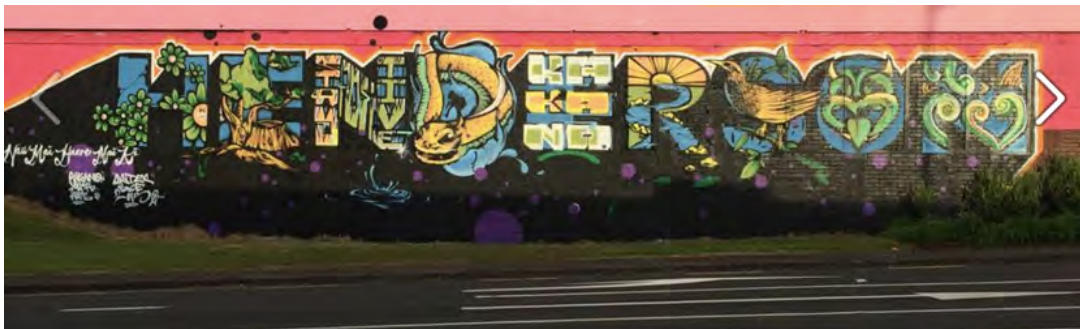Kakano: A review of the Henderson Youth Art Project to determine its effectiveness in engaging disenfranchised young people in further education.

A report prepared for the Unitec Research and Enterprise team.

2016

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Images supplied by Paul Woodruff.

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The benefits of Kakano in altering the pathways of disenfranchised young people include increased self-esteem and pride, renewed creativity and a positive belief in their future. Kakano has created opportunities for increased community cohesion and placed the participants in contact with positive role models, who can assist them in furthering their education. It's unique feature that separates it from other mural or community cultural development initiatives is that it provides a direct link into tertiary education through a supported pathway from Unitec's staff in art and design and with cultural support from staff on the Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae. This factor is considered to be one of the major components in halting a young person's progress into increased criminal activity and into entering the adult criminal justice system.

Since its introduction, there has been a 59% decrease in the amount of graffiti occurring in the Henderson Town Centre. Unitec's involvement in the project, was funded by Auckland City Council through their community empowerment team at a cost of $40,000.00. The findings of this report demonstrate that it is significantly more cost effective to fund projects, which result in disenfranchised young people ceasing their antisocial behaviour and instead choosing to re-enter the education system, than funding the cost of burden that criminal activity more often results in (which can climb as high as $91,000.00, per participant/ year).

However, the biggest burden to initiatives such as these are a lack of continued funding and a belief that the project must solve all problems associated with graffiti on it's own. Graffiti is a community problem, which requires a number of sustained approaches from community and Government if it is to be solved. Projects such as Kakano are one of these solutions.

Unitec's involvement in Kakano is the pivotal feature that determines its success and as such needs to be supported. Without opportunities for further education, Kakano can only be viewed as a short-term solution to a much larger set of social problems.

It should also be noted that the project and Unitec's involvement needs to be funded in order to assess the long-term success of the initiative. To date we only have evidence related to four young people, who are in the early stages of reengaging with the education system. What is required is long term funding that has the capacity to undertake a longitudinal study, which follows up on the participants and their educational successes.

CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose and principles

The purpose of this paper is to review the effectiveness of the Henderson Youth Art Project (Kakano) for the key stakeholders and to determine if it is an initiative that should be supported long term or is worth replicating in other environments where there may be unacceptable levels of vandalism occurring.

The paper argues that Kakano has produced many benefits for the stakeholders that have been multi faceted. For participants they have included providing pathways into education both secondary and tertiary, whilst also instilling a sense of pride and belief in a positive future for participants.

For the local community, it has assisted in the beautification of graffiti 'hot spots', has assisted in place making through the highly visible and creative art installations and assisted in the reduction of costs associated with the deterring and removal of graffiti for the local community.

For Unitec, it has further developed its commitment to be a tertiary institution that is connected to and supportive of the local community, whilst also providing educational opportunities for local residents. It has physically manifested Unitec's stated intent to play a role in the community and its passion and belief in the power of learning to unlock potential.

However, this paper also stresses that Kakano should not be seen as THE solution to the graffiti and vandalism that occurs in Henderson. Rather, it should be seen as an essential integrated part of the solution, that works side by side other Government and community initiatives that together seek to ensure that Henderson residents feel a sense of pride and safety in their local community.

The success of Kakano depends on:
- Engagement and support from Unitec's art and design community including industry and educators;
- Collaboration with other organizations (Government and community) who have an interest and responsibility for the healthy development of Henderson; and
- Obtaining a sustained platform of funding in order for it to be recognized as a part of the solution in reducing the culture that results in graffiti and vandalism.

The stakeholders in Kakano include:

- Local youth taking part in the project;
- Business owners and operators;

- Local residents;
- Corban Estate Arts Centre;
- Auckland City Council; and
- Unitec's department of art and design.

1.2 Structure

The paper has 5 chapters. Chapter 1 (this chapter) provides a background to the process of developing this paper.

Chapter 2 outlines the information seeking process and includes
- Background to the research: The Kakano initiative
- The research: It's rationale
- Methodology
- Key questions
- Strategic alignments with other Government agencies

Chapter 3 outlines the research undertaken thus far, including a comprehensive literature review of the following relevant subject matters
- The Henderson community
- Young people living in Henderson
- Graffiti
- Young people, graffiti and pathways in and out of crime
- The role of public art
- The role of tertiary institutions, social responsibilities and their role in solving community problems

Chapter 4 outlines the findings of the research and includes findings related to
- The young people taking part in Kakano
- Data collected by Auckland City Council and the Henderson Massey Board regarding graffiti in Henderson since Kakano was initiated
- Response to the artwork produced by local residents

Chapter 5 includes a discussion of the findings and provides a conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO. THE INFORMATION SEEKING PROCESS

2.1 Background to the research: The Kakano initiative

The Henderson Youth Art Project (Kakano) is a collaborative initiative that uses a coordinated program of arts based workshops, public artworks and place making activities aimed at reducing graffiti and vandalism in Henderson Town Centre. It targets local youth who have a history of vandalism and graffiti, and encourages them to engage with an arts based outreach program (Kakano Youth Arts Collective), which is located at the Corban Estate Arts Centre. UNITEC partners with Kakano by providing artistic support and the opportunity for participants to obtain a tertiary degree through Unitec's Foundation Art and Design Pathway. Auckland City Council as a pilot project through their community empowerment team, funded the project, with a specific emphasis on education aimed at decreasing incidents of graffiti in the Henderson Town Centre.

2.2 The research: It's rationale

The rationale behind this research is to identify if this model of collaboration is a cost effective means by which to reduce vandalism, instil pride in the local community and to assess if it has long-term positive outcomes for disenfranchised young people.

Vandalism and Graffiti costs Auckland city five million dollars every year in both damage and clean up costs[1], and is symptomatic of a wide set of social problems that are incredibly complex and inter-twined. Historically countering the effects of Graffiti and Vandalism has been through the use of murals and short notice cleaning, and this has gone some way to alleviate the visual effects within small specific areas. However this approach has not addressed the causes for the vandalism or altered the effects it has on a community in a long term or in a sustainable way.

There is a lot of evidence and examples linking public art projects to youth engagement, but very few where access to a tertiary Art and Design education is included in the design of the project (see chapter 3 for examples). The inclusion of a tertiary education as a potential outcome of this initiative would seem to have long term outcomes for skill development and employment, which are opportunities that may young people in Henderson do not have. If this research can establish that this collaborative model is sustainable (both financially and educationally), then it is likely to be a model that can be replicated in other communities both in New Zealand and internationally.

2.3 Methodology

Project design – methodology

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[1] http://www.innovatechange.co.nz/what-weve-done/akl-council/

This research was predominantly located within a qualitative phenomenological methodology as the researchers were interested in understanding the participants' subjective experiences of taking part in Kakano and in how the wider community has been affected by the initiative. As a research perspective, phenomenology seeks to understand and describe the lived experience of individuals in relation to a particular phenomenon.[2] It is primarily interested in how an individual thinks about their experience – in how they think and feel in the most direct ways – in an attempt to understand the conscious experience.[3] Phenomenology involves the researcher in listening to, watching and empathic understanding of another person and his or her thoughts.[4] Qualitative research strives to provide an authentic explanation usually with a small sample size highlighting a more all-encompassing portrayal of the research topic.[5]

The data was collected through the following methods:

Young people who participated in Kakano:

Young people who participated in the project were invited to attend a focus group, where they were asked to discuss their experiences of being involved in Kakano. To stimulate the discussion, the participants were invited to create a visual timeline that showed what their life had been like prior to being involved in Kakano, marking key milestones whilst taking part in Kakano, through to how they see their lives and futures now. The focus group took place at the Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae.

[2] Smith, J., Larkin, M., & Flowers, P. (2009). Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research. London: SAGE.
[3] Liamputtong, P. (2008). Qualitative research methods (3rd ed.). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
[4] Junge, M., & Linesch, D. (1993). Our own voices: New paradigms for art therapy research. The Arts in Psychotherapy 20: 61 - 67.
[5] Blaxter, L., Hughes, C., &Tight, M. (2006). How to Research. Berkshire, UK: McGraw – Hill International

The rationale behind using this intervention was because all of the participants were taking part in art making activities as part of Kakano. Their visual language has predominantly been their preferred method of communicating with the wider world, whether through graffiti or mural making. The participants were seen to be more likely visual thinkers and their drawings would elicit some interesting information and give them a way of accessing knowledge about what the project has meant for them and how they may have changed.

The focus group was recorded and art works photographed. The materials generated were then coded to identify emergent themes, with the intention of 'pattern making'[6] - looking for patterns across the focus group that relate to the participants' understanding of the issue; in this instance, what it is like to have an opportunity to turn behaviours that were once considered deviant into opportunities for further education.

Focus groups are often used within communication studies as they are considered an effective way of assessing what messages have been heard by participants and in examining public understandings of the issues being considered.[7] The group interaction that is fostered through the process means that instead of the research being conducted as a one-on-one experience, the group is encouraged to talk to one another, asking questions, exchanging anecdotes and commenting on each other's experiences and points of view.[8] Other advantages of employing such a methodology include: that they allow for a variety of communication to be undertaken tapping into a wide range of understandings; it provides insight into the operation of social processes; and can encourage open conversation about difficult subjects.[9]

Some of the criticisms that are often associated with focus group methodologies include the potential of the researcher to influence the discussion to a predetermined assumption inhibiting free thinking and the possibility for the group to become self normalizing, meaning that group members with differing opinions tend to stop participating.[10] To ensure that this did not occur the researcher attempted to maximize interactions between group members rather than lead the discussion. By taking a stance

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[6] Patton, M. (1990.) Qualitative evaluation and research methods. Newbury Park: Sage.

[7] Basch, C. (1987). Focus group interview: An underutilized research technique for improving theory and practice in health education. *Health education quarterly 14*: 411-448.

[8] Kitzinger, J. (1994). The methodology of focus groups: the importance of interaction between research participants. S*ociology of Health & Illness*, 16(1), 103–121.

[9] Kitzinger, J. (1994). The methodology of focus groups: the importance of interaction between research participants. S*ociology of Health & Illness*, 16(1), 103–121.

[10] Kitzinger, J. (1994). The methodology of focus groups: the importance of interaction between research participants. S*ociology of Health & Illness*, 16(1), 103–121.

of curiosity or an attitude of 'not knowing', allowed for more in depth information to be revealed.

For the wider community:

A series of surveys were undertaken with local residents and business owners close to the installation sites, where they were invited to comment on the impact the art works had in the local community. The surveys were conducted on the streets close to the art installations. This was to ensure that the information gathered came from those people whose environment is most affected by the art installations.

Finally, in order to triangulate the findings, the results of the events and outputs that were measured and assessed by the Henderson – Massey Local Board were considered. The board has been actively involved in monitoring the effectiveness of the project in relation to levels of reduction in graffiti and vandalism, and the cost impacts of this reduction.

2.4 Key questions

With this in mind the key questions that this research sought to answer were:
- Is the Kakano initiative a sustainable model for the reduction of vandalism?
- Can it instill pride in the local community?
- What impact did the Kakano program have on the lives of people who live in the Henderson community, including the participants; and
- Can it provide financially viable long-term positive outcomes for disenfranchised young people who have been identified as the target participants for this intervention?

2.5 Strategic alignments

2.5.1 Henderson-Massey Board/ Auckland City Council

The Henderson-Massey Board state the following outcomes and priorities in their 2015 - 2018 local plan.[11]

Council / local board priorities	Kakano alignments
A fair safe and healthy Auckland.	Kakano contributes to the perceived safety of Henderson by beautifying hot spots.
	Kakano contributes to the health of young

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[11] Auckland Council, (2014). Henderson – Massey Local Board Plan: Te Mahere A Te Poari A-Rohe.
http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/EN/AboutCouncil/representativesbodies/LocalBoards/HendersonMasseylocalboard/Documents/hendersonmasseylbp201417.pdf

	people who participate in the initiative, as it instills a sense of pride and dignity in them, which are factors considered to be essential to optimum health and well being.
A culturally rich and creative Auckland.	Kakano harnesses the creative talents of local youth, allowing them to express their culture.
A community where we know our neighbors, work together on issues and value diversity: Our community organizations get involved at street level and work to meet the needs of local communities.	Kakano works locally addressing issues of vandalism and graffiti. It works at the street level to address these issues for the benefit of the entire community.
A good life for young and old where young people smoothly transition from school to work, and have plenty of fun and things to do along the way.	Kakano provides participants with creative and fun outlets for expression, whilst also preparing them for the transition to study at UNITEC.
Reconnect with Corban Estate.	Kakano predominantly works out of the Corban Estate.
Work with UNITEC and other education providers to ensure targeted training is available.	Kakano collaborates with UNITEC to ensure that participants can see a clear pathway into tertiary education and career prospects.
The board is interested in community safety solutions that are holistic in their approach.	Kakano contributes to a holistic approach to community safety, by harnessing the creative talents of local disenfranchised young people, to beautify spaces that they may once have been involved in destroying.

2.5.2 Ministry of Social Development: Te Manatu Whakahiato Ora

Ministry of Social Development: Te Manatu Whakahiato Ora, strategic intentions 2015 - 2019[12] state:

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[12] https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/corporate/statement-of-intent/2015/strategic-intentions.html

MSD Strategic intentions	Kakano alignments
More people are in sustainable work and out of welfare dependency.	Kakano provides opportunities for participants to secure a tertiary education at UNITEC, which will greatly contribute to the possibility of finding employment.
More people are able to participate in and contribute positively to their communities and society.	Kakano provides participants to use their creativity to transform graffiti 'hot spots' into areas of artistic beauty, which in turn affect the perception of safety for the wider community.
Fewer children and people are vulnerable	Kakano works with vulnerable young people providing them with life skills, and an opportunity to realize their full potential.
More communities are strong and thriving.	Kakano contributes to a sense of pride in Henderson by beautifying neglected and dangerous areas.
Fewer children and young people commit crime.	Kakano works specifically with young offenders, many of whom are well known in the juvenile justice system. Kakano has been offered as an alternative sentencing option and provides participants with the opportunity to beautify areas that they may well have been involved in previously vandalizing.

2.5.3 Ministry for Vulnerable Children

Whilst details are still to follow, the newly formed Ministry for Vulnerable Children has identified the following[13]:

Ministry for Vulnerable Children	Kakano alignments
Too many kids who come into contact with CYF end up on a benefit, or in prison, or	By partnering with UNITEC, Kakano can provide participants with opportunities to

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[13] Jones, N. (2016) New Children's Agency Announced. NZ Herald. 18 August 2016.
http://m.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11696352.

with few qualifications.

gain a tertiary qualification, which in turn may reduce their likelihood of ending up on a benefit or in prison.

The new ministry will have a much wider brief than the existing CYF, with a $1.3 billion annual budget by 2019-20 to buy extra education, health, employment and social services for the families of all "vulnerable" children.

The new MVC has a brief to allocate funding to buy extra education for vulnerable young people.

2.5.4 Ministry of Culture and Heritage

The Ministry for Culture and Heritage's 2014-18 Strategic Intentions plan[14] includes four major areas of development as their priorities: creation, preservation, engagement, excellence. [15]

Ministry for Culture and Heritage's 2014-18 Strategic Intentions	Kakano alignments
Create: Cultural and sporting activity flourishes.	Kakano provides young people with opportunities to publically express their creativity in the community in which they live.
Preserve: Culture can be enjoyed by future generations.	Kakano produces permanent public art works in highly visible local environments. They can be enjoyed now and with planning for their preservation, by future generations.
Engage: Engagement in cultural and sporting activities is increasing.	Through collaboration with Government and community, Kakano increases engagement in the arts through the artworks and discussions that are generated as a result of viewing the artworks.
Excel: Athletes, artists and organizations achieve excellence.	Participants in Kakano have the opportunity to further develop their creativity and educational experiences as they are provided with a supported pathway into the school of art and design at UNITEC.

2.5.5 Unitec

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[14] Ministry for culture and heritage: Manatu Taonga (2014) Strategic intentions 2014 – 2018: Rautaki Whahamaunga Atu. Ministry for culture and heritage: Manatu Taonga. Wellington, NZ
[15] http://www.mch.govt.nz/files/Strategic%20Intentions%202014-18%20(final%20printers)%20(D-0542031).PDF

Unitec states the following outcomes as priorities in its strategic plan. [16]

Unitec priorities	Kakano alignments
To be a world-class, world-scale institute of technology that is an agent of economic, social and environmental change.	Kakano is an initiative that responds to the social, economic and environmental realities of Henderson. It is an agent of change for the young people who participate in the project.
Meeting the needs of communities.	Kakano meets the needs of Henderson by redefining and beautifying community spaces, and by providing educational pathways for participants, which is a priority identified by council for the successful regeneration of the area.
Inspiring people to discover and apply their intellectual and creative potential and to contribute responsibly to their societies and cultures.	Kakano works with disenfranchised young people to use their creative potential to reinvigorate spaces that they may have once been involved in vandalizing.
Acknowledge the responsibility associated with our role and place in the community and our passion and belief in the power of learning to unlock potential.	Kakano works in collaboration with the local community to create positive learning experiences for participants, which in turn provide them with the opportunity to imagine a future as a student at Unitec.
Developing an impact-focused research portfolio that is distinctive and positions Unitec research as practical applied and valued.	Kakano has been a form of practice related research, which has been informed by the research that surround the social and economic realities of Henderson. In response to these realities, it seeks to respond and contribute to the improvement of life for local residents : both physically and educationally.

2.5.6 Unitec and Matauranga Māori

Unitec has developed a statement of Partnership, Te Noho Kotahitanga, which outlines its acknowledgement of Te Tiriti O Waitangi as the founding document of Aotearoa New

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[16] http://www.UNITEC.ac.nz/about-us/our-performance/strategic-plan

Zealand. Te Noho Kotahitanga expresses Unitec's commitment to principles of authority and responsibility, legitimacy, guardianship, co-operation and respect.

Kakano was developed with the assistance of Hohepa Renata who is the taurahere Marae lecturer at UNITEC and Kaumatua on the Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae. It has also had the involvement of Johnson Witehira, who is an emerging national expert on contemporary Māori design. The process began at Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae to ensure that the process was embedded in Māori tradition, which includes supporting Iwi taitamariki. The participants have always been encouraged to use Māori images as part of the art works that have been created during the project if they so wish. This was to ensure that the participants had the opportunity to create works that reflected back to them their cultural identity. Research suggests that when people do not have their culture reflected back to them in their lived environment, they have higher levels of self-loathing, [17] which translates into higher rates of suicide and suicide related behaviours.[18] This project was designed with this thought in mind, as health is Taonga and therefore needs to be protected.

It is the belief of the researchers that by articulating how culture represents back to communities who and what knowledge matters, and how that has affected Māori demonstrates the ethics of practice we intend to engage in through our research.

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[17] Gray, B. (2012b). The community fence project: A symbolic approach to healing a cultural wound on a housing estate in South Auckland. Australian and new Zealand Journal of Art Therapy, 7(1), 52 - 64.
[18] Else, I., Andrade, N., & Nahulu, L. (2007). Suicide and suicidal-related behaviors among indigenous Pacific Islanders in the United States. Death studies, 31(5), 479 - 501.

CHAPTER 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 The Henderson community

Located 13 kilometers to the west of the Auckland city centre, and nestled between the foot of the Waitakere ranges in the west and the Waitemata harbor in the east, Henderson has a population that is growing at one of the fastest rates in New Zealand.[19] A culturally and linguistically diverse community, it is anticipated that residential growth in the North east of Auckland will increase by 40,000 by 2020, as a result of planned affordable family housing coupled with increased transport links and predicted international migration patterns. A proud and diverse community, 16% of the community identifies as Māori, as compared to 10% for the whole of Auckland, and more importantly for this study, more than 36% of the population is aged under 20. [20.]

Whilst the Henderson Massey Board in conjunction with Auckland Council are predicting a bright future for the region, with considerable growth in population and employment opportunities, Henderson itself has in recent years experienced it's fair share of difficulties. Henderson currently rates 9/10 on the New Zealand deprivation index.[21] The deprivation index reflects eight dimensions of deprivation including income, transport, living spaces, home ownership, employment, qualifications, support and telephone access. This means that community members have poor health, standards of living, education and life expectancy.[22]

It is also a community characterized by high unemployment, low incomes, welfare dependency, high rates of violence, gang warfare, drug and alcohol problems, low educational achievement, and is considered to be economically and socially disadvantaged.[23] In the Henderson town centre, safety, especially at night is a key concern, as less than 1000 people reside in the town centre, and half of these live in a local nursing home. [24] Recent studies have shown that nearly 80% of Aucklanders rate their quality of life positively and rate their overall health positively, however, those who rate their quality of life least positively were living in Henderson-Massey and Manurewa, and were of Pacific, Māori or Asian/Indian ethnicity.[25]

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[19] http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/SiteCollectionDocuments/aboutcouncil/localboards/hendersonmasseylocalboard/hendersonmasseylocalboardcensusprofile.pdf

[20] http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/SiteCollectionDocuments/aboutcouncil/localboards/hendersonmasseylocalboard/hendersonmasseylocalboardcensusprofile.pdf

[21] Atkinson J., Salmond C. and Crampton P. (2014). NZDep2013 Index of Deprivation. Dunedin: University of Otago.

[22] Bullen, C., Kearns, R., Clinton, J., Laing, P., Mahoney, F., & McDuff, I. (2008). Bringing health home: Householder and provider perspectives on the healthy housing programme in Auckland, New Zealand. Social science and medicine, 66, 1185 - 1196.

[23] Crampton, P., Salmond, C., & Kirkpatrick, R. (2000). Degrees of deprivation in New Zealand: An atlas of socioeconomic difference. Auckland, New Zealand: David Bateman.

[24] http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/SiteCollectionDocuments/aboutcouncil/localboards/hendersonmasseylocalboard/hendersonmasseylocalboardcensusprofile.pdf

[25] ACNielsen. (2013a). Quality of life survey 2012: Auckland. Retrieved from http://www.qualityoflifeproject.govt.nz/index.htm

3.2 Young people living in Henderson

With more than 36% of the population aged under 20, the issues currently facing Henderson impact significantly on young people and on their potential to be contributing successful members of their community now and in the future. Large numbers of children and young people in Auckland are growing up in relative socioeconomic deprivation. In 2013, 19 % of children aged 0 to 14 in Auckland lived in households with annual household incomes of $40,000 or less, well below the $78,600 median. Children and young people in Auckland are more likely than the rest of Aucklanders to live in areas with the highest levels of deprivation. People who live in areas with high deprivation, are vulnerable to poor future employment and health outcomes. [26]

Currently only 28.2 percent of people aged 15 years and over in Henderson have a post-school qualification, compared with 42.5 percent of people throughout Auckland Region. [27] 32.5 percent of people aged 15 years and over in Henderson have no formal qualifications, compared with 20.3 percent for Auckland Region as a whole.[28.]

The unemployment rate for young people in Henderson has risen to 25% in 2013, as compared to an overall youth unemployment rate in Auckland of 20%. There has also been a general decline in young people's labor force participation: in the last census collection, in Henderson Massey young people's involvement in the labor force decreased by more than 12%. Further less than 17% of Henderson Massey residents have a university degree or equivalent, compared to 25% of adults in greater Auckland.[29]

Whilst one in ten young people aged 15 - 24 in Auckland are not involved in any form of employment, education or training [30], in the Henderson Massey area, the figures are as high as 25%.[31] Māori and Pacific Islander young people are grossly overrepresented at 27% and 13% respectively, as they tend to leave the education system earlier without gaining university entrance or career advice.[32]

[26] 2016 A profile of children and young people in Auckland. Technical report 2016/022. Auckland City Council. http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/SiteCollectionDocuments/aboutcouncil/planspoliciespublications/technicalpublications/tr2016022profilechildrenyoungpeopleauckland.pdf

[27] http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2006CensusHomePage/QuickStats/AboutAPlace/SnapShot.aspx?tab=Education&id=3510800

[28] http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2006CensusHomePage/QuickStats/AboutAPlace/SnapShot.aspx?tab=Education&id=3510800

[29] 2016 A profile of children and young people in Auckland. Technical report 2016/022. Auckland City Council. http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/SiteCollectionDocuments/aboutcouncil/planspoliciespublications/technicalpublications/tr2016022profilechildrenyoungpeopleauckland.pdf

[30] 2016 A profile of children and young people in Auckland. Technical report 2016/022. Auckland City Council. http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/SiteCollectionDocuments/aboutcouncil/planspoliciespublications/technicalpublications/tr2016022profilechildrenyoungpeopleauckland.pdf

[31] Ethridge, J. (2015) Fixing Youth Unemployment in West Auckland. http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/68034078/fixing-youth-unemployment-in-west-auckland

[32] Ethridge, J. (2015) Fixing Youth Unemployment in West Auckland. http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/68034078/fixing-youth-unemployment-in-west-auckland

Henderson's largest high school currently has a decile rating of 3/10.[33] A school's decile rating is a measure of the socio-economic position of the school's student community relative to other schools throughout the country. Decile 1 schools are the 10 per cent of schools nationally with the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities, and decile 10 schools are the 10 per cent of schools that have students from the highest socioeconomic communities nationally. Māori students are achieving at levels that are well below those of other students in the school and well below national and decile averages at NCEA Levels 1 and 2.[34.] Education has been identified as a major route out of hardship, but currently in New Zealand there is a strong link showing children that come from lower socio economic backgrounds have poorer educational outcomes.[35]

The ministry of education states:

> *"There are clear and strong links between children and young people's achievement and engagement in the formal education system and their future prospects for employment, skills development and participation in life-long learning. Levels of formal education attained at secondary school are related to labour force status and income levels later in life. Those who leave school early with few qualifications are at a much greater risk of unemployment or vulnerability in the labor force".*[36]

3.3 Graffiti

Graffiti has been defined as "any unauthorized inscription, word, figure, painting or other defacement that is written, marked, scratched, sprayed, drawn, affixed, painted or engraved on any surface of public or private property by any graffiti implement to the extent that it was not authorized in advance by the owner or occupant of the property."[37]

Evidence of graffiti can be dated back to some of our earliest civilizations, for example the names of Roman soldiers can be seen on the Egyptian pyramids, whilst other forms of graffiti now form part of the fabric of structure on which it has been placed. The graffiti on the Berlin wall for example now takes on historical significance, being described as "the world's largest canvas" it attracts thousands of tourists from all over

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[33] Ministry of Education. (2015) www.education.govt.nz/school/running-a-school/resourcing/.../school-decile-ratings/
[34] Education Review Office: Te Tare Arotake Matauranga (2015) http://www.ero.govt.nz/review-reports/henderson-high-school-12-10-2011/
35 https://www.kidscan.org.nz/our-work/hardship-in-new-zealand
[36] Education Review Office: Te Tare Arotake Matauranga (2011) http://www.ero.govt.nz/review-reports/henderson-high-school-12-10-2011/
[37] Willet, R. T. (1996). Drafting an anti-graffiti ordinance—Some essential provisions. Paper presented at Metropolitan Washington Council of Government conference. Retrieved May 14, 2001, from National Council to Prevent Delinquency Web site: http://www.anti-graffiti.org/ legis.html

the world, who come as much to view the graffiti that has been merged with a historical event.[38]

Graffiti exists as 'a paradoxical phenomenon—as both aesthetic practice and criminal activity. Its practitioners often vigorously assert its visual merit and its cultural value. Its detractors recommend its removal from urban streetscapes and the prosecution of graffiti writers.'[39] Commonplace assumptions include the writer's supposed boredom, or the writer's desire to damage and deface, or the writer's lack of respect for others' property. Many of these assumptions also drive municipal graffiti management policies. Most graffiti, however, is considered vandalism or social crime[40] rather than artistic expression, although in many cases, artistic skill is undoubtedly involved in aerosol art, stylized pictorial images, and tags.

Illegal graffiti is linked to a number of social and economic problems, both real and perceived. It is often related to a community's perceptions about the safety and crime levels of that place, emphasizing the negative connotations of graffiti.[41] Despite the presence of graffiti not necessarily indicating that a place is unsafe, or that there is a high level of crime, the perceived negative effects from the occurrence of graffiti are still important to recognize as they may eventuate into real negative effects. This can, in turn, alter the desirability of a place, therefore changing the number of people using the space, ultimately affecting the actual safety of the area.[42]

This point was first theorized by Wilson and Kelling in 1982 who argued that:

> "if a window in a building is broken and left unrepaired the other windows will soon be broken because the community interprets the first broken window as a sign that no-one cares…disorderly behavior, if left unchecked, soon leads to further disorder and eventually to serious crime…residents change their activities to stay off the streets and avoid areas perceived as unsafe. By doing so, they relinquish their roles of mutual support with fellow citizens and weaken informal social control. Where the social fabric of a neighborhood is undermined in this way the ultimate result is increasing vulnerability to an influx of further disorderly behavior and serious crime."[43]

However, this way of thinking about crime has been heavily criticised in recent years as it is argued that it was wrong in assuming an automatic escalation in crime because of

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[38] Burkhardt, H. (2001). Berlin Wall online. Retrieved May 17, 2001, from http://www .berlinermauer.org

39 Halsey, M.& A. Young (2006). "'Our desires are ungovernable': Writing graffiti in urban space." Theoretical Criminology 10(3): 275-306

40 Cohen, S. (1973). Property destruction: Motives and meanings. In C. Ward (Ed.), Vandalism (pp. 23-53). London: Architectural Press

41 Irons, J. (2009) Spray Away: Making the case for legal graffiti as a legitimate form of public art in Sydney https://www.be.unsw.edu.au/sites/default/files/upload/.../5A2_45.pdf

42 Arcioni, E. (2003). Graffiti, Regulation, Freedom. Graffiti and Disorder: Local Government, Law Enforcement and Community Responses. Royal on the Park, Brisbane.

43 Wilson, J. & Kelling , G. (1982). Broken Windows The Atlantic Monthly.

disorder.[44] A study of contemporary graffiti in the United States found that graffiti occurs in urban environments where atmospheres of segregation and control of social space exist. Taggers or writers seek to disrupt the order of authority and to reclaim the public space from which they feel excluded.[45] Ferrell found that writers in the United States preferred to "hit" on city structures, such as bridges, rather than on some other person's property. They 'bomb' large businesses, public buildings, and other urban symbols of the system from which they feel excluded. Similar studies in Australia noted that 40.4% of graffiti works targeted education buildings, 15.6% were found on private properties, and public transportation (e.g., trains, ferries) and transportation buildings attracted 14.8% of the total number of works.[46]

When viewed through a sociological lens, taggers have created a brand of cultural criminology that casts graffiti writers as an example of 'the others' – a disenfranchised community who seek to challenge profoundly or, by way of contrast, seek to find a footing within, the 'oppressive' structures of late capitalism. In this instance, the 'other' refers to less powerful groups that form part of our society, whose position results in them needing to be feared and oppressed as a result of differing belief systems, which is often referred to as ethnocentric monoculturalism.[47] As 'Urban Others' whose lived experience remains unremarked or, as is more likely, unworthy of social valorization, this is precisely how writers feature in the political and public imaginary. They take 'great delight in their playful and pleasurable resistance to authority where those normally excluded from the discourse of power celebrate their anger at their exclusion'.[48] They challenge and rupture orthodox senses of urbanity—of order, cleanliness, purity, integrity and so forth.[49] But this takes as self-evident the notion that a world without illicit writers and their images would somehow be demonstrably preferable to the present state of affairs.[50] Rather graffiti allows people to call a place their own and humanizes otherwise sterile areas.[51] In supporting this idea, wherever the writer is assured of an audience, the graffiti takes the form of a series of communications.[52]

Rather than fearing or denouncing 'others' Presdee suggests that there is a need to interrogate them, in an attempt to understand them intellectually, culturally, historically, and politically.[53] He states: 'Their actions demonstrate transitions in the world and serve to orient each of us in space and time—indeed to remind each of their relationship to particular spaces at particular moments. Graffiti— both in the presence of its images and

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44 Ministry of youth development: Te manatu Whakahiato Taiohi (2009) Tagging and Graffiti:Attitudes and experiences of young New Zealanders. Ministry of youth development: Te manatu Whakahiato Taiohi , Wellington.
45 Ferrell, J. (1995). Urban graffiti—Crime, control and resistance. Youth & Society, 27, 73-92.
46 Callinan, R. (2002). Dealing with graffiti in New South Wales. Briefing paper presented to the New South Wales Parliament. Retrieved from http://www.parliament .nsw.gov.au/cgi-bin/isyswebext.exe
47 Talwar, S. (2010). An intersectional framework for race, class, gender and sexuality. Art Therapy. Art Therapy: Journal of the American Art Therapy Association, 27(1), 11 - 16.
48 Presdee, Mike (2000) Cultural Criminology and the Carnival of Crime. London: Routledge
49 Presdee, Mike (2000) Cultural Criminology and the Carnival of Crime. London: Routledge
50 Craw, P. J., L. S. Leland, Jr.,Bussell, m Munday, s. walsh, k. (2006). "The Mural as Graffiti Deterrence." Environment and Behavior 38(3): 422-434.
51 Lomas, H. D. (1973). Graffiti: Some observations and speculations. Psychoanalytic Review, 60, 71-89.
52 Newman, O. (1972). Defensible space: People and design in the violent city. London: Architecture Press.
53 Presdee, Mike (2000) Cultural Criminology and the Carnival of Crime. London: Routledge

the absence of its authors—forces (for whatever duration) a reflexive relationship to self/selves. Further, in attempting to know something more about the lives of graffiti writers, we also learn something about bodies and spaces more generally—perhaps even something of our own political, spatial and visual orientations.[54]

3.4 Young people, graffiti and pathways in and out of further crime

According to research, a significant proportion of children and young people offend at some stage while they are growing up, committing only minor offences, which are linked to the process of maturation and testing the boundaries.[55.]

However, it is a relatively small group (approximately 5% of under 17 year olds) who commit the majority of youth crime. Experience indicates that children and young people in this group often come from backgrounds of disadvantage and have experienced abuse and instability.[56.]

By far the most frequent crimes committed by young people throughout Auckland city are acts of vandalism, including graffiti. Costing more than $5 million a year in prevention and clean up, Henderson Town Centre was identified by Auckland City Council as one of 10 hotspots for this type of recurring behavior.[57] Overall Council identified 16,000 tags within the Henderson Massey Board area over the last year, with more than 60% of these events occurring within the Henderson Town Centre.

The pathways in or out of continuing or escalated offending are dependent on a number of factors. The risk factors include substance abuse and anti-social peers, whilst the protective factors include family stability and educational achievement, which in turn allow them to succeed in other parts of their lives.[58] Risk factors are aspects of an individual's characteristics, family and social circumstances that correlate with a greater probability of the individual becoming a serious or persistent offender. Protective factors contribute to the lessening of the risk.[59] Research also demonstrates that the number of children and young people involved in crime decreases as other interventions (either institutional or community based) become more intense.[60] Without opportunities for a

54 Deleuze, Gilles (1990) The Logic of Sense. New York: Columbia University
[55] McLaren, K. (2000) Tough is Not Enough - Getting Smart about Youth Crime: A review of what works to reduce offending by young people.
[56] Ministry of Youth Affairs; Doolan, M. (2001) Work with Young People who Offend; Hema, L. (2000) Risk and Strength Factors for Children and
Young People who Offend or Re-offend: A Summary of the Literature. Department of Child, Youth and Family Services.
57 Innovate change. (2014). Graffiti vandalism prevention programme design. Auckland City Council.
58 Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Social Development (2002) The Youth Offending Strategy. Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Social Development. April 2002 ISBN: 0-478-20174-5
59 McLaren, K. (2000) Tough is Not Enough - Getting Smart about Youth Crime: A review of what works to reduce offending by young people. Ministry of Youth Affairs
60 Hema, L. (2000) Risk and Strength Factors for Children and Young People who Offend or Re-offend: A Summary of the Literature. Department of Child, Youth and Family Services).

stable home life and educational opportunities, the more likely a young person is to take part in escalating criminal behavior.[61]

New Zealand has the 8th highest prison population out of the 34 countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Around 40% of people in prison were under 30 years of age and 51.4% of all prisoners identify as Māori. In March 2009 analysis of the previous 60 months, showed that 70% of prisoners reoffend within two years of being released from prison and 52% return to prison within five years (some of them more than once). For teenage prisoners, the recidivism rate (return to prison) is 71%. [62]

Whilst the cost to both the youth justice and social services sectors for a low-risk offender (either through a warning or referral to Police Youth Aid) has been estimated to cost up to $1,100 per young person, the most expensive court order (two to three months custody in a Child, Youth and Family residence) has been estimated to cost over $27,000.23[63] The costs of failing to halt a young person's progress into the adult criminal justice system are even more considerable. It costs at least $91,000.00 per year on average to keep one person incarcerated in an adult New Zealand prison.[64]

The indirect costs of losing a young person's positive participation in society and the impact on future generations are much more difficult to quantify but no less significant.

61 Doolan, M. (2001) Working with Young People who Offend.
62 Nadesu, A. (2009) Reconviction patterns of released prisoners: A 60-months follow-up analysis. Department of Corrections, Wellington, NZ.
63 Ministry of Justice (1999) Review of Resourcing of the Youth Justice System: Mapping the Current Distribution of Financial Resources Allocated to the Delivery of Youth Justice Services across the Government Sector: A Report to Justice Sector Chief Executives
64 http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/prisons/page-1

3.5 The role of public art

Sharp et al [65] define public art as

> *"Art which has as its goal a desire to engage with its audiences and to create spaces- whether material, virtual or imagined within which people can identify themselves, perhaps by creating a renewed reflection on community, on the uses of public spaces or on our behavior within them." (p. 1003)*

Jacobs (1961: 375) suggests that neighborhoods should employ a "strategy ennobling both to art and to life: a strategy of illuminating and clarifying life."[66] Public art has the potential to help urban residents better understand their community overall by developing a sense of collective urban experience through publicly placed murals or sculptures; it can put more 'eyes on the street' as residents feel more comfortable walking their block, and it can offer insight on healthy roles for residents within the community. Furthermore, a heighted sense of neighborhood community has the potential to lead to fewer 'broken windows' or indicators of decay and vandalism, as residents take greater care of their area and become more willing to report vandalism. [67]

In recent years, other scholars and researchers have begun to consider what public art can do for urban neighborhoods both in terms of community development and economic growth. The potential benefits of art initiatives include "increasing tourism, stabilizing property values, and promoting jobs. It contributes to increasing the use of public spaces; improving the aesthetics of a locality; encouraging a sense of ownership and community pride; and in creating landmarks and distinctive features in the urban landscape.[68] Other, less tangible benefits are improving intercultural relationship and building a more cohesive, participatory civic life."[69] In his study, Lee (2013) [70]demonstrates that participation in art initiatives can lead directly to community groups developing tighter bonds among members, while also reaching out and incorporating new members. Alinsky (1971)[71] suggested similar insights, demonstrating how protests against development and community meetings can galvanize a neighborhood for positive social change. Grodach (2010)[72] suggested that the ability of art initiatives to realize both a positive civic and economic impact is directly related to the particular public

65 Sharp, J., V. Pollock, et al. (2005). "Just Art for a Just City: Public Art and Social Inclusion in Urban Regeneration." Urban Studies 42(5/6): 1001-1023

66 Jacobs J. 1961. The Death and Life of Great American Cities. New York, Vintage Press.

67 Sampson RJ. 2012. Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

68 Mossop, E. and P. Walton, Eds. (2001). City spaces: art & design. Sydney, Craftsman House.

69 Mattern M. 2001. Art and community development in Santa Ana, California: The promise and the reality. Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society30(4): 301-315.

70 Lee D. 2013. How the arts generate social capital to foster intergroup social cohesion. The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society 43: 4-17.DOI : 10.1080/10632921.2012.761167

71 Alinsky S. 1971. Rules for Radicals. New York, Random House.

72 Grodach 2010. Art spaces, public space, and the link to community development. Community Development Journal 45(4): 474-493.DOI : 10.1093/cdj/bsp018

spaces in which they are located, and that a greater attention to the environment of an area can enhance that impact. An example of this closer attention to public space can be seen in New York's 'tactical urbanism' where motivated residents take on beautification projects themselves[73] or Toronto's Articipation arts collective use of public art to improve the most inhospitable locations within the city, such as underneath the Gardiner Expressway.[74] In the inner city suburb of Fitzroy in Melbourne, public art initiatives turned a high profile location on a housing estate from an area, where local female residents were most likely to be attacked into a must see location for international tourists to have their photo taken as evidence of their holiday in Melbourne.[75]

Art initiatives on the Northwest side of Chicago demonstrate a number of clear successes from the planning and execution of over 15 murals within a three-year time span. Coherent leadership from the Local Council was the hallmark of the project and reviews of the initiative has demonstrated its ability to draw in community members, reduce the worst effects of vandalism, heighten a sense of safety on the street, and beautify the community.[76]

In stressing the importance of public spaces: Zukin states:

> "*Public spaces are the primary site of public culture; they are a window into the city's soul ... public spaces are important because they are places where strangers mingle freely. But they are also important because they continually negotiate the boundaries of human society ... public spaces enable us to conceptualise and represent the city.*[77]"

Public art initiatives are often used to discourage illegal graffiti, and instead are used to encourage youth engagement in their local community.[78] They can also contribute positively to the lives of young people through the generation of a flourishing art culture, an empowered youth, and the development of a positive relationship with young people. [79]

Self-esteem and confidence are the most commonly cited benefits by participants in community based arts activity, with particular significance in the alleviation of mental health issues[80]. Central to self-esteem is dignity, and Richard Horton, editor of The

[73] Lydon M. 2012. Tactical Urbanism 2: Short-term Action, Long-term Change. New York, Street Plans.
[74] Stonyk Z. 2006. Monolith makeover: The art of subversive urban enhancement. Canadian Theater Review 126: 68-70.
Gray, B. (2012) The Babushka Project: Mediating between the margins and wider community through public art creation. Art Therapy: Journal of the American art therapy association. Vol 29 (3).
[75] Gray, B. (2012) The Babushka Project: Mediating between the margins and wider community through public art creation. Art Therapy: Journal of the American art therapy association. Vol 29 (3).
[76] Deaton, C. (2015) Public Art Beyond Downtown: Assessing Art Initiatives on the Northwest Side of Chicago. Journal of urban research vol 7
[77] Zukin S, 1995 The Cultures of Cities (Blackwell, Oxford)(pages 259 - 260)
[78] Irons, J. Spray Away: Making the case for legal graffiti as a legitimate form of public art in Sydney
2009 https://www.be.unsw.edu.au/sites/default/files/upload/.../5A2_45.pdf
[79] Mossop, E. and P. Walton, Eds. (2001). City spaces: art & design. Sydney, Craftsman House.
[80] Matarasso, F. (1997). Use or ornament. Stroud, UK: Comedia.

Lancet, has noted the potential importance of this as a health and human rights issue.[81] Horton argues that dignity is a global issue in healthcare and medical ethics and that health economics must be sensitive to it. Using creativity to enhance social relationships, is also reflected in growing evidence that good relationships and social status are major determinants of health. [82] He states:

> "*Injuries to individual and collective dignity may represent a hitherto unrecognized pathogenic force with a destructive capacity towards physical, mental and social well-being at least equal to that of viruses and bacteria.*"

In keeping with the argument that illegal graffiti artists often are seen as 'Others' the use of public art making, as a form of community empowerment is significant, as it allows them to legally use the art making as a vehicle for influencing the culture that currently excludes them. [83] We can extrapolate from other disciplines that focus solely on visual communication the significance of being excluded from the cultural production and the visual representation in one's own community and just how pervasive its effect can be on our psyche. Crain, as cited in Jiahly, who was the former senior editor of Americas leading publication on advertising notes that only 8% of the messages contained in adverts are received by the conscious mind, with the other 92% being worked and reworked over time deep within our subconscious. [84] Based on who is represented and what they are doing in that environment sends strong messages to us about who belongs.

In taking this idea further, Kilbourne in her ground breaking documentary directed by Jhally about how women are portrayed in the media notes how visual communications sell messages of normalcy - of who we are and who we should be. She states:

> *And just as it is hard to be healthy in a toxic physical environment, where the water may be polluted, it is difficult to be healthy in a toxic cultural environment – an environment that surrounds us with unhealthy images, where our health is sacrificed at the expense of profit* (Jhally, 2010).

Bourdieu, in discussing cultural value and its link to status within the community defines this concept as symbolic capital.[85] He believed that symbolic capital can be embedded in the built environment and that artifacts or signs of cultural production can become the authoritative embodiment of cultural value. So if the voices of young people are ignored

81 Horton, R. (2003). Taking dignity seriously. Second opinion.

82 White, M. (2006). Establishing common ground in community based arts in health. The journal of the royal society for the promotion of health, 126(3), 128 - 133.

83 Lenz, R. (2008). What we talk about when we talk about art therapy. Art Therapy: Journal of the American Art Therapy Association, 25(1), 13 - 14.

84 Jhally, S. (Writer/Producer/Director). (2010). Killing Us Softly 4: Advertising's image of women with Jean Kilbourne. Macetteucetts, USA

85 Bourdieu, P. (1984). Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

through our representations of cultural value, then we can safely assume that in your community you are worth very little.[86] As Wheeler, (Wheeler, 1992) states:

> *If young people live in a community that has been discarded as of no value, then … that message will cry out to them from every corner that they themselves are of no value. The message is internalized not only through the condition of the streets and sidewalks and the housing and the lack of parks and the lack of upkeep of vacant lots, but also through the lack of opportunities for people to create something that is aesthetic and beautiful, and that invites their creativity as well as help sustain them materially.[87]*

By allowing young people to create art in public spaces has the capacity to include the participants as active creators of their cultural representation, rather than as passive spectators.[88] The art making acts as the catalyst to challenge hegemonic processes, which involve communities in the production of consensus.[89]

As Cahn writes:

> *There is an essential continuity between the outer physical environment, which may or may be defined through material objects (such as art), spaces, buildings and other aspects of physical context and the inner psychological environment of each human being.[90]*

However in her essay Public Space: Civilizing the City, Mossop warns that public art projects should not be looked to as miracle cures for urban problems, with their power to significantly combat many problems being limited. This is important to note in the context of legal graffiti public art projects, as sometimes these projects are initiated as an attempt to solve the problem of an unengaged youth population[91]. Rather,the significance of developing socially acceptable landscape aesthetics through the involvement of all levels of community and government becomes imperative.[92.] Flourishing communities are able to demonstrate inclusion and a tolerance for differing cultural expression simultaneously.

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86 Gray, B. (2012). Data from the heart: an autoethnographic study of working with marginalized communities as an art therapist. University of Western Australia.

87 Wheeler, S. (1992). Social justice and cities: An interview with Victor Lewis. . The Urban Ecologist 1 - 13

88 Moon, B. (2003). Art as witness to our times. Art Therapy: Journal of the American Art Therapy Association 20(3), 173 - 176

89 Cobb, S., & Rifkin, J. (1991). Practice and paradox: Deconstructing neutrality in mediation. Law and Social Enquiry, 16(1), 35 - 62.

90 Cahn, E. (2000). Proposal for a studio based art therapy education. Art Therapy: Journal of the American Art Therapy Association, 17(3), 177- 182.

91 Mossop, E. and P. Walton, Eds. (2001). City spaces: art & design. Sydney, Craftsman House.

92 Frost, A.(2003) Graffiti and Public Art. Graffiti and Disorder Conference Brisbane, Australia. 2003.

3.6 Tertiary institutions, social responsibilities and community issues.

Traditional models of the function of a higher education provider placed their value in maintaining certain cultural hierarchies, which validate, inculcate and limit the expansion of 'high culture artistic canons.'[93] The university assisted in 'nation state identity building' by consecrating cultural orders and practices largely associated with a national cultural elite with few activities, which reflect local and regional cultural activity.[94] They produced 'trained specialists in high culture, established and renewed canons in several art forms, and inculcated in students an awareness and respect for the products of high-culture worlds.'[95]

Traditionally higher education providers have been regarded as detached from the community. They were seen as being 'in', rather than 'of', a locality, enjoying high levels of institutional autonomy by nationally regulated, assessed, and funded systems of higher education.[96] The research undertaken at Universities was largely linked to international and national academic and research communities, rather than to local grass roots research. In this sense, Bender (P. 294) observed: "The university has always claimed the world, not its host city, as its domain. Whatever its local roots, the university historically has striven for learning that at least reaches toward universal significance."[97]

93 DiMaggio P, 1991,``Social structure, institutions, and cultural goods: the case of the United States'', in Social Theory for a Changing Society. Eds P Bourdieu, J S Coleman (Westview Press, Oxford) pp 133 ^ 167
94 Readings B, 1996 The University in Ruins (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA
95 DiMaggio P, 1991,``Social structure, institutions, and cultural goods: the case of the United States'', in Social Theory for a Changing Society. Eds P Bourdieu, J S Coleman (Westview Press, Oxford) pp 133 ^ 167
96 Bender T, 1998,"Universities and the city: scholarship, local life and the necessity of worldliness", in The Urban University and its Identity Ed. H van der Wusten (Kluwer, Dordrecht) pp 17 - 29
97 Bender T, 1998,"Universities and the city: scholarship, local life and the necessity of worldliness", in The Urban University and its Identity Ed. H van der Wusten (Kluwer, Dordrecht) pp 17 - 29

However, over the last thirty years, there has been an increased interest in identifying the significance of the creative industries to local economies and societies,[98] worldwide.[99] The result of this mapping is an increased support to the creative industries from Local Government Authorities, regional agencies, research councils and arts and cultural agencies.[100] This has had a flow on effect as to the role that higher education providers can play locally, redefining their place and purpose within a local context.

With a growing interest over the last 30 years in the role that higher education providers can play in the economic development of society, their role has shifted. Their primary function internally became the development of graduates who were capable of entering the creative economy by delivering new innovative practices.[101] Their role in the wider community became the continued development of supported preservation of culture through the establishment of art collections, museums and galleries[102] and more recently expanded to the hosting of performing art spaces on campus.[103]

In the 21st century, the goal posts as to what role a higher education provider has to play in cultural production have shifted again. According to Besley and Peters, 'the current university model – a broad-based teaching and research institution, with a large base of assets and back office – will prove unviable in all but a few cases.' (p. 4). Their view is that the higher education sector is undergoing a fundamental transformation in terms of its role in society, mode of operation, and economic structure and value.[104]

While businesses have been discussing corporate social responsibility since the 1960s, higher education providers have been slower to recognize the important role they can play in their communities, reinforcing the popular stereotype of universities as 'ivory towers'. But this is changing. Many higher education providers around the world have started to examine the social responsibilities they have to their communities.[105]

It is claimed that civic and community engagement constitutes a "new paradigm" in the development of the institutional mission of universities, who are becoming increasingly

98 Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS 1998) Creative Industries Mapping Document. London UK
99 (UNESCO 2013).
100 Abigail Gilmore & Roberta Comunian (2016) Beyond the campus: higher education, cultural policy and the creative economy, International Journal of Cultural Policy,22:1, 1-9, DOI: 10.1080/10286632.2015.1101089
101 Chatterton, P., 1999. The cultural role of universities in the community: reivisiting the university – community debate. Environment & Planning A, 32, 165–181.
102 Comunian, R. and Faggian, A., 2014. Creative graduates and creative cities: exploring the geography of creative education in the UK. International Journal of Cultural and Creative Industries, 1 (2), 19–34.
103 Chatterton, P. and Goddard, J., 2000. The response of higher education institutions to regional needs. European Journal of Education, 35 (4), 475–496.
104 Besley, T. & Peters, M. (2013)The Creative University: Creative Social Development and Academic Entrepreneurship. In Re-imagining the Creative University for the 21st Century. (Eds Besley, T. & Peters, M.) Rotterdam: Sense Publications.
105 Smith, p. (2014) How can universities contribute to social change? British Council, London UK. https://www.britishcouncil.org/voices-magazine/how-can-universities-contribute-social-change

concerned primarily with compelling and immediate social issues: alleviating widespread poverty, improving public health, achieving universal primary and secondary education, and enabling locally controlled economic development. Laing (2016) suggests that tertiary institutions who engage with communities have two purposes: firstly to mobilize and combine university knowledge with community experience to address social disadvantage and exclusion, and to promote the idea of a fair society; and secondly to complement and collaborate with the university's service to business activities by focusing on all those areas of our daily lives that are of profound material and civic importance but which are typically seen as "non-economically productive activity", such as caring, sustainable development, self-management of health and well-being, voluntary activity and the development of citizenship.[106]

Higher education providers are either being pushed towards greater local engagement by the changing nature of staff and student populations and the changing administrative and funding regimes of universities or being pulled towards it by the localization and/or regionalization of territorial governance and the organization and funding of cultural activity.[107] Higher education providers are acknowledging that they need to build significantly deeper relationships with communities and industries – to differentiate teaching and learning programs, support the funding and application of research, and reinforce the role of universities as drivers of innovation and growth. This conception anchored in phenomenology involves engagement and is the very antithesis of detached observation, analysis or reflection that has epitomized university led research in the past.[108]

There is also a growing resistance to pedagogies that reflect liberal democratic economics as the driving *raison d'être* for state education.' [109] Rather, higher education providers are recognizing they have a role to play in the cultural development of the community and the wider region for social reasons.[110] They understand that their starting point must be the students and community in which they are located: they owe a service to these people through their connectedness and as a result of their growing interest in social responsibility. They want their work to be seen as relevant and ethically responsible. [111]

In acknowledging that higher education providers have been under greater pressure to embrace concepts of social justice by improving access to education and widening participation, considerable efforts are being made to increase the numbers and

[106] Laing, S. (2016) Community engagement is what universities should be for. Times Higher Education.
https://www.timeshighereducation.com/blog/community-engagement-what-universities-should-be
[107] Wusten H van der (Ed.), 1998 The Urban University and its Identity (Kluwer, Dordrecht)
[108] Ernst & Young, (2012). University of the future: A thousand year old industry on the cusp of profound change. Ernst & Young. Australia. Bokor. J.
[109] Atkinkson, D. (2012). Contemporary art and art in education: The new, emancipation and truth. International Journal of Art & Design Education, 31(1), 5-18. doi:10.1111/j.1476-8070.2012.01724.x
[110] Robson B, Topham N, Twomey J, Deas I, 1995, ``The economic and social impact of Greater Manchester's Universities'', Centre for Urban Policy Studies, University of Manchester
[111] http://www.uws.edu.au/about_uws/leadership/mission_goals_strategic_plan

proportions of students from various under-represented groups, including those with low incomes, people living in neighborhoods with low participation in higher education, people with disabilities, people who have been in care and indigenous communities, and in supporting young people from poorer backgrounds to apply to university. [112] The aim of these policies is predominantly to tackle social exclusion and to ensure that students from all backgrounds can have 'fair access' to university; this is seen as particularly important in relation to improving social mobility and helping to create a fairer society. There are also sound economic reasons for this shift in policy that can be couched in terms of securing economic benefits, by fully utilizing the society's resources and avoiding the costs arising from social exclusion and inequality.[113]

Whilst there have been many initiative developed to increase relationships that encourage young people to engage with local universities (for example see the full report from Fred Robinson, F., Zass-Ogilvie, I & Hudson, R. (2012) How can universities support disadvantaged communities? Joseph Rowntree Foundation. London, UK), creating pathways into art and design studies have been limited. Opportunities to work with professional artists on place making activities, especially with young people who have a history of tagging are common, but rarely translate into further secondary or tertiary studies for participants. Stanton [114]notes:

> *"Prolific taggers did not see a connection between the tagging designs they worked on and using the same skills and approaches in a commercial setting. They viewed art as something abstract and forced onto them at school and seemed unaware of its large-scale commercial applications (for example in graphic design and shoe design). They therefore did not see an appealing non-illegal channel for their artistic capabilities. There were hints that taggers did not associate the design ability they apply to graffiti vandalism with work prospects because of a lack of confidence, aspiration and/or experience, such as the view that "nothing good ever happens to me, so I won't imagine anything better." p. 4.*

As previously noted, experience indicates that children and young people who engage in prolific tagging often come from backgrounds of disadvantage and have experienced abuse and instability.[115.] However, opportunities to experience family stability and educational achievement, allow them to succeed in other parts of their lives[116] leading to

[112] Fred Robinson, F., Zass-Ogilvie, I & Hudson, R. (2012) How can universities support disadvantaged communities? Joseph Rowntree Foundation. London, UK

[113] Fred Robinson, F., Zass-Ogilvie, I & Hudson, R. (2012) How can universities support disadvantaged communities? Joseph Rowntree Foundation. London, UK

[114] Stanton, Z. (2009) Showcase: Reducing Graffiti Vandalism. Brent city Council: Uscreates. www.thensmc.com114

[115] Ministry of Youth Affairs; Doolan, M. (2001) Work with Young People who Offend; Hema, L. (2000) Risk and Strength Factors for Children and
Young People who Offend or Re-offend: A Summary of the Literature. Department of Child, Youth and Family Services.

[116] Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Social Development (2002) The Youth Offending Strategy. Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Social Development. April 2002 ISBN: 0-478-20174-5

a decrease in criminal behavior. [117] Auckland City Council identified that efforts to engage young people in education or meaningful activities were likely to have a positive effect, especially if they offered creative skill development.[118]

For the art and design practitioners, communities are viewed as 'the seedbeds for new talent; practitioners develop briefs, which addresses questions of site, context, and audience for students and in a growing capacity, By engaging with some of the city's economically poorer communities they help to ameliorate the perceived elitist and irrelevant role of the University for these communities. Further by inviting to current students to focus their skills on working with these pockets of the community, they create a generation of students who understand the concept of social responsibility and believe that their actions and behaviors can make a difference in the world in which they live.[119] This may seem antithetical to the purposes of design education, which spends most of its time teaching students how to create logos, branding and advertising concepts for multinational companies, yet almost all university design courses identify both a worldview and a practice grounded in ethics as desired graduate attributes.[120]

Having significant gaps in education and potentially having come from unstable home environments, finding pathways into higher education can be a rollercoaster for disenfranchised youth, as the chances of failure can be significant. Recent research undertaken in New Zealand shows that many young people engaged in education live in poverty, which meant that they were 2 – 3 times more likely to experience depressive symptoms and smoke cigarettes than those not experiencing poverty.[121] Kidscan have identified an increase in the number of students accessing their services, not only for food banks, but also for the need of hygiene care packages including deodorants, toothpaste, brushes, soap and personal hygiene products, which their families consider to be luxury items rather than essential household items. Studies indicate that tertiary students are more likely to miss classes than attend whilst menstruating, as it is easier to keep themselves clean at home rather than having to use expensive hygiene products.[122] There is a need to recognize that these students are vulnerable whilst attempting to undertake higher education, as they are part of larger systems that 'wound and rewound, especially where social disparities exist.'[123]

[117] Doolan, M. (2001) Working with Young People who Offend.
[118] Auckland City Council. (2014). Graffiti Vandalism Prevention Program Design, March 2014.
119 Wusten H van der (Ed.), 1998 The Urban University and its Identity (Kluwer, Dordrecht)
120 Gray, B. & Young, A. (2012) Empowering Art. Cumuluus Conference Proceedings. Cumuluus, Gothernberg, Sweden.

121 Denny, S., Lewycka,S.,Utter, J., Fleming, T., Peiris-John, R., Sheridan, J., Rossen, F. Wynd, D.,Teevale, T., Bullen, P. & Clark, T. (2016). The association between socioeconomic deprivation and secondary school students' health: findings from a latent class analysis of a national adolescent health survey. International Journal for Equity in HealthThe official journal of the International Society for Equity in Health2016**15**:109
DOI: 10.1186/s12939-016-0398-5
122 Collishaw, S. (2016) Half of all new Zealand Pacific teenagers living in poverty study claims. Stuff.co..nz.
http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/health/82211556/Half-of-all-New-Zealand-Pacific-teenagers-living-in-poverty-study claims
123 Junge, M. (1993). The art therapist as social activist: Reflections and visions. Art Therapy: Journal of the American Art

Therapy Association, 10(3), 148 - 155.

The task is to build 'authentic community – higher education partnerships, which nurture vulnerable students through this transitional stage of their educational experiences.[124] The Foundation Art and Design Pathway is an initiative of Unitec that prepares students for a successful transition into higher education. It equips them with generic skills in thinking, analyzing, writing and art making. In conjunction with the Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae, who provide cultural support and safety, The Foundation Art and Design Pathway is an essential element in generating confidence in participants to assure they achieve success for these students. Tuapapa Rangahau: the Research and Enterprise department at Unitec, also have an important role to play in these successes. Internationally it has been noted that there is a need to acknowledge the importance of developing bridging roles between higher educational providers and the wider community to ensure that 'community partners, and not solely university academics, are leading and making significant, identifiable contributions to partnership projects.'[125]

Located within a human rights discourse, the function of art, in this iteration, is seen as to educate and inform, inspire and mobilize, nurture and heal, build and improve, in an attempt to contribute to the elimination of the cultural monopoly of the dominant classes. [126]

In conclusion:

> 'The arts touch people on a personal and emotional level and have the power to rebuild the fabric of our community where it has been torn apart by years of poverty and struggle. The arts can construct bridges across barriers of class, race, gender and age. The arts can interpret and celebrate the past, present and future of a community to replace despair and apathy with hope and creation'.[127]

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[124] Hart, A., Northmore, S., Gerhardt, C. & Rodriguez, P. (2009) Developing Access between Universities and Local Community Groups: A University Helpdesk in Action. Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement, Volume 13, Number 3, p. 45 – 59.
[125] Overton, B. J., and J. C. Burkhardt. 1999. Drucker could be right, but . . . : New leadership models for institutional-community partnerships. Applied Developmental Science 3 (4): 217–27.
[126] Chile, L. (2007, 30 - 32 August 2007). Community arts as an instrument for community development. Paper presented at the meeting of the The Arts Conference, Rotorua, New Zealand.
[127] Lipka, A., and S. McDaniel. 2001. *Community Murals Handbook and Case Study*. Ohio: Trimble.
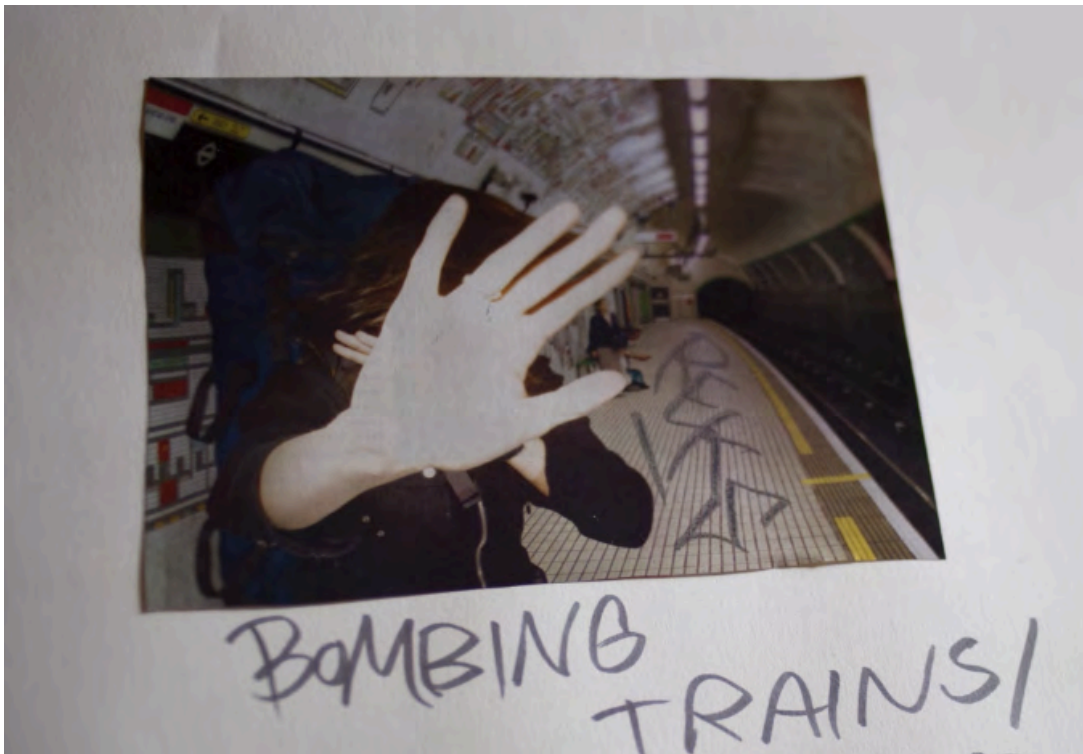
CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS

4.1 The young people taking part in Kakano

Originally, Kakano involved seven young people in this initiative, however only four took part in the research. Two of the young people who did not participate had moved out of Auckland to be closer to family and to escape homelessness, whilst the third is in incarceration for drug related offences.
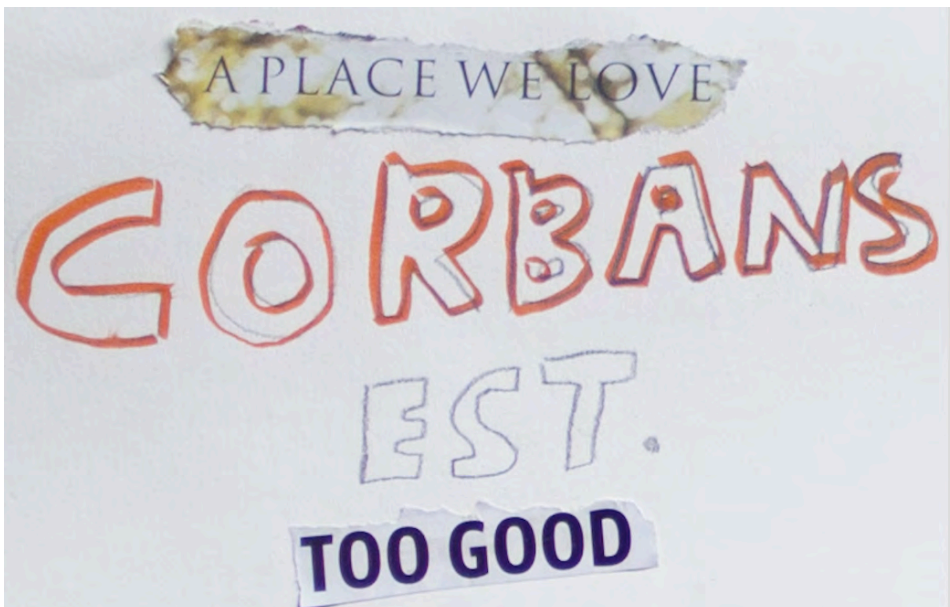
Of the four that did attend, the work they produced, whilst individual in style and content, did all share common features.

Firstly, it was noted by the participants, that the style of drawing created at the start of the drawings, (where they were depicting what their lives used to look like) was very different to the style used at the end of their drawings, (where they were imaging what their futures hold). Words used to describe their beginning drawings were contained, disconnected, dark and lifeless whereas the drawing styles in the latter drawings were

described as brighter, more confident, spacious, bold and contained 'lots of directions.' At the start of their artwork, all the participants were chronic taggers and their works showed evidence of lack of schooling, interactions with the police, drug use and a general sense of hopelessness.
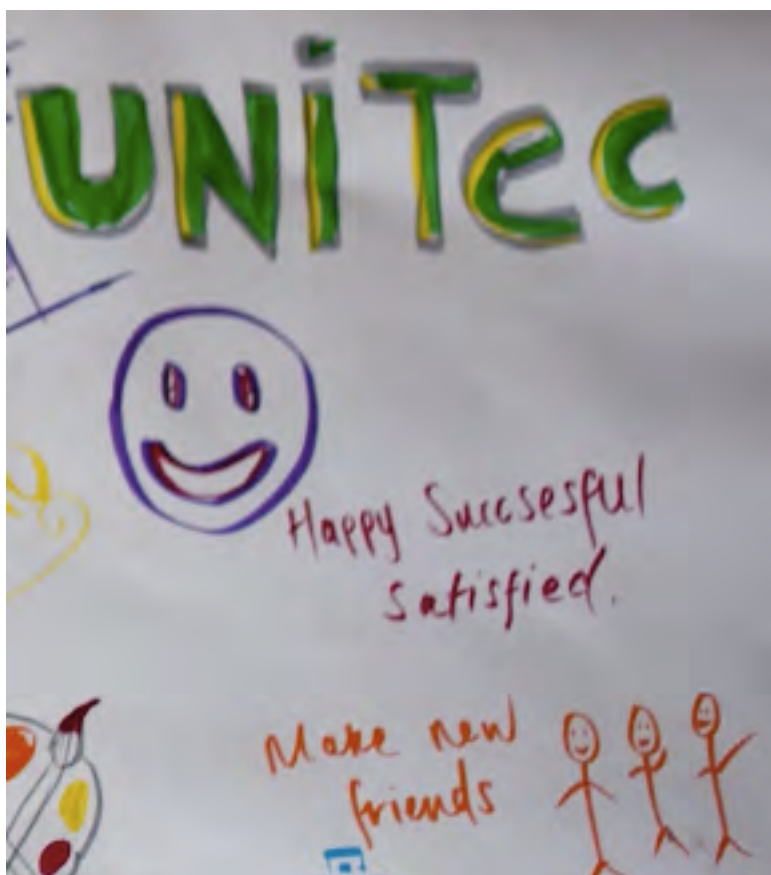

The turning point for all four of these participants was their involvement with Corbans estate and the support offered to them through Kakano. It is also clear that they are very proud of the work that they have produced, are pleased that they have been able to make some money through their art making and are happy at the response that their works have received from the wider community (through the murals and exhibitions).

Since becoming involved in Kakano, all participants demonstrated a genuine connection to the people involved with Kakano (other participants and staff) and a sense of pride in being from and living in Henderson, referring to both as connected to Whanau.

Finally, all four participants believe that Unitec is a part of their future success. Although there was a general agreement that they all wanted to see art as part of their future, interest was expressed in studying other courses at Unitec, and in particular in taking up roles that reflected their culture, Tikanga and involved mana. To date, one participant has completed the Foundation art and design pathway training and has transitioned in to the art and design course at Unitec, a second has begun the Foundation art and design pathway training, whilst the other 2 participants believe that they will start at Foundation art and design pathway training in 2017.

Some of their comments include:

Participant 1, who is currently studying at Unitec shared:

"Ok so it all started off for me as a little illegal tagger going out at night and doing tagging that I'm not really supposed to be doing and then slowly moved from going to tagging to color bombs, which were still illegal. Then I got caught for it and instead of

getting sent to court I got sent to Corbans. Through Corbans I got to do community murals, which got me and me bro into the newspaper! After that we were gathering all of the artwork and at the end of each year we'll have an exhibition so that means more money and all your art work gets hung up. Where I see myself in the future is getting paid to travel and do art in other places."

When told about the next project that Kakano would be undertaking, he expressed his disappointment at not being involved and asked if he could come back and work with them during university holidays and on weekends.

Participant 2, who is currently at Foundation art and design pathway, shared:

"I watched the graffiti on the freight trains and on buildings and that got me into bombing. I started going to the city and bombing trains and train stations and then I met Mandy (at Corbans) and I started painting boards. In my future I see myself painting as much as I can, and hopefully I'll study at Unitec."

Participant 3 shared:

"I didn't go to school every day, so I was in alternative education. I started smoking (dope) and stealing and then I met Mandy at Corbans. And then I started doing some schoolwork and getting my credits and that and doing murals and then making money. I see myself going to Unitec hopefully and travelling and making new friends at Uni."

Participant 4 shared:

"So I started off hanging on the streets and tagging on other peoples fences. (During the day) I used to just stay in bed and sleep. But I got into a little bit of trouble and I contacted Mandy to ask if I could go to Corbans. And I did a canvas - it had a bird on it - it was awesome - and that was my first mural I did with this group. And this hopefully there'll be like an exhibition, where hopefully my art gets sold and I'd like to attend Unitec next year."

This participant also stated that she would be interested in working at the Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae on Unitec, working with visitors sharing her knowledge of Maori culture and in supporting Iwi to study at Unitec.

4.2 Findings: data collected by Auckland City Council and the Henderson Massey Board regarding graffiti in Henderson since Kakano was initiated.

Initially, Kakano and in particular, the partnering of Unitec with this community initiative was funded by Auckland City Council as a pilot project through their community empowerment team. The aim of the project was to harness the power of high quality street art, art produced collectively by high profile artists and Unitec teaching staff to educate young people against tagging and vandalism. If successful it was believed that there would be decreasing incidents of graffiti in the Henderson Town Centre.

Costing more than $5 million a year in prevention and clean up, Henderson Town Centre was identified by Auckland City Council as one of 10 hotspots for this type of recurring behavior.[128] Overall Council identified 16,000 tags within the Henderson Massey Board area over the last year, with more than 60% of these events occurring within the Henderson Town Centre. Through out the project, it was the intention of the Henderson Massey Board to collect data related to graffiti and vandalism in the area, with a particular emphasis on the Henderson Town Centre.

Since the project was initiated in January 2016, tagging in the Henderson Town Centre has decreased by 59%.[129] The murals, which were installed in high traffic areas for graffiti, were tagged on two occasions during the project, however the tutors from Kakano went and did a touch up immediately to remove the tag, which meant that there was no cost to Auckland City Council for graffiti removal. In discussing these two tags, Mandy Patmore, who works as part of the Kakano team said:

> "Regarding the tagging of the murals, there have been 2 instances to my knowledge. One from a tagger unknown to us, and another one from one of our boys who while going through a particularly bad patch, ultimately wrote his name directly under the piece that he had created. In my eyes it was more putting his name to his work than tagging, but I guess it's a matter of opinion."[130]

However, whilst the initiative has been successful in removing graffiti in the Henderson Town Centre, it has been noted that graffiti in the Henderson Massey ward has increased by 50% throughout 2016.

4.3 Findings: response to the artwork produced by local residents

Of the 100 surveys undertaken with local residents 94% of respondents had positive comments to make about the murals and their impact on the local community. When asked what they thought about the art works comments included:

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128 Innovate change. (2014). Graffiti vandalism prevention programme design. Auckland City Council.
129 Taylor, B. (2016) Auckland City Council, Private conversation 15 December 2016.
130 Patmore, M. (2016) Corban Arts Estate. Private conversation 18 October 2016.

"I love it! It's better than looking at boring walls."

" Awesome! Better than looking at tagging."

" Cool. I like it. It's captured Hendo really well."

When asked if they could remember what the site had looked like before the mural was installed comments included:

"It was really dull before."

"Before it looked like shit."

"Before it was plain and boring."

When asked if it made a difference to how they felt about Henderson, comments included:

"It brightens things up."

"It's a really good idea – keep going."

"It has really captured the essence of what we are as a community."

"It brings a positive vibe around this area."

Finally when asked if they had any thing they would like to say to the young artists who produced the work, comments included:

"Thank you – you have done a great job."

"Please do more."

"Keep doing what you are doing."

"It's like a breath of fresh air."

"(these kids) have a bright future ahead of them."

"Young people can go far."

"Can you do more of it – it could help rehabilitate Henderson."

Of the 6 people who had a negative response to the murals, their comments included:

"I don't like dark colours."

"I'm not into that."

"I don't think it adds anything."

"Doesn't make any difference to how I feel about Henderson."

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

5.1 The Kakano, Auckland City Council and Unitec partnership

The Kakano initiative can be seen as a success as a place making initiative, which is believed to lead to an increased perception of safety and vibrancy in the town centre. The murals and installations have been positively received by local residents and have received minimal vandalism.

It allowed the participants to create positive social connections with other people in their neighborhoods, and instilled in the participants a sense of pride in being a productive member of the Henderson community.

It also helped them to reconnect them with positive role models, as witnessed from the feedback from the participants about their sense of pride and community developed through Kakano and Unitec.

It also produced high quality artwork that assisted in countering the boredom, alienation and directionless in Henderson's youth, as witnessed through the change and growth of images, words and stories that the participants shared with the researchers during the evaluation workshop held at the Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae

Working as a group also provided the participants with other therapeutic benefits. Referred to as curative factors[131], Kakano instills hope in the participants, creating feelings of optimism. This is clearly represented in their artworks, which demonstrated an increase in positivity in the lives and a belief that studying at Unitec was a real possibility for them.

It helped them to experience a sense of universality, as they realized that they are not alone in their problems and provided them with opportunities to experience altruism, gaining a sense of their own value, by helping and supporting other group members in their artistic endeavors. This was evident in the way that they shared the art materials, in how they assisted others in finding images to place in their artwork during the workshop, and in how they listened and provided feedback to other participants as they described the life journeys they had drawn on paper. Initiatives such as Kakano provide participants with opportunities to demonstrate positive socializing and develop supportive interpersonal relationships that may or may not be evident in other relationships outside of Kakano.

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[131] Yalom, I.. & Leszcz, M (2005) Theory and Practice of Group Psychotherapy 5th Edition. Basic Books. New York.

Kakano gives members a sense of acceptance, belonging, value, and security. As one participant enters Unitec, they act not only as a support person for others who will be starting at Unitec in the near future, but also provide these young people with a sense of belief that it can be done. In this manner other group members have the opportunity to imitate positive behavior by learning to adopt the coping strategies and perspectives of other group members and support staff. This was evident in the way that current students gravitated to the one member of the group who has successfully transitioned into the Unitec art and design course and in how they interacted with staff from Unitec.

Finally, by working as a group on shared art making, there are opportunities for existential learning: by realizing that they are a part of something bigger than themselves it brings an awareness that life with all of its ups and downs continues on and that they can cope with this rather than fearing it. Of the seven members who started in Kakano in 2016, some have had success whilst others have struggled. In this way, Kakano represents a typical slice in the journey of life.

5.2 The function of education

Auckland City council funded Unitecs' involvement with Kakano with the aim of harnessing the power of high quality street art, produced collectively by high profile artists and Unitec teaching staff, to educate young people against tagging and vandalism. However in the agreement signed between Council and Unitec, no measure of a reduction in tagging by participants was established as being necessary to monitor. Nor was a measure established to identify if their attitudes towards tagging had changed through their involvement with Kakano and Unitec. The Henderson Massey Board had the intention of monitoring graffiti levels in the region, with a particular interest in the Henderson Town Centre, but were not seeking to identify if behavioral change took place in Kakano participants. However, Mandy Patmore, who works as part of the Kakano team stated:

> "(One of our boys) was probably the top tagger in Henderson when the project initially started. He is now halfway through his Certificate in Art and Design, and starting his degree at the beginning of next year. Tagging for him is definitely a thing of the past. I can almost certainly say that his whole focus has changed and he is not tagging these days."[132]

Since the project was initiated in January 2016, tagging in the Henderson Town Centre has decreased by 59%.[133] Whilst the initiative has been successful in removing graffiti in the Henderson Town Centre, it has been noted that graffiti in the Henderson Massey

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[132] Patmore, M. (2016) Corban Arts Estate. Private conversation 18 October 2016.

[133] Taylor, B. (2016) Auckland City Council, Private conversation 15 December 2016.

ward has increased by 50% throughout 2016. Council believe that they have evidence that some of the young people in Kakano are responsible for some of this tagging. However Council do not appear to have any statistics that indicate whether the tagging that occurred by Kakano members during their involvement in the project represented a reduction or increase in that persons risk taking behavior. In this regard Council believe that Kakano has been highly successful as a place making exercise, but not as an education program altering risk taking behavior[134]

Evidence suggests that family support and opportunities for further education are the protective factors that contribute to the lessening of the risk of continuing or escalated offending.[135] Research also demonstrates that the number of children and young people involved in crime decreases as other interventions (either institutional or community based) become more intense.[136] Without opportunities for educational opportunities, the more likely a young person is to take part in escalating criminal behavior.[137]

The unique feature of Kakano that Auckland City council funded was Unitecs' involvement in the project. All four of the current participants in Kakano have either begun studying at Unitec or anticipate studying at Unitec in the near future. This belief and hope in their future is the most significant measure of the success of this project and the education they desperately need if they are going to turn their lives around. In this regard the education component of the project leading to behavioural change can be viewed as highly successful, as it places the young person at the centre of the enquiry rather than as a problem in the community.

The creation of the murals and art installations has had a marked effect on the Henderson Town Centre, with a significant reduction in the tagging that used to occur there. This in turn has altered the perceptions of the area from being viewed as unsafe and dangerous to safe and vibrant.

Perhaps the most compelling argument for the continuation for funding Unitecs' involvement in Kakano is fiscal. Unitecs' involvement in Kakano cost Auckland City Council $40,000.00 for twelve months of involvement. It helped four young people believe that they can have a tertiary education, with two of these young people already studying at Unitec. This is to be compared with the cost of court order, which involves two to three months custody in a Child, Youth and Family residence has been estimated to cost over $27,000.23.[138] The costs of failing to halt a young person's progress into the

[134] Personal conversation with Brian Taylor from Auckland City Council. 18 August 2016.

135 McLaren, K. (2000) Tough is Not Enough - Getting Smart about Youth Crime: A review of what works to reduce offending by young people. Ministry of Youth Affairs

136 Hema, L. (2000) Risk and Strength Factors for Children and Young People who Offend or Re-offend: A Summary of the Literature. Department of Child, Youth and Family Services).

137 Doolan, M. (2001) Working with Young People who Offend.

138 Ministry of Justice (1999) Review of Resourcing of the Youth Justice System: Mapping the Current Distribution of Financial Resources Allocated to the Delivery of Youth Justice Services across the Government Sector: A Report to Justice Sector Chief Executives

adult criminal justice system are even more considerable. It costs at least $91,000.00 per year on average to keep one person incarcerated in an adult New Zealand prison.[139]

5.3 Conclusion

The benefits of Kakano in altering the paths of disenfranchised young people are significant and have been discussed above. They include increased self-esteem and pride, renewed creativity and a positive belief in their future. It has created opportunities for increased community cohesion and placed them in contact with positive role models, who can assist them in furthering their education. It's unique feature that separates it from other mural or community cultural development initiatives is that it provides a direct link into tertiary education through a supported pathway from Unitec's staff in art and design and with cultural support from staff on the Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae. This factor is considered to be one of the major components in halting a young person's progress into increased criminal activity and into entering the adult criminal justice system.

It is significantly more cost effective to fund projects where local Universities interact with disenfranchised community members, which result in them re-entering the education system, than funding the cost of burden that criminal activity more often results in.

However, the biggest burden to initiatives such as these are a lack of continued funding and a belief that the project must solve all problems associated with graffiti on it's own. Graffiti is a community problem, which requires a number of approaches from community and Government if it is to be solved. Projects such as Kakano are one of these solutions.

Unitec's involvement in Kakano is the pivotal feature that determines its success and as such needs to be supported. Without opportunities for further education, Kakano can only be viewed as a short-term solution to a large overwhelming problem.

It should also be noted that the project and Unitec's involvement needs to be funded in order to assess the long-term success of the initiative. To date we only have evidence related to four young people, who are in the early stages of reengaging with the education system. What is required is long term funding that has the capacity to undertake a longitudinal study, which follows up on the participants and their educational successes.

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[139] http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/prisons/page-1

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