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A COMPARISON OF PACIFIC ISLAND VIOLENT YOUTH OFFENDERS WITH MĀORI AND PĀLAGI VIOLENT YOUTH OFFENDERS

APAULA JULIA IOANE

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“The Future Depends On What We Do In the Present”

Mahatma Ghandi; 1869 - 1948

Abstract

Violent offending is disproportionately represented amongst Pacific Island youth offenders. While previous research on Pacific Island youth has focussed on gangs and communities, contemporary understanding of this group is limited. The purpose of the study was to explore whether any prevalent risk factors existed among Pacific Island youth offenders who violently offend. Using file data from the New Zealand Police, the offending behaviour and social demographic characteristics of 200 Pacific Island youth offenders aged 10-24 years at the time of committing a violent crime was investigated. This study also compared Pacific Island youth offenders with Māori and Pālagi[1] youth offenders using the same criteria to determine whether similarities or differences existed. Youth offenders were matched with records from Ministry of Education relating to their educational characteristics such as their academic performance and behaviour in school. Data from this latter source was limited.

A number of similarities and differences between the three ethnic groups in their offending were identified including social and demographic characteristics. These included that Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to have been born in New Zealand, to have grown up in the lowest socioeconomic deprivation areas in New Zealand, were more likely to be older when they first started offending and their first offence was more likely to be of a violent nature. Family violence was present amongst all three ethnic groups highlighting the ongoing importance of intervention in this area.

The findings of the current study are likely to have implications for government departments including the Ministries of Education, Justice, Police and Child, Youth and Family, along with programme providers and practitioners. Recommendations are made regarding clinical implications and future research on this population including the need to evaluate and enhance existing services for Pacific Island youths and their families.

[1] Pālagi is the Samoan term for Pākeha, Caucasian or European person in New Zealand.

Dedication

In loving memory:

Tautegaatufanua Kuresa Ioane

“The beauty of my mother was seen in her eyes, the place where love resides.”

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Fa'afetai le alofa. Fa'afetai le agalelei.

Soifua ma ia manuia.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The behaviour of our young people today continues to be of interest to society. However, what tends to make the headlines is their inappropriate and offending behaviour. If they're not racing their cars down busy streets, they're playing loud music on their car stereos. If they're not being supervised, we expect that they're likely to get up to something illegal or mischievous. We often compare the young people of today with the golden age that we were raised in. However, it is important to sit back, and reflect as to whether we really are as "golden" as we think we were during our teenage years. Don't get me wrong though: the offending behaviour by our young people *is* a major public concern *and* a reality. It should in no way be diluted or minimised. We roll our eyes at their behaviour, and the reality is that, to some extent, this is what we expect. It is generally expected that young people are likely to offend at some stage while testing the boundaries of their adolescence and as part of their developmental journey into adulthood (Ministerial Taskforce, 2002b). But, what about the ones who go beyond this behaviour and offend by hurting others? The ones who behave in a manner that impacts on their own wellbeing and the wellbeing of their victims, their families, and society. The ones who behave violently?

Violence[2] offending by young people is of significant concern. Young people aged 14 to 16 years account for 5% of the population, but they make up 10% of violent apprehensions (Crawford & Kennedy, 2008). Over the period 1995 to 2006, there was a 39% increase in the number of youth apprehensions for violent offences, while there was a 22% increase for adults (Chong, 2007). Violence across all age groups in the offending population is increasing. For the purposes of this study, however, my focus is on youth violence. Violent offending by our young people does need to be considered seriously as the impact of this behaviour has consequences for society as a whole.

In 2007, the New Zealand/Aotearoa[3] government allocated $7.6 million including an additional $1.4 million to provide intensive intervention programmes for the most serious and dangerous youth

[2] *Violence* offending is the terminology used by NZ Police to categorise offending of a violent nature. For the purposes of this research, it will also be termed as Violent offending.

[3] Aotearoa is the Māori word for New Zealand. Both words will be used synonymously throughout this research.

offenders. This additional funding was to address the causes of criminal behaviour, reduce recidivism and keep youth out of prison (Mahuta, 2007).

This piece of research is intended to contribute to youth offending research in Aotearoa by focusing on the violent offending behaviour of Pacific Island youth offenders. At the time of the 2006 Census, Pacific people made up almost seven percent of the total New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand & Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010a). They were the fifth largest ethnic group with the highest proportion of children aged 0 to 14 across all of the major ethnic groups in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a). Violent offending by Pacific Island youth is a growing concern in both the Pacific Island community and general society as they are over-represented in violent offences (Ministerial Taskforce, 2002b).

This is a topic of significant interest to me, given my own ethnic background and commitment to working for my Pacific Island community. Growing up in a community perceived by society as riddled with crime and poverty, and trying to understand why people I knew committed crimes, motivated me to start looking into this area. Secondly, I am also interested in working with Pacific Island youth offenders and their families given my current training as an Intern Psychologist working with youth offenders, including Pacific Island youth. Furthermore, the academic supervision and expertise of Associate Professor Ian Lambie in this area have afforded me the opportunity to research an area I aim to specialise in.

The remaining sections of this chapter begins with a literature review to contextualise youth offending in New Zealand and overseas. Firstly, the definition of youth within a national and international context is identified, with a review of youth offending and how it is being managed in New Zealand. An overview of some of the typologies of youth offenders is provided, followed by a discussion on *some* of the risk factors prevalent amongst youth offenders. An in-depth view of Pacific Islanders in Aotearoa is discussed following an examination of Pacific island youth offenders and potential risk factors for their offending behaviour. Finally, this review will conclude with an introduction to the present study.

Demographics of Youth

Population of Youth

Approximately 1.03 billion youth aged 15 to 24 years live in the world today (United Nations, 1997). Overseas data showed American youth aged 10-24 years old representing 21.2 percent of its population in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau 2001). The 2001 Australian Census showed Australian youth aged 15-24 years old representing 14 percent of its total population (Trewin, 2004).

At the time of the 2006 Census, the New Zealand youth population aged 12-24 years old represented 19 percent of the total New Zealand population ("Ethnic composition,"n.d., para. 1). Further analysis[4] showed that 70.4 percent were European, 19.5 percent identified as Māori, 9.3 percent identified as Pacific and 13.1 percent identified as Asian. The proportion of young people identifying with multiple ethnic groups is increasing, especially in Māori and Pacific communities (Statistics New Zealand, 2009b). Therefore, the representation of youth in the general population in New Zealand and overseas suggests that this group is likely have a significant impact on society. Of particular importance is that the members of this group are progressing naturally into adulthood and therefore the impact of their youthful experiences may determine their way of living as adults, parents, mentors, teachers and leaders.

Age of Youth

Following a review of national and international data for a formal definition, finding the age for youth brings an array of mixed results as may be expected. The United Nations defines 'youth' as a person between the ages of 15 and 24 years old (United Nations, 1997). In the United States of America, the Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics which is comprised of a group of federal agencies[5] that collect data on children and youth, define it as 0-17 years old (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2007). The Australian *Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act 1997* defines a young person as 16 or 17 years old, and a child as anyone under 18 years of age ("Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act 1997,"n.d., para. 3).

[4] Respondents in the survey can make multiple selections in identifying their ethnicity.

[5] Government departments.

In New Zealand, the variation continues. The Ministry of Youth Development defines youth as between 12-24 years old ("Ethnic composition,"n.d., para. 1). However, Child, Youth and Family Services define children and young people as aged 17 or younger (Gray, 2001). The Ministry of Justice defines youth offenders as aged between 14-16 years old and child offenders as aged 10-13 years old (Chong, 2007). The New Zealand Department of Corrections[6] defines young offenders as aged between 17-20 years of age (Zampese, 1997). A cross-sectoral report by a number of New Zealand government agencies researching youth gang activity and increases in violent assaults identified youth as people aged between 10 and 23 years of age (Roguski, 2008). Given the age of youth offenders, the following is a review of the types of crimes committed by this population in New Zealand and overseas.

Youth Offending

Youth offending in New Zealand

In New Zealand, the statistics to describe youth offending are obtained from a number of governmental sources: Ministry of Justice, the Department of Courts and the New Zealand Police. Statistics for offending are generally expressed in terms of the number of apprehensions[7]. Police apprehensions of 14 – 16 year olds have been relatively stable with approximately 31000 apprehensions each year between the years 1995 to 2006 (Chong, 2007). In 2006, more than half of the crimes (62%) committed by New Zealand youth comprised *property* offences involving *dishonesty* offences such as *burglary, theft and motor vehicle conversion*[8]. The second largest apprehension was for *good order*[9] offences (13%), followed by *violent* offences (12%). *Violent* crimes typically "….include either a direct act of violence against a person or the threat of such an act." (Morrison, Soboleva & Chong, 2008, p. 33).

More recently, however, youth apprehension rates have slowly been decreasing (Duncan,

[6] This is the government department that impose sentences and orders of the criminal courts and parole boards.

[7] Apprehensions count the number of times a person is apprehended or multiple offenders apprehended for one offence, e.g. one offender apprehended for three burglary offences is counted as three apprehensions, while two offenders apprehended for a burglary offence is counted as two apprehensions.

[8] Motor vehicle conversion is broadly defined as stealing cars.

[9] Good order offences are offences which include breaches of the peace and public noise issues.

2009). Furthermore, these rates have declined noticeably in the last three years with apprehension rates for property offences at its lowest in 2007 and 2008.

In relation to ethnicity, the overrepresentation of Māori in the criminal system is a constant issue within the New Zealand justice and law enforcement system (Marie, Fergusson & Boden, 2009). Forty seven percent of youth apprehended in 2006 were Māori, rising from 45% in 2003. In the same year, the percentage of New Zealand European youth apprehended was 42% (Chong, 2007). Of significant concern is that Māori youth make up a smaller proportion of the New Zealand youth population than New Zealand European youth ("Ethnic composition,"n.d., para 1). Currently, the apprehension rates for Māori youth is more than three times the apprehension rates for New Zealand European or Pacific youth (Duncan, 2009). While this study focuses on Pacific Island youth offenders and their violent offending behaviour, the offending rates of Māori youth remains a significant concern in New Zealand.

A New Zealand study looked at youth offender files from Child, Youth and Family and the Ministry of Justice, and found that Pacific Island youth offended at twice the rate of Pālagi youth and at half the rate of Māori youth (Maxwell, Kingi, Robertson, Morris & Cunnigham, 2004). The study also emphasised the socioeconomic disadvantage of Pacific Island youth in Aotearoa and the higher number of Pacific Island youth appearing in Youth Court despite similar offending with Pālagi youth offenders. Interestingly, Pacific Island youth offenders had lower recidivism rates than Māori and Pālagi youth offenders despite offending more seriously.

When examining youth crime statistics, it is the increase in the number of youth apprehension for violent crimes that is alarming (see Table 1). Specifically, it is *violence, sexual and property damage* offences that have increased in the past decade for the youth population, whereas all other crimes have decreased. In comparison with other age groups, violent apprehensions have increased in all age groups giving rise to the possibility that New Zealand is becoming a more violent community (Becroft, 2007). However for the purposes of this study, youth violence is discussed further in the next section. By understanding how youth violence develops amongst our young people is central for crime prevention and intervention (Hemphill et al., 2009).

Table 1.

National annual apprehensions for New Zealand crime by calendar years 1997 (2006)

Age group	Types of Offences[a]							
	Violence	Sexual	DrugsA[b]	Dishonesty	PropertyD[c]	PropertyA[d]	Administrative	Total
14 to 16	3156 (4656)	149 (188)	4481 (3815)	16280 (14450)	3432 (4441)	2556 (2058)	973 (844)	31027 (30452)
17 to 20	5582 (7920)	182 (295)	13904 (14889)	17469 (15438)	3614 (4949)	3352 (3055)	2714 (3084)	46817 (49630)
21 to 30	10961 (11816)	579 (452)	17543 (16527)	18763 (15862)	3137 (3572)	4479 (3387)	3267 (3897)	58729 (55513)
31 to 50	10297 (15135)	567 (922)	11678 (15963)	9724 (11198)	1770 (2749)	4125 (4234)	1911 (2815)	40072 (53016)
51+	1165 (2000)	231 (235)	1020 (1557)	1362 (1208)	187 (281)	689 (687)	179 (292)	4833 (6270)

Note. Sourced from New Zealand Statistics.

[a]See Appendix F for description of offences. [b]Drugs and Antisocial. [c]Property Damage. [d]Property Abuses.

Youth violence in New Zealand

The proportion of the population offending violently appears to peak during mid to late adolescence (Crawford & Kennedy, 2008). In 2006/2007 people aged 17 and 18 years had the highest rates for violent offences compared to 16 and 18 years in 1997/1998 (Smith, 2008).

However, violent crimes committed by youth offenders remain a small proportion of all crimes committed by this population. The percentage of violent apprehensions committed by youth offenders (14-16) and young offenders (17-20) in comparison to all other age groups is lower than in other age groups (see Table 2).

Table 2.

A comparison of violent apprehensions and total apprehensions in 1997 and 2006 according to the age of the offending population

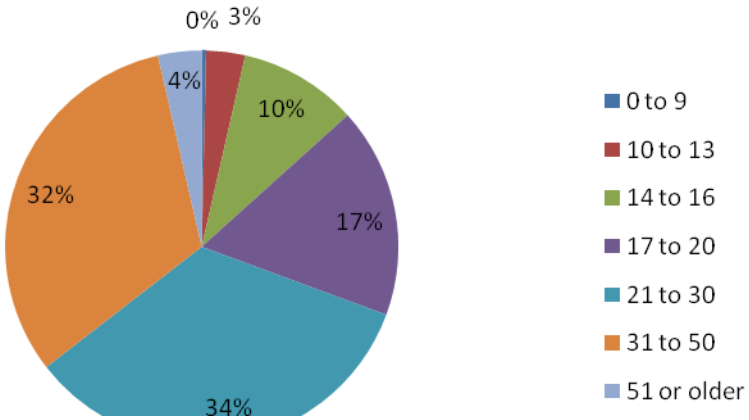
Age Group	1997			2006		
	Violence		Total App*	Violence		Total App*
	N	%[a]	N	N	%[a]	N
14 to 16	3156	10.17	31027	4656	15.29	30452
17 to 20	5582	11.92	46817	7920	15.96	49630
21 to 30	10961	18.66	58729	11816	21.29	55513
31 to 50	10297	25.70	40072	15135	28.55	53016
51 or older	1165	24.11	4833	2000	31.90	6270

Note. Sourced from New Zealand Statistics.

*: Apprehensions. a: This percentage is calculated as a percentage of *Violence* apprehensions as per Total Apprehensions of each age group.

Furthermore, if we look at V*iolence* apprehensions across all age groups, youth offenders accounted for 10% and 17% respectively for violence apprehensions in 1997 (see Figure 1). By 2006 this had increased to eleven and nineteen percent for youth and young offenders respectively (see Figure 2). Hence, this shows that youth offenders are increasing in their violence apprehensions as a proportion of total violence apprehensions amongst their own population and the entire offending population.

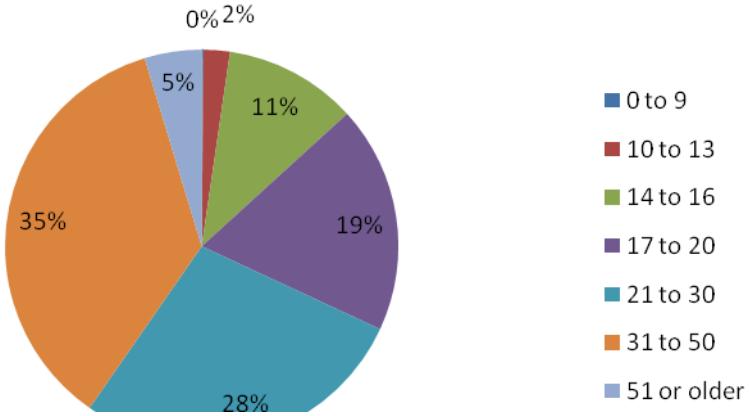
Figure 1. Violence apprehensions in 1997



Source: New Zealand Statistics

Figure 1. Percentage of Violence apprehensions in 1997 by age group.

Figure 2. Violence apprehensions in 2006



Source: New Zealand Statistics

Figure 2. Percentage of Violence apprehensions in 2006 by age group.

According to Lambie and Becroft (2006), 75% of the youth population do not offend suggesting that it is still a small number of young people in New Zealand that commit crimes. However, despite this indication that a much higher number of youth do not offend, our New Zealand

media continues to provide an incomplete and often distorted impression of youth who offend (Becroft, 2007). It is important to be mindful that taking information based on media accounts and public perception is likely to be inaccurate (Borum & Verhaagen, 2006).

Of importance to society is the acknowledgement that our data is collected in terms of the number of apprehensions, not the number of individual offenders. These statistics should be treated with caution as they may not necessarily mean that offending in violent crimes is increasing. Statistical changes may be due to an increase in the reporting of youth offending, demographic changes and/or legislative changes, police policy and practice changes (Chong, 2007; Ministerial Taskforce, 2002b). Cautionary optimism is recommended when analysing the trends of youth offending in New Zealand, as there is some acknowledgement of the inaccuracy of data, given the lack of a centralised collection of statistics and trends about youth offenders (Lambie & Becroft, 2006). In addition, it is considered that youth offenders are likely to be amateurs at committing crime, likely to offend in groups and in public, and therefore more likely to be caught by local Police (Chong, 2007). When interpreting the increase in recorded violent crime, it is important to be mindful of the changes in Police recording practices, reduced public tolerance of family violence and a change in Police attitudes towards, and the intense focus on family violence (Smith, 2008).

While taking into account the rise in violent apprehensions across all age groups, the data reflecting the number of apprehensions rather than the number of individual youths offending, and the increase in violent apprehensions being a small number in comparison to other crimes committed by youth offenders, the verity of violent crime in our youth population remains of concern to judges, practitioners and New Zealand as a whole. Therefore, while being aware of our offending statistics in New Zealand, and how they are derived, we should consider how comparable the statistics for violent offending in New Zealand are with international youth offending statistics.

Youth offending in the United States of America

A youth offender in the United States of America is more commonly termed as a 'juvenile[10] (Puzzanchera & Sickmund, 2008). There are 51 youth justice systems in the United States, each operating under its own legislation, policies and services with most states defining youth offenders as

[10] For the purposes of this study, juvenile will be referred to within the New Zealand context of youth offender.

under the age of 18 (King, 2006). In 2005, most offences committed by youth offenders were for property offences (35%), followed by public order [11] offences (28%) and assault (25%) (Puzzanchera & Sickmund). Between 2006 and 2007, arrests for property crime increased by 14%, accounting for the first increase since 1993 (Puzzanchera, 2009).

Youth offending in Australia

Youth offenders in Australia are also more commonly termed as 'juveniles'. In Australia, a person aged 10 years old has criminal responsibility, however how they are treated under the criminal justice system varies (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee, 2008). The majority of states in Australia consider offenders as youths until they are 18 years old at the time of the offence. In Queensland, however, the youth justice system ceases to act when offenders are 17 or older at the time of the offence (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2007).

Australian statistics in 2006/2007 showed that the highest number of apprehensions amongst youth offenders was for shop stealing (16%), followed by property damage (15%) and assault (13%) (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee, 2008).

Youth offending in the Pacific Islands

In Samoa, there is no formal youth justice system and convicted children are placed in the same facility as adults, though separated from adults. However, recommendations for the formation of a youth justice system were made by the Committee on the Rights of the Child (International Service for Human Rights, 2006). In Tonga, the development of a youth diversion process was established in 2006 with assistance from the New Zealand government, but, there is no juvenile court system at present (Maxwell & Buckley, 2007).

Overall, the types of crimes committed by New Zealand youth offenders are not entirely dissimilar to those of Australian and American youth offenders (see Table 3).

[11] Include disorderly conduct, weapons offences and obstruction of justice.

Table 3.

A comparison of youth offending by age, offence and country

Country	Age of youth offender	Top three offences
New Zealand	14-16 years old	Property, Good order, Violent
United States of America	Less than 18 years old	Property, Public order, Assault
Australia	Less than 18 years old	Shop stealing, Property damage, Assault

Property offences alongside violent offences (which also include assault) are prevalent amongst all three countries. Hence, it seems that youth offending in New Zealand appears to be following similar trends to that in other parts of the world. At this juncture, now that we know the age and crimes committed by youth, it is pertinent to highlight how youth offending is currently managed in New Zealand.

Managing youth offending in Aotearoa

In New Zealand, a youth offender is a person who commits an offence between the ages of 14–16 years old and therefore is dealt with under the jurisdiction of the youth justice system (Soboleva, Kazakova & Chong, 2006). The age when the crime was committed and the age when the crime was known to the justice system are important because these will determine how the offender will be treated by the justice system. If a person is 17 years old, but committed the crime at the age of 16, they will be dealt with as a youth offender. However, if they are 18 years old, they will be dealt with as an adult offender regardless of when the crime was committed[12]. The Crimes Act 1961 in New Zealand stipulates that the age of criminal responsibility is ten years old, but offenders below the age of 14 cannot be prosecuted except for murder or manslaughter (Duncan, 2009).

[12] See NZ Ministry of Justice website in the Glossary section of Youth – www.moj.govt.nz.

The Children and Young Persons and their Families Act (1989) is the legislation which separates child and youth justice processes from the adult criminal system (Duncan, 2009). A child is defined as a boy or girl under the age of fourteen, and a young person is a boy or girl under seventeen years of age. However, this excludes any child or young person who is or has been married or in a civil union. Internationally, this was considered a pioneering model which aimed to hold young people accountable for their actions, alongside a focus of rehabilitation and re-integration into their local community (Lambie & Becroft, 2006). This model was adopted in New Zealand partially on the understanding that boot camps and 'tough love' tactics with our youth do not work (Lambie & Langley, 2009; McLaren, 2000). As part of the youth justice system, the Youth Court was established to oversee the outcomes of all youth offenders in New Zealand (Sturrock, Qiao & Pretti, 2009).

According to the Youth Offending Strategy[13], the focus of the Youth Court is on rehabilitation with decisions made collaboratively by Police, Child Youth and Family Service[14], reports from appropriate practitioners working to rehabilitate the youth offender, and the involvement of Youth Court judges. The Youth Justice system aims to implement the Child and Young Persons Family Act in order to reduce the formal involvement of the youth offender in the justice system, but to still hold them accountable for their offending. Outcomes such as diversion[15], alternative action and restorative justice through family group conferences are possibilities for the youth offender. The system also provides the opportunity for the victim(s) and others affected by the crime to be involved in the process (Sturrock et al., 2009). A Pasifika Youth Court opened in Auckland, New Zealand in 2010 for Pacific Island youth offenders to address their offending behavior within a cultural environment. This was driven by Judge Ida Malosi whom I have had the privilege of meeting and observing within the Pasifika and general Youth Court sessions. The Youth Court process from my own observations is very much rehabilitative alongside a systemic and family orientated approach whilst holding these

[13] The Youth Offending Strategy was developed in 2002 to address offending and recidivism by children and young people in New Zealand. Its aim is to inform government on youth justice policy including the coordination and implementation of youth justice services.

[14] This is a service line within the Ministry of Social Development aimed at helping families to help them selves. See www.cyf.govt.nz for more information.

[15] Diversion is a scheme within New Zealand Police which allows for some youth offenders to be dealt with outside of the Court. Examples of Diversion can be a letter of apology or paying a victim. The Prosecutor can apply to have the charge withdrawn and the conviction not formally recorded.

youths responsible for their actions. The members of the Youth Court ranging from the Judges, Police, Pacific Island elders, Youth Advocates and Lay Advocates all appear to share a common goal – for these youths to lead an optimal and healthy lifestyle as they transition to adults.

In addition to these procedures within the Youth Justice System, the cost of processing a youth offender through youth justice and social services is significant. An outcome for diversion is $1100 for a low risk offender and $27000 for two to three months custody in a residential setting (Inter-agency Working Group, 2007). In addition to this financial cost, the long term implications of losing youth to the justice system will have an adverse impact on present and future generations.

In summary, many efforts continue to be made in response to youth offending in New Zealand. The reality is that adolescence is a transitional period from child to adulthood that is fraught with its own set of unique concerns. Risky behaviours are prevalent during this period, some of which can trigger offending behaviour amongst our young people. However, it is important to note that this offending behaviour may either continue into adulthood or cease at the beginning of maturity. To understand why this may or may not happen, the research into the different types of youth offenders will now be reviewed.

Typologies of Youth Offenders

One of the most widely cited and pioneering theories on the typologies of youth offenders is one by Terrie Moffitt in 1993. Her theory arose from the findings of the Dunedin longitudinal study[16] of 1037 children born in 1972 – 1973 (Moffitt & Caspi, 2001). Moffitt (1993) proposed two typologies of youth offenders namely *Adolescence-Limited* and *Life-course-persistent* offenders.

Adolescence-Limited Offenders

This group engages in antisocial behaviour during their adolescence period and tends to be the larger of the two groups (Moffitt, 1993). They are extreme delinquents throughout their teenage years and tend to stop in their mid to late 20s. They commit offences such as property and drug crimes that are generally of minor seriousness. They are also inconsistent in their antisocial

[16] A longitudinal study of 1037 babies born between 1972 and 1973 in Dunedin, New Zealand (www.dunedinstudy.otago.ac.nz).

behaviour in that they may steal from the local shop but still conform to the rules and boundaries within school and at home. As a result of their inconsistent antisocial behaviour, reports on these youth offenders from their parents and school teachers are likely to differ. Their antisocial behaviour appears to be presented in ways that are normative and fluid to this developmental period of their lives and are likely, in part, to be due to processes of peer pressure. This group is also known as *desisters* who start their offending behaviour when they are generally over 13 years and cease when they are 24 to 28 years of age (Lambie & Becroft, 2006). Their main risk factors are substance abuse and antisocial peers (Fergusson & Horwood, 1995).

A further study looking at the offending trajectories of 403 British males found *adolescence-limited* offenders to be of no difference to non-offenders at age 32 in terms of employment history and relationship with partners. However, their self reports showed heavy drinking, drug use, burglary and theft (Nagin, Farrington & Moffitt, 1995).

Another group similar to this was discussed by American researchers Patterson, DeBaryshe and Ramsey and called *Late starters* (1989). They engage in offending behaviour during middle to late adolescence due to an absence of parental supervision, symptoms of oppositional behaviour and antisocial peers. However, it is thought that these individuals achieve academically and have prosocial peers. They also stop their offending as they progress into adulthood.

Life-course-persistent Offenders

From birth, there is the presence of neuropsychological problems such as impaired cognitive functioning and difficult temperament. Coupled alongside these neuropsychological problems is the presence of major life problems in childhood such as pathological, social, family or individual influences. These influences range from inadequate parenting to behavioural problems (Moffitt & Caspi, 2001).

This group is antisocial in their behaviour throughout each stage in their life. Antisocial behaviour is also known as Conduct Disorder which is defined by the American Psychiatric Classification System as “a repetitive and persistent pattern of behaviour in which the basic rights of others or major age-appropriate societal norms or rules are violated.” (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, p. 98). Perhaps one such definition of this type is summarized eloquently by New

Zealand Professor John Werry in 2005 “From kohanga or kindy on he has defied adults, lied, stolen, maybe set fires, hit other children, is cruel to animals, verbally abuses all who frustrate him, bullies, intimidates peers, siblings, and as we heard recently teachers and other adults as well” (pg. 24). Their antisocial behaviour tends to be across all situations regardless of whether they are at home, school or within the local community. Furthermore, their behaviour ranges across biting and hitting before five years old; shoplifting and truancy during their primary school years; car conversions and selling drugs in their teens; and ongoing antisocial behaviour progressing further in terms of its seriousness and also the frequency of their crimes into adulthood. As a result, they are likely to end up committing violent crimes, ultimately leading to imprisonment. The Christchurch Health and Development Study[17] showed in one of their findings that five percent of children with severe antisocial behaviours committed 35% of violent offending between the ages of 21-25 years old (Fergusson, Horwood & Ridder, 2005). They are also more likely to commit the majority of youth crime and are more likely to be a serious drain on our public system including areas relating to health, education, welfare and employment (Advisory Group on Conduct Problems, 2009).

This group is also known as *persisters* who offend at higher rates than their counterparts and are also likely to start offending before 14 years old and continue to offend at higher rates into adulthood (Lambie & Becroft, 2006). They may also be referred to as *Early starters* who engage in antisocial behaviour pre-adolescence. They experienced a failure to achieve academically and their family environment is characterised by significant levels of family disparity and high conflict (Patterson et al., 1989). Furthermore, it is unlikely that they would socialise with positive peers in school or in social environments. They are also found to have, on average, twice as many convictions than late starters (Farrington, Gallagher, Morley, St. Ledger, & West, 1986).

Low-level chronic offenders

This group was identified as having similar characteristics to the previous typologies with low IQ, family conflict and substance use (Nagin & Land, 1993). However, it was their lower IQ that distinguished them from the previous typologies as they could easily be led to crime. Furthermore, they were less likely to report aggressive attitudes or violent behaviour. A follow up study of the

[17] A longitudinal study of 1265 babies born mid-1977 in Christchurch, New Zealand (www.chmeds.co.nz).

youth from the Dunedin longitudinal study identified as showing antisocial behaviour during either childhood or adolescence was carried out when these individuals reached 26 years of age (Moffitt, Caspi, Harrington & Milne, 2002). This group was again identified. *Low-level chronic offenders* were aggressive as children and had low level offending behaviour during adolescence. However they were described as low-level chronic offenders who showed signs of mental health concerns such as depression and anxiety, had few social contacts and difficulties with money and employment in adulthood.

Loeber, Farrington and Waschbusch (1999) have expanded this work in the area of youth offending typologies to include *Chronic offenders* and *Serious and Violent Juvenile offenders.* These will now be discussed.

Chronic Offenders

Chronic and non-chronic offenders are usually defined by the frequency of their offending or by the nature of their prior offences. Definitions of *Chronic offenders* vary from having five or more arrests, to having nine or more convictions. They are also more likely to start their offending behaviour before their adolescent years.

Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders

For *Serious and Violent Juvenile offenders*, antisocial behaviour begins prior to their teenage years and they generally commit serious and violent crimes. However, they do not have an extensive criminal history nor are they likely to recidivate post their serious and violent offending behaviour.

In terms of their developmental pathways, three pathways were identified for this group. Firstly, they showed stubborn behaviour prior to age 12, were defiant and challenged authority. Secondly, they started with minor offending, moving onto property damage followed by moderate to serious offending. Thirdly, they started with minor aggression, progressed to physical fighting and ultimately violent behaviour. This study showed that *persisters* were more likely to fall within all three of these developmental pathyways (Loeber, Keenan & Zhang, 1997). It is also considered that if they start to offend prior the age of 13, they are likely to have longer delinquent careers and increase their risk of serious, violent and chronic offending (Loeber & Farrington, 2000).

Despite the variation in typologies, themes are consistent throughout each typology. Youth offenders in one group are likely to start offending during adolescence and cease as they reach adulthood. Alternately, those in another group start offending prior to their adolescence and are likely to continue to offend into adulthood.

The challenge for understanding who youth offenders are, is that despite the acknowledgement that youths offend as part of their developmental journey, it is the understanding and ability to accurately identify which youth offenders will graduate to becoming adult offenders that needs to be the essence of current and future research (Senior Sergeant Mike Fulcher, December, 2009). This poses two questions: What are the factors that increase the likelihood a young person will become a youth offender? Secondly, what increases the likelihood that a youth offender is at risk of becoming an adult offender?

Risk Factors

Risk factors are typically factors present in life that potentially increase the risk of an undesirable outcome. They have also been described as predictors which can augment the probability that an individual will participate in unfavourable and hostile behaviour (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee, 2008). While they may increase the likelihood of offending, the association between offending and risk factors may either be causal or merely a correlation (Ministry of Justice, 2009). If these risk factors are reduced, this is likely to reduce crime (Ministry of Justice, 2008). This is an area that has been extensively researched both in New Zealand and overseas (McLaren, 2000).

Behavioural problems in the early years of an individual are seen as one of the strongest predictors for adverse outcomes into adulthood (Fergusson et al., 2005; White, Moffitt, Earls, Robins & Silva, 1990). An advisory group in New Zealand estimated that between five to ten percent of young people will display signs of Conduct Disorder (Advisory Group on Conduct Problems, 2009). These behaviours are typically clustered round aggression and violence towards people and animals, property loss or damage, deceitfulness or theft, serious violation of rules, substance abuse, low intelligence functioning, abuse of substances and psychological difficulties. A recent study in New Zealand looked at risk factors for Conduct Disorder and found this to include exposure to family violence and abuse, spending time with antisocial peers during the earlier years of adolescence and

exposure to poverty and hardship (Boden, Fergusson & Horwood, 2010). The presence of Conduct Disorder may lead to offenders becoming career criminals and to intergenerational transmission of Conduct Disorder (Lambie & Becroft, 2006).

A review of such risk factors showed a broad range of factors which increase the likelihood of future offending. For the purposes of this research, risk factors have been reviewed by the author and identified under the domains of individual, family and community. These domains and their risk factors are primarily sourced from two longitudinal studies in New Zealand – the Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health & Development Research Study and the Christchurch Child Development Study. The author makes no attempt to summarise all the risk factors that have been extensively researched here in New Zealand and overseas. Rather, this is a review of current and past research with an aim to provide an indication of the risk factors which may contribute to explaining the offending behaviour of Pacific Island youth. The following risk factors are identified as associated with a potential increase in offending in our youthful population.

Individual risk factors

Conduct problems in childhood are associated with offending alongside problems in psychosocial functioning in adulthood (Fergusson et al., 2005; White et al., 1990). The Christchurch longitudinal study found that those displaying problem behaviours at age 15 years were characterized by conduct disorder, involvement with police, substance abuse, early onset of sexual behaviours, suicidal ideation, mood disorders and low self esteem (Fergusson, Horwood & Lynskey, 1994). A further analysis using the same birth cohort found that young people studied during the period from 15 to 16 years old who misused alcohol had significantly higher rates of both violent and property offences (Fergusson, Lynskey & Horwood, 1996). Another key finding from the Christchurch Health and Development study was that children aged 7-9 years and classified on a dimension of conduct problems as “severe”, had a higher percentage of violent offending, arrests and imprisonment at age 21 and 25 than those classified as having either none or low conduct problems (Fergusson, 2009). The Dunedin longitudinal study also found that behaviour problems in childhood were the best predictor of an antisocial outcome (White et al., 1990). These behaviour problems included a diagnosis of Conduct Disorder at age 11 which was consistent throughout middle childhood and reported by teachers, parents and child. Similar findings were reflected in a longitudinal study of

adolescents in Australia and the United states whereby instances of previous violent behaviour was a strong predictor of youth violence (Hemphill et al., 2009).

Another study found that being male, having low birth weight and being raised in a disadvantaged environment contributed to an early onset of offending (Tibbetts & Piquero, 1999). Kaufman and Widom (1999) also addressed the issue of childhood victimisation such as abuse or neglect in childhood and found that these children were more likely to abscond from their home environment and therefore increase their chances of offending or participation in offending activities. This was further supported in a longitudinal study where the likelihood of youth offending increased post-sexual victimisation (Swanston et al., 2003).

The personality of youth offenders has also been researched. Those with a tendency to experience negative affective states and difficulty in impulse control may be more vulnerable to youth offending (Caspi et al., 1994). Interestingly, a recent study looking at whether personality measures recidivism amongst youth offenders found that youths identified as psychopaths by personality measures were no more likely to reoffend than youths who had low scores on measures of psychopathy (Douglas, Epstein & Pothress, 2008).

With regards to substance use, a recent study in Australia found that substance use amongst youth offenders was causally linked to offending and more common amongst their indigenous youth (Prichard & Payne, 2005). This was also reflected in another study where indigenous youth (Māori) in New Zealand were found with higher consumption rates of cannabis than non-Māori thereby suggesting that this may lead to more adolescent risk taking behaviours such as delinquency behaviour and higher rates of behavioural problems (Fergusson & Horwood, 2000). In addition, a more recent study that included risk factors for violent offending found spending time within an alcohol and drug environment as significantly related to youth violence (Esbensen, Peterson, Taylor & Freng, 2009).

Alternately a recent study overseas found that the relationship between drinking and offending is not causal, particularly with property offences (Felson, Savolainen, Aaltonen & Moustgaard, 2008). Rather, violent offences tend to increase with an increase in drinking. A recent study of violent offenders, found that this group was more likely to be engaged in health risk

behaviours such as substance abuse (McAra & McVie, 2010). Other risk factors included cognitive problems in their early childhood (Fergusson, Horwood & Nagin, 2000); and their impulsive and risk-seeking behaviour (Esbensen et al., 2009).

Family risk factors

Risk factors identified by the Christchurch and Dunedin longitudinal studies included low family income, poor parental supervision, lack of parental bonding , unskilled and/or unemployed parents, and parental antisocial history. In addition, the Christchurch study looked at children displaying multiple problem behaviours at 15 years old and found that many came from dysfunctional and disadvantaged home environments (Fergusson et al., 1994). One study found that children with single mothers were reported as being more aggressive than children from two parent homes suggesting a moderate association between family structure and the aggressive behaviour in children (Pearson, Ialongo, Hunter & Kellam, 1994).

Youth offenders who come from dysfunctional families or families where fathers are incarcerated are more likely to be placed in out of home placements (Rodriguez, Smith & Zatz, 2009). This suggests that parental criminal history can have an adverse impact on court decisions for youth offenders. Interestingly, another study found that having a criminal parent had no impact on the likelihood of early onset of offending, but did have an impact on late onset of offending (Nagin & Farrington, 1992).

Furthermore, family relationships, single parent homes, poor parental ties and lack of supervision are associated with an increased likelihood of offending and serious offending (Canter, 1982; Hemphill et al., 2009; Gorban-Smith, Tolan, Loeber & Hender, 1998; Rebellon, 2002). A more recent study also found that violent youth offenders were more likely to come from problematic family backgrounds than non-violent youths (McAra & McVie, 2010). One study found that children who have positive emotional relationships with their parents are less likely to form relationships with antisocial peers, which has the potential to lead to offending behaviour (Ingram, Patchin, Huebner, McCluskey & Bynum, 2007). A meta-analysis looking at marital discord including witnessing domestic violence found a positive relationship with child behaviour problems that underlie conduct disorder (Reid & Crisafulli, 1990). A study in Britain found that disrupted families (families who had experienced a permanent parental separation) and children from two-parent homes where there was

high parental conflict had similar rates of offending (Juby & Farrington, 2001). Following on from this, another study looked at the link of these disrupted families with youth offending (Haas, Farrington, Killias & Sattar, 2004). They found that the impact of this separation can be minimised if the parent (usually the mother) is supportive and stable and the child remains with the mother. The study also found that the loss of the mother is more likely to be damaging than the loss of the father. Hence these latter studies suggest that when we address youth offenders from disrupted families, it is the experience of the children and parents with regards to the separation, the nature of the parental relationship and the wellbeing of the parent post-separation that should be taken into consideration rather than just the structure of the family environment. In addition, if an individual has stronger bonds to society such as strong work and family relationships, regardless of their childhood experiences, this may deter them from entering into a life of crime (Sampson & Laub, 2005).

Community risk factors

From the Christchurch and Dunedin longitudinal studies, it has been clearly established that contact with anti-social peers is a risk factor for young people's offending behaviour. Peers are more likely to have a stronger influence on youths as they enter adolescence (Ingram et al., 2007). From this perspective, another study concluded that delinquent friends tend to hang around a lot longer, thereby depriving an individual from initiating friendships with prosocial peers (Warr, 1993). Furthermore, another study found that unsupervised youths were more likely to be associated with property and violent crime (Anderson & Hughes, 2009). Moreover, a longitudinal study of at risk boys interviewed annually from ages 9 to 10 years to ages 23 to 24 years found that boys with less involvement with deviant peers were more likely to show a decrease in persistent offending (Wiesner & Capaldi, 2003). This was also reflected in a recent study whereby deviant peers and spending unstructured time unsupervised with other peers as predictors of youth violence (Esbensen et al., 2009). Furthermore, association with violent peers was a risk factor for youth violence (Hemphill et al., 2009; Zimmerman & Messner, 2010).

Within the context of school and education, a meta-analysis of more than 100 studies found that poor academic performance was positively related to delinquency (Maguin & Loeber, 1996). An earlier study found that those who left school had more criminal convictions (Farrington. 1989). A more recent study found that serious misbehaviour in school increased the risk of further offending,

and that there was a general relationship between misbehaviour in school and general youth offending (Weerman, Harland & van der Laan, 2007). However although serious misbehaviour can increase the risk of offending, the relationship between the two remains complex. On the other hand, another study concluded that dropping out of school doesn't always lead to youth offending (Jarjoura, 1993). A further study highlighted that it is the process that leads to dropping out and criminal involvement which is of more significance, particularly if the youth has had a long history of difficulties with the school and an ongoing history of antisocial behaviour (Sweeten, Bushway & Paternoster, 2009). Secondly, the reason for leaving school early was also found to be related to offending. For example, leaving school early to undertake employment showed a decreased rate of offending. From another perspective, school suspension increased the risk of antisocial behaviour suggesting that disconnecting the child from school can increase their exposure to risk factors such as offending behaviour (Hemphill, Toumbourou & Catalano, 2005; Hemphill et al., 2009). Finally, another recent study found a negative school environment as being significantly related to youth violence (Esbensen et al., 2009).

Within the wider community, disadvantaged neighbourhoods appear to be linked with youth offending behaviour, noticeably with violent offending (Hemphill et al., 2009; McAra & McVie, 2010; Zimmerman & Messner, 2010). An early study found that children raised in poor communities were at greater risk for offending than children raised in more affluent areas (Farrington, 1989). A study looking at average family income, unemployment rate and average level of education amongst family members found that when these factors placed the family at a disadvantage, there was an increased likelihood of youth offending (Hay, Fortson, Hollist, Altheimer & Schaible, 2006). A longitudinal study looking at the impact of childhood poverty showed that the longer a child lives in poverty, the more likely they are to be involved in youth offending behaviour (Jarjoura, Triplett & Brinker, 2002; Wright, Caspi, Moffit, Miech, & Silva, 1999). Another adverse outcome for youths from disadvantaged neighbourhoods is that they tend to spend more time with older youths in their neighbourhood and therefore are more likely to model the offending behaviour of their older counterparts (Harding, 2009). Another significant variable supported by another study was that having access to money and a car amplified the likelihood of youth offending possibly because it provided youths with greater opportunities to offend (Anderson & Hughes, 2009).

While there are a number of risk factors which may increase the likelihood of offending in our youth population, one study found it difficult to predict criminal offending: rather, they found that offending generally declined over time as criminals become older (Bersani, Nieuwbeerta & Laub, 2009).

In summary, the aforementioned section has provided a contextual understanding of youth offending both nationally and internationally, the typologies surrounding youth offenders and the risk factors involved. In the next section of this chapter, this information is reviewed within the context of Pacific Island youth offenders as the primary focus of this research. Firstly, an overview of Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand is provided.

The Pacific Island community in New Zealand

The Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs define the Pacific Island community as follows: "The Pacific population includes people born in the Pacific Islands and in New Zealand. The many Pacific ethnicities are represented primarily by Samoan, Cook Islands, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian and Tokelauan groups, with smaller numbers from Tuvalu, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and the small island states of Micronesia" ("About Pacific peoples in New Zealand," n.d.). They are a heterogeneous group and cannot be referred to as a single ethnicity, nationality, gender, language or culture (Gorinski & Fraser, 2006). Pacific Islanders have lived in New Zealand for more than a century, with a New Zealand born Pacific Islander recognising both Pacific Island and local descent (Tiatia, 2008). As a result, there are more Pacific Islanders born in New Zealand than overseas and are no longer considered a population of immigrants (Siataga, 2011).

The ethnic composition of the Pacific Island population in New Zealand is diverse particularly through inter-marriages with other groups which include Samoan-Chinese, Tongan-European or Fijian-Māori (Bathgate, Donnell & Mitikulena, 1994). The Youth 2000 survey[18] reported that more than half of the Pacific Island students (59%) surveyed identified themselves as having a Pacific ethnic identity and a non-Pacific identity (Mila-Schaaf, Robinson, Schaaf & Watson, 2008). Pacific

[18] The Youth 2000 survey was a national secondary school youth health and wellbeing survey conducted by the Adolescent Health Research Group (AHRG) at the University of Auckland. See www.youth2000.ac.nz for more information.

Island people generally aim to maintain strong links to their island of origin through family, culture, history and language (Ministry of Health & Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010).

Pacific Island youth

Currently within New Zealand, Pacific Islanders are mainly New Zealand born, of young age and urbanised (Statistics New Zealand & Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010a). Pacific Island children and youth aged 12-24 represent almost 10% of the total youth population ("Ethnic composition" n.d., para. 1).

The Youth 2007[19] survey showed that almost two thirds (61%) of Pacific Island students surveyed felt comfortable in their own Pacific social setting or gatherings with 87% reported as being very proud of their ethnicity (Helu, Robinson, Grant, Herd & Denny, 2009). The age structure of the Pacific Island population in 2001 had 38 percent under the age of 15, compared to 22 percent of the total New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand & Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010a). Interestingly, the median age of Pacific Island people in New Zealand in 2006 was 21 years old, compared to 36 years old for the total population. In addition, the median age of New Zealand born Pacific Islanders is 13 years old whereas for overseas born Pacific Islanders it is 39 years old.

Pacific Island cultures use concepts other than age to define the maturity of their youth. Anae, Fuamata, Lima et al., 2000 reported that "....Samoans, Tongans and other Pacific communities differentiate between child and adult according to life stages, often including rites of passage such as sexual or marriage unions or engagements in official public activities." (as cited in Sualii & Mavoa, 2001, p. 40). For many Pacific Islanders, age is secondary to the status given to them by their family, elders and the wider Pacific Island community. Despite this cultural definition of youth in the Pacific Island community, this is not necessarily relevant in westernised society.

Socioeconomic status

Most Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand are hardworking, law abiding citizens (Tait, 2008). Forty two percent of the Pacific Island population reside in the most deprived areas of New Zealand (Ministry of Health and Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2004). Most Pacific Island youth are growing up in these areas, with one in three living in Counties Manukau (also known as South

[19] The Youth 2007 survey was the second Youth2000 national survey aimed to update and extend the original Youth 2000 survey.

Auckland[20]) (Ministry of Health, 2008a; Policing Development Group Counties Manukau Police District, 2007).

In 2006, the median income for the Pacific Island population over 15 years old was $20500, compared to the overall New Zealand median income of $24400 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b). This is most likely a reflection of its youthful population. As a consequence, given that a significant number of Pacific Island youths live in areas characterised by poverty, poor housing and low-decile schools, they are likely to face challenges such as the exposure to poor health, education and issues with the justice system.

Remittance and Gifting

Despite the relatively low income generally earned by Pacific Islanders in comparison to the rest of New Zealand society, it is common practice for them to send money and remittances to families in the islands. As a New Zealand born Samoan, I experienced this firsthand with the understanding that the migration to New Zealand was for the welfare of future families, and that the families remaining in the islands were equally important. This may affect the net worth (accumulation of income) for Pacific Island individuals, particularly if income is below average (Tait, 2008). Anecdotally, for some Pacific island families, sending money home would subsequently place a strain on the wellbeing of their own families in New Zealand. Whether this has any association to crime as a means of compensation remains to be seen (New Zealand Police, 2010).

Employment

There has been an increase in the number of Pacific Islanders employed to 89% in 2006, compared with 84% in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b). However, Pacific Islanders are over represented in occupations with low future growth and under represented in occupations with high future growth. A larger number of Pacific Island men and women continued to be employed as labourers compared to other occupational groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b).

This is not equitable nor is it beneficial for the overall health of the New Zealand community since it means that Pacific Islanders will continue to earn below average incomes, reside in lower

[20] An area categorised as predominantly one of the most deprived 10% of the population.

socioeconomic areas and be at risk of adverse effects on their well being (Tait, 2008). These adverse effects are likely to include increased rates in crime and poverty.

Education

According to the Youth 2007 survey, most Pacific Island students enjoyed school, mainly due to having friends there. Only 60% of the Pacific Island students surveyed, intended to further their education after school (Helu et al., 2009). While there has been an increase of Pacific Island students staying longer at school, their educational achievements remain limited, continuing to limit their opportunities for achieving a better quality of life (Ministry of Education, 2007). Their attendance continues to be positive but this is not reflected in their achievements (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010). Counties Manukau has one of the highest rates of school stand-downs, suspension rates and truancy (Policing Development Group Counties Manukau Police District, 2007). Stand-down rates for Pacific Island students increased by 8% in 2006 due to youth crime and gang membership. Only 22.8% of Pacific Island students leave high school with the ability to attend University compared to 48.5% of Pālagi students (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010).

In 2009, Pacific Island students continued to be one of the lowest achieving ethnic groups to attain a university entrance standard, despite having the largest increase in the proportion attaining university entrance standard between 2004 and 2009 (Ministry of Education, 2010b). Therefore, despite Pacific island student participation increasing in the education sector, this does not necessarily lead to improved levels of educational outcomes across the Pacific Island communities (Statistics New Zealand & Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010).

Pacific Island communities continue to have the highest proportion of people with no qualifications (Statistics New Zealand & Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010b; Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010). Furthermore, while the number of Pacific Island student enrolments at tertiary institutions has increased, the corresponding proportion of Pacific Island students completing their qualifications remains a challenge (Ministry of Education, 2010a).

Mental Health

Pacific Island people experience barriers in relation to accessing and using health and disability services (Tiatia, 2008). Of particular concern is that they experience mental health disorders at higher rates than the general New Zealand population with mental health disorders more likely to

be prevalent among Pacific Island people born in New Zealand (Foliaki, Kokaua, Schaaf & Tukuitonga, 2006). In addition, the same study found that Pacific Islanders have higher rates of suicidal ideation, plans and attempts than non-Māori and non-Pacific people. The Youth 2000 survey also reported a higher number of Pacific Island students reporting depressive symptoms than their Pālagi counterparts (Mila-Schaff et al., 2008). However, the Youth 2007 survey found that the number of Pacific island students reporting significant symptoms of depression decreased from 18% in 2001 to 11% in 2007 (Helu et al., 2009). Overall, there was an increase from 83% in 2001 to 92% in 2007 of Pacific Island students who reported being OK or very happy/satisfied with their lives. This is important to monitor for the future wellbeing of the Pacific Island population given its youthful nature.

Substance Use

Pacific Island people tend to drink less and indulge more in binge drinking practices than the general New Zealand population (Huakau et al., 2006). However, the Youth 2000 survey showed Pacific Island students less likely to have drunk alcohol yet more likely to report smoking cannabis than their Pālagi counterparts (Mila-Schaff et al., 2008). These findings were the same in the Youth 2007 survey (Helu et al., 2009). Unfortunately, information on Pacific Island peoples' use of drugs other than alcohol is not available (New Zealand Police, 2010).

Despite information in this area being limited, there appears to have been a steady increase in the amount of drinking by Pacific Island young people and this is of significant concern for health providers (Counties Manukau District Health Board, 2008).

Violence and Crime

The 2007 Youth survey found that a higher number of Pacific Island students had witnessed violence, been involved in physical fights and experienced sexual abuse than their European counterparts (Helu et al., 2009).

The Pacific Island population are over-represented in the New Zealand prison population (Burton, 2007). Violence by Pacific island males peaks between the ages of 16 – 19 and decreases steadily to 50 years old, and they are more likely to be convicted of violence than non-Pacific males (New Zealand Police, 2010). Currently, they make up 11% of the prison population with 13% convicted for violent offences, and 9% of the community offender population (Department of

Corrections, n.d.). In 2005, 48 percent of Pacific Island offenders were sentenced for violent offences, compared with 38 percent and 25 percent for Māori and Pālagi offenders respectively ("Pacific Focus Unit – Vaka Fa'aola," n.d.). A higher proportion of Pacific Island offenders are serving sentences for primarily violent and sexual offences ("Why is Corrections' Pacific Strategy so important?" 2008, para 1).

Pacific Island Youth and their offending behaviour

Within the youth offending population (aged between 14-16 years), Pacific Island youth offenders are the third largest youth offending population representing 6% - 9% of all youth apprehensions over 1996-2005 (Soboleva et al., 2006). This youthful population are over-represented in violent offences which remains a concern amongst the Pacific Island community and in the wider New Zealand society (Ministerial Taskforce, 2002b). What causes offending behaviour is a complex phenomenon which creates disruption in the long term health and well being of Pacific Island families and communities (Tait, 2008).

Most youth apprehensions are for offences committed by Māori and Pālagi (see Table 4). A comparison of statistics in 1997 and 2006 showed that violent offences fell within the top three types of offences committed by Māori, Pālagi and Pacific Island youth offenders. However, Pacific Island youth continued to comprise a larger percentage of violent apprehensions than Māori and Pālagi youth offenders. Despite this alarming problem of Pacific island youth offenders being over-represented in their violent offences; they are not over-represented in overall youth offending statistics (Ministerial Taskforce, 2002b).

Table 4.

A comparison of apprehensions in 1997 and 2006 amongst the offending population of the top three ethnicities

Ethnicity		1997		2006	
		Apprehensions	%[a]	Apprehensions	%[a]
Pacific Island	Violence	352	18.40	573	25.07
	Sexual	8	0.42	15	0.66
	Drugs & Antisocial	167	8.73	243	10.64
	Dishonesty	1022	53.42	963	42.16
	Property Damage	176	9.20	266	11.65
	Property Abuses	138	7.21	160	7.01
	Administrative	50	2.61	64	2.80
	Total Offences	1913		2284	
Māori	Violence	1470	10.52	2212	15.38
	Sexual	38	0.27	64	0.44
	Drugs & Antisocial	1544	11.05	1599	11.12
	Dishonesty	8336	59.67	7398	51.44

Table 4 continued.

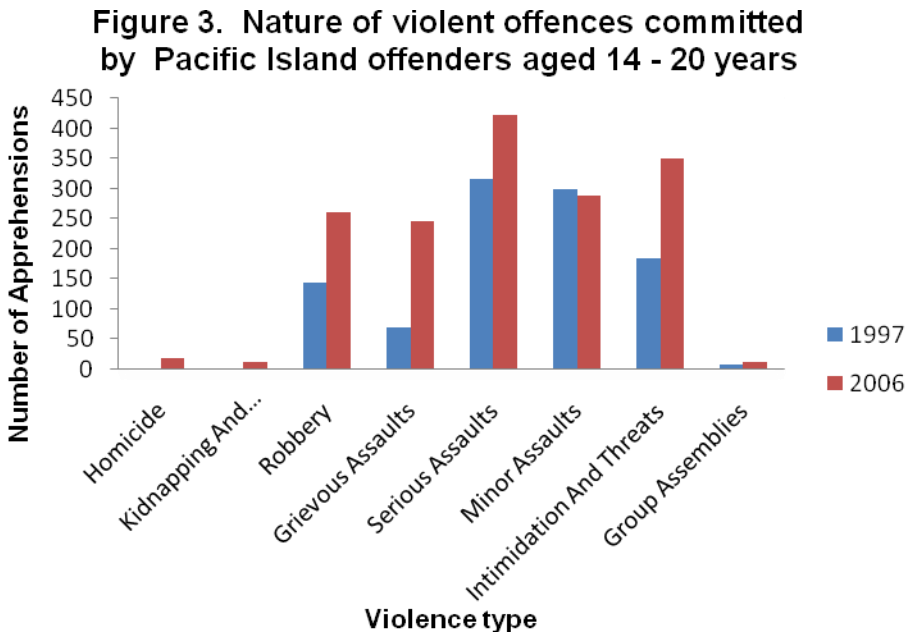
A comparison of apprehensions in 1997 and 2006 amongst the offending population of the top three ethnicities

Ethnicity		1997		2006	
		Apprehensions	%[a]	Apprehensions	%[a]
Māori	Property Damage	1206	8.63	1949	13.55
	Property Abuses	891	6.38	740	5.14
	Administrative	484	3.46	421	2.93
	Total Offences	13969		14383	
Pālagi	Violence	1268	8.72	1719	13.34
	Sexual	100	0.69	99	0.77
	Drugs & Antisocial	2687	18.48	1835	14.24
	Dishonesty	6602	45.41	5679	44.08
	Property Damage	1986	13.66	2123	16.48
	Property Abuses	1479	10.17	1082	8.40
	Administrative	416	2.86	345	2.68
	Total Offences	14538		12882	

Note. Sourced from New Zealand Staistics.

[a:] Percentage of total offences.

Given that Pacific Island youth appear to be committing an increasing number of violent crimes, it is important to understand the type of violent crimes being committed. However, as previously mentioned, Pacific Island youth are not limited to their chronological age. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, Pacific Island youth offenders are also addressed within the realms of the Department of Corrections definition, where young offenders are defined as the population group aged between 17-20 years old (see Figure 3).



Source: New Zealand Statistics

Figure 3. Comparison of the type of violent offences committed by Pacific Island youth offenders aged 14 – 20 by their number of apprehensions in 1997 and 2006.

Of the violent offences committed by Pacific Island offenders aged 14-20, the type with the highest number continues to be *Serious Assaults*. This finding is consistent with the overall offending population including youth and adult (Smith, 2008). There is however a noticeable rise in *Robbery* and *Grievous Assaults.* The question must be asked: are Pacific Island youth offenders becoming more violent?

In New Zealand, research into what works for Pacific Island youth is sparse (Singh & White, 2000). Specific measures are needed to address the nature of Pacific island youth offending so that, even though

the amount of violent offending may be increasing, offenders do not reoffend (Ministerial Taskforce, 2002a). Given the serious nature of the offending behaviour by Pacific Island youth in New Zealand and the anecdotal absence of an offending history or recidivism, the question is raised whether Pacific Island youth offenders are similar to the general youth offending population in their offending and socio-demographic characteristics. Furthermore, do they experience the same risk factors as other youth offenders? To date, this is unknown. A recent paper on the health of Pacific Island youth showed that this group face more challenges than other non-Pacific youth in obtaining and maintaining overall wellbeing and good health (Ministry of Health, 2008a). Furthermore, the same paper also highlighted the ongoing need for identifying risk factors pertinent to Pacific Island youth. Our knowledge is based on the risk factors for youth offenders regardless of ethnicity and whether or not this is applicable to our Pacific Island youth population in New Zealand remains to be seen. This issue will be discussed in the following section. Due to the focus of this research on Pacific Island youth offenders, culture is also reviewed as to whether there has been any research on this factor and its association (or not) with offending.

Individual Pacific Island Risk Factors

Within the context of Pacific Island youth in New Zealand, anecdotal evidence suggests that conduct problems are increasing amongst Pacific Island children and their communities (Advisory Group on Conduct Problems, 2009). Furthermore, with one of the risk factors being male, young men of Pacific Island ethnicity are seen to have high rates of mental health disorders associated with alcohol and drug use alongside the number of Pacific Island young people beginning to drink more (Counties Manukau District Health Board, 2008). Results from the Pacific Drugs and Alcohol Consumption Survey in 2003 showed that Pacific Island people are more likely to report violence and injury from other peoples' drinking behaviour, experience violent situations as a result of their own drinking, in comparison with the general New Zealand population (Huakau et al., 2005). Hence, given the risk factors identified for youth offenders, there is a risk that youth offending by Pacific Island youth may continue to increase.

Family Pacific Island Risk Factors

The majority of Pacific Island youths in New Zealand identify their family as a source of considerable support (Ministry of Health, 2008a). Furthermore, a study looking at Pacific Island families found that the families in their study were significantly involved with their cultural communities and that most families accepted the cultural obligations within their families (Suaali'i-Sauni, McTaggart & Von Randow, 2009). These same families also acknowledged the need to actively ensure that their Pacific Island values and practices would be upheld across the generations. A recent study looking at the distinctiveness of Pacific Island families and the challenges they face highlighted the significance of family amongst South Auckland Pacific Island youth (Nakhid, Tanielu & Collins, 2009). The same study also showed that a young gang members' involvement in the gang life did not appear to weaken the relationship they wanted to have with their families and that expectations from family also had a significant influence on the involvement of Pacific Island youth in gangs. From this, we are able to gain some awareness of the importance that family has on Pacific Island youth today.

Community Pacific Island Risk Factors

The majority of Pacific youth grow up in New Zealand's most deprived neighbourhoods with lower standards of living (Ministry of Health, 2008a). They are also over-represented in unemployment, low skilled work and low income (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Furthermore, they are one of the top three ethnicities to be 'stood down' at schools in South Auckland, and that the numbers are increasing (Policing Development Group Counties Manukau Police District, 2007). Interestingly, in the previously mentioned study of South Auckland Pacific Island youth, the definition of family included close friends (Nakhid et al., 2009). This suggests that while family is important to Pacific Island youth, of equal importance are their close friends, some of whom may include antisocial and deviant peers. McLean (1998) also suggested that antisocial peers are a significant predictor for re-offending by Pacific Island people (as cited in Singh & White, 2000, p. 58). The research shows that the risks of offending include behavioural or conduct problems as children, substance abuse, antisocial peers, low socioeconomic communities, and low educational attainment, all of which are prevalent amongst the Pacific Island community. Pacific Island youth are therefore potentially vulnerable to becoming involved in offending.

Cultural Pacific Island Risk Factors

Since Pacific Islanders are a minority ethnic group living in New Zealand, research in this area needs to consider the identity conflicts of New Zealand born Pacific Island youth (Singh & White, 2000). Strong ethnic identity is important for positive development including feelings about oneself and health related outcomes (McMahon & Watts, 2002).

For the purposes of this research, the question whether culture is likely to have any impact on the offending behaviour of Pacific Island youth should be considered. Furthermore, when we address the Pacific Island population it is important to differentiate among the Pacific Island nations. However, in New Zealand and overseas, the disparity of research for Pacific Island youth is acknowledged (Fiaui & Hishinuma, 2009; Singh & White, 2000). A recent study in Hawaii showed that ethnic minority groups including the Pacific Island population are responsible for an increasing proportion of youth violence (Fiaui & Hishinuma). Globally, minority ethnic groups are generally over-represented in crime statistics (Singh & White). In Australia, indigenous youth are over-represented in the youth justice system (Skrzypiec & Wundersitz, 2005). In the United States of America, African-American youth are overrepresented in youth arrests, and similarly to Pacific Island youth in New Zealand, are more likely to be arrested for violent crimes than their Pālagi counterparts (Snyder, 2008).

Hence, given the dearth of research into the area of youth offending by Pacific Island youth, local and international studies looking at other ethnic minorities have also been considered in relation to their offending behaviour. One study in New Zealand found a small bias in the arrest/conviction process for Māori, with Māori having higher rates of conviction than non-Māori with similar offending history and socioeconomic background (Fergusson, Horwood & Swain-Campbell, 2003). This bears some similarity with another study which found Pacific Island youth offenders were appearing in a New Zealand youth court more frequently than Pālagi youth offenders with similar offending (Maxwell et al., 2004). Another study using the same cohort looked at ethnicity and rates of violent, property and other offences. This study found that children of Māori or Pacific Island ethnicity had a higher risk of offending than Pālagi children (Fergusson, Horwood & Lynskey, 1993). Using the same cohort, a more recent study looked at Māori identity (including part Māori) and rates of criminal offending as well as the extent to which Māori identity

is a risk or protective factor in the development of criminal offending (Marie et al., 2009). This study found that non-Māori were more privileged than Māori and part Māori in socio, family and educational characteristics. However, once these variables were controlled, there were no differences between non-Māori and Māori, but, the difference remained for part Māori thereby suggesting that being of a mixed cultural ethnicity may be associated to an increased risk of crime. Another study found that amongst ethnic minority populations in the United States of America, parents who monitor the peers of their children were able to positively mediate the association between family functioning (such as the extent of parental involvement in their children's lives, positive parenting and parent-child communication) and externalizing behaviour (such as Conduct disorder and socialized aggression (Dillon, Pantin, Robbins & Szapocznik, 2009).

A study of Asian Pacific Islander youth (API) in the United States showed that the relationship between academic achievement and problem behaviours does not vary by race and ethnicity (Choi, 2007). That is, high academic performance is likely to be associated with few aggressive and non aggressive offenses regardless of one's race or ethnicity. A study looking at the differences in adolescence amongst ethnic groups found that American Indians, Afro-American and Latino youth were more likely to be involved in physical fights than their white counterparts, and were also more likely than youth from the white community to come from impoverished environments where violence was more common (McNulty & Bellair, 2003). Another study looked at the rates of violent offending in black communities and found that they were strongly influenced by variations in family structure, particularly in the case of black juveniles (Sampson, 1987). These families consisted mainly of single female-headed households. Unemployed adult males in the household had an overall effect on family disruption, which was the strongest predictor of violent offending in black communities.

Similarly in Canada a ten year follow up of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal adolescent sex offenders found that the Aboriginal population were more likely to have backgrounds associated to Foetal Alcohol Syndrome Disorder, substance abuse, childhood victimization, academic difficulties and instabilities in their home environment (Rojas & Gretton, 2007). They were also more likely to have been using substances at

the time of their offending. The study also found that Aboriginal adolescent sex offenders were more likely to reoffend sexually, violently and non-violently than their non-Aboriginal counterparts.

Few studies looking at Asian/Pacific Island youth violence found that Samoan youth reported higher rates of violence than other ethnic groups such as Filipino and Hawaiian youth (Mayeda, Hishinuma, Nishimura, Garcia-Santiag & Mark, 2006). More recent research comparing youth violence among Samoan adolescents in American Samoa and Hawaii addressed within the context of acculturative processes, found that Samoans in Hawaii had scored higher rates of violence (Fiaui & Hishinuma, 2009). Whether acculturative processes have any impact on Pacific Island youth born or raised in New Zealand remains to be seen.

Despite ongoing research into the causal and/or risk factors of youth offending, the causes of youth offending for youth from ethnic minority backgrounds in New Zealand remain sparse (Ministerial Taskforce, 2002a).

Population Growth

Population projections estimate that the number of Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand is estimated to increase at 2.4% per year. This estimate is higher than the projections for Māori and Pālagi of 1.3% and 0.4% respectively (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). Therefore, any impact this population will have on New Zealand society is likely to increase as the current youthful population develops into adulthood. Furthermore, the continued disparity of outcomes for Pacific Island youth in areas of social, economic and educational disadvantage suggests that this population may have greater representation in youth offending (Ministerial Taskforce, 2002b). Thus it is critical that any further research on youth offending should consider ethnicity in order to develop better services leading to better outcomes (Levesque, 2007).

The present study

The purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of violent offending by Pacific Island youth in our community. Alongside this, was the perception that these violent offences are usually committed by first time offenders (personal communication, Judge Malosi, June, 2008).

In order to gain an understanding of these Pacific Island youth offenders, this study considered the recommendations from the Youth Offending Strategy in New Zealand, that there needs to be improved improved data collection and data sharing across agencies, that information on crime statistics should be offender based rather than apprehension based and that risk factors for Pacific Island youth should be identified (Ministerial Taskforce, 2002b). Secondly, it also took into account the need for researchers to investigate offenders in relation to their offending behaviour (Statistics New Zealand, 2009a). Furthermore, this same review also highlighted the need to include information such as offenders' wider social and economic environment, educational attainment, family history, rate of truancy, ethnicity and health status. One of the most important factors in the present study was to identify Pacific Island youth offenders by their islands of origin. Overseas literature suggests that when policies are based on aggregated information, they are more likely to miss important issues that may be applicable to one ethnic group (but not another), therefore potentially giving rise to serious ramifications (Le & Arifuku, 2005). Furthermore, when doing research on adolescents, including and identifying the ethnicities of adolescents is more likely to lead to better and more realistic outcomes (Levesque, 2007). Unfortunately, due to limitations of the data sources, this was not possible as will be discussed in a further section.

It is hoped that a benefit of this research might be to determine similarities and differences of Pacific Island youth offenders in comparison to Māori and Pālagi youth offenders by focussing on their social and demographic features, alongside their offending characteristics. As a result, understanding the relevant factors in the Pacific Island youth offending population may lead to early identification and subsequent intervention in this population.

Research Questions

The overarching aim of the study was to understand Pacific Island youth offenders in relation to their offending, social and demographic characteristics. The over-representation of Pacific Island youth offenders in violent apprehension statistics necessitates an exploration of this population in our society. The specific questions that were considered are described as follows:

1. Who are Pacific Island youth offenders?
    a. Is there an offending typology for Pacific Island youth offenders?

2. What are the differences in the social and demographic characteristics between
    a. Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders?
    b. Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders?
3. What are the differences in the offending characteristics between
    a. Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders?
    b. Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders?
4. Which youth offenders are more likely to reoffend?
    a. Which Pacific Island youth offenders are more likely to reoffend?

Chapter Two: Method

This chapter presents the methodology of this study. Firstly, information is provided on the processes undertaken prior to data collection. Secondly, ethical considerations are discussed followed by a description of how the data was obtained and stored, and the criteria for inclusion for this study. An explanation of the data variables is given and an overview of the data analysis concludes this chapter.

Consultation

In order to ensure that the cultural implications of a study focussing on Pacific Island youth were taken into consideration, it was necessary to consult with appropriate government agencies and cultural communities with regard to the the feasibility and practicality of obtaining data for the study. Discussions were held with members of the New Zealand Police such as the Criminal Profiling Unit, the Auckland City Pasifika District Board, Pacific Liaison Officers, the Counties Manukau Community Service Team, staff of the Ministry of Education such as the Pacific Island Manager of the Youth Engagement Project Team, Special Education services and the Northern Region Pasifika Team. Further discussions were held with staff of the Ministry of Justice such as researchers and a Pacific Island Youth Court Judge. A meeting was held with members of a Pacific Island team researching youth gangs in South Auckland. Funding was received from the Auckland City Pasifika District Advisory Board of New Zealand Police and the Health Research Council.

Ethical Considerations

The appropriate ethical standards were met for the purposes of this study by seeking and obtaining approval from a number of ethics committees and agencies. The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee (UAHSEC) granted ethical approval for a period of three years (reference number (2008/451). Approval was also granted by the Research and Evaluation Steering Committee (RESC) of the New Zealand Police and the Ministry of Education. Confidentiality agreements were signed by the author with the New Zealand Police and the Ministry of Education (see Appendix A and B).

Data Source and Access

Information from the New Zealand Police was sourced from two national databases: the INCOFF Offender Provisional Detail Business Object universe database, and the National Intelligence Application (NIA)[21]. Information from Ministry of Education – Special Education[22] was initially sourced through their Te Pataka database to see if there was a file that could be matched to a New Zealand Police file. If the match was successful, the hard copy of the file was provided to the author. Data was accessed on site at Auckland City and Counties Manukau police stations, and at the Auckland City office of the Ministry of Education.

Inclusion Criteria

The youth offenders identified for this study were initially sourced from the New Zealand Police according to the following criteria:

1. They committed a *Violence* offence (charged or non-charged) on or between 1st January 2007 – 31st December 2007[23].
2. The offender was identified as having Pacific Island, Māori or Pālagi ethnicity.
3. They were aged between 10-24 years of age at the time of their *Violence* offence.

The definition of a *Violence* crime reflects that of the New Zealand's official crime statistics (see Appendix C).

Procedures

Firstly, the study needed to identify the names of these youth offenders. However, following consultation with a member of the New Zealand Police, it was determined that the INCOFF Offender Provisional Detail Business Object universe database and NIA could not provide these names directly. Therefore, a member of the New Zealand Police pulled a spreadsheet from the INCOFF Offender

[21] This is a database which involves sharing information and integrating interfaces between New Zealand Police, Ministry of Justice, Department of Corrections, and Land Transport Safety Authority.

[22] Ministry of Education – Special Education will be referred to as Ministry of Education for the remainder of this study.

[23] This date was the actual date of the offence, or in some cases, when it was made known to New Zealand Police.

Provisional Detail Business Object universe database for the author, using the inclusion criteria previously stated. In this database, Pacific Island is referred to as Pacific Isle, and Pālagi is referred to as Caucasian. The definition of Pacific Isle is no different from the Pacific Island definition previously given in the literature review. However, the Pacific Isle description does not separate among Samoans, Tongans and other Pacific Island ethnicities. The spreadsheet was separated by ethnicity (Pacific Isle, Māori and Caucasian) and provided a list of all *Violence* offences committed in 2007 in the following format:

1. Docloc[24] case number
2. Age of the offender at the time of the *Violence* offence
3. Ethnicity[25] of the offender
4. Gang notification[26] (if applicable)
5. Family *Violence* notification[27] (if applicable)

Random sampling was used to select 200 Docloc case numbers from each ethnicity. For example, if the number generated by the random sample was ten, then the tenth Docloc case number was selected. A total of six hundred Docloc case numbers were randomly selected for the study. The Docloc case number was entered into NIA and the details of the *Violence* offence including the name of the offender were provided.

Final selection criteria

If there was more than one offender involved in the *Violence* offence, all these offenders were selected for the study. If the offender committed more than one *Violence* offence at the same time, the most serious *Violence* offence was recorded (see Appendix C for a list of *Violence* codes and their prioritisation). For example if an offender committed a *Serious Assault* offence and also intimidated his victim recorded *Intimidation/Threat* offence, it would be his/her *Serious Assault* offence that was recorded. If an offender committed other *Violence* offences during 2007, their first *Violence* offence in 2007 was

[24] The Docloc case number is the file number in NIA that provides information on the offence.

[25] Ethnicity codings are mutually exclusive. If an offender identified themselves with two ethnicities, they were either asked by New Zealand Police to choose one ethnicity, or New Zealand Police would select one to record.

[26] The offender may either be an associate, member or affiliated with local gangs.

[27] The offender may either be an offender, victim or witness of family violence.

recorded. Therefore, not everyone out of the 200 Docloc case numbers from each ethnicity was selected; rather it was the first 200 youth offenders identified who were selected for ongoing analysis in this study. The data from the New Zealand Police was collected in December 2009-January 2010, two years after the offenders' *Violence* offence.

Storage of Data and Client Confidentiality

Data from the New Zealand Police was stored on two password encrypted data flash drives and each offender was assigned a unique special number. One flash drive had the original data which included only the name and date of birth of each offender corresponding with their Docloc case number. This information was also available on hard copy. The flash drive and hard copy were locked permanently at the author's office at the University of Auckland.

The other flash drive was used by the author to record information from NIA and subsequently locked in a filing cabinet at either the author's home or her office at the University of Auckland. Once all data was collected from the New Zealand Police databases, the name and date of birth of each offender was immediately deleted from the flash drive and the unique number was used as a reference point for further data analysis. Therefore, any information that linked to the offender's name and date of birth could only be found by accessing the hardcopy or memory stick permanently locked in the filing cabinet at the author's office at the University of Auckland. If the flash drive that was used regularly by the author were to become compromised, it could not be accessed due to the encrypted password.

Data from the Ministry of Education was stored in the same manner as that which was obtained from the New Zealand Police. A hard copy was also locked in a filing cabinet at the University of Auckland. The same flash drives were used to record the data from the Ministry of Education. Every effort was made to ensure that no data could be comprised at any time during both the data collection and the analysis phase of the study.

New Zealand Police information

A spreadsheet was designed on Microsoft Excel © to record appropriate New Zealand Police variables. This included social and demographic information on each offender, criminal behaviour, type of *Violence*

offence and a list of offences prior to the *Violence* offence recorded for this study (see Appendix D). These offences were documented with an exact replication of the New Zealand Police codes (see Appendix E). As a result of documenting their offence histories, a number of exclusions were made. If two offences were committed at the same time, the most severe offence was recorded (See Appendix F for broad definitions of these offences). If the same offence was committed within five days of one another occurring, it was recorded as one offence.

Offence History Variables

Every offence recorded in NIA committed by an individual, regardless of whether they were charged or not, was included in the study. However, as noted above the most serious offence was recorded if more than one offence occurred at the same time. An exception to this was made where simultaneous *Violence* and *Sexual* offences were committed. In these cases both offences were recorded for the study. These offence codes are assigned according to seven different categories by the New Zealand Police and described briefly below in order of seriousness including traffic and other misdemeanours.

1. *Violence*

These offences range from *Homicide* to *Group Assemblies*. *Robbery* is theft associated with physical or verbal violence or the threat of violence. *Grievous Assaults* is a physical attack on a person where they are injured or some sort of instrument is involvement. *Serious Assaults* involve common assaults and aggravated assaults including assaults of law enforcement officers. *Minor Assaults* are of a lesser intensity and harm than *Grievous* and *Serious Assaults*. *Intimidation/Threats* include threats to kill or harm someone and possession of offensive weapons but does not include firearm offences. *Group Assemblies* include rioting, unlawful assembly to disturb the peace, and intercepting private communications with listening device.

2. *Sexual*

These offences involve assaults of a sexual nature, including rape, incest and sexual assault against animals.

3. Drugs and Anti Social

These offences include all offences involving illegal drugs such as possession, manufacturing and consumption of illegal drugs, which are categorised as Cannabis and non-Cannabis. *Gaming* offences include running any kind of gaming for profit in New Zealand without a licence from the Department of Internal Affairs. *Disorder* offences include breaches of the peace, public fighting and urinating in public. *Family* offences include child abuse (excluding assault on a child) and Children and Young Persons offences such as obstructing the execution of a warrant or removing a child under Children and Young Persons care.

4. Dishonesty

Offences of this nature generally involve taking or receiving something that does not lawfully belong to the person. These include *burglary* which involves entering a property such as a house, building or ship and taking something that does not belong to the offender. *Car conversion* involves stealing a car and *theft* involves taking something that belongs to someone else. *Receiving* is taking possession of something or controlling something that belongs to someone else. This is an alternative charge to theft or burglary, used when police have evidence that the property belongs to someone else, but are unable to prove that the possessor stole it.

5. Property damage and new drugs

These offences include *destruction of property* such as arson and wilful damage including graffiti and damaging public or private property. *New drugs* in this category involve drugs such as methamphetamine and amphetamine.

6. Property abuses

These include *trespassing* which is being found on or gaining access to another property without gaining permission. It also includes *Animal* offences such as cruelty to animals and breaching certain Acts such as the Fisheries Act 1983 or Wildlife Act 1953. This category also includes *Postal abuses* which

include telephone offences. Telephone offences are included because New Zealand's telecommunication service was formerly under the control of the Post Office. Even though the service was privatised more than two decades ago these codes are yet to reflect this. *Firearm* offences include any offence which includes the use or involvement of a firearm.

7. *Administrative*

These offences include breaches of community-based sentences, escaping from lawful custody and failure to attend court or police bail. It also involves any unlawful acts involving immigration, impersonating others, providing false or misleading information and treason or terrorism.

Traffic codes

These are a series of offences relating to all offences against New Zealand road transport laws and regulation. These offences are further categorised into series (See Appendix E) and include (though not limited to) *drove under the influence of drink, false details as to own identity, not up to warrant of fitness standard, recklessly caused death or injury exceeding 90 km/h posted speed limited, failed to stop for red flashing light, driver licensing offences and unpaid road user charges.*

Incidents/Tasks/Services

These include tasks and incidents such as *truancy, juvenile complaints* and *drunk or mental person(s)*. These were noted in the offending histories of some of the offenders in NIA. However, they were omitted from their offending histories in this study as they are not classified as an offence.

This classification of offences aims to ensure there is no overlap between the groups. However, there are anomalies such as the wide variation of categories e.g. *Property abuses* which also include *Animal offences,* or *Violence* offences which range from *Homicide* to an *Intimidation/Threat.* Therefore a thorough understanding of what is included in each category is important. For example, committing a murder and threatening someone involve two very different behaviours, even though both are categorised as *Violence* offences. Nonetheless, despite these anomalies, the classification of offences provide the most accurate information available of offences being committed according to the type of offence, and equally importantly provides information on the severity of the offence.

Missing variables from New Zealand Police information

There were a number of variables that were not identified as either being present or not present in NIA. These included *Gang*, *Drug*, *Family Violence* and *Psychiatric* notifications. For example, an offender may have *PSYCHIATRIC HISTORY* noted in their file, which would be recorded by the author. However, an absence of this notification does not necessarily mean that the offender did not have a psychiatric history; it may also mean that it was not recorded or known at the time of the offence.

Ministry of Education information

A password encrypted spreadsheet of the six hundred names and dates of birth of the offenders was sent to the Ministry of Education to cross-match with their records. Sixty one names were matched successfully; unsuccessful matches were removed from this part of the study. However, upon receipt of files at the Ministry's Auckland office, it was found three did not have any information in the file, three showed no reason for a referral to Ministry of Education, and one did not have a date of birth. These seven "successful" matches were therefore removed from the study and the analysis was carried out on the remaining fifty-four files.

Data was collected using a spreadsheet with certain variables identified for collection (see Appendix G). Once data collection was completed, the names and dates of birth were deleted. The information from the Ministry of Education was linked to the New Zealand Police dataset created by the author using their corresponding unique special numbers. Data was collected from the Ministry of Education in May 2010.

Ministry of Education variables

Information recorded from the Ministry of Education was taken from the reports in its education files. One of the main variables collected from this dataset was the *Reason for Referral* which identified whether the subjects were referred to Ministry of Education services for *Behavioural* services, *Communication* services and/or *Inclusive* services. *Inclusive* services are now known as *High and Complex needs* service, often referred to as *High and Multiple needs*[28]. These files were often comprised of psychological reports, court reports, minutes of meetings and school reports. Qualitative information was

[28] See Appendix G for a definition of these services.

recorded quantitatively for the purpose of this study. For example, if a school report highlighted that the offender was often caught truanting, this was recorded by the author as *truant*. The variable which identified the nature of their referral to Ministry of Education services was the only information available amongst *all* of the successfully matched files from New Zealand Police.

Missing variables from Ministry of Education information

Due to the small number of successful matches between New Zealand Police and Ministry of Education records, statistical analysis of data from the Ministry of Education was not possible. Therefore it was not possible to collect some of the *intended* variables (see Appendix G). Furthermore, some information that was not noted in the Ministry of Education files, for example, the average decile rating of the school attended was taken from New Zealand Police rather than the Ministry of Education because the former agency had recorded this information in greater detail. This is discussed further in the Limitations section of this study.

Inter-rater reliability

The information for this study was gathered from an audit of electronic files using a New Zealand Police database and educational files using Ministry of Education records. To assess the reliability of the information recorded from the New Zealand Police database, another post graduate psychology student with research experience, access to the database and no previous involvement in the current study, checked inter-rater reliability. The researcher recorded data for 10% (n=60) of the overall sample looking at 10 specific variables (see Table 5). Cohen's Kappa (*k*) was used to measure the agreement between the author and researcher as it considers the level of agreement between the two individual ratings and also corrects for chance agreement (Norman, 1997). A value of 1 indicates perfect agreement while a value of 0 indicates an agreement that is no better than chance. Overall, the results of the inter-rater agreement for the variables examined showed a "moderate" agreement between raters.

Table 5

Results of Inter-rater Agreement Analyses for offender characteristic variables

Variables	Cohen's kappa (k)
Gender	1
Youth Aid	0.81
Drugs	0.20
Imprisoned	0.90
Offends after 2007	0.35
Risk	0.49
Family violence	0.93
School decile rating	0.83
Offends with others	1
Gang	0.87
Average kappa	**0.74**

Data Analysis

All information was recorded in Microsoft Excel© and subsequently transferred to Predictive Analytics Software (PASW)[29] Version 18.0 for statistical analysis and results. Alpha coefficients of 0.05 were selected to determine statistical significance unless otherwise stated and effect sizes were also identified. Effect sizes are generally +/-1 and "...quantifies the degree to which the study results should be considered negligible, or important, *regardless* of the size of the study sample" (p. 242 as cited in Hojat & Xu, 2004). It is generally considered as the magnitude or size of an experimental effect (Morgan, Reichert & Harrison, 2002). For this study, two types of effect sizes are used, Cohen's *d* and phi coefficient φ. They

[29] Formerly known as Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

are operationally defined as: ≅.20 (small, negligible practical importance); ≅ .50 (medium practical importance); ≅.80 (large practical importance (Cohen, 1987).

It should be noted that during preliminary analyses attempts were made to conduct separate analyses for each Pacific Island ethnicity and to break down the *Violence* category for further analysis. However, with regards to Pacific Island ethnicity, difficulties were experienced due to the small numbers of successfully matched Pacific Island files with Ministry of Education records. The number of successful matches was too small for any analyses to be made (see Results section). Therefore, all Pacific Island youth offenders remained in one group for the purposes of this study.

The *Violence* codes were broken down according to the New Zealand Police codes: *Homicide, Kidnapping/Abduction, Robbery, Grievous Assaults, Serious Assault, Minor Assault, Intimidation/Threat, Group Assemblies.* An attempt was made to further break down these categories by New Zealand Police codes (see Appendix C). For example, *Serious Assault* can be broken down into further categories such as *Assault against a Child* and *Male Assaults Female.* However, the sample was too small to break the offences down into the second level of categories and therefore only the first sub-category was used for the purposes of this study.

As previously discussed, comparisons were made between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders; and between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders. The results of this study must be interpreted in the context of the variables identified and their definitions, the size of the study and the validity of the data obtained from the sources of this study.

Chapter Three: Results

In this study, the analyses of the results were conducted in three phases. The first phase will address the types of statistical tests used to analyse the data, and the second phase will provide a description of the characteristics our sample. The third phase will include sub-sections of each research question in relation to the variables examined in this study, and the final phase will conclude with a summary of findings. As the purpose of the research is to specifically examine Pacific Island youth offenders, comparisons were made between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders; and Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders.

The research questions which this study aimed to answer were:

1. Who are Pacific Island youth offenders?
    a. Is there an offending typology for Pacific Island youth offenders?
2. What are the differences in the social and demographic characteristics between
    a. Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders?
    b. Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders?
3. What are the differences in the offending characteristics between
    a. Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders?
    b. Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders?
4. Which youth offenders are more likely to reoffend?
    a. Which Pacific Island youth offenders are more likely to reoffend?

Phase One: Data Analysis

Accuracy and Normality of data

Accuracy of our data was checked during the preliminary stages of our data analyses on the statistical package, PASW Version 18.0. Missing values and anomalies in the SPSS dataset were checked directly with NIA or Ministry of Education records as the original source. Normality of data was checked by carrying out a Kolmogrov-Smirnov test on *Deprivation Index, Decile rating, Age at Violent offence, Total number of offences, Age at first offence* (see Table 6). This was significant across all five variables ($p < .001$) indicating that the data was not normal.

Table 6.

Kolmogorov-Smirnov Normality Test

Variable	Statistic	df	Sig.
Deprivation Index	.159	178	.001
Decile rating	.138	178	.001
Age at Violent offence	.117	178	.001
Total Number of offences	.218	178	.001
Age at first offence	.122	178	.001

Statistical Tests

Due to the type of data recorded for this study, non-parametric tests were used predominantly because they examine the associations for nominal and ordinal data (Morgan et al., 2002). Chi-square tests were used to test the association between two categorical variables such as *Ethnicity* and *Violent offence* (Coolican, 1999). One Way ANOVA was used to test the differences amongst the three ethnic groups in relation to the *Socioeconomic Deprivation Index, Decile ratings of school, Total number of offences, Age at first offence*.

In relation to Question Four of this study, a Kruskal-Wallis One Way Analysis of Variance was identified to determine whether the three groups differed significantly from each other in terms of their

reoffending characteristics. However, it was decided that ANOVA would be used rather than the Kruskal-Wallis One Way Analysis of Variance. The Kruskal- Wallis One Way Analysis of Variance can only identify whether there is a difference but is unable to determine where the difference lies (Coolican, 1999). However, ANOVA compares two or more means to see if there is a reliable difference among them and where the variation lies (Coolican, 1999; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001),

Phase Two: Sample Description

The sample contained randomly selected files of 200 Pacific Island youth offenders, 200 Māori youth offenders and 200 Pālagi youth offenders for further analysis sourced from the New Zealand Police (see Table 7).

Table 7.

Age and gender of youth offenders in relation to ethnicity

Ethnicity	Male	Female	**Total**	Age (years)	
	n	n	**n**	Range	Mean
Pacific Island	168 (84.0%)	32 (16.0%)	**200**	12-24	19.43
Māori	161 (80.5%)	39 (19.5%)	**200**	10-24	18.54
Pālagi	147 (73.5%)	53 (26.5%)	**200**	11-24	18.87
Total	**476 (79.3%)**	**124 (20.7%)**	**600**		

Initially, 25 Pacific Island youth offenders, 60 Māori youth offenders and 38 Pālagi youth offenders were identified as having matched files with Ministry of Education records. However, upon receipt of files, only 54 files were identified as appropriate for inclusion in this study (see Table 8).

Table 8.

Ethnic breakdown of youth offenders with Ministry of Education records

Ethnicity	N	% of sample	N	% of sample
Samoan*	3	5.5		
Tongan*	3	5.5		
Fijian	1	1.9		
Cook Island Māori	1	1.9		
Pacific Island			8	14.8
Māori			27	50.0
Pālagi			19	35.2
Total			**54**	**100.0**

*Due to the small sample size, these were re-categorised as Pacific Island for further analysis.

Phase Three: Research Questions

The following results utilise New Zealand Police and Ministry of Education records of selected youth offenders. The data is separated in relation to the individual, community and family risk factors of a youth member identified in Chapter One. It is important to note that an absence of data does not necessarily mean that the variable was not present; rather, it simply may not have been recorded. Therefore it is important to analyse this data with caution.

Who are Pacific Island youth offenders?

INDIVIDUAL

Gender: A large majority of the Pacific Island sample were male (84.0%) with less than a third (16.0%) being female.

Youth Aid Involvement: Almost half (47.5%) of Pacific Island youth offenders were involved with the New Zealand Police currently or in the past with Youth Aid[30]. Two of the youth offender files did not show this information.

Drugs: Based on the information available, three Pacific Island youth offenders were identified as being involved with drugs either as a consumer, seller or manufacturer of drugs.

Risk of Suicide or Self Harm: Five Pacific Island youth offenders were identified as being at risk of either self harm or suicidal tendencies.

FAMILY

Family Environment: From the data recorded by the Ministry of Education (n=8) identifying who these youth offenders lived with during their educational years, five were living with both parents, one was living with extended family members, another living with non-family members and one not having any information recorded.

[30] Youth Aid is a service in Police which manages young people under 17. These young people will either need care and protection, or are either potential or current youth offenders.

Family Violence: Almost two-thirds (61.0%) of Pacific Island youth offenders had either been exposed to or were involved with family violence in their homes.

Place Of Birth: Data was missing for twenty percent of the Pacific Island sample. However, just over half of the Pacific Island youth offenders were born in New Zealand. From the sample, 103 (51.5%) were born in New Zealand, 56 (28.0%) were born in one of the Pacific Islands and one was born in Australia (See Table 9).

Table 9.

Place of birth for Pacific Island youth offenders

Place of Birth	N	%
New Zealand	103	51.5
Samoa	30	15.0
Tonga	15	7.
Cook Islands	4	2.0
Fiji	3	1.5
Kiribati	1	0.5
Niue	1	0.5
Papua New Guinea	1	0.5
Tuvalu	1	0.5
Other (Australia)	1	0.5
Missing	40	20.0
Total	**200**	**100.0**

COMMUNITY

Socioeconomic Deprivation Index: Five (2.5%) individual files of Pacific Island youth offenders did not record their address in NIA were not matched successfully with Ministry of Education records. The mean deprivation index for Pacific Island youth offenders was 8.17. One hundred and forty-two (71.0%) of the Pacific Island youth offenders lived in areas with a socioeconomic deprivation index of eight or higher. Seventy-nine or over a third of the total (39.5%) lived in areas with a socioeconomic deprivation index of

ten, described as one of the most deprived areas in New Zealand (White, Gunston, Salmond, Atkinson & Crampton; 2008). In contrast, a small number (12.0%) of the Pacific Island sample lived in areas with a socioeconomic deprivation index of 5 or lower indicating the more affluent areas in New Zealand.

School Decile Rating: A large (75.5%) proportion of the Pacific Island youth offender files did not record the school they attended, nor was there a positive match with Ministry of Education records. Of the 49 Pacific Island youth offenders who had files in NIA with schools identified, the mean decile was 3.92. The highest percentage (24.5%) of Pacific Island youth offenders attended schools with a decile rating of three, followed by 18.4% of Pacific Island youth offenders attending schools with a decile rating of one. Overall, almost three-quarters (73.5%) attended schools with a decile rating of five or lower, indicating that a majority of Pacific Island youth offenders attend schools which have the highest proportion of students from communities with lower socioeconomic status.

Referral to Ministry of Education: Upon matching of New Zealand Police records with Ministry of Education records, only eight of the 200 Pacific Island youth offender files were successfully matched. Again, some of these files had missing information. Of these eight youth offenders, six had been referred for behavioural issues and two were referred for difficulties in communication. The average age of referral to Ministry of Education services was 10.62 years old.

School Performance: Four of the eight youth offenders had information pertaining to their attendance history at school. This included three youth offenders regularly attending school, with one having been suspended from school for truanting. Only three youth offenders had information pertaining to their academic ability in school – all of whom were functioning below the average range.

Gang Association: Thirty-eight (19.0%) Pacific Island youth offenders were either an associate, affiliate or member of a formal gang. One hundred and sixty two (81.0%) Pacific Island youth offenders were identified as not being an associate, affiliate or member of a formal gang.

1a. Is there a typology for a Pacific Island youth offenders?

Type of First Offence: The offences were separated into two categories, namely Violence and Sexual[31] offences; and non-Violence offences following the New Zealand Police code. Almost half of the Pacific Island (n=94) sample committed a *Violence* offence as their first offence compared to 66 of the Māori sample. This was a significant difference indicating that Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely than Māori youth offenders to commit a violence offence as their first offence, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 8.167, p = .004, φ = .14. There was no significant differences between the Pacific Island (n=94) and Pālagi (n=90) samples, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 0.161, p = .688, φ = .02.

Relationship between Age and Type of First Offence: Overall, there was a significant difference between the two groups indicating that those who committed a *Violence* offence as a first offence were more likely to be older than those who committed a non-*Violence* offence, t(598)=6.06, p < .001, d = 0.50. Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to commit a *Violence* offence if they began their offending at a late age, t(198)=4.55, p < *.001*, d = 0.65. This was the same for Māori youth offenders, t(198)=2.53, p < *.012*, d = 0.36; and Pālagi youth offenders, t(198)=2.31, p < *.022*, d = 0.33. (See Table 10).

Table 10.

Relationship between age and type of first offence of youth offenders

		Violence offence			Non-violence offence			**Total**
		N	*M*	SD	N	*M*	SD	
All		250	17.06	3.47	350	15.38	3.24	**600**
	Pacific Island	94	18.24	3.41	106	16.03	3.43	**200**
	Māori	66	15.76	2.97	134	14.62	3.00	**200**
	Pālagi	90	16.77	3.50	110	15.68	3.14	**200**

[31] There was only one *Sexual* offence that was committed as a first offence. This was removed from further analysis.

Average Age At First Offence: A one-way ANOVA indicated significant differences between all three groups (*F*=20.45, *df* = 2/597, *p* < *.001*, φ = .06*)*. However, a Bonferroni post-hoc test conducted on the results showed that the average age at first offence of Pacific Island youth offenders (*M* = 17.22, *SD* = 3.66) was 2.16 years higher than that of Māori youth offenders (*M* = 15.06, *SD* = 3.21). This difference was significant (p < .001), indicating that Pacific Island youth offenders were on average two years older than Māori youth offenders when they started offending. The average age at first offence of Pālagi youth offenders (*M* = 16.33, *SD* = 3.29), was 0.89 years lower than that of Pacific Island youth offenders and this difference was significant (p = .027). This indicates that Pacific Island youth offenders were, on average, almost a year older than Pālagi youth offenders when they started to offend.

Offending History: A one-way ANOVA indicated significant differences between the three ethnicity groups (*F*=20.06, *df* = 2/597, *p* < *.001,* φ =.06) in relation to the number of previous offences. However, a Bonferroni post-hoc test conducted showed the average number of previous offences for Pacific Island youth offenders (*M* = 3.70, *SD* = 4.29) was 3.42 less than that of Māori youth offenders (*M* = 7.12, *SD* = 7.48), and that this difference was significant (p < .001). This indicates that, overall, Pacific Island youth offenders appeared to commit less crimes than Māori youth offenders. In comparison to Pālagi youth offenders, (*M* = 4.15, *SD* = 5.38), the Bonferroni post-hoc test conducted on the results showed that the average number of offences for Pacific Island youth offenders was 0.45 less than for Pālagi youth offenders. This difference was not significant (p > .05), thereby indicating that there was no difference between the offending history of Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders.

Based on frequencies, the most common offences prior to committing the *Violence* offence in 2007 for Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders were *Traffic* offences. However, by omitting all *Traffic* offences, differences appear in terms of the frequency rates between the two groups and the type of offences (see Table 11). Just over a third of total offences committed by Māori and Pacific Island youth offenders were for *Dishonesty* offences.

Table 11.

Types of offences for Pacific Island (n=200) *and Māori (n=200) youth offenders pre-Violence offence in 2007*

	Pacific Island youth offenders		Māori youth offenders	
Offence type	N	%	N	%
Violence	192	28.8	279	22.3
Sexual	1	0.1	17	1.3
DrugsAnti	88	13.2	215	17.2
Dishonesty	239	35.9	475	37.9
PropDamage	67	10.1	112	9.0
PropAbuse	19	2.9	56	4.5
Administrative	60	9.0	98	7.8
Total	**666**	**100.0**	**1252**	**100.0**

Note. See Appendix E for definition of Offence Type.

Similarly, and based on frequencies, the most common offences prior to committing a *Violence* offence in 2007 for Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders were *Traffic* offences. However, by omitting *Traffic* offences, differences were found in the frequency rates between the two groups and the type of offences (see Table 12). The highest number of offences committed by Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders were *Dishonesty* offences, followed by *Violence* offences. Pacific Island youth offenders appeared to commit more *Dishonesty* and *Violence* offences than Pālagi youth offenders.

Table 12.

Types of offences for Pacific Island (n=200) *and Pālagi (n=200) youth offenders pre-Violence offence in 2007*

	Pacific Island youth offenders		Pālagi youth offenders	
Offence type	N	%	N	%
Violence	192	28.8	174	25.6
Sexual	1	0.1	6	0.9
DrugsAnti	88	13.2	131	19.2
Dishonesty	239	35.9	228	33.5
PropDamage	67	10.1	67	9.9
PropAbuse	19	2.9	33	4.9
Administrative	60	9.0	41	6.0
Total	**666**	**100.0**	**680**	**100.0**

Note. See Appendix E for definition of Offence Type.

2a. What are the differences in the social and demographic characteristics between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders?

INDIVIDUAL

Gender: File information showed no significant difference between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 0.84, p = .360, φ = .05. There was a similar number of Pacific Island male (n=168) and Māori male (n=161) youth offenders in the sample.

Drugs: There were no significant differences between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders in relation to Drugs, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 1.64, p = .200, φ = .06 (see Table 16).

Risk of Suicide or Self Harm: Some of the Pacific Island youth offenders (n=5) and Māori youth offenders (n=20) were identified as having past or current self harm behaviours or suicidal ideation. There was a significant difference between the two groups χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 9.61, p = .002, φ = .62 suggesting that Māori youth offenders were more likely to be at risk of suicide or self harm than Pacific Island youth offenders. However, whilst there is a significant difference between the two groups, the sample size is small and definitive conclusions cannot be drawn.

FAMILY

Family Environment: At the time of referral to Ministry of Education services, all of the offenders living with a single parent were of Māori ethnicity. The majority of Pacific Island youth offenders were living with both parents (n=5) (See Table 13).

Table 13.

Living with whom (Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders)

Ethnicity	Living with whom								**Total**	
	Single parent		Both parents		Other family		Non-family			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	**N**	**%**
Pacific Island	0	0	5	41.7	1	16.7	1	33.3	**7**	**23.3**
Māori	9	100.0	7	58.3	5	83.3	2	66.7	**23**	**76.7**
Total	**9**	**100.0**	**12**	**100.0**	**6**	**100.0**	**3**	**100.0**	**30**	**100.0**

Family Violence: There were no significant differences between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders in relation to their level of exposure to or involvement in family violence within the home, χ^2 (1, *N* = 400) = 2.46, *p* = .116, φ = .08 (see Table 16).

COMMUNITY

Socioeconomic Deprivation Index: A one-way ANOVA indicated significant differences among the three ethnic groups namely Pacific Island, Māori and Pālagi youth offenders (*F*=44.61, *df* = 2/579, *p* < *.001*, φ = .13*)*. A Bonferroni post-hoc test conducted on the results showed that the mean difference in the average socioeconomic deprivation index for Pacific Island youth offenders (*M* = 8.17, *SD* = 2.26) was 0.79 higher than Māori youth offenders (*M* = 7.38, *SD* = 2.43), and this difference was significant (p = .006). This indicated that Pacific Island youth offenders were living in more deprived areas than Māori youth offenders.

School Decile Ratings: A one-way ANOVA indicated significant differences among the three ethnic groups, namely Pacific Island, Māori and Pālagi Youth offenders (*F*=20.46, *df* = 2/179, *p* < *.001,* φ = .19). A Bonferroni post-hoc test conducted on the results showed that the mean school decile rating for schools attended by Pacific Island youth offenders (*M* = 3.92, *SD* = 2.21) was 0.25 higher than for schools attended by Māori youth offenders (*M* = 3.67, *SD* = 2.07), but this difference was not significant (p > .05). This

indicated that Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders were both attending schools with students in communities with lower socioeconomic status.

Referral to Ministry of Education: Thirty five out of four hundred (8.75%) youth offender (Pacific Island and Māori) files were successfully matched between New Zealand Police and Ministry of Education records (see Table 14). The average age of referral for Pacific Island youth offenders was 10.63 years old compared to 12 years old for Māori youth offenders. There was no significant difference between the two groups in the nature of their referrals for Ministry of Education services. Both groups were mainly referred to Special Education services for behavioural issues, χ^2 (2, N = 35) = 1.21, p = .547, φ = .19.

Table 14.

Nature of Ministry of Education referrals between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders

Ethnicity	Referral type						**Total**	
	Behaviour		Communication		Inclusive services			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	**N**	**%**
Pacific Island	6	20.7	2	40.0	0	0	**8**	**22.9**
Māori	23	79.3	3	60.0	1	100.0	**27**	**77.1**
Total	**29**	**100.0**	**5**	**100.0**	**1**	**100.0**	**35**	**100.0**

School Performance: This was sought by looking at whether there was any information on file regarding their general academic ability and their attendance at school (see Table 15). Again, numbers were low in terms of a successful match between New Zealand Police and Ministry of Education records for Pacific Island youth offenders and Māori youth offenders for general academic ability and attendance at school. Overall, both groups followed a similar pattern with the majority of youth offenders of this sample falling within the below average range for academic ability.

Table 15.

General academic ability and attendance at school between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders

	Academic Ability				Attendance			
Ethnicity	Below Average	Average	Above Average	**Total**	Regular	Truant	Sus	**Total**
Pacific Island	3	0	0	**3**	3	0	1	**4**
Māori	10	5	3	**18**	7	3	12	**22**
Total	**13**	**5**	**3**	**21**	**10**	**3**	**13**	**26**

Note. Sus=Suspension or expulsion from school.

Gang Association: There were no significant differences between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders and their association with gangs, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 1.82, p = .178, φ = .07 (see Table 16).

Table 16.

Family Violence and Criminal Activity between Pacific Island (n=200) and Māori (n=200) youth offenders

	Pacific Island youth offenders		Māori youth offenders	
Variable	N	%	N	%
Family Violence	122	61.0	137	68.5
Gang Association[a]	38	19.0	28	14.0
Drugs[b]	3	1.5	7	3.5

[a]Gang Association involves the youth offender being an associate, affiliate or member of a formal gang.
[b]Drugs can either be the consumption, selling and manufacturing of drugs. This is a very small sample of youth offenders who were involved with drugs, however a positive absence does not necessarily imply that it does not exist, rather, it may not have been recorded.

2b. What are the differences in the social and demographic characteristics between Pacific Island and Pālagi Youth Offenders?

INDIVIDUAL

Gender: There was a significantly higher number of Pacific Island male (n=168) in comparison with Pālagi male (n=147) youth offenders in the sample, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 6.59, p = .010, φ = .13. This indicates that Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to be male than Pālagi youth offenders.

Drugs: There were no significant differences between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders in relation to Drugs, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 1.02, p = .312, φ = .05 (see Table 20).

Risk Of Suicide Or Self Harm: Pacific Island youth offenders (n=5) and Pālagi youth offenders (n=20) were identified as having past or current self harm behaviours or suicidal ideation. There was a significant difference between the two groups, χ^2 (1, N = 393) = 9.86, p = .002, φ = .63, suggesting that Pālagi youth offenders were more likely to be at risk of suicide or self harm than Pacific Island youth offenders. The sample size is small, however.

FAMILY

Family Environment: At the time of referral to Ministry of Education services, all of the offenders living with a single parent were of Pālagi ethnicity. The majority of Pacific Island youth offenders were living with both parents (n=5) (See Table 17).

Table 17.

Living with whom (Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders)

Ethnicity	Living with whom								**Total**	
	Single parent		Both parents		Other family		Non-family			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	**N**	**%**
Pacific Island	0	0	5	41.7	1	100.0	1	25.0	**7**	**28.0**
Pālagi	8	100.0	7	58.3	0	0	3	75.0	**18**	**72.0**
Total	**8**	**100.0**	**12**	**100.0**	**1**	**100.0**	**4**	**100.0**	**25**	**100.0**

Family Violence: There were no significant differences between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders in relation to their level of exposure to or involvement with Family Violence within the home, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 3.58, p = .058, φ = .10 (see Table 20).

COMMUNITY

Socioeconomic Deprivation Index: A one-way ANOVA indicated significant differences among the three ethnic groups namely Pacific Island, Māori and Pālagi Youth offenders (F=44.61, df = 2/579, p < *.001,* φ = .13*)*. A Bonferroni post-hoc test conducted on the results showed that the mean difference in the average socioeconomic deprivation index for Pacific Island youth offenders (M = 8.17, SD = 2.26) was 2.32 higher than for Pālagi youth offenders (M = 5.85, SD = 2.71), and this difference was significant (p < .001). This indicated that Pacific Island youth offenders were living in more deprived areas than Pālagi youth offenders.

School Decile Ratings: A one-way ANOVA indicated significant differences among the three ethnic groups namely Pacific Island, Māori and Pālagi Youth offenders (F=20.46, df = 2/179, p < *.001,* φ = .19*)*. However, a Bonferroni post-hoc test conducted on the results showed that the mean school decile rating for schools attended by Pacific Island youth offenders (M = 3.92, SD = 2.22) was 2.05 lower than that for schools attended by Pālagi youth offenders (M = 5.97, SD = 2.34), and this difference was significant (p < .001). This indicated that Pacific Island youth offenders generally attended schools with students from communities with lower socioeconomic status than the schools attended by Pālagi youth offenders.

Referral To Ministry Of Education: Twenty seven out of four hundred (6.75%) youth offender files were successfully matched between New Zealand Police and Ministry of Education records (see Table 18). The average age of referral for Pacific Island youth offenders was 10.63 years old compared to 10.48 years old for Pālagi. There was no significant difference between the two groups in the nature of their referrals for Special Education services. Both groups were mainly referred to Ministry of Education services for behavioural issues, χ^2 (2, N = 27) = 1.28, p = .528, φ = .22.

Table 18.

Nature of Ministry of Education referrals between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders

Ethnicity	Referral type						Total	
	Behaviour		Communication		Inclusive services			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Pacific Island	6	27.3	2	50.0	0	0	8	22.9
Pālagi	16	72.7	2	50.0	1	100.0	19	70.4
Total	**22**	**100.0**	**4**	**100.0**	**1**	**100.0**	**27**	**100.0**

School Performance: Due to the small number of successful matches between New Zealand Police and the Ministry of Education records, interpretation of these results needs to be cautious (see Table 19). Overall, both groups followed a similar pattern with the majority of youth offenders falling within the below average range for academic ability. Most Pacific Island youth offenders were regularly attending school, while Pālagi youth offenders had similar numbers for those regularly attending school and for those suspended/expelled from school.

Table 19.

General academic ability and attendance at school between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders

	Academic Ability				Attendance			
Ethnicity	Below Average	Average	Above Average	**Total**	Regular	Truant	Sus	**Total**
Pacific Island	3	0	0	**3**	3	0	1	**4**
Pālagi	7	5	1	**13**	7	1	10	**18**
Total	**10**	**5**	**1**	**16**	**10**	**1**	**11**	**22**

Note. Sus=Suspension or expulsion from school.

Gang Association: There was a statistically significant difference between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders with Pacific Island youth offenders being more likely to be involved with gangs than Pālagi youth offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 18.56, p < .001, φ = .22 (see Table 20). However, whilst there is a significant difference between the two groups, the sample size is small.

Table 20.

Family Violence and Criminal Activity between Pacific Island (n=200) and Pālagi (n=200) youth offenders

	Pacific Island youth offenders		Pālagi youth offenders	
Variable	N	%	N	%
Family Violence	122	61.0	140	70.0
Gang Association [a]	38	19.0	10	5.0
Drugs[b]	3	1.5	6	3.0

[a]Gang Association involves the youth offender being an associate, affiliate or member of a formal gang.
[b]Drugs can either be the consumption, selling and manufacturing of drugs. This is a very small sample of youth offenders who were involved with drugs, however a positive absence does not necessarily imply that it does not exist, rather, it may not have been recorded.

3a. What are the differences in the offending characteristics between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders?

Violence Offence In 2007: Of the 200 Pacific Island youth offenders and 200 Māori youth offenders who committed a *Violence* offence in 2007, there was only one significant difference between the two groups in relation to the type of violent offence (see Table 21). Pacific Island youth offenders were less likely to commit an *Intimidation/Threats* offence than Māori youth offenders.

Table 21.

Types of Violence offences committed by Pacific Island (n=200) and Māori (n=200) youth offenders in 2007

Type of Violence	Pacific Island youth offenders		Pālagi youth offenders		χ^2	p^*	φ
	N	%	N	%			
Homicide	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Kidnap[a]	2	1.0	3	1.5	0.20	.653	.02
Robbery	22	11.0	16	8.0	1.05	.306	.05
Grievous Assaults	31	15.5	23	11.5	1.37	.242	.06
Serious Assaults	75	37.5	63	31.5	1.59	.207	.06
Minor Assaults	34	17.0	40	20.0	0.60	.440	.04
Intimidation[b]	34	17.0	52	26.0	4.80	.028	.11
Group Assemblies	2	1.0	3	1.5	0.20	.653	.02
Total	**200**	**100.0**	**200**	**100.0**			

[a]Kidnapping and Abduction. [b]Intimidation and Threats. *p < .05.

Involvement with Youth Aid: There was a significant difference between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders in their involvement with Youth Aid. Pacific Island youth offenders were less likely to be involved with Youth Aid than Māori youth offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 22.87, p < .001, φ = .24.

Imprisonment Prior To Violence Offence: Less than half of Pacific Island (n=31) and Māori (n=50) youth offenders had been imprisoned prior to their *Violence* offences. However, there was a significant

difference between the two groups. This indicated that Pacific Island youth offenders were less likely to have had a history of imprisonment than Māori youth offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 5.59, p = .018, φ = .12.

Offends After Violence Offence: The majority of Pacific Island (n=146) and Māori (n=109) youth offenders re-offended after their *Violence* offence in 2007. This was a significant difference indicating that Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to re-offend than Māori youth offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 14.81, p < .001, φ = .19.

Offends With Others During Violence Offence: Most Pacific Island (n=142) and Māori (n=148) youth offenders did not offend with others during their *Violence* offence in 2007. There was no significant difference between the two groups, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 0.45, p = .502, φ = .03.

Age At Violence Offence: A one-way ANOVA indicated significant differences among the three ethnic groups namely Pacific Island, Māori and Pālagi youth offenders (F=3.93, df = 2/597, p= .020, φ = .01). A Bonferroni post-hoc test conducted on the results showed that the average age at *Violence* offence in 2007 for PI youth offenders (M = 19.43, SD = 2.94) was 0.89 years higher than Māori youth offenders (M = 18.55, SD = 3.55), and this difference was significant (p < .017). This indicated that Pacific Island youth offenders were on average almost one year older than Māori youth offenders at the time of their *Violence* offence in 2007.

3b. What are the differences in the offending characteristics between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders?

Violence Offence In 2007: There were a number of significant differences between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders in terms of their offending characteristics (see Table 22). Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to commit *Robbery* offences than Pālagi youth offenders. Alternately, Pacific Island youth offenders were less likely to commit *Minor Assaults* and *Intimidation/Threats* offences than Pālagi youth offenders.

Table 22.

Types of Violence offences committed by Pacific Island (n=200) and Pālagi (n=200) youth offenders In 2007

Type of Violence	Pacific Island youth offenders		Pālagi youth offenders		χ^2	p^*	φ
	N	%	N	%			
Homicide	0	0.0	3	1.5	3.02	.082	.09
Kidnap[a]	2	1.0	1	0.5	0.34	.562	.03
Robbery	22	11.0	5	2.5	11.48	.001	.17
Grievous Assaults	31	15.5	19	9.5	3.29	.070	.09
Serious Assaults	75	37.5	59	29.5	2.87	.090	.09
Minor Assaults	34	17.0	61	30.5	10.06	.002	.16
Intimidation[b]	34	17.0	51	25.5	4.32	.038	.10
Group Assemblies	2	1.0	1	0.5	0.34	.562	.03
Total	**200**	**100.0**	**200**	**100.0**			

[a]Kidnapping and Abduction [b]Intimidation and Threats.
*p < .05.

Youth Aid Involvement: There was a significant difference between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders in their involvement with Youth Aid. This indicated that Pacific Island youth offenders (n=95) were less likely than Pālagi youth offenders (n=115) to have been involved with the New Zealand Police, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 4.01, p = .045, φ = .10.

Imprisonment Prior To Violence Offence: There was no significant difference between Pacific Island (n=31) and Pālagi (n=25) youth offenders with a history of imprisonment, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 0.75, p = .387, φ = .04.

Offends After Violence Offence: The same number of Pacific Island (n=146) and Pālagi (n=146) youth offenders reoffended after their *Violence* offences.

Offends With Others During Violence Offence: There was a significant difference between Pacific Island (n=58) and Pālagi (n=38) youth offenders as to whether they offended with others during their

Violence offences. This indicated that Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to have offended in groups than Pālagi youth offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 5.48, p = .019, φ = .12.

Age At Violence Offence: A one-way ANOVA indicated significant differences among the three ethnic groups namely Pacific Island, Māori and Pālagi youth offenders (F=3.93, df = 2/597, p= *.020,* φ = .01*)*. A Bonferroni post-hoc test conducted on the results showed that the average age at *Violence* offence in 2007 for Pacific Island youth offenders (M = 19.43, SD = 2.94) was 0.56 years higher than that of Pālagi youth offenders (M = 18.87, SD = 3.05), but this difference was not significant (p = .240). Therefore, there was no statistically significant difference in the age of Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders at the time of their *Violence* offences in 2007.

4. Which youth offenders are more likely to reoffend?

More than half of each ethnic group continued to offend after their violent offence in 2007 (see Table 23). There was a significant difference between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders, with Pacific Island being more likely to reoffend (χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 17.25, p < .001, φ = .21. There was no significant difference between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders (χ^2 (1, N = 400) = 0.11, p = .736, φ = .02.

Table 23.

Number of Repeat offenders[a] and their ethnicity

Ethnicity	N	% of own ethnic group	**% of total sample (N=600)**
Pacific Island	146	73.0	**24.3**
Māori	109	54.5	**18.2**
Pālagi	146	73.0	**24.3**
Total	**401**		**66.8**

a. Repeat offenders were youth offenders who committed an offence(s) after their violent offence in 2007.

The following results are presented by combining all three ethnic groups and comparing information between those *Repeat* offenders and *Non-repeat* offenders. This section will conclude with a specific focus on Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders.

REPEAT OFFENDERS

Gender: Among both males and females the majority of the sample reoffended. However, there was a significant difference with male offenders being more likely to reoffend than female offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 600) = 11.56, p = .001, φ = .14. (see Table 24).

Table 24.

Gender comparison between Repeat and Non-repeat offenders

Gender	Repeat offenders		Non-repeat offenders		**Total**
	N	%	N	%	
Male	334	83.3	142	71.4	**476**
Female	67	16.7	57	28.6	**124**
Total	**401**	**100.0**	**199**	**100.0**	**600**

Family Violence: Approximately two-thirds (399) of the sample population was involved in Family Violence as a witness, offender or victim at some stage of their offending history. There was a significant difference with *Repeat* offenders being more likely to have a previous or current involvement with Family Violence than *Non-repeat* offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 600) = 15.36 p < .001, φ = .16 (See Table 25).

Risk of Suicide Or Self Harm: Fewer than ten percent of *Repeat* offenders were identified as being at previous or current risk of suicide or self harm. There was no significant difference between the two groups, with *Repeat* offenders being no more or less likely to be at risk than *Non-repeat* offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 600) = 2.34 p = .126, φ = .06 (See Table 25).

Drugs: A very small number (n=16) of the sample had been involved with or exposed to drugs. However, this small number all reoffended showing a significant difference that those involved with drugs were more likely to be *Repeat* offenders than *Non-repeat* offenders, χ^2(1, N = 600) = 8.16, p = .004, φ = .12 (see Table 25). While there is a significant difference between the two groups, the sample size is small.

Gang Association: Almost 13% (n=76) of the sample population were involved with gangs. Of this group, almost 83% (n=63) were *Repeat* offenders. This was a significant difference revealing that *Repeat* offenders were more likely to be involved with gangs than *Non-repeat* Offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 600) = 10.13, p = .001, φ = .13 (see Table 25).

Involvement with Youth Aid: Over sixty percent of youth offenders had previous or current involvement with Youth Aid. However, there was no significant difference between *Repeat* offenders and *Non-repeat* offenders as to whether they had previous or current involvement with Youth Aid, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 3.58$, $p = .058$, $\varphi = .08$ (see Table 25).

Imprisonment: Almost a quarter of those that reoffended had a previous imprisonment history. This was a significant difference showing that *Repeat* offenders were more likely to be in prison or have a prison history than *Non-repeat* offenders, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 35.37$, $p < .001$, $\varphi = .24$ (see Table 25).

Offends With Others During Violence Offence: Almost one-quarter (n=148) of the sample population offended with others during their *Violence* offences. However, there was no significant difference between *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 3.22$, $p = .073$, $\varphi = .07$. (see Table 25).

Table 25.

Comparisons between Repeat (n=401) and Non-repeat (n=199) offenders

Variables		Repeat offenders	Non-repeat offenders	**Total**
		N (%)	N (%)	**N**
Family Violence*	**Involved[a]**	**288 (71.8)**	**111 (55.8)**	**399**
	Not involved	113 (28.2	88 (44.2)	**201**
Risk of Suicide or self harm	Involved[b]	39 (9.7)	12 (6.0)	**51**
	Not involved	362 (90.3)	187 (94.0)	**549**
Drug Use*	**Involved[c]**	**16 (4.0)**	**0**	**16**
	Not involved	385 (96.0)	199 (100.0)	**584**
Gang Association*	**Involved[d]**	**63(15.7)**	**13 (6.5)**	**76**
	Not involved	338 (84.3)	186 (93.5)	**524**
Youth Aid	Involved[e]	246 (61.3)	106 (53.3)	**352**
	Not involved	155 (38.7)	93 (46.7)	**248**
Imprisonment*	**Yes[f]**	**97 (24.2)**	**9 (4.5)**	**106**
	No	304 (75.8)	190 (95.5)	**494**
Offends with others	Yes[g]	90 (22.4)	58 (29.1)	**148**
	No	311 (77.6)	141 (70.9)	**452**

a – Either an offender, witness or victim of Family Violence; b-Previous attempt of suicide or previous incident(s) of self harm; c-Either consumes, manufactures or sells drugs; d-Either an associate, affiliate or member of a formal gang; e-Youth Aid is a service in Police which manages young people under 17. These young people will either need care and protection, or are either potential or current youth offenders; f- Relates to imprisonment prior to their Violence offence in 2007; g-Offends with others during their Violence offence in 2007

* - Highlights statistically significant difference between *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders.

Socioeconomic Deprivation Index: A t-test was used to test the effects of position on the socioeconomic deprivation index on *Repeat* offenders and *Non-repeat* offenders (see Table 26). There was no significant difference between *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders indicating that socioeconomic deprivation has no effect on whether an offender will reoffend, $t(576) = 0.32$, $p = .747$, $d = 0.03$. A t-test was carried out to test the effects of socioeconomic deprivation on the different ethnic groups. The results revealed no significant difference amongst Pacific Island, $t(189) = 0.26$, $p = .795$, $d = 0.04$; Māori, $t(189) = 0.50$, $p = .618$, $d = 0.07$ and Pālagi, $t(194) = -0.66$, $p = .512$, $d = 0.11$ further indicating that socioeconomic deprivation has no effect on whether an offender will reoffend.

Table 26.

Socioeconomic deprivation index properties in relation to Repeat and Non-repeat offenders

Ethnicity	Repeat offenders			Non-repeat offenders			**Total**
	N	*M*	SD	N	*M*	SD	
All groups	388	7.10	2.67	190	7.18	2.64	**578**
Pacific Island	141	8.16	2.26	50	8.26	2.26	**191**
Māori	103	7.30	2.51	88	7.48	2.33	**191**
Pālagi	144	5.92	2.69	52	5.63	2.80	**196**

School Decile Ratings: A t-test was used to test the effects of school decile ratings on *Repeat* offenders and *Non-repeat* offenders (see Table 27). Firstly, there was no significant difference between *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders indicating that school decile ratings have no effect on whether an offender will reoffend, $t(179) = -0.60$, $p = .553$, $d = .09$. Secondly, another t-test was carried out to test the effects of school decile ratings on the different ethnic groups. The results revealed no significant difference amongst Pacific Island, $t(46) = -0.24$, $p = .795$, $d = 0.09$; Māori, $t(70) = -0.31$, $p = .759$, $d = 0.08$ and Pālagi, $t(59) = 1.42$, $p = .160$, $d = 0.39$, showing that school decile ratings have no effect on whether an offender will reoffend.

Table 27.

School decile ratings in relation to Repeat and Non-repeat offenders

Ethnicity	Repeat offenders			Non-repeat offenders			**Total**
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	
All groups	112	4.60	2.41	69	4.38	2.47	**181**[a]
Pacific Island	39	3.97	2.25	9	3.78	2.22	**48**
Māori	29	3.76	2.34	43	3.60	1.89	**72**
Pālagi	44	5.70	2.20	17	6.65	2.62	**61**

a Schools for some of the youth offenders were missing from the original data sources.

Violence Offences In 2007: More than two-thirds (n=403) of youth offenders reoffended following their violent offence in 2007 (see Table 28). There were no significant differences between *Repeat* offenders and *Non-repeat* offenders who committed *Homicide,* $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 1.50$, $p = .221$, $\varphi = .05$; *Kidnapping & Abduction,* $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 3.01$, $p = .083$, $\varphi = .07$; *Robbery,* $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 0.01$, $p = .930$, $\varphi = .004$; *Grievous Assaults,* $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 2.72$, $p = .099$, $\varphi = .07$; *Serious Assaults,* $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 0.24$, $p = .623$, $\varphi = .02$ *and Group Assemblies* $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 0.78$, $p = .379$, $\varphi = .04$. However, there were significant differences with *Repeat* offenders being more likely to commit *Minor Assaults* $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 8.73$, $p = .003$, $\varphi = .12$; *Intimidation/Threats* $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 4.65$, $p = .031$, $\varphi = .09$, than *Non-repeat* offenders.

Table 28.

Types of Violence offences and their comparison between Repeat and Non-repeat offenders

Violence offence	Repeat offenders		Non-repeat offenders		**Total**
	N	%	N	%	
Homicide	3	0.7	0	0	**3**
Kidnapping	6	1.5	0	0	**6**
Robbery	29	7.2	14	7.0	**43**
Grievous Assault	55	13.7	18	9.1	**73**
Serious Assault	131	32.8	70	35.2	**201**
Minor Assault*	**72**	**18.0**	**59**	**29.6**	**131**
Intimidation*	**102**	**25.4**	**35**	**17.6**	**137**
Group Assemblies	3	0.7	3	1.5	**6**
Total	401	100.0	199	100.0	**600**

*Highlights statistically significant differences between *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders.

Age at First Offence: A t-test was used to test the effects of age at first offence on *Repeat* offenders and *Non-repeat* offenders (see Table 29). There was no significant difference between *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders indicating that age at first offence has no effect on whether an offender will reoffend, $t(594) = -0.20$, $p = .843$, $d = 0.02$. Secondly, another t-test was carried out to test the effects of age at first offence on the different ethnic groups. The results revealed no significant difference between Māori, $t(198) = -0.84$, $p = .402$, $d = 0.12$ and Pālagi, $t(198) = 0.26$, $p = .793$, $d = 0.04$ indicating that age at first offence has no effect whether offenders of Māori and Pālagi ethnicity will reoffend. However, there was a significant difference for Pacific Island youth offenders, $t(194) = 2.33$, $p = .021$, $d = 0.37$, in relation to age at first offence.

Table 29.

Age at first offence in relation to Repeat and Non-Repeat offenders

Ethnicity	Repeat offenders			Non-repeat offenders			**Total**
	N	*M*	SD	N	*M*	SD	
All groups	401	16.22	3.33	199	16.16	3.82	**600**
Pacific Island	146	16.89	3.49	54	18.26	3.89	**200**
Māori	109	15.23	3.02	91	14.85	3.43	**200**
Pālagi	146	16.29	3.22	54	16.43	3.51	**200**

Offending History: A t-test was used to test whether offending history had any effect on *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders (see Table 30). There was a significant difference between *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders, $t(594) = -7.47$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.71$ indicating that there is a difference in offending history between *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders. Secondly, another t-test was carried out to test the effects of offending history on the different ethnic groups. The results revealed a significant difference amongst Pacific Island, $t(194) = -3.50$, $p = .001$, $d = .060$; Māori, $t(198) = -7.20$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.52$ and Pālagi, $t(198) = -4.76$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.87$, showing that *Repeat* offenders were more likely to have an offending history than *Non-repeat* offenders.

Table 30.

Offending history in relation to Repeat and Non-repeat offenders

Ethnicity	Repeat offenders			Non-repeat offenders			**Total**
	N	*M*	SD	N	*M*	SD	
All groups	401	6.20	6.60	199	2.42	3.58	**600**
Pacific Island	146	4.20	4.17	54	1.84	3.95	**200**
Māori	109	10.22	8.39	91	3.40	3.69	**200**
Pālagi	146	5.19	5.78	54	1.31	2.52	**200**

PACIFIC ISLAND YOUTH REPEAT OFFENDERS

Gender: More than half of Pacific Island male and female youth offenders reoffended. However, there was no significant difference in gender with respect to *Repeat* youth offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 200) = 3.59, p = .058, φ = .13 (see Table 31).

Table 31.

Gender comparison between Pacific Island Repeat and Non-repeat offenders

Gender	Repeat offenders		Non-repeat offenders		**Total**
	N	%	N	%	
Male	127	87.0	41	75.9	**168**
Female	19	13.0	13	24.1	**32**
Total	**146**	**100.0**	**54**	**100.0**	**200**

Place Of Birth: This was calculated in three separate categories, namely, New Zealand, Pacific Islands and Other. Of the sample that reoffended, there was a significant difference in that those born in New Zealand were more likely to reoffend than those who were born in the Pacific Islands, χ^2 (3, N = 200) = 16.64, p = .001, φ = .29. (see Table 32).

Table 32.

Birthplace comparison between Pacific Island Repeat and Non-repeat offenders

Birthplace	Repeat offenders		Non-repeat offenders		**Total**
	N	%	N	%	
New Zealand	81	55.5	22	40.7	**103**
Pacific Islands	45	30.8	11	20.4	**56**
Other	0	0	1	1.9	**1**
Unknown	20	13.7	20	37.0	**40**
Total	**146**	**100.0**	**54**	**100.0**	**200**

Family Violence: There was a significant difference with Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders being more likely to have a previous or current involvement with Family Violence than Pacific Island *Non-repeat* offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 200) = 6.72, p = .010, φ = .18 (See Table 33).

Risk of Suicide or Self Harm: Less than five percent of Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders were identified as being at previous or current risk of suicide or self harm. There was no significant difference with Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders being more or less likely to be at risk than Pacific Island *Non-repeat* offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 200) = 0.01 p = .924, φ = .01 (see Table 33).

Drugs: A very small number (n=3) of the sample had been involved in either the consumption, manufacturing or selling of drugs. However, this small group all reoffended, revealing no significant difference between Pacific Island *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders, χ^2(1, N = 200) = 1.13, p = .289, φ = .08 (see Table 33).

Gang Association: Nineteen percent (n=38) of the sample population were involved with gangs either as an associate, affiliate or formal member. Of this group, 92% (n=35) were Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders. This was a significant difference revealing that Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders were more likely to be involved with gangs either as an associate, affiliate or formal member than Pacific Island *Non-repeat* offenders, χ^2 (1, N = 200) = 8.69, p = .003, φ = .21 (see Table 33).

Involvement with Youth Aid: Almost 50% (n=95) of youth offenders had previous or current involvement with Youth Aid. Of this group, 77 youth offenders were Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders revealing that there was a significant difference between Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders being more likely to be involved with Youth Aid than *Non-Repeat* offenders, χ^2(1, N = 200) = 5.95, p = .015, φ = .17 (see Table 33).

Imprisonment: Almost 84% (n=26) of those with a previous imprisonment history had reoffended. However, there was no significant difference between Pacific Island *Repeat* and *Non-repeat offenders* with regards to a previous imprisonment history, χ^2(1, N = 200) = 2.20, p < .138, φ = .11 (see Table 33).

Offends with Others during Violence Offence: Seventy two percent (n=58) of the sample that offended with others re-offended after their violent offence in 2007. This was not a significant difference

with Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders being more or less likely to offend with others than Pacific Island *Non-repeat* offenders, $\chi^2(1, N = 200) = 0.01, p = .905, \varphi = .01$. (see Table 33).

Table 33.

Comparisons between Pacific Island Repeat (n=149) and Non-repeat (n=54) offenders

Variables		Repeat offenders N (%)	Non-repeat offenders N (%)	Total N
Family Violence*	**Involved[a]**	**97 (66.4)**	**25 (46.3)**	**122**
	Not involved	49 (33.6)	29 (53.7)	78
Risk of Suicide or self harm	Involved[b]	5 (3.4)	2 (3.7)	7
	Not involved	141 (96.6)	52 (96.3)	193
Drug Use*	Involved[c]	3 (2.1)	0	3
	Not involved	143 (97.9)	54 (100.0)	197
Gang Association*	**Involved[d]**	**35 (24.0)**	**3 (5.6)**	**38**
	Not involved	111 (76.0)	51 (94.4)	162
Youth Aid	**Involved[e]**	**77 (52.7)**	**18 (33.3)**	**95**
	Not involved	69 (47.3)	36 (66.7)	105
Imprisonment*	Yes[f]	26 (17.8)	5 (9.3)	31
	No	120 (82.2)	49 (90.7)	169
Offends with others	Yes[g]	42 (28.8)	16 (29.6)	58
	No	104 (71.2)	38 (70.4)	142

a – Either an offender, witness or victim of Family Violence; b-Previous attempt of suicide or previous incident(s) of self harm; c-Either consumes, manufactures or sells drugs; d-Either an associate, affiliate or member of a formal gang; e-Youth Aid is a service in Police which manages young people under 17. These young people will either need care and protection, or are either potential or current youth offenders; f-Relates to imprisonment prior to their Violence offence in 2007; g-Offends with others during their Violence offence in 2007

* - Highlights statistically significant difference between *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders.

Socioeconomic Deprivation Index: A t-test was used to test the effects of position on the socioeconomic deprivation index on Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders and *Non-repeat* offenders. The results revealed no significant difference t (189) = 0.26, p = .795, therefore indicating that socioeconomic deprivation index had no effect on Pacific Island *Repeat and Non-repeat* offenders.

School Decile Ratings: A t-test was used to test the effects of school decile ratings on Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders and *Non-repeat* offenders. The results revealed no significant difference amongst PI, t(46) = -0.24, p = .814, indicating that school decile rating had no effect on reoffending.

Violence Offences in 2007: Seventy three percent of youth offenders (n=146) reoffended following their violent offence in 2007. There were no significant differences between Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders and *Non-repeat* offenders in the type of violent offence committed: *Kidnapping & Abduction,* χ^2(1, N = 200) = 0.75, p = .387, φ = .06; *Robbery,* χ^2(1, N = 200) = 0.98, p = .323, Φ= .07; *Grievous Assaults,* χ^2(1, N = 200) = 2.20, p = .138, φ = .11; *Serious Assaults,* χ^2(1, N = 200) = 3.58, p = .059, φ = .13, *Minor Assaults* χ^2(1, N = 200) = 1.43, p = .232, φ = .09; *Intimidation/Threats* χ^2(1, N = 200) = 1.82, p = .178, φ = .10 *and Group Assemblies* χ^2(1, N = 200) = 0.54, p = .462, φ = .05. There were no *Homicide* offences committed by the sample of youth offenders (see Table 34).

Age At First Offence: A t-test was used to test the effects of age at first offence on *Repeat* offenders and *Non-repeat* offenders. The results revealed a significant difference amongst PI, t(194) = 2.33, p = .021, d =0.37 and a mean difference of 1.37 (see Table 29). However, there was no significant difference between Māori and Pālagi youth offenders, suggesting that age at first offence is unique to the Pacific Island youth offending population. In this study, Pacific Island youth offenders who became *Repeat* offenders were on average almost a year and a half younger than Pacific Island *Non-repeat* offenders.

Offending History: A t-test was used to test whether offending history had any effect on Pacific Island *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders. The results revealed a significant difference, t(194) = -3.50, p = .001, and a mean difference of -2.36 (see Table 30). This suggests that Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders were more likely to have an offending history than Pacific Island *Non-repeat* offenders.

Table 34.

Types of Violence Offences and their comparison between Pacific Island Repeat and Non-repeat Offenders

Violence offence	Repeat offenders		Non-repeat offenders		Total
	N	%	N	%	
Homicide	0	0	0	0	0
Kidnapping	2	1.4	0	0	2
Robbery	18	12.3	4	7.4	22
Grievous Assault	26	17.8	5	9.3	31
Serious Assault	49	33.6	26	48.1	75
Minor Assault*	22	15.1	12	22.2	34
Intimidation*	28	19.1	6	11.1	34
Group Assemblies	1	0.7	1	1.9	6
Total	**146**	**100.0**	**54**	**100.0**	**200**

Phase Four: Summary of Findings

The majority of Pacific Island youth offenders were male and just over half were born in New Zealand. They were living in the lowest socioeconomic deprivation areas in New Zealand and were either exposed to and/or involved with family violence. They were also attending schools with students from low socioeconomic deprivation communities. Just under half of the sample were either involved or previously involved with Youth Aid services. They were most likely to begin offending at an older age (17 years old) than Māori and Pālagi youth offenders. However, this study shows that you were more likely to commit a *Violence* offence if you began offending when you were older. In comparison with Māori youth offenders, they were more likely to commit a *Violence* offence as a first offence.

Based on the small sample of successfully matched records, this sample showed that most were living with their parent(s), regularly attending school yet functioning at a below-average academic level at school. Most of this sample showed behavioural concerns in the classroom.

In comparison to Māori youth offenders, findings showed that despite both groups coming from low socioeconomic deprivation areas in New Zealand, Pacific Island youth offenders were living in more deprived areas than Māori youth offenders. Both groups were attending schools with students in lower socioeconomic deprivation communities and more than half had either been involved with and/or exposed to family violence. When compared with Pacific Island youth offenders, Māori youth offenders were more likely to be at risk of suicide or self harm, though caution is noted given the small sample size. Based on the small sample of successfully matched records, groups appeared to show behavioural concerns in the classroom.

Comparing offending characteristics between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders showed that Pacific Island youth offenders, on average, were two years older (17 years old) than Māori youth offenders (15 years old) when they began to offend. Pacific Island youth offenders were less likely to commit an *Intimidation/Threats* offence, yet more likely to reoffend. Māori youth offenders were also more likely to be involved with Youth Aid. This is expected given that the age Pacific Island youth offenders typically start to offend falls outside of the Youth Aid service. Māori youth offenders were more likely to have a history of imprisonment than Pacific Island youth offenders.

In comparison to Pālagi youth offenders, significant findings showed that Pacific Island youth offenders were living in more deprived areas and attending lower socioeconomic schools. Both groups had more than half of their sample either exposed to and/or involved with family violence. Pālagi youth offenders were more likely to be at risk of suicide or self harm than Pacific Island youth offenders though caution is noted given the small sample. In keeping with other comparisons of ethnic groups in this study, both groups appeared to show behavioural concerns in the classroom.

Comparing offending characteristics between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders showed that Pacific Island youth, on average, were one year older (17 years old) than Pālagi youth offenders (16 years old) when they began to offend. Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to commit a *Robbery* offence, but less likely to commit *Minor Assaults* and *Intimidation/Threats* offence. They also appeared less likely to be involved with the Youth Aid service, though this is likely

to be due to their older offending age. Pacific Island youth offenders were also more likely to offend in a group with their peers than Pālagi youth offenders.

In relation to the likelihood of reoffending amongst these three ethnic groups, significant findings suggest that a youth offender is more likely to reoffend if they are male, involved with violence in the family home, involved with drugs and gangs and have a prior prison history. They were also likely to reoffend if their violent crimes consisted of *Minor Assaults* and *Intimidation/Threats.* Surprisingly, age appeared to have no impact on reoffending.

Significant findings for Pacific Island youth offenders showed that being born in New Zealand with involvement or exposure in family violence were associated with being more likely to reoffend. Pacific Island youth offenders who reoffend are also more likely to be involved with drugs and gangs. Finally, a Pacific Island youth who reoffends is also more likely to be involved with Youth Aid, suggesting that they are younger in age and consistent with the finding that they are younger than a Pacific Island youth offender who does not reoffend.

Overall, most youth offenders in this study were male and appeared to either live or have been raised in low socioeconomic deprivation areas in New Zealand. The presence of family violence in the home was a common finding amongst all three groups. Despite the small sample of successfully matched records, behavioural concerns in the classroom and functioning at a below-average academic level at school was identified. In terms of offending characteristics, it appeared that the older they were when their offending began, the more likely they were to commit a *Violence* offence as their first offence. Finally, this study showed that Pacific Island youth offenders were likely to be older than Māori and Pālagi youth offenders when they began to offend.

Chapter Four: Discussion

This final chapter aims to review the purpose of this study with its main focus on discussing the key findings. Firstly, it will refer back to the research questions with reference to the relevant literature in this area. The association between age and offending is discussed and the clinical implications of this research will be provided and considered alongside the limitations of such a study. Lastly, this chapter will conclude with recommendations for future research, summary and conclusion, and my "brown" perspective of this journey as a New Zealand born Samoan.

Research into the world of youth offenders such as their social and demographic characteristics, offending behaviour, developmental pathways and risk factors has been widely conducted in New Zealand and internationally (Bersani et al., 2009; Esbensen et al., 2009; Hemphill et al., 2009; Maxwell et al., 2004; Marie et al., 2009; Patterson et al., 1989;). However, while research has continued in this area, there is virtually no research on Pacific Island youth offenders either in New Zealand or overseas. This is an area of concern given that Pacific Islanders are a youthful population in New Zealand, and are disproportionately represented in crime statistics for violent apprehensions. The purpose of this study was to try to explore the offending behaviour of a Pacific Island youth offending population (n=200) of people who had committed a *Violence* offence and who were aged between 10-24 years old at the time of offending.

Despite the legal age range for a youth offender being 14-16 years old, it was important to try to accommodate a cultural definition of Pacific Island youth in this study in order to provide an accurate representation of this population. In addition, it was essential to compare this population with other ethnic groups (i.e. Māori and Pālagi) in New Zealand in order to see what differences, if any, could be found, thereby potentially increasing our understanding of youth offenders in New Zealand. Furthermore, by reviewing the socio and demographic characteristics including their educational background alongside their offending characteristics, it was thought that this would provide information about the early life of this group of youth offenders. By understanding what factors lead to youth offending, it may therefore enable us to minimise or eliminate these potential cause factors.

The following section reports on the outcome of each of the research questions that this study attempted to answer. Firstly, statistically significant findings from data which were sourced from NIA,

a New Zealand Police database are discussed. Secondly, the findings from Ministry of Education data are presented as frequency data given its small sample size. Due to the nature of data collection and source, any data that involves officially reported criminal behaviour may also be an underestimate of the actual true behaviour (Smith, 2008).

Research Questions

1. Who are Pacific Island youth offenders?

Consistent with previous research on youth offenders, our sample of 200 youth offenders showed that 84% of Pacific Island youth offenders were male (Moffitt & Caspi, 2001; Tibbetts & Piquero, 1999; Zimmerman & Messner, 2010). Most of these youth offenders were born in New Zealand. In keeping with previous research, this group was also growing up in the lowest socioeconomic deprivations areas in the country (Farrington, 1989; Hemphill et al., 2009; Marie et al., 2009; Maxwell et al., 2004; McAra & McVie, 2010; Jarjoura et al., 2002; Wright et al., 1999; Zimmerman & Messner, 2010). More than half were either exposed to or involved with family violence in their homes. This is consistent with previous findings (Boden et al., 2010; Juby & Farrington, 2001; Marie et al., 2009; Reid & Crisafulli, 1990; Rodriguez et al., 2009); and a more recent survey on Pacific Island students in New Zealand (Helu et al., 2009). However, this was not consistent with a recent study which found that family factors were not as important a risk factor as those relating to peers and individual factors (Esbensen et al., 2009). Contrary to previous research, the current study found only small numbers associated with gangs or having involvement with drugs (Prichard & Payne, 2005; Wiesner & Capaldi, 2003). However, this is more likely to be related to the sample size rather than actual true occurrence.

Of the eight Pacific Island youth offenders with Ministry of Education records, most were growing up in family homes with both parents and regularly attending school. This is not consistent with previous research which found that those at risk of offending are from single parent homes (Canter, 1982; Juby & Farrington. 2001; Pearson et al., 1994;). For this group, it may be that there is minimal parental supervision which is seen as a risk factor for youth offending (Patterson et al., 1989). In keeping with previous research, these youth offenders were functioning at a below average

intelligence range (Maguin & Loeber, 1996; Weerman et al., 2007); and with noticeable behavioural problems in the class room (Fergusson et al., 2005; White et al., 1990).

1a. Is there an offender typology for Pacific Island youth offenders?

The findings in the current study showed that the average age of a Pacific Island youth offender is likely to be 17 years old when they start to offend. This suggests that by the time Pacific Island youth begin to offend, they cannot be legally defined as a 'youth'. They are also more likely to commit a violent offence as their first offence than Māori youth offenders. In keeping with previous research, violent offenders appear more likely to experience problems relating to economic deprivation and problems at school (McAra & McVie, 2010). This appears to be consistent with the low socioeconomic status of Pacific Island youths who offend (Maxwell et al., 2004); and their seemingly higher reports for violent behaviour than other ethnic groups (Fiaui & Hishinuma, 2009; Mayeda et al., 2006).

In this study, Pacific Island youth offenders committed fewer crimes prior to their *Violence* offences in 2007 than Māori and had a similar number to Pālagi youth offenders. They also appear to have a high percentage of *Violence* offences in comparison to Māori and Pālagi youth offenders. However, all three ethnic groups appear to have *Traffic* offences as their most common offence, followed by *Dishonesty* offences.

If an offender typology could be inferred for this Pacific Island youth offending population they appear to fit some of the aspects of *Late starters* (Patterson et al., 1989). They begin their offending behaviour during late adolescence, encounter behavioural problems at school and are likely to be part of gangs. On the other hand, while the criteria for *Late starters* include achieving academically and having prosocial peers, this is yet to be determined accurately for the Pacific Island youth offending population. In addition, they also appear to fit the criteria for an *Adolescence-Limited* profile where they start offending later in their teenage years and stop offending when they mature into adulthood (Moffitt, 1993). This study did not address whether Pacific Island youth offenders cease offending as they mature. However, an earlier study that included Pacific Island youth offenders identified this group as less likely to reoffend as adults compared to Pālagi and Māori offenders (Maxwell et al., 2004).

They may also be similar to *Serious and Violent* juvenile offenders whereby they commit these types of crimes, but without having an extensive criminal history (Loeber et al., 1999).

2a. What are the differences in the social and demographic characteristics between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders?

The study showed that both ethnic groups lived in the lower socioeconomic deprivation areas in New Zealand (Caspi et al., 1999; Farrington, 1989; Jarjoura et al., 2002; McAra & McVie, 2010; Zimmerman & Messner, 2010). However, there were significant differences between the two ethnic groups with Pacific Island youth offenders living in the lowest socioeconomic deprivation areas of New Zealand in comparison to Māori youth offenders. Furthermore, the significance of suicidal or self harming behaviour amongst Māori youth offenders reflects that of previous research on suicidal behaviour amongst Māori in New Zealand showing that Māori had higher rates of suicide plans and attempts than other ethnicities, including the Pacific Island population (Baxter, Kingi, Tapsell & Durie, 2006). However caution is advised when interpreting findings relating to risk due to the small sample size of this study.

Again, similar to previous findings, the male gender is a prominent feature in this sample of youth offenders with 84% of Pacific Island and 80% of Māori offenders being male (Moffitt & Caspi, 2001; Tibbetts & Piquero, 1999; Zimmerman & Messner, 2010). Family Violence is a major feature amongst both groups, consistent with previous findings (Boden et al., 2010; Juby & Farrington, 2001; Marie et al., 2009; Reid & Crisafulli, 1990; Rodriguez et al., 2009). This strongly highlights the association by which family violence appears to impact on the development of young children and the risk of offending behaviour.

Offending with others, gang association and involvement with drugs did not feature highly in this sample; however this may be attributed to the absence of recording rather than an absence of data. These findings were neither significant nor consistent with previous research regarding indigenous youth (Fergusson & Horwood, 2000; Prichard & Payne, 2005).

Given the small sample size of matched records with the Ministry of Education data, it is possible that despite most Pacific Island youth offenders living in two parent homes, there may be minimal parental supervision which can be a risk factor for youth offending (Patterson et al., 1989). If we look at Māori youth offenders in this sample, most are living within single parent families,

consistent with previous literature in this area (Haas et al., 2004; Juby & Farrington, 2001). However, given the slight discrepancy between the two groups, it is probable that the number of parents within a child's home is not significant. Rather, it may be the quality of parenting, and the quality of the home environment which is more likely to be influential in a child's upbringing (Haas et al., Sampson & Laub, 2005). In accordance with previous findings, below intellectual age functioning and behaviour concerns at school further highlight the significant impact behavioural issues and low academic achievement can have on future offending (Fergusson, 2009b; Fergusson et al., 1994; Maguin & Loeber. 1986; Weerman et al., 2007). Consistent with education statistics in New Zealand, Pacific Island students were attending schools regularly (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010). In contrast, most of the Māori youth offenders in this sample had been suspended at some point in their schooling which is consistent with previous research on youth offenders indicating that school suspensions are a risk factor for offending among youth (Hemphill et al., 2005; Hemphill et al., 2009).

2b. What are the differences in the social and demographic characteristics between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders?

A significant difference between the two ethnic groups was that Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to be male than Pālagi youth offenders. However, it may be that as the sample in this study involved a random selection of youth offender files, the sample may have simply selected more Pacific Island males than Pālagi males. Secondly, both groups lived in areas in the lower end of socioeconomic deprivation areas in New Zealand which is consistent with previous research (Caspi et al., 1989; Jarjoura et al., 2002; McAra & McVie, 2010; Zimmerman & Messner, 2010). However, Pacific Island youth offenders are more likely than Pālagi youth offenders to live in the most deprived areas of New Zealand and attend schools with students from low socioeconomic communities. The higher level of socioeconomic deprivation for Pacific Island youth offenders and their attendance in schools with lower decile ratings than their Pālagi counterparts reflects the Pacific Island community in New Zealand as a whole (Maxwell et al., 2004; Ministry of Health and Ministry of Pacific island Affairs, 2004). Again, Pacific Island youth offenders were at lower risk of self harm or suicidal ideation than Pālagi youth offenders. However, this finding is not consistent with previous research whereby Pacific people have a higher prevalence of suicidal ideation, plans and attempts than non-Māori and non-Pacific (Foliaki et al., 2006). In keeping with previous research, Pacific Island youth

offenders were found to be offending more with their peers, in comparison with Pālagi youth offenders (Esbensen et al, 2009; Huizinga et al., 2004; McAra & McVie, 2010).

While the level of family violence does not differ in a statistically significant way between the two groups, its featuring prominently in each ethnicity again highlights an association or relationship with the offending population (Boden et al., 2010; Juby & Farrington, 2001; Marie et al., 2009; Reid & Crisafulli, 1990; Rodriguez et al., 2009). Given that family violence features strongly amongst all three ethnic groups in this study, this is a robust and key issue that cannot be ignored. As previously shown, there is a large body of evidence that links family violence to an increased risk of offending. The concern is the ongoing cycle of being a victim as a child whether the violence is experienced or witnessed, leading to becoming a perpetrator as an adult, and as a result, the abuse continues so that for every offender there will be a victim. Involvement with drugs is low in the current sample, contrary to previous studies (Fergusson & Horwood, 2000; McAra & McVie, 2010; Prichard & Payne, 2005). However, this may be due to an absence of data recording rather than actual occurrence.

Below average functioning at school again features in both the two groups and is consistent with previous research in this area (Maguin & Loeber, 1996). Behavioural concerns are identified for both these ethnic groups, which is in keeping with previous literature (Fergusson, 2009b; Fergusson et al., 1994). However, a difference between the two groups was that Pacific Island youth offenders appear to be regularly attending school, whereas Pālagi youth offenders experienced a higher number of school suspension which is consistent with previous literature whereby school suspensions are a risk factor for offending among youth (Hemphill & al., 2005; Hemphill & al., 2009).

3a. What are the differences in the offending characteristics between Pacific Island and Māori youth offenders?

In relation to *Violence* offences in 2007, the only significant differences between these two ethnic groups was that Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to commit an *Intimidation/Threat* offence than Māori youth offenders. This is not surprising given that Pacific Islander had a higher number of *Violence* offences of a serious nature, such as *Serious Assault* and *Robbery* than Māori youth offenders.

Overall, offending characteristics showed that Pacific Island youth offenders were likely to be almost two years older than Māori youth offenders when they began to offend. Pacific Island youth offenders were 17 years old on average, compared to 15 for Māori youth offenders. Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to commit a *Violence* offence as a first crime than Māori youth offenders. This coincides with the most common age for violent apprehensions to be 17 years old (Smith, 2008). A comparison of their offending history showed that Pacific Island youth offenders were likely to commit fewer crimes than Māori youth offenders; however this may be related to Māori being younger when they first began offending. This finding is consistent with a previous report showing that Pacific Island youth offenders offended at less than half the rate of Māori youth offenders (Maxwell et al., 2004). The most common offences committed by each ethnic groups were *Traffic* offences followed by *Dishonesty* offences. However, Pacific Island youth offenders committed a higher percentage of *Violence* offences than Māori youth offenders in their offending history. In addition, Pacific Island youth offenders were less likely to be involved with Youth Aid, which is probably a consequence of their relatively late start in offending. They were also less likely to have a prison history than Māori youth offenders. Pacific Island youth offenders were also more likely to reoffend than Māori youth offenders. Given that the average age of Pacific Island youth offenders in this sample was 19 years old this is not consistent with previous findings whereby Pacific Island youth offenders were less likely to reoffend as adults (Maxwell et al.).

These findings indicate that *Violence offending* is more prominent amongst Pacific Island youth offenders in comparison with Māori youth offenders in terms of its frequency and seriousness, consistent with a previous study which included these two ethnic groups (Maxwell et al., 2004).

3b. What are the differences in the offending characteristics between Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders?

In relation to the *Violence* offence in 2007, significant findings were that Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to commit *Robbery* offences, and less likely to commit *Minor Assaults* and *Intimidation/Threats* offence than Pālagi youth offenders. This is an interesting finding given that a *Robbery* offence tends to be a purposeful behaviour in which someone is hurt in order to take something away from them. Pacific Island youth offenders were also more likely to offend with others and less likely to be involved with Youth Aid given their late start in offending.

Pacific Island youth offenders in this sample were almost a year older than Pālagi youth offenders, being on average 17 years old when they began to offend. This was a significant difference from Pālagi youth offenders, who were 16 years old on average when they began offending. Interestingly, a comparison of their offending histories showed no difference in the number of crimes committed between the two groups. However, as Pālagi youth offenders were younger when they started offending, this suggests that despite Pacific Island youth offenders starting to offend at a later age, their frequency of offending appeared to be higher than that of Pālagi youth offenders. This finding is similar to a previous study which found that Pacific Island youth offenders were offending at twice the rate of Pālagi youth offenders (Maxwell et al., 2004). In relation to *Violence* offences overall, Pacific Island youth offenders committed a higher percentage of *Violence* offences than Pālagi youth offenders. In addition, the most common offences committed by each ethnic group were *Traffic* offences followed by *Dishonesty* offences.

These findings indicate that Pacific Island youth appear to offend more violently than Pālagi youth offenders in relation to the serious nature of their violent behaviour.

4. Which Youth Offenders Are More Likely To Reoffend?

The findings of this sample showed that whilst there was no significant difference between reoffending rates of Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders, there was a significant difference with Pacific Island youth offenders being more likely to reoffend than Māori youth offenders. While this appears to suggest that Pacific Island youth offenders reoffend more often than Māori youth offenders, it may be that the conviction and/or arrest rates for Māori were higher or that they received more severe outcomes despite similar offending histories as non-Māori youth offenders identified in previous literature (Cunningham, 2011; Fergusson et al., 2003; Maxwell et al., 2004). In relation to the current study, offending history was collected up until their violent offence in 2007 with an acknowledgement as to whether they had reoffended within the two years after their violent offence. However, previous studies looking at youth crime have included all available information such as their entire offending history at the time of data collection (Bersani et al., 2009; McAra & McVie, 2010). As a result, the possibility of bias towards Māori youth offending outcomes should be considered when reviewing the higher reoffending rate of Pacific Island youth offenders compared to Māori youth offenders. Therefore, rather than reviewing the sample via its ethnic groups, this question was dealt

with by reviewing these three groups as two groups separated as *Repeat* offenders and *Non-repeat* offenders.

Significant findings showed that *Repeat* offenders were more likely to be male (Moffitt & Caspi, 2001); have a previous or current involvement with Family Violence (Marie et al., 2009; Haas et al., 2004; Juby & Farrington, 2001; Reid & Crisafulli, 1990); to be involved with drugs (Prichard & Payne, 2005; Wiesner & Capaldi, 2003); and gangs (Esbensen et al., 2009; Hemphill et al., 2009); and more likely to have a previous prison history (Weatherburn, 2010). In relation to *Violence* offences, they were more likely to commit *Minor Assaults* and *Intimidation/Threats*. It may be that these latter offences lead to lighter sentences and that therefore offending continues. Secondly, if their first crime was the *Violence* offence in 2007, they were less likely to reoffend than someone who had a criminal history prior to their *Violence* offence in 2007. However, this may be due to the timeframe in which the data was collected given the likelihood that they may have been imprisoned or under harsher penalties to prevent them from reoffending after the first couple of years. Unsurprisingly, offending history showed a significant difference with Repeat offenders having more of an offending history than Non-repeat offenders.

Another finding in this study was that risk of suicide or self harm, involvement with Youth Aid and offending with others showed no effect on reoffending. In addition, socioeconomic deprivation index and school decile ratings showed no effect. Interestingly, age at first offence showed no effect on reoffending overall. This was not consistent with previous literature particularly in relation to Moffitt's theory on developmental trajectories and earlier findings on offending histories in relation to age (Moffitt, 1993). However, this sample did find a significant difference with Pacific Island youth offenders, as is discussed in the next sub-section.

4a. Which Pacific Island Youth Offenders Are More Likely To Reoffend?

The significant findings of this sample showed that Pacific Island youth offenders who reoffend are more likely to be born in New Zealand, and to have a previous or current involvement with family violence (Marie et al., 2009; Haas et al., 2004; Juby & Farrington, 2001; Reid & Crisafulli, 1990). It is possible that those youth offenders born in the islands may have been sent back to the islands after their offending behaviour (New Zealand Police, 2010). In addition, Pacific Island youth

offenders who reoffended in this sample appeared more likely to be involved with gangs (Esbensen et al., 2009; Hemphill et al., 2009); as well as more likely to have a previous involvement with New Zealand Police. Interestingly the average Pacific Island youth offender in this study did not have prior or current involvement with the New Zealand Police, likely to be due to the late start in their offending behaviour. *Repeat* offenders of Pacific Island descent also appear to have been younger when they first began offending. The average age for committing their first offence was 16 years old, compared to 18 years old for *Non-repeat* offenders. Therefore, it may be possible that if confronted with a Pacific Island youth offender of young age, this study suggests that they maybe more likely to reoffend. Not surprisingly, Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders had a longer offending history than *Non-repeat* offenders.

Other findings in this study showed that gender, risk of suicide or self harm, and involvement with drugs had no effect on reoffending. However, the sample size for suicide or self harm and involvement with drugs was very small suggesting that no definitive conclusion can be made from the current findings. The nature of their *Violence* offence, imprisonment history and offending with others had no effect on reoffending for this sample. However, on average, Pacific Island youth offenders began to offend at the age of 17. Therefore, it may be that the timeframe selected for this study is not sufficient to see whether Pacific Island youth offenders have enough of an offending history or have committed enough serious crimes to warrant imprisonment based on this sample. Again, socioeconomic deprivation and school decile ratings have no effect on reoffending amongst Pacific Island youth offenders.

A recent study suggested that it is impossible to predict at an early age who will become high rate or serious offenders (Bersani et al., 2009). However, what is known is that people become less likely to offend as they get older. This suggests that as Pacific Island youth begin to offend when they are older, the extent of their re-offending behaviour may be less than that of Māori and Pālagi youth offenders as seen in a previous study (Maxwell et al., 2004).

Relationship between age and offending behaviour

In this study, age at first offence appears to have an impact on the type of offending behaviour that is committed. This study found that those who committed a violent offence as a first

offence were more likely to be older than those who committed a non-violent offence as a first offence. A significant result for each ethnic group was that if you were older at the time of your first offence, you were more likely to commit a violent offence rather than a non-violent offence. In this sample, Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to commit a violent offence than Māori youth offenders consistent with previous studies (Maxwell et al., 2004; Mayeda et al., 2006). Furthermore in New Zealand, the common age for violent apprehensions over the past decade has been 17 years old, consistent with the age in which Pacific Island youths began to offend (Smith, 2008). Therefore, the findings in this study whereby Pacific Island youths offend at an older age and are more commonly associated with committing violent offences reflects that of previous literature. Whilst all youth offenders in this study had offended violently, Pacific Island youth offenders committed more serious crimes than Pālagi youth offenders, and appeared to commit more violent offences than Māori youth offenders. However, in comparison with Māori youth offenders, they still committed fewer crimes. Furthermore, this study showed that Pacific Island youth offenders were older than Māori and Pālagi youth offenders when they began to offend. Therefore, this places them more at risk of offending violently as a first time offence.

Māori and Pālagi youth offenders showed no significant difference in the effects of age at first offence between *Repeat* and *Non-repeat* offenders. This may be due to the average age in this sample being 14 and 16 years old respectively for *Repeat* offenders, and 15 and 16 years old respectively for *Non-repeat* offenders. However, there was a significant finding that Pacific Island youth offenders were more likely to reoffend if they began their offending at a younger age. As a result, the average age for Pacific Island *Repeat* offenders was 16 years old, compared to 18 years old for Pacific Island *Non-repeat* offenders. Interestingly, the comparison with Pālagi youth offenders, showed that there was no difference in the number of crimes committed by Pālagi and Pacific Island youth offenders in their offending history. Therefore, despite Pālagi youth offenders being younger it appeared that the frequency of offending for Pacific Island youth offenders may have been higher.

Clinical Implications

In many ways, the current study has created more questions than what it has answered. However, I hope that this begins a dialogue for increasing our knowledge and awareness of the Pacific Island youth population who violently offend. These findings have indicated a difference between Pacific Island youth offenders and Māori or Pālagi youth offenders in terms of where they come from, when they start to offend, and what type of offences they commit. These findings provide us with an introduction to understanding Pacific Island youths who offend violently.

Based on the findings in this study, Pacific Island youth offenders are older than Māori and Pālagi youth offenders when they begin to offend. Therefore, they are unlikely to meet Youth Aid services, and more likely to be greeted by an adult court system. This further highlights that early intervention for Pacific Island youths is critically important.

One way which can lead to early intervention is to hold a centralised database of all youth offending in New Zealand (Maxwell et al., 2004; Ministerial Taskforce, 2002b). This database could hold the comprehensive data currently held by a number of different agencies such as Child Youth & Family, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Justice and the New Zealand Police. Centralising all the available information on our children and young persons may provide agencies with an early notification of risk factors which can then result in a preventative approach rather than a reactive approach. Furthermore, it would allow for information to be shared across agencies more transparently as potential or current youth offenders are likely to be involved with at least one of these agencies during their early childhood years. Of critical importance is the need for Pacific Island youth offenders to be identified separately within their own Pacific island.

If we consider what is generally likely to be occurring in the life of a Pacific Island youth at age 17, one would suspect that they are finishing or no longer at school. Previous findings showed that Pacific Island youths are staying longer at school (Ministry of Education, 2007). However, some may have no real aspiration to continue further in their education and therefore finishing school brings an end to a social network as described in a recent national student survey (Helu at al., 2009). As a consequence of finishing school and losing social contacts, this may lead to the loss of a protective factor. In addition to this, a low level education outcome and living in a low socioeconomic deprivation

area may be precursors for offending behaviour. Therefore it may be that given their environment and the possible lack of favourable education or employment outcomes, this may have provided a rationale for their *Robbery* offences as they were more likely to commit this offence in comparison to Pālagi youth offenders. It is important to note that this study did not investigate whether these youths were studying, employed or unemployed at the time of their offending. This finding suggests that education needs to play a more dominant and interactive role in the lives of our Pacific Island youths rather than it merely being a place for social networking. Education programmes at early childhood, primary and secondary level must involve families. However, an increased awareness of our early childhood programmes in the Pacific Island communities is needed due to the cultural stereotype of early childhood centres as a daycare facility rather than one which has the opportunity to provide quality education to our children (personal communication, Judge Ida Malosi, June, 2011). One such parent education programme is Incredible Years programme which aims to strengthen Pacific Island parents interaction with their children (Cowley-Malcolm, Fairbairn-Dunlop, Paterson, Gao & Williams, 2009). Furthermore, this study supports the finding that work is still needed within the home and school relationship of our Pacific Island children and parents to raise the achievement of our Pacific Island youth in education (Gorinski & Fraser, 2006). Secondly, work in schools relating to future study and career development may need to be more intensive with our Pacific Island youth. Thirdly, in my own personal perspective on Pacific Island youths that have left school early, transition to alternative education programmes may need further evaluation with reference to a successful outcome for Pacific Island youth. Also, from personal experience, many of our youth offenders attend alternative education programmes which places them at further risk given that our study shows Pacific Island youth offenders are more likely to offend in groups than Pālagi youth offenders. In order to reinforce and sustain positive outcomes for our Pacific Island youth, we must strengthen the educational outcomes for this population (Ministry of Health, 2008b). More work also needs to continue regarding the value that Pacific Island parents place on receiving quality education. It should be an expectation for all New Zealanders including the Pacific Island community. We, as a Pacific Island community must normalise the academic and career achievements of our Pacific Island people. Success in education should no longer be a rare commodity rather it should be an expectation in the same way that it is stereotypically expected that Pacific Island people will excel in sports and the arts.

Pacific Island youth need to raise their own expectations of themselves and Pacific Island parents need to raise their expectations of their children. This can only begin in one place – the family home. Any changes for Pacific Island youths can only be maintained if their families are included within the process (Ministry of Health, 2008b). Despite the ongoing acknowledgement of the Pacific Island community and their families, there is a need for Pacific Island family programmes to be culturally responsive and acknowledge the changing face of Pacific Island families. The heritage of the New Zealand born or the island-raised individual and even those of mixed cultural ethnicity should be accommodated in such programmes (Siataga, 2011). This is likely to include a review of the definition or understanding in which our Pacific Island youths understand their identity and culture in New Zealand. From this, we work with their current world view and positively progress into a prosocial and appropriate view of themselves and the world they live in. This work is very important as this may set the foundation of transitioning our Pacific Island youths to optimal health and wellbeing as adults.

Because Pacific Island youth offenders are more likely to bypass Youth Aid services, youth mentoring programmes may be an avenue to achieve positive outcomes for youth in the community. However, we need to better define and be more transparent as to what our expectations of youth mentoring is in the community. These mentoring programmes might be of more benefit if they were in collaboration with the local school community. It is important that these mentoring programmes include academic and family support alongside sports and vocational support. This study also shows that Pacific Island youths who are involved with Youth Aid are more likely to reoffend. These Pacific Island youths are younger than the general Pacific Island youth offending population and therefore intensive family support alongside Youth Aid services is warranted.

Other clinical findings for practitioners show that a Pacific Island youth who lives in an area of high socioeconomic deprivation, attending a low decile school, exposed to family violence in the home, attending school regularly though functioning academically at below average and with behavioural concerns in the classroom, they may be at risk of future offending. Furthermore, a Pacific island youth offender may be at risk of reoffending if they present with a history of family violence, involvement with drugs and gangs, previous involvement with Youth Aid services and an

offending history. These findings provide an indication that intervention may have further opportunity to be proactively implemented, rather than merely being reactive.

Pacific Island practitioners working with the increasing number of Pacific Island youth in areas such as those relating to crime, health and education need to be aware that the reality is, there are not enough of us working in these areas to meet the demand of our Pacific Island communities. Therefore, while we are clinically and culturally competent to service our communities we do need to work with our non-Pacific Island practitioners. By doing so, we provide an opportunity to educate our non-Pacific colleagues of working for our communities and maximising our current resources.

Family violence is prevalent amongst all three ethnic groups. A previous analysis of violent crime related to family violence in New Zealand estimated that a third of violent crimes were associated with family violence (Smith, 2008). However this may also be due to an increased likelihood of reporting and a change in Police attitudes towards family violence. Our Pacific Island youth are responsible for a significant amount of violent offences, and based on the data collected (albeit small), had the highest proportion of offenders living with both parents. One can only suggest that this violent behaviour among our Pacific Island youths may be a reflection of what is seen in the home as highlighted in a recent national student survey (Helu et al., 2009). Therefore, working with families to eliminate violence in the homes must remain an ongoing priority for researchers, practitioners and government.

Limitations

Pacific Island ethnicity

One of the major limitations of this study was the inability to break down the Pacific Island ethnicities. In accordance with the cultural nature of this study, past research and reports on the Pacific Island community continue to highlight the heterogeneity of the different islands that make up the Pacific Island community (Gorinski & Fraser, 2006; Mayeda et al, 2006; New Zealand Police, 2010). Efforts to research and acknowledge each Pacific Island separately remains a priority within the Pacific Island community because in the absence of this research issues that are relevant to one ethnic group, but not to another are likely to be missed (Le & Arifuku, 2005). Because the different island communities are not a homogenous group, it was intended to be central to the author's

research that Pacific Island ethnicity should be identified by the different Pacific Islands. Unfortunately, due to data constraints this could not be achieved.

Sample Source

Another limitation in this study was its sample source. As stated previously, the data collected is only as accurate as the way in which it was recorded. Despite this, there was comprehensive information in these sources to begin our understanding of Pacific Island youths who offend violently. Furthermore, the small number of successful matches with Ministry of Education records made it impossible for any statistical tests to be made in order to seek any information on Pacific Island youth offenders, prior to their offending behaviour. It was perhaps this limitation that diluted the overall purpose of this study – to understanding Pacific Island youths who offend by investigating where they came from. The absence of data from this source is likely to have been caused by a number of factors. There was a shorter timeline for disposal of records in the past and this may have affected our sample given its age range of 10-24 years old at the time of the *Violence* offence in 2007 making it difficult to obtain their offending history prior to this. Secondly, there was a changeover to the Ministry of Education, Special Education from its previous incarnation as Specialist Education Services. Finally, there was the introduction of the *Te Pataka* database in 1998 which the data for this study was sourced from. It is possible that the migration of data may have resulted in the destruction of some paper files. There was also a flood which destroyed a significant number of paper files.

Sample Size

Another limitation of this study was its small sample size overall. In order to determine whether our findings are significant in reality, it would have been desirable to increase our sample size and find successful matches of *all* offenders with Ministry of Education records, thus providing better information about Pacific Island youth offenders.

Variables

In relation to the types of variables measured, some of them had a number of definitions or limited information which may have affected the validity of our study. These variables were *Family Violence* which included being an offender, victim or witness; *Drug* which included being a user, seller and/or manufacture; *Offending after 2007* as there was no distinction between the number or type of

offences thereafter; *Risk* was a very small sample therefore any conclusive finding is limited; *Pacific Island* as the only ethnic variable limits its applicability given the diverse number of Pacific Island nations. The sample may also be limited due to the absence of information that could be attributed to either the variable not being present or the variable not being included. As a result, this may have contaminated our sample findings; however, one can only view the results of this study as exploratory and they may be an underestimate of Pacific Island youths who offend.

Direction or Causality of Findings

Based on the findings of the study, Pacific Island youths who offend tend to be older when they begin to offend and are more likely to commit a *Violence* offence as a first offence. However, while it may be tempting to suggest that Pacific Island youths are more likely to commit violent offences, no such conclusion is possible from findings where no control group can be established. Our finding can only suggest that if an offender starts offending at a late age, the possibility of offending violently may be likely. Furthermore, given the basis of our data sources, the findings from this study should be interpreted with caution and may be limited in their overall generalisability. However, despite these limitations, this study has shown that a number of factors are prevalent amongst Pacific Island youths in relation to their social and demographic characteristics and also their offending behaviour.

Another limitation may also be due to the nature of the study looking at pre-existing data prior to their *Violence* offence and also the age of the sample studied, only looking at those between the ages of 10 – 24 years old. If the study looked at recidivism following the *Violence* offence over a longer timeframe, this may provide a more comprehensive picture of their offending history.

Finally, due to the interesting variables of the available data, more time to completely analyse the data and explore further findings is likely to provide more information about our youth offending population. This is discussed in the next section.

Future Research

The current study

With hindsight, a number of factors come to mind as to how this study may be strengthened further in its validity and reliability. It may be beneficial to look at these offenders within a wider timeframe to ascertain the developmental pathway of their offending behaviour after their first offence. This includes increasing the follow up timeframe beyond the two years of the current study. This would involve identifying offenders who began their offending between ages 10-24 and conducting an audit of their entire offending history up until the date of data collection. Secondly, we should try to match the name and date of birth to records from other governmental departments. That would mean, for example, matching 200 youth offender files from the New Zealand Police with the equivalent 200 Ministry of Education files and 200 Ministry of Justice files. If there was an absence of corresponding data across the various agency groups, the youth offender file could be replaced by another file where information was available from all agencies. The main objective would be to ensure that *all* records were accessible for *all* the individuals involved.

It is important to understand that for academic psychology to have a relationship with New Zealand Police, the Ministry of Education, and other government departments, a collaborative response in dealing with youths who offend would be beneficial. Secondly, a qualitative study of these youth offenders may also assist in understanding the lives these youths came from, which cannot be easily be read or understood from case audit files.

This study also provided a very brief overview of reoffending information on these youth offenders. Further research to expand this is likely to be beneficial in terms of understanding the factors which are likely to lead to future recidivism. While this study has focused predominantly on *Violence* offences, one cannot ignore the prominent presence of *Traffic* offences amongst all three ethnic groups. Our understanding of the impact of *Traffic* offences including their early involvement in offending may benefit from further research.

At this stage, more research is needed before any conclusive findings relating to Pacific Island youth offenders can be made. Such research may include the investigation of reoffending behaviour given their relatively late start in offending. This is likely to lead to a greater understanding

of an offending typology for Pacific Island youth offenders. Secondly, reviewing the outcome of Pacific Island youth offenders in association with their arrest and conviction rates may highlight biases, if any, in relation to their over-representation amongst violent apprehensions in New Zealand. Bias of this kind is known to occur amongst indigenous populations and minority groups including the Pacific Island population (Fergusson et al., 2003; Maxwell et al., 2004). Given some of the findings in this study, such as Pacific Island youth offenders offending at a relatively late age possibly not until after finishing high school, an evaluation of alternative education programmes with a view to achieving quality successful outcomes should be investigated. This is due to some of our Pacific Island youths leaving mainstream education with no formal intention to attend higher education, or opting to attend alternative education. Again, family violence is significant amongst all three ethnic groups. However, it is the Pacific Island youth offender who offends more violently in relation to both seriousness and frequency. This raises the question of social modelling behaviour. Future research focussing on family violence in our Pacific Island homes is imperative and must remain an intensive intervention for our Pacific Island families and communities.

Future studies using current data

In addition, the findings of this study is likely to reflect on the large proportion of the male population in the sample. However, the study also included female youth offenders and given the limited research in this area, a separate study looking at their social and demographic characteristics alongside their offending behaviour may be warranted. This study also collected comprehensive information on Māori youth offenders. Given the significant concern over Māori youth and their over-representation in youth crime statistics, a study focussing on Māori youth offenders in comparison to Pacific Island and Pālagi youth offenders may be beneficial. Investigating where these Māori youth come from in relation to their urban and rural backgrounds and their socio-demographic characteristics alongside their offending behaviour may further increase our awareness and understanding of this population. Finally, this study did not control for risk factors common amongst Pacific Island youth offenders and Māori and/or Pālagi youth offenders. Controlling these risk factors, may highlight differences specific to the Pacific Island offending community.

Pacific Island ethnicity

One of the significant recommendations is to identify the individual island ethnicity of each Pacific youth as we risk failing to identify important issues that may be applicable to one ethnic group (Le & Arifuku, 2005). This is work in progress by the New Zealand Police which they have acknowledged (New Zealand Police, 2010). Despite this, any future research following on from this study must separate the Pacific Island ethnicities. Furthermore, given that there are a number of youths identifying with a Pacific and non-Pacific ethnicity, or even another Pacific ethnicity, efforts to record this information should be undertaken. Doing so may provide further information regarding ethnic identity and criminal offending (Marie et al., 2009).

Sample Source

Without doubt, accuracy and accessibility of data is required in order to complete more comprehensive research on Pacific Island youth offenders in the future. As previously highlighted in the literature review of this study, a centralised data system is needed to collect and share information on these youths who offend. This information needs to include early childhood information, family information, school information, offending information and current information about all aspects of their life. While this is likely to be a challenging task to compile, it is possible that this information would be detailed and comprehensive in its nature. Records from Child Youth and Family (CYF) and/or the Ministry of Justice may provide more comprehensive information about these youths particularly in regard to their early childhood, as these records are likely to highlight areas which could be intervened in prior to any at risk behaviour.

Sample Size

Given the low numbers of successful matches with Ministry of Education records, future research may benefit from replicating this study while increasing its sample size significantly. Furthermore, rather than matching the original sample with Ministry of Education records, matching could continue until the same number of youths are successfully matched. That is, for example, 1000 Pacific Island youth offenders with New Zealand Police records successfully matched with 1000 Ministry of Education records. Furthermore, by increasing the sample size is likely to give rise to more detailed statistical analyses. This in turn will provide a more in-depth understanding of violent crimes and therefore create a better opportunity to identify key intervention methods and strategies (Smith, 2008).

In addition, given the rising number of *Violence* apprehensions in our youth offending population and across the offending age group, increasing the sample size would also provide an opportunity to breakdown the *Violence* category. For example, *Serious assault* offences include *Assault on Child* and *Assault by Male on Female.* Increasing the sample size, therefore, may increase our understanding of the type of *Violence* crime that are being committed in our society.

Variables

It is likely that by increasing the sources of our sample e.g., Child Youth and Family records and Ministry of Justice records, the variables measured in the sample will be more accurate, definitive and representative of the youth offender and their environment.

Where to from here?

The New Zealand Police needs to be acknowledged for their efforts to record and standardise information on these youth offenders in NIA. The information which the author sourced from this database was rich and comprehensive to begin our analysis of Pacific Island youth offenders. Following its completion, respectfully there are a number of suggestions to make which may further increase the robustness and validity of the database. Our understanding of the offending population is only as good as the data we record. Firstly, identification of the people of Pacific Island ethnicity as Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, etc. is a work in progress (New Zealand Police, 2010). Hopefully, efforts towards this will be implemented soon. While variables do have specific categories in NIA e.g., people involved in family violence can be separated into offender, victim or witness, this data was not necessarily separated by the employee entering the data. This gives rise to an inconsistency in the way in which data is recorded and may provide some misrepresentation of the information on offending. Further consideration by appropriate personnel for the detailed level of information recorded in NIA needs to be given to ensure that the data is robust, valid and reliable.

It would be premature to make any comments regarding the Ministry of Education records; however it is possible that other sources within Ministry of Education may have had appropriate information for the author that was unknown at the time of this study. However, despite the low numbers from this source, the information used in this study provided an initial picture of our youth offenders in the early stages of their lives.

While there has been ongoing research in this area, the number of Pacific Island youths who offend, and offend violently, continues to cause concern. There is no doubt, therefore, that more research in this area is warranted. Furthermore, while this study has included a review of the risk factors which may be relevant to Pacific Island youths who offend, it is equally important to review the protective factors or what works well for Pacific Island youths (Siataga, 2011). To put within context, there are a greater number of youths who do not offend (Lambie & Becroft, 2006). Therefore, it may also be fair to say that there are a number of youths who, despite similar backgrounds to youth offenders do not go on to offend. The question must then be asked, what are the resilience factors for these youths (personal communication, Judge Ida Malosi, June, 2011)?

There has been significant funding for Pacific Island services for youths who offend, but what needs to be researched further is whether the outcomes of these services have been evaluated culturally and clinically, and more specifically, whether it is targeting the youths who are most likely to offend along with their families. This is not to say that these programmes or interventions do not work; rather, it is to suggest that these services should be evaluated formally as to whether they are effective and therefore able to inform social policy and enhance current practice. However, such an evaluation should not be restricted to the offending population. Evaluating Pacific Island programmes and their outcomes is imperative for the overall wellbeing and sustainability of the Pacific Island community (Siataga, 2011).

Summary and Conclusion

Significant findings from this research show that in comparison with Māori and Pālagi youth offenders, Pacific Island youths who offend appear to come from areas of lower socioeconomic status. This is despite all three ethnic groups coming from areas of high socioeconomic deprivation in New Zealand. They are likely to be older than Māori and Pālagi youth offenders and less likely to be involved with the New Zealand Police, Youth Aid service. In comparison with Māori, they are more likely to offend violently as a first time offence. They are also more likely to commit serious violent crimes e.g. *Robbery* in comparison with Pālagi youth offenders, and less likely to commit the same number of crimes as Māori youth offenders. They were also more likely to offend with other offenders in comparison with Pālagi youth offenders. This study was also able to determine which

factors might be likely to lead to reoffending such as being male, previous or current involvement with family violence, involvement with drugs and gangs and previous imprisonment. In addition to these factors, Pacific Island youth offenders who reoffended were likely to have been born in New Zealand, likely to be involved with Youth Aid and have an offending history.

Prevalent among all three ethnic groups was the high incidence of family violence that these youth offenders had either been exposed or involved in. Family violence research and intervention must continue. Findings relating only to frequency rates in this study showed that most Pacific Island youth offenders lived with two parents and regularly attended school. However, behavioural concerns in the classroom and below average intellectual functioning was a common factor in all three groups. To date, this piece of research is one of the very few to have addressed Pacific Island youth offenders in New Zealand using case audit files and analysing those files quantitatively. However, due to the limited nature of the data source, the current findings can only be viewed as exploratory. Despite these limitations, the findings from this study have provided an introduction to the world of Pacific Island youth offenders and an acknowledgement that there *are* similarities and differences between this youth offending population and others. Future research to extend on this work, alongside a review of current interventions for this group can only be beneficial for both the Pacific Island community and for society as a whole.

My Brown Perspective as a New Zealand born Samoan

This study raised a number of personal concerns for the author. Firstly, it paints a bleak picture of Pacific Island youth offenders who offend violently in relation to where they come from and the crimes they commit. It is also alarming to see that while they are not over-represented in crime statistics in general, they are over-represented in their serious and violent behaviour. Despite these less than positive findings, it is the personal belief of the author that the journey has begun to unravel the world of Pacific Island youth offenders and to explore how psychology research can work alongside government departments to minimise the offending and reoffending rates of violent behaviour amongst our Pacific Island youths. Firstly, Pacific Island representation must be mandatory in community boards, local agencies, council and government groups that work with the Pacific Island offending population and their families. This representation must include clinical and

academic competence within an evidence and culturally based Pacific Island framework. Family violence remains a problem, is this message getting through to our Pacific Island families? There were times when researching this topic was challenging given that the findings were not a positive reflection of the culture I love and am proud to be a part of. However, it is a reality. For work with this population to truly be effective, concerted efforts must be made to research this group and create a practice that is based on evidence from clinical and cultural knowledge.

Our Pacific Island practitioners must continue to research and work with our Pacific Island youths who offend, but also continue to work with both our Pacific Island and non-Pacific youth as this can only enhance our practice. We must be willing to work with non-Pacific clients as the reality is, our Pacific Island culture is becoming more and more diverse as time passes. Furthermore, given the cultural mixing within the Pacific Island community, both Pacific and non-Pacific, one must be mindful of the different levels of cultural identification relevant in New Zealand. It is the belief of the author that whilst there needs to be programmes tailored to the cultural and clinical needs of our Pacific Island population, we must also be willing to work alongside our non-Pacific colleagues and our non-Pacific youths. I recall snippets of a poem titled, "Being Samoan":

"Educate yourself enough so you may understand the ways of other people
BUT not too much that you may lose
your understanding of your own.
Try things Pālagi
NOT so you may become Pālagi
BUT so you may see the value
of things Samoan……."

Tate Simi
Elderly Samoan Statesman

Even though this poem talks about being Samoan, it may also be applicable to other Pacific Island ethnicities. Therefore, I respectfully suggest that as a Pacific Islander born in New Zealand, we must work cohesively and collaboratively with our non-Pacific colleagues so that we may continue to learn and respect one another's culture and diversity. Furthermore, given that the Pacific Island need far outweighs the supply or resources of our Pacific Island practitioners, working with our non-Pacific

colleagues provides us with an opportunity to present a shared response that is culturally sound and robust to our communities. We are at an age whereby there are more Pacific Islanders born in New Zealand than overseas and as a result, this is likely to vary my definition and your definition of what it is to be Pacific Island, or Samoan, or Tongan in New Zealand. We, as Pacific Islanders living in a non-Pacific country, must acknowledge our strengths *and* limitations in today's society. These limitations must be accepted for work to truly begin in fostering supportive and capable resources in order to sustain our culture and heritage. We must always be willing to critically assess and evaluate appropriately the programmes being implemented in our communities. Do they work? How do they work? Successful *high quality* outcomes for our future Pacific Island population is our long term goal. We must raise our own expectations of ourselves. The future of our Pacific Island communities and the lives of our Pacific Island youths depends on what we do today.

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH AGREEMENT

THIS AGREEMENT is made on the 6 April 2009.

BETWEEN Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Her Grant in New Zealand acting by and through the Commissioner of Police ("the Police")

AND Julia Ioane ("the Principal Researcher").

WHEREAS:

A The Principal Researcher proposes to undertake research into *Offending histories of New Zealand Pacific Island (PI) Youth Offenders* ("the Project").

B The Project requires the Principal Researcher to access Police staff and documents.

C Police agree to make available to the Principal Researcher such resources, information and assistance as is reasonably necessary, to access the data required for the Project.

THEREFORE IT IS AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

1 INTERPRETATION

1.1 "Confidential Information" includes:

(a) NZ Police's data stored within the NIA and MAPS database and any other database and all NZ Police files and documentation;

(b) the personnel, policies or business strategies of NZ Police;

(c) any other information supplied by NZ Police to the Principal Researcher or a Researcher and designated as confidential information; and

(d) past, present, and future research, development, business activities, products, services and technical knowledge which is identified by the disclosure as confidential; and

(e) the personal views and opinions of any individuals who are interviewed.

1.2 "Ethical standards" means the standards as promulgated in the guidelines of the Australasian Evaluation Society.

1.3 "Personal information" has the same meaning as in the Privacy Act 1993.

1.4 "The Police" means the New Zealand Police.

1.5 "The Principal Researcher" means (Name).

1.6 "The Project" means the research being carried out by the Principal Researcher on *Offending histories of New Zealand Pacific Island (PI) Youth Offenders,* the proposal for which is a Schedule to this Agreement.

2 PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT

2.1 The purpose of the Project is to provide the author with an understanding of Pacific Island youth offenders and their personal histories. The project will examine:

- The risk factors for PI youth offending?
- How do PI youth offenders differ from Pakeha youth offenders with regard to demographic, social characteristics, offence rates, and offending characteristics?
- What patterns or trends exist within PI youth offenders over the past decade, and between PI youth offenders and Pakeha youth offenders over the past decade?

2.2 The Principal Researcher will carry out the Project in accordance with the Project proposal which is a Schedule to this Agreement.

3 STATUS AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER

3.1 For the avoidance of doubt, the Principal Researcher is not entitled to access information or use information for the purposes of the Project that is obtained in the course of her employment.

3.2 Where the Principal Researcher requires access to Confidential Information in New Zealand, she shall:

(a) contact the Police Liaison Officer to arrange access to confidential Police information;

(b) view all Confidential Information at Police premises;

(c) use Confidential Information obtained from the Police for research purposes only;

(d) keep confidential and secure any information intended for media release until Police have been informed and approve the information for release;

(e) comply with the Privacy Act 1993;

(f) ensure that Confidential Information obtained from the Police is protected by such security safeguards as it is reasonable to take in the circumstances against loss, unauthorised access, use, modification, disclosure or misuse.

3.3 The Principal Researcher will not publish or otherwise release any information that could reasonably be expected to identify any individual whose details are included in the data accessed from NIA, subject always to the Principal Researcher's obligations under any enactment or rule of law.

3.4 (a) The Principal Researcher will provide a draft of the project report and any paper produced to the Liaison Officer and the Research and Evaluation Steering Committee for their comment prior to submission or publication.

(b) The Principal Researcher will provide a copy of the final project report, including a summary suitable for a Police audience, and any paper produced, to the Police.

3.5 The Principal Researcher shall comply with the ethical standards for Principal Researchers promulgated and published by the Australasian Evaluation Society.

3.6 On receipt of any request for official information or for personal information obtained from the Police, the Principal Researcher shall transfer the request to the Police and shall not release the information.

3.7 Disclosure of Confidential Information by the Principal Researcher may be agreed to by the Police in writing.

4 OBLIGATIONS OF THE POLICE

4.1 The Police Liaison Officer shall provide the Principal Researcher with such access to Police staff, premises and such resources, information and assistance as is reasonably necessary to carry out the Project.

5 TERM OF AGREEMENT

5.1 The term of this Agreement shall be from 6 April 2009 and shall continue until completion of the Project or 1 September 2010 (whichever first occurs).

6 COPYRIGHT

6.1 Intellectual property and copyright of any Confidential Information provided by Police to the Principal Researcher shall belong to the Police.

7 TERMINATION

7.1 The Police may terminate this Agreement immediately by notice in writing if:

(a) the Principal Researcher engages in conduct which, in the opinion of the Police, is or may be likely to injure the reputation or interests of the Police or brings or potentially brings the Police into disrepute;

(b) the Principal Researcher commits any breach of this Agreement;

(c) the Principal Researcher divulges any Confidential Information in breach of the confidentiality provisions of this Agreement or the Confidentiality Deed;

(d) the Principal Researcher fails to perform any obligation under the Agreement, including provisions of the Services, in a satisfactory manner.

7.2 If this Agreement is terminated Police are not obliged to provide any further information to the Principal Researcher or support the project.

7.3 On termination of the Agreement, the Principal Researcher shall, as soon as possible, return all materials, information or resources obtained from the Police during the course of the Project to the Police, and shall not retain any copies of any information whatsoever.

8 SECURITY

8.1 The Principal Researcher shall ensure that she complies with all security requirements and directions of the Police relating to access to Police premises and the use of any Police equipment or materials or Confidential Information.

9 AMENDMENTS

9.1 No amendment of this Agreement shall be effective unless it is in writing and is signed by both parties.

10 DISPUTE RESOLUTION

10.1 The parties agree to endeavour to settle any dispute that arises out of or relates to this Agreement, whether as the result of any breach, termination, validity or subject matter of this Agreement, by mediation conducted in accordance with the LEADR New Zealand Inc. standard mediation agreement, before commencing any arbitration or legal proceedings.

11 COMPLETE AGREEMENT

11.1 This Agreement constitutes the full and complete agreement between the parties and supersedes any and all previous written and oral agreements, representations and contracts between.

12 GENERAL

12.1 The covenants, conditions and clauses of this Agreement which are capable of having effect after the expiration of the Agreement shall remain in full force and effect following the expiration of the Agreement.

SIGNED by ..... (signature) JEANETTE SCHELLUM (name in block letters)

on behalf of **THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE** in the presence of:

..... (signature) PAULINE KISLICK (name in block letters)

PNHQ (address) Management Support (occupation)

SIGNED by ..... (signature) JULIA IOANE (name in block letters)

..... (address) STUDENT (occupation)

In the presence of: ..... (signature) MARIA PURCELL (name in block letters)

..... (address) Intern Psychology Major (occupation)

APPENDIX B

Confidentiality Undertaking

1. We acknowledge that the Ministry of Education has allowed us access to certain files for the purpose of research:

   The purpose of this quantitative study is to evaluate and analyse the demographic and criminal behaviour of Pacific Island (PI) youth offenders and compare with a sample of NZ Pakeha youth offenders. It aims to track offending histories of PI and Pakeha youth offenders using NZ Police and Education cases. It is hoped that this will provide an understanding of the journey towards criminal behaviour. Its main focus is to see whether there are risk factors unique to the PI youth offending population and thereby target interventions more effectively. Furthermore, it is envisaged that this research may discover a typical PI youth offender which may benefit communities and those working with PI youth.

2. We acknowledge that the files contain confidential and sensitive information about individuals.

3. We will use the information on the files only for purpose specified in clause 1 above, and will ensure that the information is not published in a form which identifies individuals.

4. We will not contact any individual named in any document or file. This includes clients, students, parents, Ministry staff members, or other professionals.

5. We will not take a copy of any of the documents in the files, and will not disclose the information to any other person or agency.

6. We acknowledge that access to the files has been provided to us by the Ministry of Education in trust.

Signed: .....

Name: JULIA IOANE .....

Date: 5/12/09 .....

Supervisor Signed: .....

Name: Dr Ian Lambie .....

Date: 20-11-09 .....

APPENDIX C

***VIOLENCE* CODES** [32]

Homicide	Murder; Attempted Murder; Manslaugher; Infanticide; Abortion; Aiding Suicide and Pact
Kidnapping/Abduction	Kidnapping; Abduction; Slave Dealing
Robbery	Aggravated Robbery; Non-Aggravated Robbery; Assaults with Intent to Rob; Compelling Execution of Documents; Aggravated Robbery
Grievous Asssault	Wounding with Intent; Injuring with Intent; Aggravated Wounding/Injury; Disabling/Stupefying; Dangerous Acts with Intent; Injure – If Death Ensued, Manslaughter; Miscellaneous Grievous Assaults; Use Firearm against Law Enforcement Officer; Assault with Weapon
Serious Assault	Aggravated Assaults; Assault with Intent to Injure; Assault on Child (Under 14 years); Assault by Male on Female; Assaults Police; Assaults Person Assisting Police; Assaults Person Lawful Execution Process; Common Assault; Miscellaneous Common Assault
Minor Assault	Assault on Law Enforcement Officers; Assaults Person Assisting Police; Assaults Official (Other Statutes); Common Assault; Miscellanous Common Assault
Intimidation/Threat	Threatens to Kill/Do GBH; Threatening Act (Person/Property); Threatening Behaviour/Language; Demand Intent to Steal/Extortion; Offensive Weapon Possession Etc; Fail to Provide Necessities of Life; Miscellaneous Intimidation/Threats; Threatening to Act (Person or Property)
Group Assemblies	Riot; Unlawful Assembly Etc; Crimes against Personal Privacy; Criminal Harassment; Participation & Association Offences

[32] Refer to New Zealand Police for further information and clarity

APPENDIX D

NEW ZEALAND POLICE DATA RECORD

Variable	Coding	Comments
Ethnicity	1 = Māori ; 2 = PI; 3 = Pālagi	Ethnicity was mutually exclusive therefore if an offender presented with two ethnicities they were asked to choose one ethnicity or New Zealand Police would choose the ethnicity to record. Provided by INCOFF Offender Provisional Detail Business Object universe database.
Unique Identification		This number was assigned to each individual file which was linked to names of the offender in a locked cabinet.
Name		Deleted from spreadsheets once data was obtained with the information in a locked cabinet. Deleted from spreadsheets once data was obtained. This information remained in a locked filing cabinet at the University of Auckland.
Date of birth		Deleted from spreadsheets once data was obtained. This information remained in a locked filing cabinet at the University of Auckland.
Gender	1 = Male; 2 = Female	
Place of birth	1 = New Zealand 2 = Pacific Islands 3 = Other	Each Pacific Island was initially recorded as identified in NIA. However, due to the small numbers available, this was re-coded to the Pacific Islands.
Socioeconomic deprivation index	Coding ranged from 1 – 10. The socioeconomic deprivation index describes the general socioeconomic deprivation of an area based on a number of factors such as occupation and education. The ranging is scaled from 1 (the least deprived 10 percent of small areas) to 10 (the most deprived 10 percent of small areas).	The address of the individual as stated in NIA was initially recorded. Once completed, the variable was re-coded as per the New Zealand socio-deprivation index.

Average decile rating of schools attended	Coding ranged from 1 – 10. The decile rating of a school is the degree to which its students are from low socio-economic communities. Decile 1 schools are the 10% of schools with the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities. Decile 10 schools are the 10% of schools with the lowest proportion of these students.	The schools identified in NIA was initially recorded. Once completed, the variable was re-coded as per the decile ratings of schools in New Zealand. (See www.minedu.govt.nz for further information).
Involvement with drugs	0 = No 1 = Yes	Drug involvement defined as either a consumer, manufacturer, or seller of drugs.
Involvement with gangs	0 = No 1 = Yes	Gang involvement defined as either an associate, member or affiliated with gangs.
Risk of suicide or self harm	0 = No 1 = Yes	Initially recorded as Psychiatric history, however due to the small numbers, this was changed to record level of risk present in file.
Family Violence	0 = No 1 = Yes	Family Violence involvement defined as either an offender, victim or witness of Family violence
Involvement with Youth Aid	0 = No 1 = Yes	Youth Aid is a service in Police which manages young people under 17. These young people will either need care and protection, or are either potential or current youth offenders.
Imprisonment	0 = No 1 = Yes	Imprisonment prior to the *Violence* offence in 2007 regardless of duration or crime.
Violence (as per New Zealand Police definition)	1 = Homicide 2 = Kidnapping & Abduction 3 = Robbery 4 = Grievous Assaults 5 = Serious Assaults 6 = Minor Assaults 7 = Intimidation & Threats 8 = Group Assemblies	If there was more than one *Violence* offence committed at the same time, the most severe offence was recorded.

Age at *Violence* offence		Provided by INCOFF Offender Provisional Detail Business Object universe database.
Offence 1	1 = *Violence* 2 = Sexual Offences 3 = Drugs and Antisocial 4 = Dishonesty 5 = Property Damage and Drugs 6 = Property Abuses 7 = Administrative 8 = Traffic Offences	Offence immediately prior to the *Violence* offence. If there was more than one offence committed at the same time, the most severe offence was recorded. Subsequent offences were recorded by the author in order to obtain a list of offences committed by the offender leading up to their *Violence* offence in 2007.
Age at Offence 1		The date of the offence was initially recorded. Once completed, the age at offence was calculated by the author using their date of birth.
Offence 2	1 = *Violence* 2 = Sexual Offences 3 = Drugs and Antisocial 4 = Dishonesty 5 = Property Damage and Drugs 6 = Property Abuses 7 = Administrative 8 = Traffic Offences	If there was more than one offence committed at the same time, the most severe offence was recorded.
Age at Offence 2		The date of the offence was initially recorded. Once completed, the age at offence was calculated by the author using their date of birth.

Offence 3	1 = *Violence* 2 = Sexual Offences 3 = Drugs and Antisocial 4 = Dishonesty 5 = Property Damage and Drugs 6 = Property Abuses 7 = Administrative 8 = Traffic Offences	If there was more than one offence committed at the same time, the most severe offence was recorded.
Age at Offence 3		The date of the offence was initially recorded. Once completed, the age at offence was calculated by the author using their date of birth.
		Offences continued to be recorded by the author until their first offence in NIA was identified and recorded.
Non-violence Offence		This was identified for Question 1a of the research question, in relation to Age and First Offence. This was calculated by combining all offences, with the exception of Violence and Sexual offences. However, as there was only one Sexual offence, this offence was omitted from further analysis in this part of the study.

APPENDIX E

NEW ZEALAND POLICE OFFENCE CODES

Offence type	Offence includes:
Violence	Homicide Kidnapping & Abduction Robbery Grievous Assaults Serious Assaults Minor Assaults Intimidation/Threats Group Assemblies
Sexual	Sexual Affronts Sexual Attacks Abnormal Attacks Immoral Behaviour Immoral Behaviour/Misc
Drugs & Antisocial Offences	Drugs (Not Cannabis) Drugs (Cannabis) Gaming Disorder Vagrancy Family Offences Family Offences Sale of Liquor Act
Dishonesty	Burglary Car conversion Theft Receiving Fraud Computer – Moderate

Property Damage and New Drugs	Destruction of Property Endangering Gambling Drugs
Property Abuses	Trespass Littering Animals Postal / Abuses Firearm offences
Administrative	Against Justice Bylaw Breaches Justice Special

Examples of Traffic Precedent Codes[33]	Alcohol related offences Duties and Obligations Warrant and Certificant of Fitness Manner of Driving Speeding Driver Duties and Obligations Speeding Road User Charges Speed Camera Offences

[33] Refer to New Zealand Police for further information

APPENDIX F

NEW ZEALAND POLICE DEFINITIONS[34]

Violence

1300 Robbery	Involves theft and *Violence* or threats of *Violence* to any person or property in order to steal property.
1400 Grievous Assaults 1500 Serious Assaults 1600 Minor Assaults	"An assault is the act of intentionally applying or attempting to apply force to another person. Physical contact is not necessary for a threat to constitute an assault" (www.police.govt.nz)

Sexual

2600 Sexual Attacks	Also includes attempted and actual sexual connection with male/female.
2800 Immoral Behaviour	Includes unlawful sexual intercourse with a child or young person, sexual exploitation, indecent acts.

Drugs & Antisocial

3500 Disorder	Includes obstructing police, inciting *Violence*, disorderly and/or offensive behaviour.

[34] Only a brief definition of some of the New Zealand Police codes is provided due to the complex nature of the offences. Please refer to New Zealand Police and/or New Zealand Crimes Act 1961 for further information and clarity.

3600 Vagrancy	An individual was apprehended for vagrancy if they were living on the street and unable to prove a means of support i.e. money in their pocket. However, this offence has been removed from legislation.
3900 Sale of Liquor Act	Also includes closure of licensed premises due to riot/fighting or sales by unlicensed persons.
Dishonesty	
4100 Burglary	Involves unauthorised entry of any part of the body of the person making the entrance into a building or ship.
4200 Car conversion	Taking a vehicle, ship or aircraft (or its parts) without a claim of right.
4300 Theft	Also regarded as stealing where person takes dishonestly yet they do not have a claim of right.
4400 Receiving	Includes receiving/possessing stolen goods and/or drugs.
Property Damage and New Drugs	
5110 Arson	Involves intentional or reckless damage by fire to a property or vehicle or ship or aircraft.
Property Abuses	
6820 Firearms offences	A firearm was identified, however it may not have been used in the offence.
Administrative	
7100 Against Justice	Includes offences against judicial office and/or procedure.

7600 Bylaw Breaches	Includes breaches such as noise control, window washers at intersections, dogs without leashes.
Traffic offences	
Duties and Obligations	Includes failing to provide details to Police and/or failure to report an accident.
Vehicle	Includes driving a vehicle with faults such as a damaged headlight and/or indicator.

APPENDIX G

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION DATA RECORD FORM AND CODES

Variable	Coding	Comments
Ethnicity	1 = Māori 2 = Pacific Island 3 = Pālagi	Pacific Island was categorised by Ministry of Education by their island ethnicity e.g. Samoan, Tongan. However, due to the small number of successful matches, the Pacific Island category remained.
Reason for Referral	1 = Behavioural 2 = Communication 3 = Inclusive Services	Behavioural services provides advice and specialist support for children and young people with the most severe behaviour difficulties where they may be harmful to themselves or others, damage property or affect their own wellbeing, engagement and learning. Communication services provides advice and specialist support for students with high speech/and or language needs. Inclusive services provides advice and specialist support for children at school with special education needs.
School Performance	Academic Ability 1 = Below Average 2 = Average 3 = Above Average Attendance 1 = Regular attendance 2 = Truant 3 = Suspension/Expulsion	This was derived from the qualitative information in the files. If the offender had previous occurrences of truancy, suspension or expulsion from school, this was recorded regardless of frequency. Furthermore, if two or more types of attendances were noted, the more severe attendance was recorded.
Family environment	1 = Single parent 2 = Both parents 3 = Other family members 4 = Non-family members	This was derived from the qualitative information in the files and was generally noted at the time of their referral to Special Education service.
Medical history		Due to the small number of successful matches with Ministry of Education records, this variable was removed from the sample

Average decile rating of schools attended		Due to the small number of successful matches with Ministry of Education records, this variable was removed from the sample
Family history		Due to the small number of successful matches with Ministry of Education records, this variable was removed from the sample
Relationship with peers		Due to the small number of successful matches with Ministry of Education records, this variable was removed from the sample
Psychiatric history		Due to the small number of successful matches with Ministry of Education records, this variable was removed from the sample

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