, and getting into school, interviewees described how NFE gives refugee-background youth an opportunity to make connections with people and feel connected to Aotearoa, discover and nurture their interests and develop the characteristics described in the Five Cs Model of PYD.

The research indicates that while opportunities to develop all of the characteristics in the Five Cs Model are important for refugee-background youth, and can be provided through NFE, opportunities to develop connection and confidence have the greatest impact on their PYD. The characteristic of connection has two aspects; connection to people (social bonds, bridges and links), and connection to Aotearoa (culture, history and geography). Fun, while not strictly a characteristic, was identified as critical to facilitate both connection and confidence for refugee-background youth and something which refugee-background youth often had little opportunity to experience elsewhere.

Interviewees demonstrated that opportunities to develop connection, confidence and have fun often result in the development of the other characteristics important to PYD, contained in the Five Cs Model. In addition, refugee-background youth appear to have more opportunities to develop contribution, caring, and character than other characteristics through their daily experiences. Therefore, it may be less important to focus on development of these characteristics in NFE for refugee-background youth.

From the participants' narratives and previous studies, NFE can provide a safe environment for refugee-background youth to build the confidence to participate in other contexts. Activities that bring disparate groups together and those that are targeted to specific groups both support PYD for refugee-background youth. The former enables Connections to be built across communities or identity and can provide a forum for intercultural knowledge exchange through which stereotypical perceptions of refugees can be challenged. Activities that cater for refugee-background youth or specific cultural groups alone can provide an opportunity for refugee-background youth to be in a majority, be in an environment free from judgement and where people understand they are going through.

Interviewees frequently attributed the experiential learning aspect of NFE as valuable for PYD for refugee-background youth. Experiential learning occurs from reflecting on concrete experiences (Kolb, 2015). Experiential learning provides a more equitable platform for participation for some refugee-background youth because they can participate and contribute whatever their English language competency or level of academic performance. In Aliya's words: "*There are lots of lectures and talks and those don't hit home at all. It's the doing part of it [that makes a difference]."*

5.8   A proposed model of youth development for refugee-background youth

Because there is no specific model for youth development for refugee-background youth in Aotearoa and in light of the findings in chapter four and presented above, I have chosen to adapt the Five Cs Model of PYD for refugee-background youth because this model is well-known and is relatively simple to understand. It is therefore, a useful tool to communicate to a wide audience including NFE providers, teachers and youth workers. I use the rest of this chapter to present and discuss this model of PYD for refugee-background youth in more detail (see Figure 5-5).

Deane and Dutton (2020) recognise that many different factors influence PYD but focus should be placed on what matters most. My proposed model makes visible the significant influences on PYD for refugee-background youth as discussed previously. As a result of my findings I have added two new characteristics to the Five C's model; Fun and Connection to Aotearoa. These are denoted in Figure 5-3 by a red border. I have also depicted the relative importance of the now eight characteristics using differing sizes of tiles. The larger tiles direct focus to characteristics that hold more importance for refugee-background youth. As detailed in chapter four participation and quality relationships in the contexts where refugee-background youth live, learn, work and play, are required to facilitate the opportunities to develop the characteristics of PYD, so these factors have been placed at the centre of the model.

The model also makes visible the external factors of everyday citizenship and a refugee-background family's overall material and employment situation, as this can significantly influence PYD for refugee-background youth. In this way the proposed model responds to the critique of youth development models, that they can emphasise individual development, while largely ignoring contextual factors which have a significant influence on PYD (Deane & Dutton, 2020).
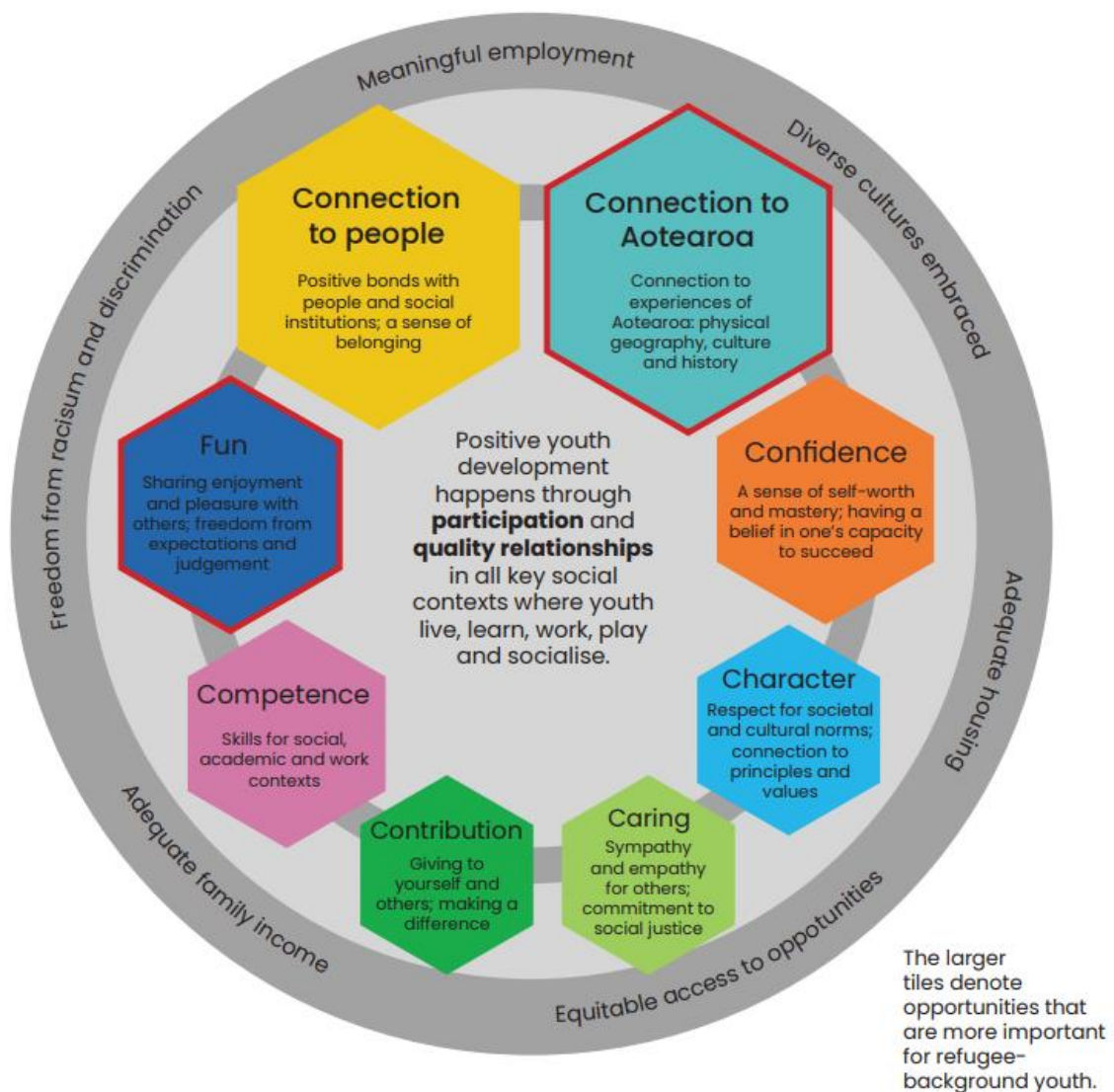
Figure 5-5 A proposed model of positive youth development for refugee-background youth in Aotearoa (Source: Author)

5.9   Conclusion

A sense of belonging, everyday citizenship and equitable access to opportunities to participate significantly influence PYD for refugee-background youth. NFE can provide opportunities to develop all of the characteristics required for PYD. My research has shown that in addition to the six characteristics for PYD (Lerner, 2017), refugee-background youth in Aotearoa also need opportunities to develop a connection to the land, culture and history of Aotearoa and opportunities to have fun. That said, as all the characteristics of PYD are interdependent, improving everyday citizenship for refugee-background youth through

increasing the cultural competencies and knowledge of refugee journeys in conjunction with opportunities for increased sharing of experiences between refugee-background youth and other New Zealanders will also enhance PYD for refugee-background youth, as will addressing structural issues impacting the families of refugee-background families including poverty, lack of meaningful employment and lack of adequate housing.

6 How can non-formal education be adapted to support greater youth development outcomes for refugee-background youth?

In this chapter I present findings from the Discover and Dream phases of this research on how NFE can be adapted to better support PYD outcomes for refugee-background youth. I begin by discussing the extra support that can assist refugee-background youth to join NFE and continue to participate. I then consider demonstrating the value of NFE and building trust with families of refugee-background youth, creating a safe and welcoming environment for refugee background youth and adapting programmes for individuals' circumstances. I conclude this chapter by considering opportunities for ownership and leadership within NFE for refugee-background youth.

6.1 Understanding and reducing barriers to participation

Interviewees articulated that equitable access to opportunities requires an understanding from NFE providers that refugee-background youth may need extra support so they can participate on an equal basis. Interviewees stressed that refugee-background youth are not a homogenous group and it is important to recognise that individuals will have differing needs. Often refugee-background parents don't have the knowledge or financial resources to provide some of the support needed for youth to participate in NFE. If their parents aren't familiar with an activity, refugee-background youth often need to figure out what is needed and how things work on their own. Marie (former refugee background youth) explained how obstacles stopped her participating in the Duke of Edinburgh's award:

> Marie: *"It always comes down to me trying to figure it out myself. My parents had no idea what I was doing. And then all those things you have to do to get the bronze. I didn't have any of the equipment. I didn't even know what I needed."*

> Author: *"Nobody recognized that you maybe needed a bit more support?"*

> Marie: *"Yeah, no one did. If they had more understanding of like who I was in terms of like family not knowing or not having, and they're giving me a lot more support, I probably would have stayed a lot longer."*

Wendy (Co-founder of Mixit) echoed Marie's sentiment: *"You can't just provide an opportunity without access to that opportunity because it's just too hard, there are too many obstacles to even get there every weekend."*

Existing research also highlights the need to provide extra support for refugee background youth to overcome the barriers to participation in NFE and identifies common barriers including funding, transport, equipment, information (Block & Gibbs, 2017; O'Connor, 2014; Pink et al., 2020; Sampson et al., 2016; Student et al., 2017), social exclusion (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Jeanes et al., 2015; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012) and a lack of culturally appropriate activities (James, 2013).

Marie and Aliya (WOWMA) encourage NFE providers to consider how they can be inclusive to refugee-background youth:

> Marie: *"You have this great activity, but like how are the kids going to get there and all those kinds of things, and what equipment do they need and what other things do you need to consider in the program that you want to run? Because it's always all those things that kind of maybe stop the person who is keen to do it, but after a while it becomes too difficult to kind of manage it yourself."*

> Aliya: *"My school provides an outdoor education programme that is amazing. It's totally unreachable, not just for refugee-background youth, but for the vast majority of diverse communities. If it's funding then look for solutions, if it's not funding why do they feel like they are not welcome?"*

A number of interviewees identified that key people are often crucial to connect refugee-background youth to opportunities, provide support to overcome the barriers to participating, and advocate to ensure activities are welcoming and inclusive. Scales et al., (2010) found for youth generally, that when key people connect them to opportunities youth are more likely to have better academic outcomes and enhanced wellbeing. Interviewees gave examples of teachers, youth workers, school deans, university staff members, mentors, faith community elders, sports coaches and peers fulfilling this role for refugee-background youth. Zara (refugee-background youth) praised her school dean for connecting her to opportunities. *"My dean was very interested in refugee- background students. Whenever there were any opportunities, he would call us [refugee-background*

students] to his office and ask if we'd like to get involved. All the information I got was from him."

Interviewees stressed that it was necessary to proactively provide information to refugee-background youth about opportunities, connect them to those opportunities and support them to attend. Similarly, Block and Gibbs (2017) found that one of the key facilitators to participation in sport was a person actively linking refugee-background youth and their families to the activities. Nicola (youth worker) explained that support can be needed until a young person is comfortable attending an activity independently: "*You really have to walk them not just to the door, but through the door. And sometimes you might have to be there for the first couple of sessions, you know, to help them ease into it.*"

Elizabeth (resettlement youth worker) explained the value of a person proactively connecting refugee-background youth to opportunities:

> *"Encouraging them because some of them might be interested, but they just don't have the courage to sign up. And some of them are insecure about their language so they don't want to say the wrong thing, so having teachers and coaches that are proactive in recruiting them and supporting them through the process is quite important, and will really improve the engagement.*"

6.1.1   Funding, equipment and transport

All of the interviewees talked about the cost of activities, sourcing equipment and transport as significant barriers to participation. Sampson et al., (2016) noted there is a lack of awareness that refugee-background youth often experience the same barriers to participation in education as those youth from low socio-economic contexts. Refugee-background youth also talked of not knowing what equipment was needed for an activity or how to source it. Providing funding, equipment and transport enabled refugee-background youth to participate in activities which mirrored the experience of other NFE providers. Refugee-background youth spoke of their families not having the money required, and not wanting to add to the financial demands on their parents. In Marie's words; "*sometimes you kind of feel bad asking, yeah, can you pay for this and also pay for this and this, and so you kind of just stop doing it. A lot of kids from a refugee background don't want to keep asking [their parents to pay].*"

Aliya elaborated on why funding could be an issue: "*So when a camp goes and it's say $200 and a mother says "well you're going away for a weekend and that will feed your Aunt and Uncle for 2 months, do you really want to go?", and the youth feel guilty. So they won't ask.*"

All NFE providers I interviewed, running activities specifically for refugee-background youth, agreed that refugee-background youth would not be able to participate if programmes were not free or heavily subsidised. All charged either nothing, or a small amount. In Kris' (Outward Bound) words "*Honestly, for me, the big thing is just funding. There is absolutely no way any of them would have been able to do the course without that.*"

Several NFE providers interviewed charged a small amount to ensure commitment from participants while making activities affordable for refugee-background families. Aliya explained WOWMA's approach:

> "*So what we have done with our camps, we basically charge 10% of the cost, and then we seek funding to be able to provide. Because to offer $25, or something like that, is doable. And the parents will say "Ok I can see you really want this" and there's a commitment. But it's not overburdening the kids to insist and explain, and often they [parents] don't have it.*"

Marie explained it is important to facilitate an environment where funding and equipment is provided, or there is a way for the refugee-background youth to easily get that, without singling individuals out. She praised her hockey coach for enabling her to play hockey at school:

> "*I played hockey at school and I really loved to play. But of course I didn't have the gear and I also didn't feel like asking because hockey was already so expensive. But they made it really easy. The coach had heaps of spare sticks and then they could find ways to get you shin pads and were like we can go here to get a mouth guard. So they just made it so that I could easily figure it out and go to the right people to find the things that I needed. I think I fund raised every year to pay the fees. And they made it so we could sell chocolates.*"

Interviewees agreed that providing transport helped refugee-background youth to participate. Wendy described her experience running Mixit: "*We couldn't do anything*

without providing transport. Nothing. This was something that I recognized early on in the research, that if we didn't provide transport then we may as well not even start."

Marie was grateful for the people who provided her transport to an activity: *"They always picked me up. They just made it really easy for me to stay when I couldn't figure out how to get there."*

Nicola gave an example of how funding and transport had enabled refugee-background youth to play badminton: *"That person organized free club membership for the year and organized for someone from the club to go and pick them up and get them to the club, because transport was an issue as well. Suddenly that opens the door for that young person to go to the club."*

6.1.2   Information

Often refugee-background youth don't know what opportunities are available, what the benefits of participating are, and how these benefits align with their goals and aspirations. Many interviewees found that providing information to refugee-background youth about what opportunities are available is key to facilitating participation. Zara identified that it is important to understand that an activity might be completely new for refugee-background youth and to not assume knowledge of activities. Block and Gibbs (2017) found sports organisations that had dedicated staff connecting refugee-background youth to sports clubs and providing information to parents were the most successful at enabling participation. Several interviewees also described how opportunities to try an activity helps refugee-background youth to understand what an activity involves and to build confidence before they are required to commit to the activity.

Several interviewees found targeted pre-activity communications help refugee-background youth know what to expect, what is expected of them, what equipment they need and how they can source that. For example, Outward Bound assigns a pre-course liaison person to refugee-background students and they proactively provide information and answer questions. Blue Light Ventures run information sessions at school for refugee-background youth that provide information on the programmes and how they can enhance your curriculum vitae.

Many Interviewees stressed the importance of proactively providing information on how cultural needs will be met to participants and their families. Proactively discussing topics such as food requirements, clothing/uniform, swimming, sleeping arrangements, arrangements for prayers helps refugee-background youth feel safe and welcome and sends a clear message that the activity provider is willing to accommodate their needs.

6.2 Demonstrating benefits and building trust with refugee-background youth and their families

Interviewees stressed that it is important to work with parents to facilitate the participation of refugee-background youth. Explaining the benefits of an activity to parents can reduce the burden of advocating for participation on the youth. Aliya explained:

> *"One thing you would not realise is how much the refugee youth have to be the adults for the family. That's the other thing when it comes to these events. They not only have to explain to the parents, but they also have to translate, they have to fill out all the forms, they have to so want to be there to get there. It's not just oh get your forms in and get back to me. It is for the average kid, whereas it becomes a major advocacy event in their [refugee-background youths'] lives. You have to be open too. You could call them [youth] all together and go we want you to come. What do we need to get your parents on board? They'll be honest."*

Refugee-background parents often do not understand the benefits of NFE because they did not grow up in a system where structured activities outside of formal education were available. Marie described her experience: "*I think with sports and extra activities they [parents] are like, but what are you really getting out of it, in terms of like education. Education is the thing so that you can go to uni. Yeah, they [parents] don't maybe fully understand the [benefits of] extracurriculars.*"

Aliya found it has been important to explain to parents why their youth will benefit from NFE when it was not something their parents had growing up. Once parents understood the benefits of a programme access for future participants was easier:

> *"We have a reputation when we give our program that there will be benefits. We've had youth [from the programme] go to the UN and go to programmes overseas. We have youth in their mid-twenties in National Office advising the government. Our community realises the benefits now. I hardly have to explain anymore."*

Several interviewees discussed finding different ways to explain the benefits of an activity was useful. Ramia (resettlement worker and refugee-background parent) recounted an information session for Arabic speaking parents that was done in Arabic and explained the differences between the New Zealand and Syrian contexts which aided parents' understanding. Aliya has run camps for Muslim mothers who have never been on camp, to allow them to see the benefits of the camps first-hand. She describes the outcomes of the camps for mothers:

> *"To try it themselves and see what it feels like. We brought in people to talk to them about the benefits they've seen. And that was really well received. As a result we had Muslim Mums who had never been on camp then volunteered for their kids camps at their primary school which is awesome."*

Interviewees generally found that supporting parents to trust those running activities and understand how activities can be done in a culturally safe way and to is often necessary to facilitate participation. Ramia explained that when activity providers take the time to build trusting relationships with parents, and work with them to find solutions to facilitate participation, the outcome is a win-win for the parents and youth; the parents feel affirmed and respected and the youth reap the benefits of participation. Similarly, Couch (2007) suggests that involving families is often necessary to facilitate sustained participation by refugee-background youth and to avoid straining family relationships.

Ramia stressed the importance of asking parents what can be done to meet their needs rather than just assuming that culturally the youth can't participate. Aliya added that it was important to keep promises, such as ensuring cultural safety, to ensure trust relationships were not damaged. Marie (refugee-background youth) felt her parents needed to be able to trust the people running an activity and this was as important as what the activity was. Several refugee-background youth and activity providers reported they had successfully advocated with parents for youth to participation through building trusting relationships,

discussing concerns, and providing information. However, some interviewees articulated that attempts to encourage parents to allow their youth to participate in activities were not always successful.

Many interviewees found that face to face contact was effective in building trust with parents. Kodrean (refugee-background student advisor and youth advocate) advised: "*If you don't work with their parents, parents don't trust what's happening there. But if you give parents that peace of mind and that kind of safety in the beginning, they will be keen.*"

Kodrean suggested inviting parents to the first session of an activity so they can see where the activity is held, who else is participating, and meet the people to whom they are entrusting their youth. Similarly, Naaz (teacher) found inviting parents to events has enabled her to build trust with the parents by meeting them in person, addressing apprehension and explaining the benefits of activities.

Interviewees stressed that building trusting relationships takes time and face to face contact. Wendy elaborated:

> *"It's really important that I go and pick up that new girl, I go to the door, and as mother to mother we sit at the kitchen table, we drink tea together and I talk about my family and my grandchildren. And then the mother I'm visiting goes "Yes OK, I trust you." And if you don't build up that trust and rapport it can be really hard. It takes a lot of work to do that. It's not onerous work, but it does takes a lot of time and patience to do it right."*

Interviewees agreed that utilising existing relationships of trust helps to facilitate participation of refugee-background youth and this is echoed by the findings of Sampson et al., (2016). Existing relationships of trust often exist in former refugee communities, faith communities and with schools. For example, Pauline explained how NZ Olympics collaborated with refugee community organisations to connect youth to local clubs. Blue Light Ventures utilises the relationship between the refugee liaison teachers in high schools and parents to facilitate the participation by refugee-background youth in Blue Light programmes. Block and Gibbs (2017) also recommended partnering with organisations who hold existing relationships of trust with refugee-background communities. Several

interviewees discussed how once a reputation of trust and safety had been built access for future refugee-background youth was easier.

6.3   Welcoming diversity and providing a socially inclusive environment

A socially inclusive environment requires refugee-background youth to feel welcome and accepted for who they are. When bringing diverse groups of people together it is important to recognise and address power imbalances (Green, 2010). Block and Gibbs (2017) and Spaaij (2009b) found that NFE does not automatically confer positive impacts on refugee-background participants, and that conscious and informed design is required to create an inclusive environment. Several interviewees experienced overt racism when participating in mainstream activities and other researchers have reported similar findings (Block & Gibbs, 2017; O'Connor, 2014). Several interviewees found that proactively preparing to meet participants needs without singling anyone out as different, helps create an inclusive environment, and communicates to other participants that refugee-background youth are welcome. Youth don't want to be a burden, so when their needs are met proactively youth feel welcome. Aliya elaborated on the experiences of Muslim youth:

> *"Usually when they walk up to a programme, they are the only one, and they have to explain, and they haven't been accommodated for. The youth articulate to me that they're tired of having to explain to everyone because they function as an advocate all the time and they just want to fit in. So just make sure the burden is not on them and provide them the program that they need."*

Kris recounted his experience at Outward Bound where students' differing cultural needs were accommodated for and the students were informed before the course that this would be done:

> *"If the provider can broach those topics already it lowers their reservations, to know this provider is already conscious. And that was something that my students brought up with me quite a bit is how they felt so happy that they didn't have to bring up the conversation, I was bringing it up. That made it feel like it wasn't them having to cause problems. So, if the provider can put themselves in the shoes of a refugee-background young person and see what all the concerns would possibly be, for that student, and*

how can we cater to it, at least the student and their family are aware that you are
aware of their needs."

Several interviewees discussed creating a culture of respect and safe spaces involves incorporating fun, providing an opportunity for all participants to have their opinions heard and to contribute, and acknowledgement of diverse cultures and religions. Wendy and Peter found that providing a non-hierarchical space where the achievements of refugee-background youth are acknowledged creates a feeling that they are valued. Where some participants are not fluent in English incorporating activities such as creative and physical activities that don't require English fluency can provide refugee-background youth an equitable platform for participation. Elizabeth explains: "*When you can find creative ways to express yourself, without having to speak, there is not that pressure to be a perfect English speaker. But you're still able to show off your talents, to develop a talent, to do something and still be able to excel at it."*

Several interviewees also recounted experiences where translators had been used effectively to allow refugee-background youth to participate in activities. Elizabeth described how interpreters helped make a holiday programme welcoming for some refugee-background youth:

> *"Some of the things that make their programmes successful is that they have*
> *interpreters there. So already the young people do not feel the pressure of trying to*
> *speak the language when they are not ready, and also don't feel embarrassed because*
> *they are in a place that knows what their struggle is with the language and*
> *communication."*

Some interviewees described initiatives to acknowledge and educate staff and participants about diverse cultures and the refugee journey which have resulted in more tolerance and accommodation of refugee-background youth. Initiatives included celebrating festivals from a variety of religions, sharing food, cultural performances, incorporating prayers from participants' religions, and celebrating World Refugee Day. Similarly, Pink et al. (2020) found that incorporating prayers from participants' religions at the beginning of a football tournament had a profound impact of the feeling if inclusivity for refugee-background youth.

Social exclusion can be felt when none of the participants share a similar culture or background (Tisdall, 2006). Several interviewees mentioned the value of having a number of refugee-background youth or youth from similar cultures participating together to reduce social exclusion and give refugee-background youth the confidence to participate in an activity. Aliya explained one of the benefits of having a programme targeted to a specific group of youth was it gave those youth a rare chance to "*sit in the majority"* and to not feel different.

Interviewees articulated that the attitudes and knowledge of NFE providers has a significant impact on creating an environment that welcomes diversity. Providers need to care about the youth and show that through being trustworthy and respectful. Taylor and Sidhu (2012) identified best practice schools providing inclusive education for refugee-background students as having a 'caring ethos'. Interviewees considered caring people in NFE as a key incentive for participation and a key contributor to PYD through NFE. Pink et al., (2020) also identified caring adults as a key factor in enabling PYD through NFE for refugee-background youth in Australia.

Kodrean and Brendon (Blue Light Ventures) found that youth are aware when staff are more focussed on fulfilling contracts or meeting their own needs than providing outcomes for the youth. Providers also need to be open to learning about the cultures of their participants and to remember that each participant is an individual, with different needs and preferences. For example, Brendon found that in a group of Muslim youth not all would be observing religious practices.

Meeting cultural needs requires knowledge and preparation from providers. Kodrean advised that sometimes programmes may need to be reshaped to accommodate cultural needs and providers may need to be flexible about how they run activities. Several interviewees discussed that swimming activities, sleeping arrangements, clothing and food may need to be modified for some youth to participate but often solutions could be found that enabled participation in activities that both providers and youth may have assumed was not possible. Kris (Outward Bound) remarked, "*something that a lot of the students come away saying was that they didn't realize that this was something they could do, not just physically, but culturally.*"

There were mixed opinions about the value of separating genders among interviewees. In some situations, separating genders was required to allow participation for some youth. For some activities and groups providers found that separating genders allowed refugee-background youth to participate more fully in activities or resulted in more female youth joining activities. This was particularly common for physical activities. However, some interviewees recounted instances where helping refugee-background youth to be comfortable participating in a mixed gender setting helped them become more comfortable participating in other mixed contexts such as at university, and also provided an alternative perspective on roles assigned to genders. Some interviewees also found that allowing brothers and sisters to attend together increased the attractiveness of some activities for refugee-background youth and their families.

6.3.1 Adapting programme design for individual circumstances

When designing programmes or activities to be accessible and inclusive for refugee-background youth interviewees generally stressed the importance of understanding who the participants are and being flexible to meet their needs. Block and Gibbs (2017) and Correa-Velez (2010) also identified flexibility of providers as important to facilitate participation of refugee-background youth. Each participant will have different barriers to participation, different cultural needs and different responsibilities and demands on their time. Several interviewees found that a flexible approach to the time commitment required was necessary for many refugee-background youth who may have greater responsibilities at home than other youth. Several interviewees stressed that irregular attendance is not always a sign of a lack of commitment or motivation for the activity.

Kodrean articulated that most activities will work for refugee-background youth, but sometimes adaptions may be necessary to accommodate their needs. Examples of successful adaptions included Outward Bound who adapt their course design when working with refugee-background and new migrant youth to cater for students that have often had less exposure to the outdoors than other students, providing more instructor support at the beginning of the course and guiding the students to the point where they can take on the challenges independently. Blue Light Ventures have also come up with alternative ways to fulfil requirements for the Duke of Edinburgh's Award for students who are unable to stay away overnight.

6.4   Providing pathways to leadership and ownership

Several interviewees found that ongoing programmes have the added benefits of being able to build in development pathways for the participants WOWMA and Mixit described having a longer term vision for the participants which meant that a creative arts programme or an outdoor education programme became a much broader youth development programme. Participants are carefully scaffolded in their development and supported in appropriate ways as their development needs change. Feedback from participants who had participated in the WOWMA, Islamic Women's Council of New Zealand and Mixit programmes described them as being transformational. Aliya said it is important to consider "*what you want the young people to get out of the programme now, and in say three years.*"

Ongoing initiatives allow participants to take on more responsibility including leadership roles and more ownership for the programme. This creates more opportunities for youth to contribute and to develop skills for adulthood and for youth from different backgrounds to work together, building tolerance and understanding of each other. Kodrean and Wendy discussed how it takes time for youth to develop the confidence, to understand and take on responsibilities and once they do their confidence then develops. Naaz (teacher) described how over time she has been celebrating cultural festivals at her school, she has been able to transfer more of the ownership and responsibility for organising events to her students. This has led to more proactive action from the students and Naaz has seen greater benefits for their development.

Pauline described how collaborating with refugee-background youth to co-design programmes gives them greater ownership of the programme. Providing opportunities for ownership and leadership aligns with the findings of Pekel et al., (2018) and the PYDA which asserts that when youth are given ownership and leadership opportunities power is shared with youth, their strengths, experiences and perspectives are acknowledged, and their ability to make decisions about their own development in affirmed (Wayne Francis Charitable Trust, 2021). Lerner et al., (2014) also identified leadership opportunities as one of the most important facets of quality youth development programmes. Providing refugee-background youth opportunities for ownership, leadership and co-design also help address the power imbalances that can arise when disparate groups participate together Green (2010).

Nicola discussed how she saw value in ongoing initiatives allowing deeper relationships of trust to be built between mentors and youth and between peers and this is echoed in findings from Lerner et al., in his research with American youth development programmes (2014). Mixit has run every Saturday in school terms since 2006 and one of the key strengths of Mixit identified by several interviewees is consistency, opportunities for leadership and ownership of the programme for refugee-background participants, and the long term relationships youth build with peers and mentors. As discussed in chapter four peer and adult mentors can play a significant role in supporting and encouraging refugee-background youth and helping them feel they belong. Incorporating mentoring into NFE is likely to increase the positive impact of NFE for refugee-background youth. Marie recounted how as the first in her family to go to university, mentors a few years older than her were a key source of information and practical support through high school and the university application process.

6.5   Conclusion

The findings of this chapter demonstrate that proactive action is necessary to providing NFE that is accessible and welcoming for refugee-background youth. Funding, transport, someone proactively providing information and linking refugee-background youth and their families to opportunities and providing an inclusive environment that welcomes diversity are key to facilitating participation.

While the benefits of NFE for PYD for refugee-background youth were established in chapter five, NFE providers need to also take specific actions to ensure their activities are inclusive for refugee-background youth. Throughout this chapter, I shared interviewees' many examples of good practice and there are also examples of good practice documented by other researchers such as Pink et al. (2020) and Block and Gibbs (2017).

Counter to findings by James (2013) that there is a lack of culturally appropriate activities, I found that where action, informed by knowledge, is taken, creative solutions can be devised that enable refugee-background youth to participate fully in an activity. Examples were given where providers had found ways to ensure full participation by refugee-background

youth, who were sometimes not aware that the activity could be done in a culturally safe way, such as female Muslim youth participating in an open Outward Bound course.

Activities that bring together diverse youth and activities that cater specifically for refugee-background youth or specific cultural groups all have potential benefits for refugee-background youth provided they feel welcome.

Both long and short term opportunities provide benefits for youth development. However additional benefits may be realised from ongoing initiatives that provide opportunities to give and receive mentoring and to have pathways for development into leadership opportunities. In evaluating the impacts of different sports programmes Block and Gibbs (2017) also found that short-term and ongoing programmes for refugee-background youth, and mainstream programmes all have youth development benefits for refugee-background youth.

7 Supporting non-formal education providers to offer positive youth development opportunities for refugee-background youth

In this chapter I attempt to address a gap in present studies by sharing findings on what supports NFE providers to provide accessible and inclusive development opportunities for refugee-background youth, despite the additional cost, time and knowledge required. NFE providers rely on supports of knowledge, passion and funding to provide opportunities for refugee-background youth over a sustained period. Therefore, it is important to discuss the wider system and structural issues with which NFE providers contend. I conclude with some recommendations on how supports for NFE providers could be strengthened.

7.1 Knowledge and passion

NFE providers stated that knowledge and passion combined were necessary to build trusting relationships with refugee-background communities and achieve great outcomes for refugee-background youth. That is knowledge to understand what is needed and passion to invest the time and personal effort required. Interviewees' knowledge and passion came from lived experience, through coming from a migrant or refugee background, or through having close ties to former refugees at work or in the community. This knowledge was augmented through research and formal education.

Many interviewees stressed that trusting relationships with refugee-background youth, their families and cultural communities were needed for refugee-background youth to participate in activities, echoing findings of Gibson and Kindon (2013), Humpage (2009), Sampson et al. (2016) and Van Niekerk (2018). Refugee-background youth interviewed also identified that NFE providers' cultural knowledge and passion helped them feel welcome, understood, valued, supported and cared for, as discussed in chapter four.

Kate (NFE provider) summed up the narratives of the NFE providers when she said:

> "People like the idea of diversity in theory, but in practice it's really hard. It takes passion because it is hard – hard to find the money, takes a lot more time and effort. It's the push between the practical and the reality of people's jobs, and that's where the passion comes in. It's passion or it never happens."

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Aliya (WOWMA) described how her knowledge and experience of the Muslim faith helped her assure refugee-background parents that activities were culturally safe: "*I knew what the expectations of the community were, so I was able to address the worries, the concerns before they came to camp.*"

Previous research asserts that teachers and others interacting with refugee-background youth need more cultural understanding and awareness of issues facing refugee-background youth (Humpage, 2009; Sampson et al., 2016; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012) and several interviewees expressed a need for more access to training and forums to share knowledge among NFE providers. However, the current tertiary curricula for professionals in outdoor leadership, youth work and secondary school teaching in Aotearoa contains no set content on understanding refugee-background youth. Tutors may add content to courses they are teaching but this is discretionary and usually depends on personal knowledge and interest The lack of specific refugee-background youth content in the formal training for outdoor instructors, teachers and youth workers illustrates the low priority given to equipping these professionals or addressing the barriers to equitable opportunities that refugee-background youth experience.

Passion was often identified as key to providing the energy to keep going, especially for those who lacked financial resources. Most of the providers I interviewed demonstrated a strong personal passion for supporting the development of refugee-background youth and were committed to training their staff and raising awareness of refugee experiences to achieve the best outcomes for refugee-background youth. Naaz (teacher) said: "*I do it because I'm passionate and I know how important it is for them [refugee-background youth] to feel comfortable in a country that is now theirs.*"

Naaz demonstrated her passion through her extensive and ongoing voluntary efforts to raise awareness among her colleagues to ensure support for refugee-background students across their school, as well as running a number of initiatives to directly support refugee-background students' academic and broader development:

> "*I keep sending messages out in different ways. Every term I make it a point that I talk about it, telling them [staff] about festivals, telling them about the achievement of our young men, so that they're aware of what is happening with these former refugees in*

the school. So for me, it is just to keep [the awareness] alive. We have a huge buy-in from the staff when we celebrate World Refugee Week. We put posters around the school. Every teacher actually talks about it in the form class. We run competitions across the school. What I'm trying to do is to educate. I think the fact that we do have refugees [in our school], we need to look after them, and we need to have empathy."

7.2 Funding

Funding was identified as a critical support and the largest constraint by every NFE provider I interviewed. Seeking funding and then meeting reporting requirements of funders was time consuming. Several interviewees felt the work involved to secure funding and provide reporting was disproportionate to the amount of funding received.

A common theme from grassroots providers was fatigue from constantly having to find funding as well as designing and delivering opportunities for refugee-background youth, often as volunteers balancing employment and family commitments. Many interviewees articulated that the survival of their programmes relied on their personal energy to deliver the programme, and raise the necessary funds, which was unsustainable. When researching sports programmes for refugee-background youth in Australia Block and Gibbs (2017) also found providers almost universally regarded the challenge of continually needing to find funding as a major barrier to sustainability. Other researchers have also found that the sustainability of youth development programmes often relies heavily on continued funding, and commitment of a small number of key individuals (Cunningham & Beneforti, 2005; Wheaton et al., 2017).

Naaz shared her experience:

"I shouldn't have to go to organizations saying 'Hey give me $500. I want to send this kid somewhere.' Because that adds to the pressure that I'm in now. Half the time people will not do it [provide opportunities for refugee-background youth] because it's in the too hard basket."

Several interviewees noted that funding was difficult to secure and competitive, with many providers seeking funding from the same pool. Kate (outdoor activity provider) described

funding as the thing that made it difficult to work with refugee-background youth: *"They're harder to work with because there is no funding."*

Organisations with consistent funding were able to offer ongoing or repeat programmes which allowed relationships of trust and a reputation for safety to build with former-refugee communities. Wendy (Mixit co-founder) attributed having consistent guaranteed funding in the early years as key to Mixit's success:

> *"At the get-go there was one sole benefactor. And she said, just make this as good as it can get. Do not worry about finding funding, do not worry about forming partnerships and taking on the inevitable compromises that will impact the potential of this vision. Just focus on making it as good as it can be. If we had, right from the beginning, had to join the queue for funding we probably wouldn't be standing here with a developed and successful model of practice 17 years later."*

Aliya (WOWMA) attributed having a small amount of annual funding to helping sustain an ongoing youth development programme. Interviewees also described how one-off, insecure funding inhibited the building of trusting relationships because opportunities were often available for a short time only to match the funding received.

Larger organisations attributed having professional fundraisers and a recognised brand as contributing to securing funding, while all the grassroots organisations interviewed expressed frustration that while they were delivering the outcomes sought by funders, they found it difficult to compete with larger organisations for funding. Ownership of refugee-background youth development initiatives tends to sit closer to former refugee communities and refugee-background youth themselves when providers are locally-based and have strong ties and relationships of trust with refugee-background youth and their families.

Further, several refugee-background interviewees were of the opinion that funding was not always allocated to the people or organisations achieving the best outcomes for refugee-background youth. These smaller grassroots organisations often had trusting relationships with refugee-background youth and former-refugee communities and were providing transformational youth development opportunities for refugee-background youth. However, donors' priorities, criteria and conditionalities made it more difficult for them to

secure funding from contestable sources. Application processes and conditions of funding appear to favour organisations who have the resources to complete elaborate consultation, application and reporting processes.

This research highlights the importance of host nationals having better understanding of refugee assets, journeys and issues to combat racism and discrimination and to enable welcoming and inclusive environments for refugee-background youth. NFE can provide opportunities for disparate groups to socialise and share experiences, supporting the building of empathy and understanding. However, I observed that funding criteria often results in refugee-background youth being unnecessarily segregated from host community peers because of a lack of funding for refugee-background youth to participate in NFE open to all. Channelling refugee-background youth into targeted programmes because of funding constraints means opportunities to build understanding between refugee-background youth and host nationals are lost. This hinders efforts to build a more inclusive society accepting of diversity which readily grants everyday citizenship to refugee-background youth. For example, two schools were running outdoor education programmes that were not affordable for refugee-background students. These students instead attended a similar, but fully funded, programme offered by an NGO.

Given this is a thesis in Development Studies, parallels can be drawn on the impacts of funding processes and conditions between NFE providers and those delivering development activities in developing nations. Increased conditions on funding reduces the ability for organisations to use their local contextual knowledge to influence outcomes (Duval & Gendron, 2020). When the ownership of development interventions are removed from the target populations, they are less likely to build on the strengths and assets of the target population, ignore cultural knowledge, and the outcomes are less likely to align with the outcomes and needs of the target population (Chambers, 1997; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1996) In sum, they are likely to be contradictory to the aims of strengths-based approaches. Models of funding and resourcing must enable local and grass-roots approaches to youth development that understand the diversity of youth and that are sustainable beyond the short-term. Consistent and longer- term funding has more potential to transfer ownership of aspects of programmes to participants including refugee-background youth. Again, in Development Studies there has been much discourse around the limitations of short-term

and project-based funding for achieving longer term, and often evolving, development outcomes (Overton et al., 2019).

In the NFE context, criteria attached to funding often drove decisions on programme design or who was able to access programmes. One provider explained that who they provide opportunities for depended on the funding they were successful in securing. If they secure funding for refugee-background youth they will run programmes for them but if not, they wouldn't proactively seek refugee-background youth participants. Other providers described adjusting programme design to satisfy criteria attached to funding which sometimes compromised the outcomes for refugee-background youth.

Several interviewees also suggested there was a hierarchy of funding with refugee-background youth prioritised after Māori, Pasifika, and youth with disabilities. Naaz commented on the lack of funding for refugee-background youth: *"We have the things for Pasifika, for Māori, for all the others. This is also a group [refugee-background youth] within New Zealand that is here to stay. So how about thinking in that direction, you know."* Two youth development organisations explained there was a reluctance on donors to fund refugee-background youth, implying they did not recognise refugee-background youth as New Zealanders. This situation illustrates the hierarchy of funding suggested by other interviewees. Elsewhere, but with similar outcomes, Bettini (2013) found that narratives concerning climate migration de-individualise climate migrants or refugees and portray them as threats or victims fuelling public distrust or distaste of them. Jackson and Bauder (2014) also found that the representation of refugees in narratives and discourse in Canada lead to stereotypes of refugees as less worthy than other members of society, which created unique barriers of access to employment, as employers' actions were influenced by the representations and stereotypes.

7.3   Conclusion

Key concerns raised during this research were NFE providers' limited access to specific knowledge and funding to support their work with refugee-background young people over a sustained time period. Funding is key to the sustainability of opportunities and to supporting NFE providers. However, funding is scarce and difficult to obtain, particularly for

smaller grassroots organisations. While passion goes some way to sustaining the energy of NFE providers and their ability to seek and attract funding, many felt fatigued and were frustrated by the competition with other organisations.

I also observed that refugee-background youth may be positioned behind Māori, Pasifika, and youth with disabilities. While many youth development organisations want to welcome diversity and have policy statements reflecting this aspiration, they are grappling with how to do this for groups prioritised 'ahead' of refugee-background youth and for whom there is often more funding available.

Support for NFE providers could be strengthened by making funding application processes less onerous, reducing conditionalities attached to funding and providing longer-term funding for sustained programmes rather than one of delivery of a project or activity.

Strengthening content on refugee-background youth development in tertiary curricula and facilitating opportunities for formal training and collaborating with refugee-background communities and others working with refugee-background youth, may assist NFE providers, teachers and youth workers to ensure equitable access to NFE and adequate support for refugee-background youth to participate.

Despite the challenges discussed above, I observed many NFE providers offering effective PYD opportunities for refugee-background youth. These providers range from large national or regional bodies with established brands and paid employees to small local organisations and individuals operating in a mix of paid and voluntary roles. In chapter eight I explore further areas of research that could assist in strengthening supports for NFE providers.

8   Summary of key findings, conclusion and areas for further research

This qualitative research project has worked within a transformative epistemology infused with Appreciative Inquiry (AI) and qualitative interviews with five former refugee or refugee-background youth and 20 Non-Formal Education (NFE) providers to understand the following:

1. What key factors influence positive youth development for refugee-background youth?
2. What key factors lead to positive youth development for refugee-background youth through non-formal education?
3. How might non-formal education be adapted to enable greater positive youth development outcomes for refugee-background youth?

It also encountered three main limitations which I acknowledge here. First, time constraints inherent within a one year master's thesis prevented a fully collaborative and iterative AI process. I did mitigate this limitation in part by having refugee-background youth critique my findings and add their perspectives to them

Second, some of the input into the thesis came from NFE providers who may have overstated the benefits of NFE. However, I tried to privilege the perspectives of former refugees and refugee-background youth throughout, and the benefits stated by NFE providers were congruent with the benefits described by former refugees and refugee background youth.

Third, all the refugee-background youth and former refugees who contributed were fluent in English and were in either tertiary education or had been tertiary educated and had meaningful employment. They may not be representative of the majority of former refugee or refugee-background young people (O'Connor, 2014; Ziaian et al., 2019). As AI is strengths-based, however, their experiences and perspectives offer an opportunity to build from and enhance more positive outcomes for others.

In the following sections, I discuss key findings answering the central research questions and offer a revised PYD model and guidelines for NFE practitioners associated with them. I

conclude by offering some wider reflections on relationships between NFE, education, resettlement, integration and development before presenting areas for future research.

8.1   Key findings and insights

8.1.1   What key factors influence positive youth development for refugee-background youth?

While the development of personal attributes is included in many PYD models, this research revealed that personal attributes may already be well developed in refugee-background youth. Other research emphasised the importance of Indigenous and migrant youth understanding their culture to develop a positive self-identity (Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group, 2019; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010) but my interviewees focussed more on the factors of youth development which they considered were more difficult for refugee-background youth to access. In addition, they noted that the actions and attitudes of others significantly impact refugee-background youth development.

The three most significant factors influencing PYD for refugee-background youth were;

1. a sense of belonging,
2. everyday citizenship, and
3. equitable access to opportunities to participate.

A sense of belonging is dependent on everyday citizenship, equitable access to opportunities to participate and quality relationships. Proactive action from the wider community is required to support each of these factors. These findings are consistent with other researchers (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Sampson et al., 2016; Stuart, 2012) who also found that a significant factor in PYD for refugee-background youth is acceptance of diversity by host nationals. There was a clear narrative from interviewees that changes in attitudes, knowledge and actions were needed across the wider community to support refugee-background young people's sense of belonging, equitable access to opportunities to participate, everyday citizenship and quality relationships.

In addition, structural issues of wider development inequality faced by refugee-background families in Aotearoa including poverty, lack of meaningful employment, and insecure and/or

inadequate housing were highlighted as negatively impacting youth development for refugee-background youth.

Refugee-background parents support PYD through role modelling the attitudes and characteristics required for thriving and providing a connection to culture. However, support for parents to parent in Aotearoa while respecting their natal culture would further benefit refugee-background youth.

8.1.2 What key factors lead to positive youth development for refugee-background youth through non-formal education?

Participation in NFE can play a significant role in enhancing PYD for refugee-background youth. The skills and personal growth gained through participation in NFE appear to enhance outcomes in formal education and provide the confidence to participate in other contexts. The key contributions made by NFE for refugee-background youth were opportunities to form connections with people and with the land, culture and history of Aotearoa, build confidence and have fun. These connections contributed to a sense of belonging and provided a forum for refugee-background youth to excel outside academic contexts and to evolve their interests.

Opportunities to explore the physical geography of Aotearoa, outside of a person's local community were seen as significant contributions, both of NFE that included such activities as a major focus (for example, outdoor-based programmes) and those where some travel or outdoor activity occurred (for example, performing arts programmes or sports programmes that involved trips to outdoor settings such as beaches and bush).

Opportunities to develop skills (competence) that were beneficial for education or employment were also valued by refugee-background youth and their families. While opportunities to develop character and contribution are components of youth development theory, interviewees afforded these characteristics less importance in NFE because they could access opportunities elsewhere to develop these characteristics. NFE also provided opportunities for refugee-background youth to experience caring from others through support, mentoring and friendships and they placed high value upon these aspects.

8.1.3 Implications of the findings for current PYD theory and models

Participatory, grassroots and post-development approaches to development call for development practice to understand the diversity and local context of the people it seeks to serve and to challenge universal approaches to development (Chambers, 1997; Gibson-Graham, 2005). Supporting PYD for diverse or marginalised youth requires a nuanced approach that recognises the assets they possess and the challenges and inequities they experience. This research challenges universal approaches to youth development and suggests a youth development model for refugee-background youth which recognises the assets and challenges that impact them and provides a platform on which to design youth development opportunities that better serve them.

While PYD theory generally applies to refugee-background youth, some tenets of it are more important than others. My findings suggest that forming connections to people and connections to the land, history and culture of Aotearoa are most important for refugee-background youth. PYD theory and models are silent on the need for youth to understand and feel comfortable in the context they live in and fail to recognise the importance of connecting to the land, history and culture of the country in which they are growing up. However, as demonstrated by my research participants and supported by similar findings by Kale (2019) and Sampson and Gifford (2010), building attachments to physical places through positive physical and social experiences helps former refugees and refugee-background youth feel belonging, safety and security.

Current PYD models also fail to recognise the contribution fun makes to PYD for refugee-background youth. Fun is important for these young people because they may have little opportunity for fun in their daily lives due to heavy expectations placed on them at home and in educational settings. Fun can facilitate participation in social, economic and educational contexts, is a key enabler of connection with peers, and supports continued engagement in NFE (Ramirez & Matthews, 2008).

PYD models fail to acknowledge the assets refugee-background youth often possess, including well developed personal characteristics (Anderson et al., 2021), supportive and connected families (Deng & Marlowe, 2013; James, 2013; Stuart, 2014), cohesive cultural communities (Deng & Marlowe, 2013; James, 2013) and a strong connection to a faith

(Stuart, 2014). These assets provide emotional support, opportunities to express care and contribute to others, and encourage behaviours which help youth thrive.

Additionally, PYD theory doesn't consider the challenges faced by refugee-background youth and their families, who are growing up as a minority cultural group in a western context, often facing wider systemic inequalities. If PYD models are to aid understanding of the needs and strengths of this group and advocate for more inclusive opportunities, they need to address the following four wider intergenerational and systemic issues:

1. meeting the material needs of families including income, housing and meaningful employment for parents,
2. supporting former-refugee parents to parent their children growing up in Aotearoa,
3. enabling former refugee-parents to understand the value of NFE, and
4. developing widespread societal acceptance of diverse cultures including addressing racism and discrimination in Aotearoa.

As a result of these implications and to encourage practical application, I propose a model of positive youth development for refugee-background youth in Aotearoa (Figure 8-1) adapted from the Five Cs Model (Lerner & Israeloff, 2007). This proposed model makes visible the wider structural and systemic conditions that impact refugee-background youth development in Aotearoa and contains the additional characteristics of 'Connection to Aotearoa' and 'Fun' as key themes emerging from interview analysis.

Meaningful employment

Diverse cultures embraced

Freedom from racism and discrimination

Connection to people
Positive bonds with people and social institutions; a sense of belonging

Connection to Aotearoa
Connection to experiences of Aotearoa: physical geography, culture and history

Fun
Sharing enjoyment and pleasure with others; freedom from expectations and judgement

Positive youth development happens through **participation** and **quality relationships** in all key social contexts where youth live, learn, work, play and socialise.

Confidence
A sense of self-worth and mastery; having a belief in one's capacity to succeed

Competence
Skills for social, academic and work contexts

Character
Respect for societal and cultural norms; connection to principles and values

Contribution
Giving to yourself and others; making a difference

Caring
Sympathy and empathy for others; commitment to social justice

Adequate housing

Equitable access to opportunities

Adequate family income

The larger tiles denote opportunities that are more important for refugee-background youth.

Figure 8-1 A proposed model of positive youth development for refugee-background youth in Aotearoa (Source: Author)

8.1.4 How might non-formal education be adapted to enable greater positive youth development outcomes for refugee-background youth?

While participation in NFE has benefits for refugee-background youth, and the skills and personal development attained is transferable to other contexts, refugee-background youth often require extra support so they can participate on an equitable basis with other youth.

Such support includes;

1. connecting refugee-background youth to opportunities and encouraging them to participate
2. providing funding, equipment and transport, and
3. ensuring activities are welcoming and inclusive.

In addition, parents and wider family may not be able to support refugee-background youth to participate in activities because they themselves are not aware of, or familiar with the opportunities available. In this situation, two further supports emerged as;

4. providing information to refugee-background youth and their families, to understand what opportunities are available, what the benefits of participating are and how they align to the goals and aspirations of refugee-background youth and their families, and
5. enabling the parents and wider families of refugee-background youth to trust those running the activities and to trust that cultural needs will be met.

It is also important to remember that participation in NFE does not automatically result in benefits for refugee-background youth (Block & Gibbs, 2017; Spaaij, 2009a). Intentional design is required to facilitate an environment that is welcoming and inclusive and ensure the activity enhances development for refugee-background youth rather than reinforcing social exclusion or inequities (Pink et al., 2020). Programmes that are sustainable over the longer term have added benefits of providing pathways to leadership and more opportunities to transfer ownership of aspects of the programme to refugee-background youth. Longer term programmes are also able to foster deeper relationships through formal and informal mentoring.

8.1.5 Guidelines for non-formal education providers

To further practical application (as favoured by Development Studies), I have developed a set of practical guidelines for those supporting the development of refugee-background youth; NFE providers, teachers, youth workers, mentors and other New Zealanders wanting to ensure refugee-background youth can thrive in Aotearoa (Table 8-1).

These guidelines encapsulate the findings from the third research question; How might non-formal education be adapted to enable greater positive youth development outcomes for refugee-background youth? The guidelines build on the proposed adapted model of youth development for refugee-background youth presented in Figure 8-1 and provide prompts to help NFE providers ensure their activities are accessible, welcoming and inclusive for refugee-background youth.

Guidelines for non-formal education providers

It is important to recognise that refugee-background youth are not a homogenous group. They have different experiences prior to, and since arriving in Aotearoa. Some will have recently arrived, and some will have been born in Aotearoa. Their family circumstances, living situations, and English language competency will vary. Refugee-background youth come from diverse cultures and religions and each individual will be navigating two or more cultures as they move towards adulthood.

What refugee-background youth have in common is growing up as part of a minority group. They share the right to equitable access to opportunities to develop their potential, alongside all other youth in Aotearoa.

Providing activities for refugee-background youth that are accessible and inclusive requires proactive and intentional actions.

By considering the following questions non-formal education providers are more likely to provide greater positive youth development outcomes through their activities for refugee-background youth.

Enhancing development outcomes for refugee-background youth	Questions to consider
Understanding the needs of refugee-background participants	• Needs - How can you gain an understanding of the needs of refugee-background participants without singling them out or placing the burden on them to explain? (Consider contacting local former refugee organisations, schools, ethnic or faith community organisations for help.)

Reducing the barriers to access for refugee-background youth	• Funding – Is your activity affordable for refugee-background participants? If not, how can you access funding or provide a way for refugee-background youth to source the needed funding? • Equipment and uniforms– How will your participants know what is required? Do they know where they can source the equipment at low or no cost? Can you source equipment for them to borrow or have? Are uniforms culturally-appropriate for females and males? • Transport – How will your participants get to and from the activity? Can someone provide transport for them? • Information – How will refugee-background youth know your activity is available? How will they understand what the activity involves and what the benefits of participating are? Can you provide an opportunity for them to try your activity and meet other participants before they commit to it?
Demonstrating benefits and building trust with refugee-background parents and families	• How will you explain to parents how the activity will benefit their youth? What are the benefits relating to education and future employment? Could this activity be included in a curriculum vitae? Who can help you explain? Do you need someone who can translate into other languages or explain the differences between the New Zealand context and the context refugee-background parents grew up in? • How will you explain to parents your plans to accommodate cultural needs including meeting cultural requirements for females and providing female-only spaces as needed? • How can you build trust with parents? Can you meet parents in-person? Can you give the parents an opportunity to see the activity in action, and meet the adults involved? Do the parents know who they can talk to if they have questions or concerns? Can you utilise existing relationships of trust to reassure parents (e.g., with schools, former refugee organisations, ethnic and faith-based organisations)?

Welcoming diversity and providing a socially-safe environment	• How will you find out about cultural needs before an activity commences and decide how these will be accommodated? How will all adults working in the programme gain the knowledge they need to accommodate cultural needs and welcome diversity? Consider dietary requirements, requirements relating to clothing, swimming, and sleeping arrangements, arrangements for prayers and whether it is appropriate to separate males and females for some activities. Communicate that you are aware of the cultural needs and how you will be meeting them, to participants before the activity. • How will you incorporate fun into your activity to allow participants to enjoy a shared experience together and connect on an equal basis? If your participants are not all fluent in English, can you incorporate activities that don't rely on English language to participate in such as creative, practical and physical activities? • How can you provide an opportunity for all participants to be acknowledged for their achievements and for all youth to feel their opinions are understood and valued? • How can you incorporate the sharing of cultures into your activities? Consider sharing food, cultural stories, cultural performances, recognising different faiths and incorporating greetings and prayers from participants' cultures. • How can you increase the awareness of the refugee journey among participants and staff, in a way that does not single out refugee-background youth? • How will you ensure refugee-background youth feel included if they are in a minority? Can you increase the number of participants who share a common ethnic or religious background or experience of migration?
Adapting activities to take account of individual circumstances	• How can you be flexible in the time commitment required? Refugee-background youth often have significant demands on their time. Irregular communication is not necessarily due to a lack of commitment to the activity. • If a participant cannot meet all the requirements of an activity, how can you be creative in finding solutions? • How can you provide additional support for refugee-background youth who may not be familiar with the activity?

Providing opportunities for leadership, ownership and mentoring	• How can you provide opportunities for refugee-background youth to take on responsibilities and develop leadership skills within the activity? • How can you involve refugee-background youth in the design and delivery of the activity? • How can you provide opportunities for refugee-background youth to receive mentoring through the activity, and to develop into a position where they can provide mentoring to newer or younger participants? • If the activity is a one-off or short term activity is there a way to link refugee-background youth with an ongoing activity where there are opportunities for mentoring and leadership?

Table 8-1 Guidelines for non-formal education providers (Source: Author)

8.2 Conclusion

Refugee-background youth face challenges to participation specific to their situation (United Nations, 2019). Moreover, the intersectionality of factors such as gender, faith, education levels of parents and youth, English language fluency, pre and post migration experiences and acceptance of diversity among the wider community require a nuanced approach to youth development for refugee-background youth. Universal approaches to PYD do not recognise the diverse aspirations, assets, and challenges of refugee-background youth. PYD approaches that are generalised to all youth also fail to recognise the specific wider societal factors that impact the youth development of refugee-background youth.

NFE supports youth development and educational achievement. NFE offers the same benefits to refugee-background youth as other youth but also offers additional benefits that refugee-background youth may find harder to gain including opportunities to connect with people, support systems and local knowledge, and with the land, history and culture of Aotearoa, opportunities to have fun, to excel outside of academic settings, and to have experiences independent of their families. However, NFE does not automatically confer benefits to refugee-background youth. If NFE isn't accessible or inclusive, it can reinforce social exclusion and perpetuate deficit narratives.

By adopting a model of PYD for refugee-background youth and taking informed actions, the barriers to NFE can be reduced and welcoming and inclusive opportunities provided. The adoption of such a model also requires more informed knowledge to be developed within host nation communities and more support for refugee-background parents to help their

children grow up in two cultures. Encouragingly, this research has identified many examples of NFE good practice in Aotearoa. With greater and more sustainable resourcing, these can further enhance youth development opportunities for refugee-background youth.

The PYD model for refugee-background youth and guidelines for those involved in NFE developed in this thesis can enable more equitable access to development opportunities for refugee-background youth and help promote universal social inclusion, everyday citizenship, and reduced discrimination for former refugees.

This research is timely in Aotearoa as an increasing number of refugee-background youth and children are resettled here. It also has international significance given the continued growth in the number of refugees globally, of whom the majority are youth or children. By examining youth development from a refugee-background perspective and proposing an adapted model of PYD for refugee-background youth, this research has challenged two myths that are reflected in some youth development and resettlement policy and practice in Aotearoa. They are:

- that while refugee-background youth are resettling youth development stops, or resettlement activities supersede youth development, and
- that universal approaches to youth development adequately serve refugee-background youth.

Within the discipline of development studies, it is widely accepted that education is a critical factor in development and underpins the achievement of the SDGs. While there is increasing acknowledgement that NFE supports achievement in formal education investment in NFE to support formal education is frequently overlooked. This research shows that investment in NFE for refugee-background youth could further strengthen equitable, inclusive and sustainable development outcomes, support the achievement of SDGs, particularly SDG 3 'good health and wellbeing' , SDG 4 'quality education', and SDG 10 'reduced inequalities', and assist countries to honour their commitments under the 2018 Global Compact on Refugees.

8.3   Areas for further research

I identified three areas for further research that would contribute to reducing inequities in youth development opportunities for refugee-background youth and enhance opportunities for refugee-background youth and host nationals to develop empathy and understanding of each other in Aotearoa and internationally. These are outlined below:

Connecting refugee-background youth and host nationals through NFE

- How can NFE build enduring social connections among refugee-background and non-refugee background peers, including peers for dominant cultural groups?
- How can NFE offered through schools impact connections between refugee-background youth and other students, as well as feelings of belonging at school?
- How do refugee-background youth enhance the experiences and youth development of non-refugee background participants in NFE?

Funding

- How might NFE funding priorities, outcomes and processes be driven by refugee-background youth and their communities?
- How can funding better promote participation of refugee-background youth alongside their host-nation peers in NFE?
- How could funding mechanisms better assure the sustainability of smaller organisations achieving positive outcomes for refugee-background youth and support longer term initiatives and programmes?

Knowledge of refugee-background youth

- How could tertiary curricula for outdoor instructors, youth workers and secondary school teachers provide an awareness of the needs of refugee-background youth and the benefits of supporting them to participate in NFE?
- How can diverse factors influencing refugee-background youth (for example: aspirations, pre and post-migration experiences, gender, age of arrival and length of time in country of resettlement, ethnicity, religion, education levels, fluency of host country language) be better accommodated when providing youth development opportunities?

Appendix 1 Copyright permission

Leonie King
31 Mana Street
Vogeltown
Wellington 6021

Jenn Chowaniec
Wayne Francis Charitable Trust
Saltworks, 4 Ash Street
Christchurch Central 8011

28 September 2022

Dear Jenn,

I am a research student in the School of Geography, Environment & Earth Sciences at Victoria University of Wellington. I am writing up my research in a thesis entitled 'Enhancing the development of refugee-background youth in Aotearoa New Zealand through non-formal education'.

I am seeking permission to utilise the following copyright material in my thesis for the purposes of examination and subsequent deposit in Victoria's publicly available digital repository, Research Archive. The material has been sourced from Wayne Francis Charitable Trust and The Collaborative Trust (2021). Positive Youth Development in Aotearoa: "Weaving Connections – Tūhonohono rangatahi". Wayne Francis Charitable Trust: Christchurch, New Zealand.

- Diagram 1: Individual elements weaving together to make the PYDA framework. Pg 7
- Diagram 5: The 5C's of Positive Youth Development. Pg. 17.

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If you wish to discuss the matter further, please contact me at darrylandleonie@gmail.com or phone 022 674 8137.

Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Yours sincerely,

Leonie King

Permission

- Diagram 1: Individual elements weaving together to make the PYDA framework. Pg 7
- ~~Diagram 5: The 5C's of Positive Youth Development. Pg. 17.~~

I, as Copyright Owner (or the person with authority to sign on behalf of the Copyright Owner) of the material described above, grant permission for Leonie King to copy the material 'Diagram 1' as requested for the stated purposes, with no further action required.

Signed: ~Signed by: Jennifer Chowaniec Date & Time: 29 Sep, 2022 09:03:18 NZDT~ .. Date: …………………….

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Appendix 2 Participant information sheet

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
TE HERENGA WAKA

Enhancing the development of refugee-background youth in Aotearoa through non-formal education

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS (for interviews)

You are invited to take part in this research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

Who am I?

My name is Leonie King and I am a Masters student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?

This research seeks to understand the key factors that influence positive youth development for refugee-background youth and how non-formal education might be adapted to enable greater positive youth development outcomes for refugee-background youth? This project also seeks to identify examples of good practice in delivering non-formal education for refugee-background youth. Non-formal education includes structured activities that are not part of the formal school or tertiary curriculum, such as sports, arts, and cultural activities.

Your participation will contribute to this research by allowing me to explore what supports the development of youth from a refugee-background generally, what supports them to participate in non-formal education, and how we can help activity providers to adapt activities to provide greater youth development outcomes for refugee-background youth. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (application number 0000029442).

How can you help?

You have been invited to participate because of your experience and knowledge working in the field of refugee-background youth development. If you agree to take part I will interview you over zoom. I will ask you questions about what supports refugee-background youth development generally, and how non-formal education might be adapted to enable greater positive youth development outcomes for refugee-background youth?

The interview will take one hour. I will audio record the interview with your permission and write it up later. You can choose to not answer any question or stop the interview at any time, without

giving a reason. You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at any time before 29 August 2021. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

What will happen to the information you give?

You can choose whether or not you wish to have your identity remain confidential in the research outputs. If so, the researcher named below will be aware of your identity but the research data will be combined and your identity will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation. However, you may choose to be named in the final report and have any quotes or contributions made attributed to you, or to be partially identified (e.g. by role).

Only my supervisor and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed before 19 February 2031.

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my Masters thesis. The information could also be used in academic publications authored by myself and/or my supervisor Associate Professor Sara Kindon. The information will also be used to produce guidelines for non-formal education providers on how they could better serve youth from a refugee-background.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study before 29 August 2021;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording;
- receive a copy of your interview transcript;
- read over and comment on a written summary of your interview;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

This research is being conducted under the academic supervision of Professor Sara Kindon, Victoria University of Wellington. If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Student:	Supervisor:
Name: Leonie King	Name: Sara Kindon
University email address:	Role: Professor of Geography
leonie.king@vuw.ac.nz	School: Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences
	Email: *Sara.kindon*@vuw.ac.nz
	Phone: 04 463-6194

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University of Wellington HEC Convenor: Associate Professor Judith Loveridge. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 6028.

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF
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Enhancing the development of refugee-background youth in Aotearoa through non-formal education

CONSENT TO INTERVIEW

This consent form will be held for ten years.

Researcher: Leonie King, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington*.*

• I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.

• I agree to take part in an audio recorded interview.

I understand that:

• I may withdraw from this study at any point before 29 August 2021 and any information that I have provided will be returned to me or destroyed.

• The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on 19 February 2031.

• Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and the supervisor.

• I understand that the findings may be used for a Masters thesis, academic publications and/or presented to conferences.

• I understand that the recordings will be kept confidential to the researcher and the supervisor.

• I consent to information or opinions which I have given being attributed to me
  in any reports on this research: Yes ☐
  or
• My name will not be used in reports and utmost care will be taken not to
  disclose any information that would identify me.   Yes ☐

• I would like a copy of the recording of my interview: Yes ☐   No ☐

• I would like a copy of the transcript of my interview: Yes ☐   No ☐

- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email
  address below.   Yes ☐   No ☐

Signature of participant: _____

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Contact details: _____

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON TE HERENGA WAKA

Enhancing the development of refugee-background youth in Aotearoa through non-formal education

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Introductions:
   a. Introduce myself, my role as a researcher and my connection to Refugee-background youth (RBY)/youth development/the Duke of Edinburgh's award *(as appropriate)*.
   b. What led you to form WOWMA, and then to offer outdoor experiences to women and youth?

2. Overview of research: I am hoping to come up with a more applicable model that applies to RBY development in NZ. I am hoping that this research will raise awareness of the needs of RBY in NZ and advocate for more equitable access for youth development opportunities for them. I know that not all Muslim youth (MY) are former refugees but I think my research will advocate for better access and opportunities for other minority groups as well.

3. Explain the appreciative inquiry approach which means I am seeking to discover what works well so those learnings can be built on to empower people working with RBY to better support their development.

4. Role of the interview: I'm really keen to hear your experiences around MY development and around offering non-formal education in general, and outdoor experiences in particular to MY.

5. Consent forms: Talk through the consent form and ask interviewee to sign this. Remind interviewee that they can stop, pause, pull out, skip questions or withdraw from the interview as they wish. No explanation or reason needs to be given. Aliya can decide now or later if she wants to be kept anonymous in the reports.

6. Introduce themes for discussion: (*all or some as appropriate for the interviewee*)
   - What key factors influence positive youth development for RBY/MY?
   - What are the benefits to youth development of participation in non-formal education?

- How might non-formal education be adapted to enable greater positive youth development outcomes for RBY?

Explain what I mean by RBY, non-formal education, and positive youth development:
- Refugee-background youth (RBY) in Aotearoa includes anyone aged 12 -24 years who has settled in Aotearoa as a result of forced migration or displacement, or who was born to parents who have resettled in Aotearoa as a result of forced migration or displacement.
- Positive youth development is a concept that embodies thriving during adolescence while gaining skills for thriving in later years.
- Non-formal education refers to structured activities that are outside formal education curricula such as sport, arts and cultural activities.

7. Questions
(As this is a semi-structured interview questions may be skipped or topics raised by the interviewee explored further. Interviewees may be asked questions from both Part A and Part B or just Part B as appropriate to their knowledge, experience, or role.)

Part A Youth development for refugee-background youth

a. Can you think of a refugee-background young person or persons who is thriving or making good progress towards thriving? Why do you think they are thriving? What supports / assets have helped them? (Prompt if necessary with the persons strengths/assets, their family/ community/ other people, institutions or groups such as school, polytechnic/university, workplace, faith community, ethnic community, other groups, extra-curricular activities, material support, opportunities).
b. What do you think are the key supports/ assets that support positive development for MY/RBY? Why? Is it different for young men and young women. How is this different from youth who don't come from a refugee background? Why?
c. What two or three wishes do you have for enhancing RBY development in Aotearoa?
d. What changes do you think would make the most significant impact in enhancing RBY development in Aotearoa?

Part B Non-formal education

e. Thinking about RBY who are involved in structured activities outside school, tertiary education or work? How do these activities help them thrive now or in the future?
f. What helps them join these activities? What helps them stay involved? What helps them get optimal benefits from these activities? Targeted or general activities?
g. If people providing activities had no time, money or other resource constraints what would you advise them to do to recruit and retain RBY?

<ol start="8" type="a">
Thinking about the activities you offer at WOWMA – what are the benefits to the young people participating?
Why makes the activities successful?
What conditions supported the success – for the providers? For the RBY participants? (prompts: personal, organisational, other people….)
What might have made it better?
If we talked to RBY what would they say the best/most valuable bits of the activities for them?
In your experience what are one or two most effective tools or techniques for enhancing RBY participants recruitment/ retention/ feeling of belonging/ enjoyment in non-formal education activities? In targeted activities, in activities not targeted – say offered by school.
Imagine the future. We have a large number of RBY participating in activities alongside a diverse range of peers. They feel they belong and participate fully. What are people doing differently? What was the key to success? How did we get there? What was the smallest change that had the most significant impact?

8. Wrap up: Are there any other comments you'd like to add.

9. Thank you for your time and for sharing your knowledge and experience with me. I will email you a copy of the transcribed interview. I'd invite you to review this and send me any additions, amendments or comments, or ask for material to be deleted.

10. Once my thesis is completed I will send you an electronic copy. I will also write up guidelines for organisations that offer non-formal education activities to refugee-background youth. I will send you a copy of these.

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF
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TE HERENGA WAKA

Enhancing the development of refugee-background youth in Aotearoa through non-formal education

EXPERT ADVISORY GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Welcome
As each person arrives offer them hot and cold drinks and introduce myself and others in the room. Once everyone has arrived invite people to sit down.

2. Opening karakia

3. Introductions
Thank each person for coming. Introduce myself, my role as a researcher and the aims of my research to make non-formal education more accessible and inclusive. Ask each person in turn to introduce themselves.

4. Overview of research:
    a. Explain the interviews I have had so far.
    b. Role of the expert advisory panel. To find out your ideas and to check what I have got from interviews.
    c. Explain the appreciative inquiry approach which means I am seeking to discover what works well so those learnings can be built on to empower people working with RBY to better support their development.

5. Consent forms: Talk through the consent forms and check understanding. Ask each person to sign these. Remind participants they can stop, pause, pull out, skip questions or withdraw from the discussion as they wish. No explanation or reason needs to be given.

6. Focus group rules: Explain confidentiality. Explain the reason we are doing a focus group rather than meeting individually is it is an opportunity for us to share ideas. It is important that we remember there are no right or wrong ways to do things. There are many different ways of doing things and different things will suit different people.

7. Introduce themes and questions for discussion:

- What works well for refugee-background youth (RBY) in non-formal education activities? Explain what non-formal education is. Explain the definition of RBY for the purposes of the research.
- Ideas that will support activity providers to offer activities that are attractive and beneficial to RBY and support them to participate.

8. Questions

   a. *Brainstorming session* – lets brainstorm activities that you have been involved in or would like to be involved in or activities that you know other RBY are involved in or would like to be involved in. *Use prompts of arts, sports, cultural activities, social groups, community groups, faith-based groups, lessons outside of school/university/polytechnic. The purpose of this activity is to help the participants think broadly about what is included in non-formal education, which will help them answer the remaining questions. Talking about activities RBY would like to be involved in will help set an aspirational mindset the focus group.*

   b. Thinking about an activity you are involved in or have been involved in can you us about a particular experience that went really well for you?

   c. Why made it so successful for you?

   d. What might have made it better?

   e. Why did you join the activity? How did you make it happen?

   f. What would they say the best/most valuable bits of non-formal education activities for you?

I'm going to get you to look at the findings from my interviews and ask you some questions about them:

1. What key factors influence positive youth development for RBY?

   - Is there anything else you would add?
   - Is there anything you would take off?

2. What key factors led to positive youth development for RBY through non-formal education?

   - Is there anything that you would add?
   - Are some of these things related? Could we cluster some of them together?

3. How might non-formal education be adapted to allow greater positive youth development outcomes for RBY? (Make activities more welcoming and help RBY stay participating)

   a. Here are some ideas that activity providers came up with to make their activities more welcoming and inclusive for RBY. Tell me what you think of the idea? What would make it better? (ask these questions for each

key idea from the interviews/focus groups with other research participants).

  b. What would you add?

  c. Which are the things that you think would have the most impact? (red dots) Which things are least important (yellow dots) and why?

  d. Imagine the future. A large number of RBY participate in activities alongside a diverse range of peers. They feel they belong and participate fully. What are people doing differently? What was the key to success?

  e. What advice would you give people running non-formal education activities to make them more attractive for RBY.

  f. What was the smallest change that had the most significant impact?

9. Thank participants for their contributions. Outline what happens next. I will write up a focus group summary and email it to you. I'd invite you to review this and send me any additions, amendments or comments, or ask for material to be deleted. Once my thesis is completed, I will send you an electronic copy. I will also write up guidelines for activity providers and other organisations that offer activities to refugee-background youth using the information given by you and others I am interviewing for this research. I will send you a copy of these.

10. Closing karakia

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