

Te Kaveinga: Mental health and wellbeing of Pacific peoples

Symposium

*“By following the stars as they rise over
the bow of the vaka, we know that the
direction we are steering in will take us
to destination – ‘etu Kaveinga.”*

The Precinct, Te Aro, Wellington
20 November, 2018
Joanna Ataera-Minster



Te Kaveinga – Mental health and wellbeing of Pacific peoples

Results from the New Zealand Mental Health Monitor
& Health and Lifestyles Survey

JUNE 2018

Report development

Research Team, Senior Advisor Pacific (HPA) –
Sep 2016-17



External peer review – Dec 2017



Pacific Advisory Group (PAG) – Mar/Apr 2018



Published – June 2018

Te Kaveinga:

Mental health and wellbeing of Pacific peoples

National surveys (Health Promotion Agency)

- National Mental Health Monitor (NMHM)
- Health and Lifestyles Survey (HLS)

Pooled dataset using NMHM + HLS

- NMHM: 2015 and 2016
- HLS: 2016
- All fieldwork conducted between July 2015 and December 2016

Survey methods

- Face-to-face surveys
- Computer Assisted Personal Interview (CAPI)
- Adults aged 15+ years
- Area-based sampling frame
 - Staged selection: 2013 Census meshblocks; sample dwellings within meshblocks
- Oversample Pacific and Māori and youth aged 15-24 years
- Pooled dataset:
 - Allows for analysis of subgroups in smaller populations
 - Suitable for low prevalence health outcomes
 - Refer to HPA (2017) for information on pooled dataset creation

Survey Content

Data pooled across four main survey domains:

1. Wellbeing:

- Overall wellbeing
- Family wellbeing
- Life difficulties and everyday stresses

2. Social and cultural connectedness

Survey Content

3. Mental distress:

- Psychological distress (K-10)
- Anxiety (GAD-7)
- Depressive symptoms (PHQ-9)
- Lifetime prevalence (Ever experienced mental distress or illness?)

4. Help-seeking knowledge attitudes and behaviours

- Awareness of sources of help
- First point of contact for help
- Awareness of NZ websites
- Attitudes towards people with mental distress

Respondents

	Original datasets			Pooled dataset	
	2015 NZMHM	2016 NZMHM	2016 HLS	Items from 2015 and 2016 NZMHM only	Items from NZMHM and HLS
Other	862	997	2,309	1,843	4,129
Māori	270	341	930	607	1,515
Pacific	269	344	706	612	1,279
Samoaan	131	136	329	267	579
Cook Island Māori	51	62	134	112	232
Tongan	48	75	142	123	257
Niuean	17	30	41	47	88
Other Pacific	30	58	97	88	184
Total	1,377	1,646	3,854	3,002	6,777

Demographics – Pacific respondents

Socio-demographic characteristics	Number in pooled dataset (n=1,279)	%
Gender		
Female	794	62.1
Male	484	37.8
Age group (years)		
15-24	249	19.5
25-44	575	45.0
45-64	345	27.0
65+	110	8.6
Deprivation (NZDep2013)		
Low (least deprived): 1-3	61	4.8
Moderate: 2-7	236	18.5
High (most deprived): 8-10	982	76.8



Analyses

- **Weighted proportions**
- **Ethnic group comparisons**
 - Māori
 - non-Māori non-Pacific ('Other')
- **Intra-Pacific Analyses**
 - Multi-ethnic
 - NZ Constitutional rights status
- **Proportions and Means**
- **Odds ratios**
 - Adjusted for age, sex, and deprivation

Pacific Analyses – three different approaches

1. Pacific ethnic subgroups

- Samoan
- Cook Island Māori
- Tongan
- Niuean
- Other Pacific

2. Multi-ethnic Pacific peoples

- Sole-Pacific
- Pacific and Māori
- Pacific and Other

3. NZ Constitutional rights status

- Pacific groups with NZ Constitutional agreement
 1. Cook Islands
 2. Niue
 3. Tokelau
- Pacific groups without NZ Constitutional agreement
 1. Samoa
 2. Tonga
- Other Pacific

Subgroups for Pacific analyses

Pacific subgroups analysis	Sample size	%
Pacific ethnic subgroups	1,279	
Samoan	555	43
Cook Island Māori	223	17
Tongan	251	20
Other Pacific	250	20
Multi-ethnic Pacific peoples	1,279	
Sole-Pacific	969	76
Multi-ethnic Pacific/Māori	91	7.1
Multi-ethnic Pacific/Other	219	17
Pacific peoples with constitutional rights as New Zealanders	1,279	
NZ Constitutional Rights	322	25
Non-NZ Constitutional Rights	804	63
Other Pacific	153	12

Comparing information in Te Kaveinga with other sources

- All use similar sampling methods (nationally representative surveys)
- **Te Rau Hinengaro: NZ Mental Health Survey**
 - Much larger Pacific sample (n=2,236)
 - 2003-04
 - 12-month prevalence
 - Included place-of-birth (NZ-born vs Island-born analysis possible)
- **NZ Health Survey (MoH)**
 - Psychological distress - K-10
 - More robust K-10 results than in Te Kaveinga (larger samples)

Key findings

Wellbeing

Pacific peoples report high levels of overall wellbeing and family wellbeing:

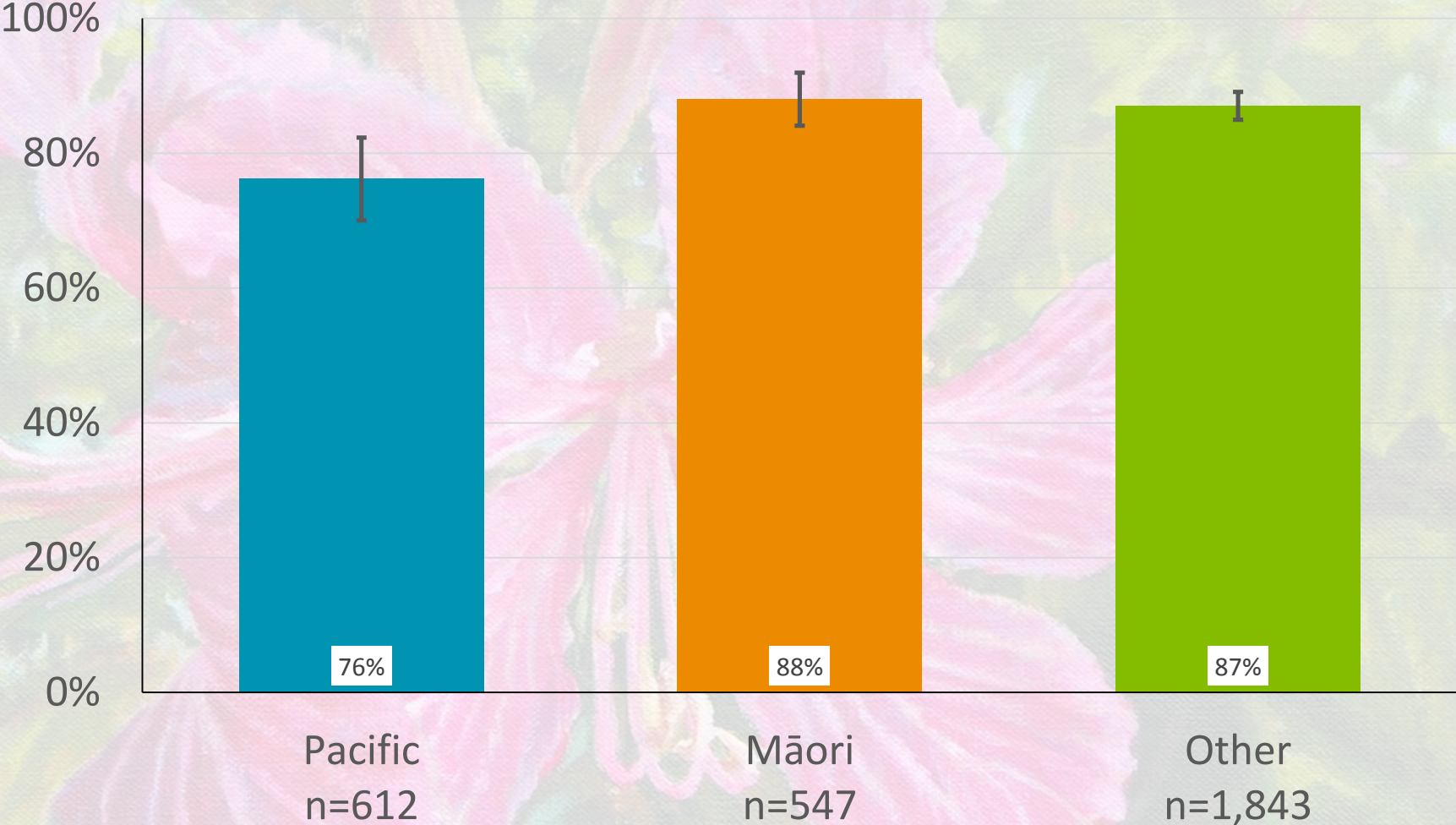
- 82% reported they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their life.
- 84% felt that the things they do in their lives were worthwhile or very worthwhile.
- 88% rated their family as doing well or very well.

Social connectedness

Pacific peoples are well connected with others socially:

- 86% said they made an effort to see family and friends that they didn't live with.
- 94% reported that they could always rely on a friend, family or whānau member for support.
- 76% indicated that it would be easy or very easy to find someone to help them in times of need.

Social Support Prevalence



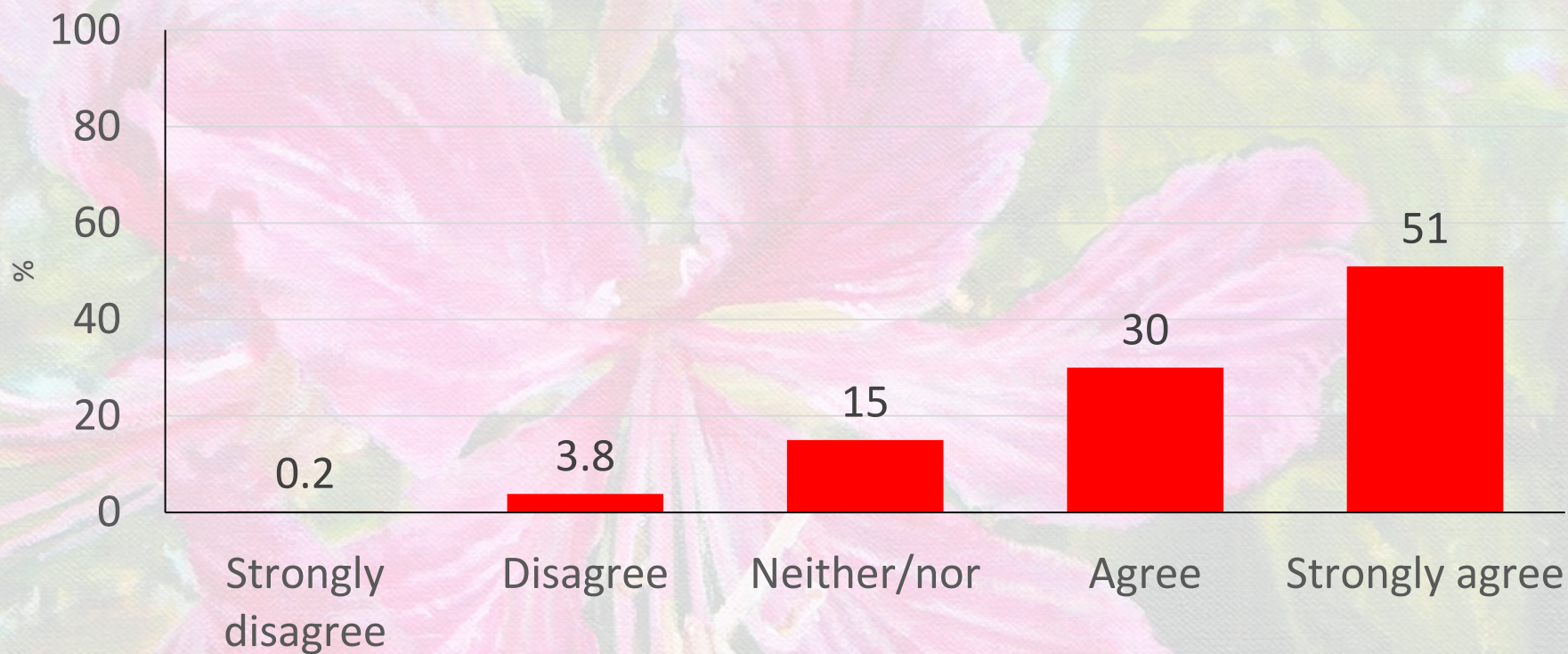
How easy or difficult would it be to find someone to help you in times of need, such as providing a place to stay if you suddenly need one, or looking after pets while you're away from home

Cultural connectedness

Pacific peoples are strongly connected to their culture:

- 81% said they felt strongly connected to their culture.
- 82% felt that it was important to maintain a strong connection to their culture.

Cultural Connectedness



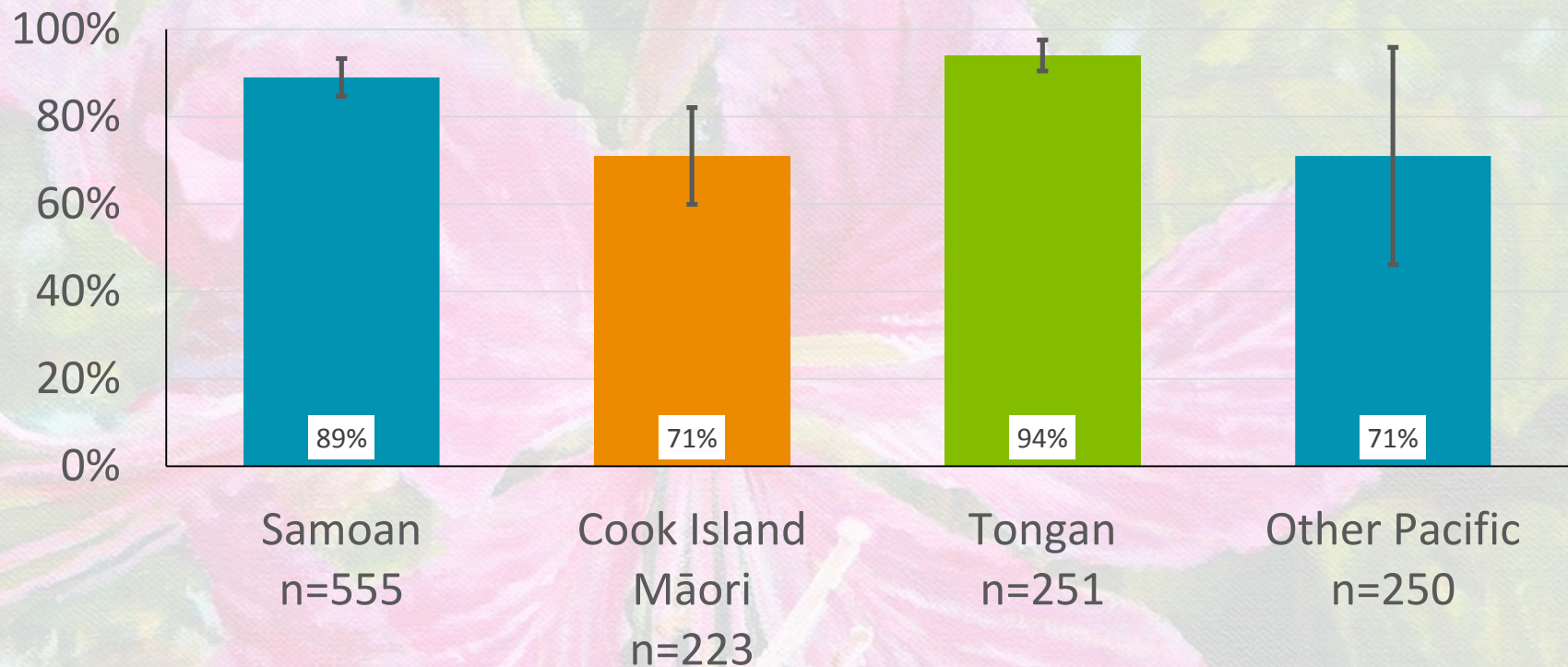
I feel strongly connected to my culture

Cultural connectedness – Pacific diversity

But not all Pacific subgroups felt strongly connected...

- The importance of maintaining a strong connection to culture was significantly lower in Cook Islands Māori than Samoans and Tongans.
- Other differences in cultural connectedness were seen when we analysed by multi-ethnic status and constitutional rights status (Intra-Pacific chapter).

Cultural Connectedness: importance of maintaining a strong connection to culture



Maintaining a strong connection to my culture is important to me
adjusted for age and gender.

Mental Distress

Pacific peoples, on average, report higher psychological distress and depressive symptoms over the past 2 to 4 weeks than Others (non-Māori non-Pacific).

- Average K-10 and PHQ-9 scores were higher

Psychological Distress

Psychological distress measured using the K-10*

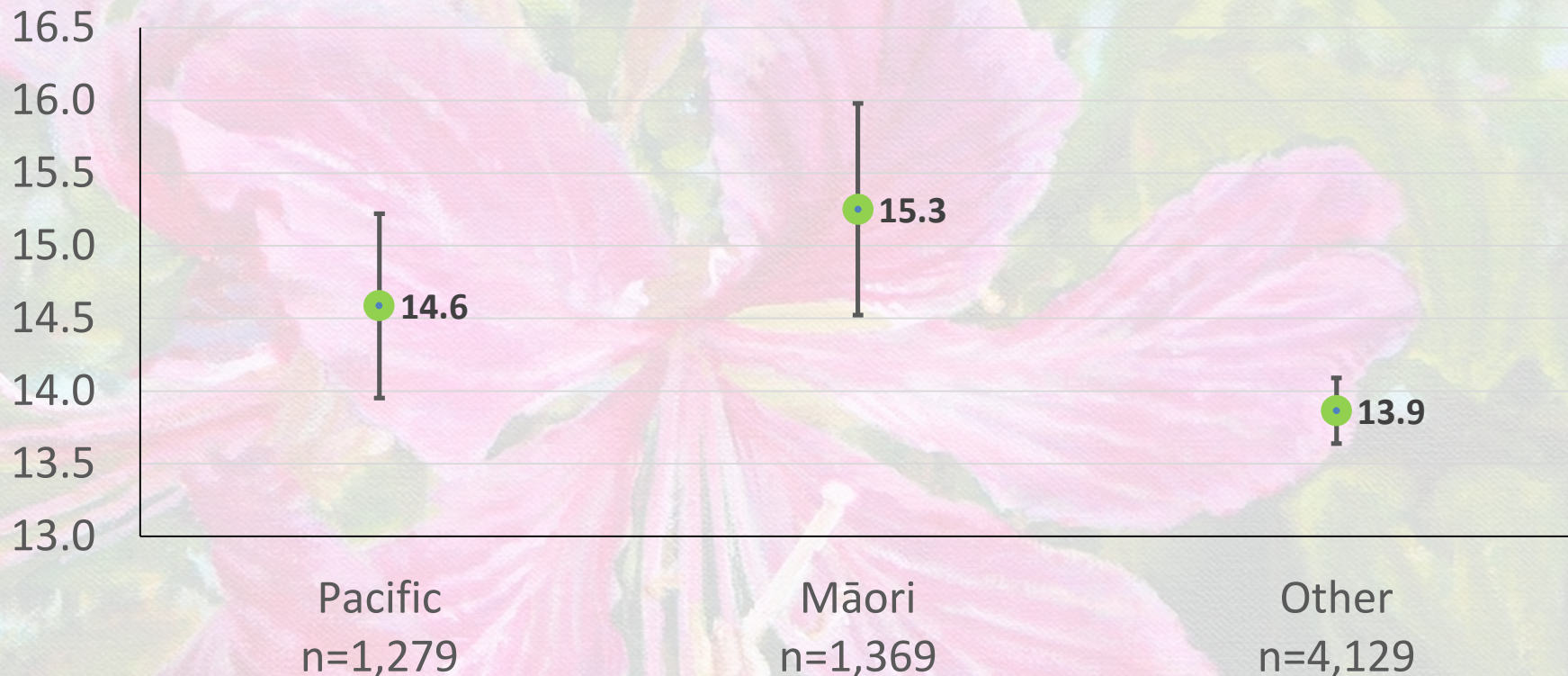
- 10 Questions
- Previous 4 weeks
- Symptoms of anxiety and depression

K-10 score category (score range)	Percentage	95% CI
Low or none (≤ 15)	71	65.5, 76.4
Medium (16-29)	25	19.5, 29.5
High (≥ 30)	4.6	1.8, 7.4

N=1279; pooled from 2015, 2016 NZMHM and 2016 HLS

*Kessler et al., 2002

Psychological Distress by Ethnicity



Self-reported psychological distress (mean K-10 score) adjusted for age and gender, by ethnicity

Self-reported Psychological Distress

K-10 Score	Prioritised ethnicity (%) (95% CI)		
	Pacific	Māori	Other
Unadjusted			
Low or none (≤ 15)	71 (65, 76)	64 (60, 69)	78 (76, 80)
Medium (16-29)	24 (19, 29)	30 (26, 34)	20 (18, 22)
High (≥ 30)	4.6 (1.8, 7.4)	5.6 (2.1, 9.1)	2.0 (1.5, 2.5)
Adjusted for age and sex			
Low or none (≤ 15)	73 (68, 78)	67 (63, 71)	77 (75, 79)
Medium (16-29)	22 (18, 27)	27 (24, 31)	21 (19, 22)
High (≥ 30)	4.4 (1.4, 7.4)	5.3 (1.5, 9.1)	2.2 (1.6, 2.8)

Depressive Symptoms

Depressive symptoms measured using the PHQ-9*

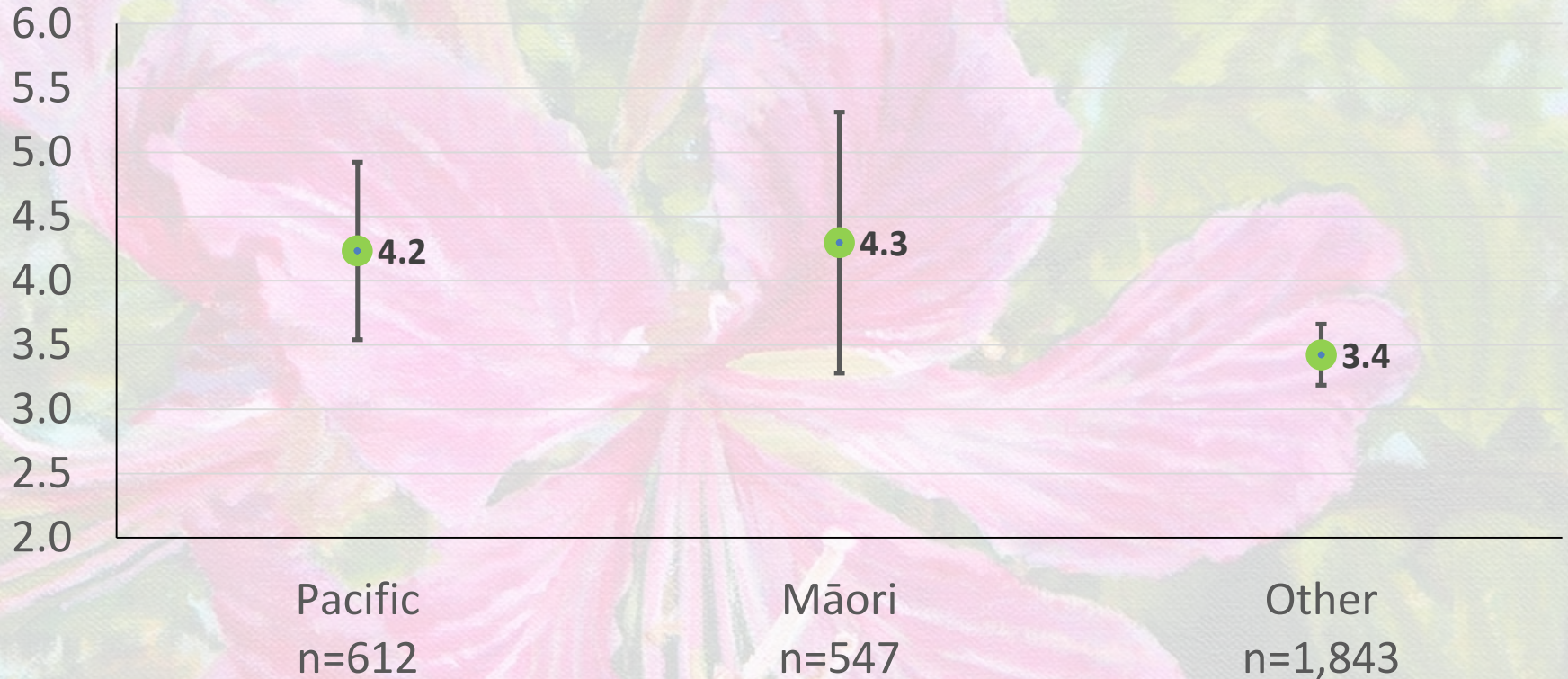
- 9 questions
- Previous 2 weeks
- Presence and severity of depressive symptoms.

PHQ-9 score category (score range)	Percentage	95% CI
Minimal (≤ 4)	64	56.5, 71.6
Mild (5-9)	22	15.4, 28.9
Moderate (10-14)	10	4.2, 15.8
Moderately Severe (15-19)	1.3	0.7, 2.4
Severe (≥ 20)	2.5	0.8, 6.0

N=612; 2015 and 2016 NZMHM

*Kroenke, Spitzer, & Williams, 2001

Depressive Symptoms by Ethnicity

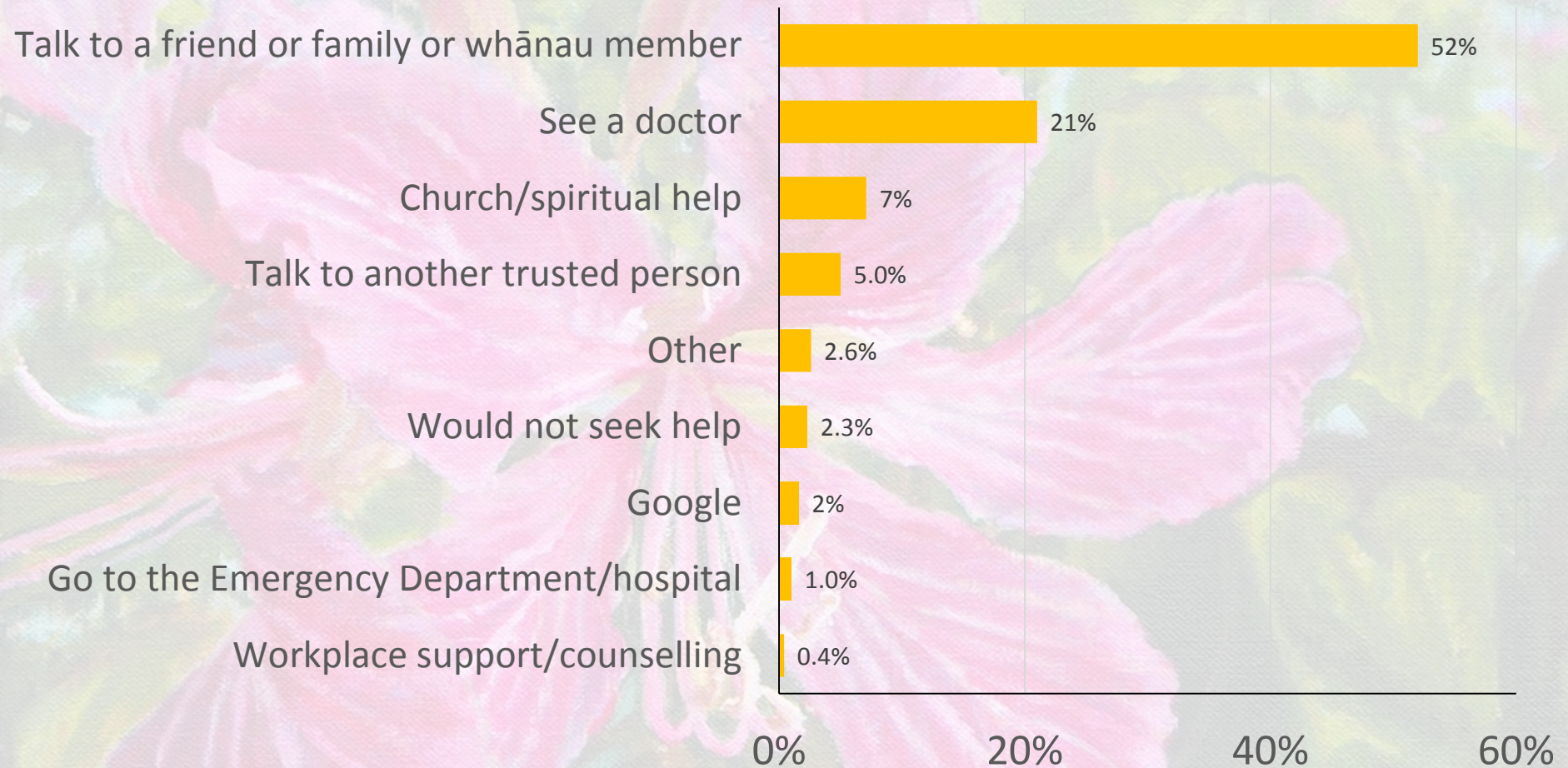


Predicted symptoms of depression (mean PHQ-9 score) adjusted for age and gender, by ethnicity

Knowledge attitudes and behaviours

- Pacific respondents most frequently reported that, if they or someone they knew had depression or anxiety, they would first seek help from: a friend, family or whānau member; a doctor; or church/spiritual help.
- Some Pacific respondents reported that they didn't know where to go to for help, particularly for problems with anxiety.
 - Almost one-quarter (24%) of Pacific respondents said they did not know where to go to for help if they or someone they knew had problems with anxiety.
- Awareness and/or use the national mental health websites could be improved.

First point of contact for help with depression



Awareness of websites

Heard about any NZ websites to find out about, or get through, depression

44%

Heard about any NZ websites to find out about, or get through, anxiety

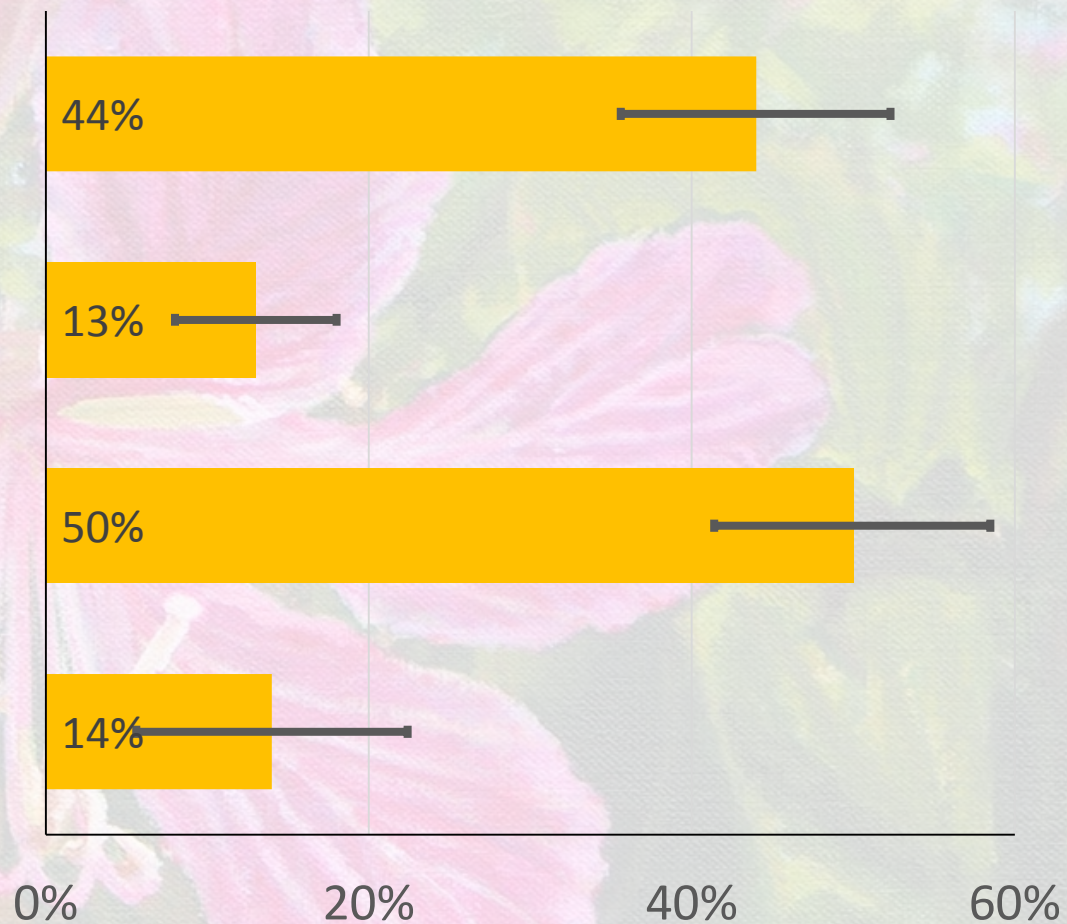
13%

Prompted recall of depression.org.nz

50%

Prompted recall of thelowdown.co.nz

14%



Stigma

'Attitudes of adults towards people with experience of mental distress: Results from the 2015 Mental Health Monitor' (Deverick et al., 2017).

Pacific respondents scored significantly lower than European/Others on three psychometric scales (MAKS, RIBS and CAMI) that assessed their attitudes towards others with mental health issues. These results suggest that Pacific peoples:

- have higher levels of stigma-related mental health knowledge.
- express more negative views of people with mental health issues and are less willing to interact with them.
- express less kindness and positive attitudes towards people with mental health issues.

MAKS = Mental Health Knowledge Scale; RIBS = Reported and Intended Behaviour Scale; CAMI = Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill Scale

Significant Survey Items and Mental Health Outcomes

Mental health outcome (Survey item)	Prevalence (%) (95% CI)		
	Pacific	Māori	Other
Preceived social support Respondents who agreed it would be easy to find someone to help them in times of need	76 (70.0, 82.3)	88 (84.1, 91.9)	87 (85.0, 89.1)
Cultural connectedness Respondents who agreed they felt strongly connected to their culture	81 (69.7, 92.1)	78 (71.6, 83.4)	62 (58.3, 65.6)
Cultural connectedness Respondents who agreed it was important to maintain a strong connection to their culture	82 (74.9, 89.0)	72 (67.0, 76.1)	59 (56.3, 61.8)

Intra-Pacific mental health



health promotion
agency

TE HIRINGA HAUORA

Intra-Pacific mental health

Why?

- Acknowledge and represent Pacific population diversity.
- Place-of-birth was not included as a question in NZMHM
(replicating the NZ-born vs Island-born analysis seen in Te Rau Hinengaro was not possible).

Intra-Pacific mental health

Why?

- Public health lens – social determinants approach
 - Culture as a social determinant of health – particularly for Indigenous populations worldwide
 - Migration histories differ between Pacific groups
 - Cultural adaptation
 - Culture and identity are important parts of Pacific mental health wellbeing
- Non-deficit approach – look **within** Pacific to highlight our **strengths**
- Be innovative!!

Intra-Pacific analyses

1. Multi-ethnic Pacific Peoples

- Sole-Pacific (n=969)
- Pacific/Māori (n=91)
- Pacific/Other (n=216)

2. Constitutional rights as New Zealanders

- Constitutional NZ rights (n=322)
- Non-constitutional NZ rights (n=804)
- Other Pacific (n=153)

1. Multi-ethnic Pacific peoples

Background

Driven by two strands of Pacific research:

- i. Quantitative – Manuela & Sibley (2014)
- ii. Qualitative studies – ‘Afakasi studies

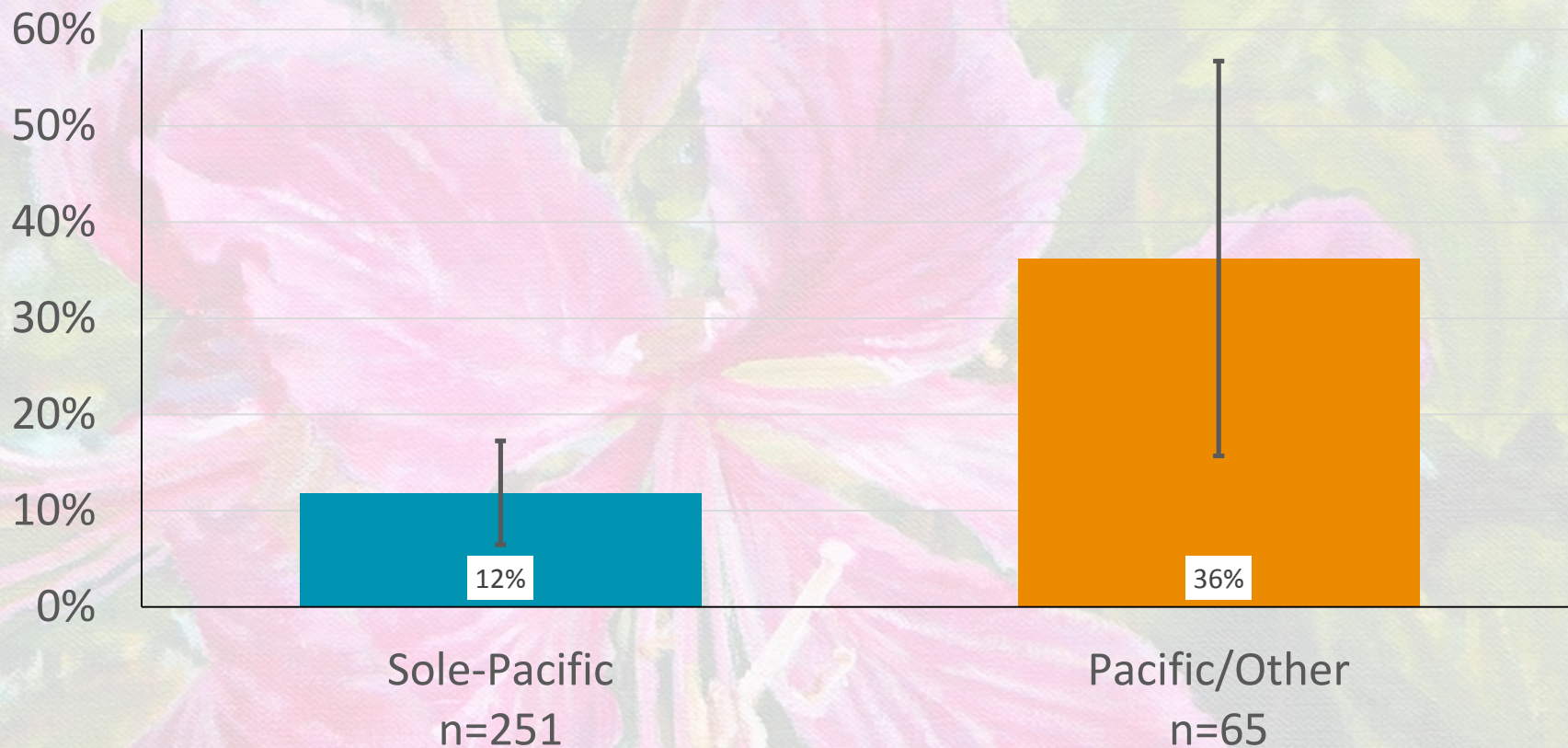
i. Manuela & Sibley (2014)

- Pacific Identity and Wellbeing Scale (PIWBS)
- Multi-ethnic Pacific/non-Pacific participants scored lower on a measure of self-esteem and wellbeing than mono-ethnic Pacific participants.
- ‘Identity tension’ – multi-ethnic Pacific/Non-Pacific peoples might experience poorer mental wellbeing because they internalise negative social stereotypes associated with their Pacific identity.

ii. Studies with 'afakasi

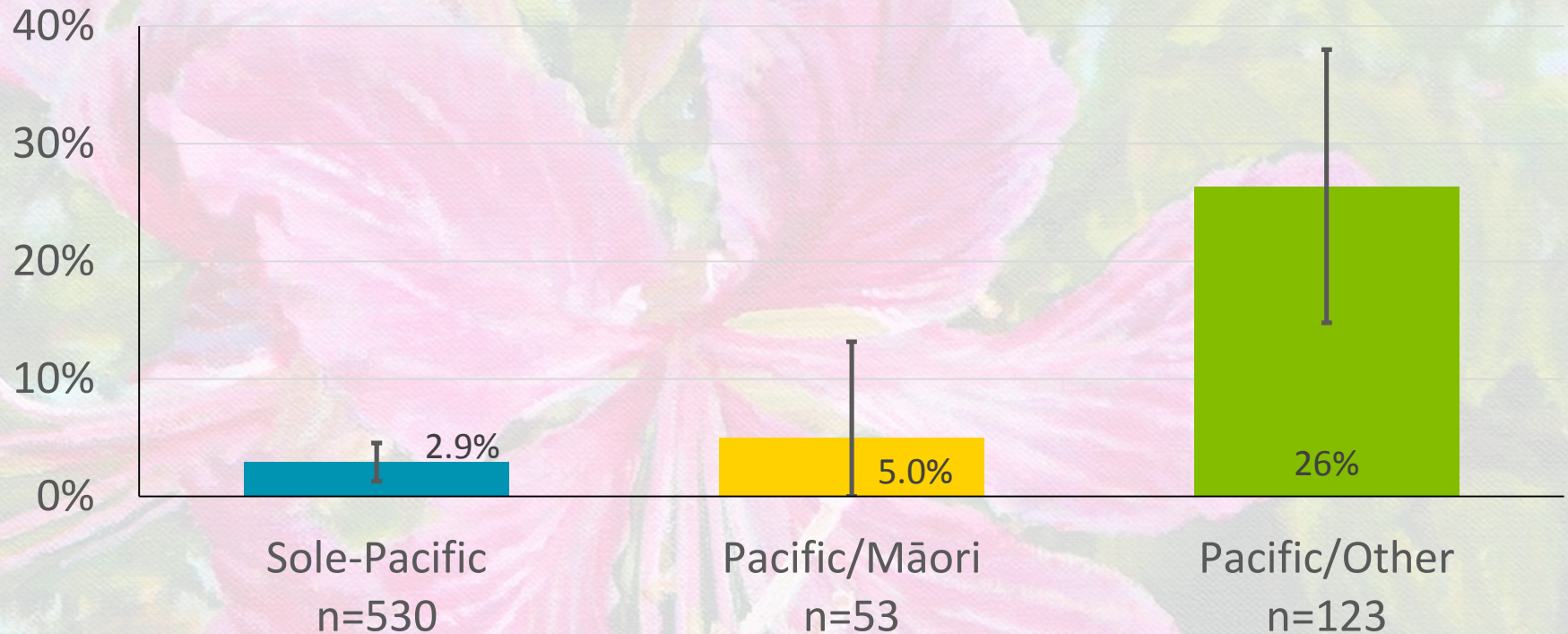
- Small qualitative studies – interviews with multi-ethnic Samoan/NZ Europeans:
 - Keddell (2006)
 - Berking et al. (2007)
 - Culbertson & Agee (2007)
 - Agee and Culbertson (2013)
- Themes across these studies:
 - Sense of belonging – not fitting in
 - Social stereotypes associated with 'white privilege' – discrimination
 - Social exclusion

Ever had an experience of mental illness



Multi-ethnic Pacific peoples reporting ever experiencing a mental illness. Prevalence adjusted for age and gender.

Ever diagnosed with a mental illness



Multi-ethnic Pacific peoples reporting ever being diagnosed with a mental illness. Prevalence adjusted for age and gender.

n=706; 2016 HLS

Some things to consider when interpreting multi-ethnic results

Different concepts of mental illness –

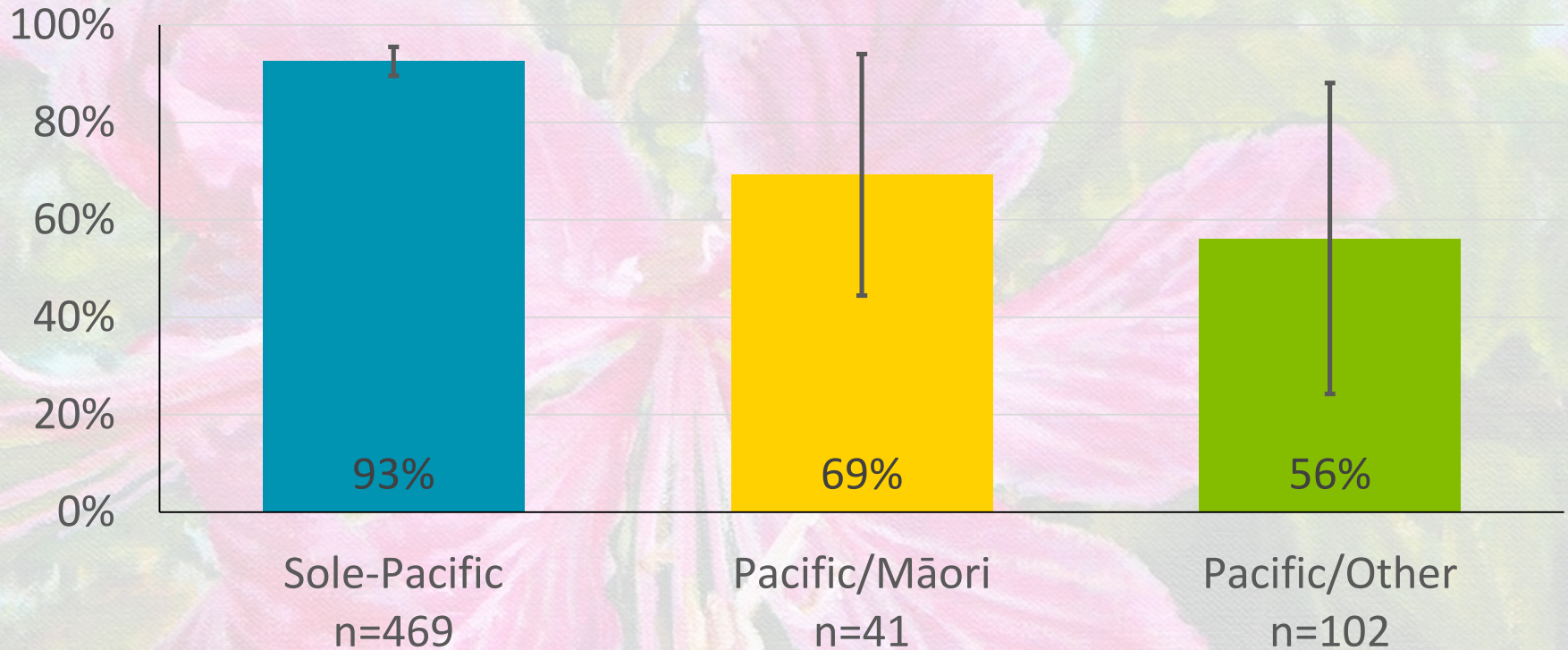
- Survey questions might be measuring different things (eg, more traditional concepts of 'mental health' in sole-Pacific: disturbances in tapu; seeing/hearing ancestors and spirit guides)

Differences in preferred models of care –

- Pacific/Other group might prefer mainstream mental health services (ie, more likely to be diagnosed)

In other words: we could be asking different things of the different groups.

Feel strongly connected to their culture



Multi-ethnic Pacific peoples' reporting feeling connected to culture. Prevalence adjusted for age and gender

n=612; 2015 and 2016 NZMHHM

Mental health in NZ-born Pacific peoples

Similar themes seen in mental health of NZ-born Pacific peoples:

Te Rau Hinengaro (Kokaua et al., 2009) –

- Mental health and substance use disorders more prevalent in NZ-born Pacific than migrant and Island-born Pacific.
- Overall effect of migration age: Pacific peoples who migrated to New Zealand at younger ages were over twice as likely to have any mental disorder than those who migrated at older ages.

NZ-born qualitative research themes –

- Stresses and tensions of Pacific identity (eg, competing worldviews and expectations)
- ‘Caught between cultures’ (Tiatia, 1998)
- Sense of belonging
- Stigma: ‘Plastic’ Pacific, not authentic, not a real Pacific person
- Conflict
- Contested Pacific identities (cultural knowledge and skills)

There is overlap –

**Most multi-ethnic peoples are NZ-born too
(post-migration demographic change in NZ)**

Mental health in NZ-born and multi-ethnic Pacific peoples

- Need to consider the factors underpinning Pacific mental health. Place-of-birth and ethnicity are **proxies**.
- These could be proxies for.... almost anything to do with migration and/or culture:
 - Acculturation?? Healthy migrant effect
 - Cultural identity?? Pacific identity??
 - Cultural connectedness??
- Qualitative research can help us understand why NZ-born and multi-ethnic Pacific peoples might experience poorer mental health.

Example: Mental wellbeing in multi-ethnic Cook Islands peoples

- Qualitative study (Minster, 2018) – Interviews with young multi-ethnic Cook Islanders (18-30 years).
- Aim: Explore the experiences of young multi-ethnic Cook Islanders as they developed their cultural identities. Identify the challenges they faced and how they coped with them.

Challenges of being multi-ethnic

Identity denial based on appearance – being misclassified by others because they don't look like a 'typical' Cook Islander

“The main thing for me was being pale, compared to [others]. Because even, like, recently from like the age of 17 to now, I started reflecting more on my childhood and how that affected me. But there's, like, one thing that I remember thinking as a kid, was that my cousins were a lot darker than me, and that had a lot of impact on me” (P3).

Challenges of being multi-ethnic

Having one's authenticity as a Cook Islander contested and questioned by others:

“I do know now I'm real conscious of that side of things – the fact that I can't speak the language, and when I meet people who can, um, I wouldn't say I'm intimidated, but I just, um, it's like a feeling. Like, you can't explain it but you just don't feel as Cook Island as them” (P2).

“As a multi-ethnic, and anyone that's half-caste, the main problem is being called too 'plastic'... It's kind of like you're not a real Cook Islander...” (P1).

Challenges of being multi-ethnic

Sense of belonging – not fitting in with Pacific

“I think it [being part Cook Islands] had a big impact on my confidence, especially around other Pacific Islanders. Because when I first started doing Pacific studies last year, like, it was when I felt the most out of place. Because I didn’t know whether all these other people thought, you know, like if they could tell that I was Cook Island” (P3).

- Social exclusion
- Confusion

Coping with multi-ethnic identity challenges

Withdrawal and hiding:

“I think I was maybe year 7 [or] year 8 and I just withdrew from that. I was just like, nah, I’m not Cook Island, because people say I’m not Cook Island and, like, I don’t have anything to prove that I’m Cook Island, because I don’t know the language. I don’t know anything about Cook Islands and stuff like that. So, I just basically said, ‘oh, nah, I’m just White,’ and stuff like that... And so, I guess, yeah, I think that withdrawal really made me question, like, am I actually a real Cook Islander? Like, what does it have to take to be a Cook Island person?” (P7).

“I guess I felt embarrassed because I didn’t know anything about it. So, then it was kind of wanting to, like, not kind of identify with it – where it’s like, if anything like, ‘no, no, no, I’m not anything, I’m just from New Zealand,’ type vibe where, you know, you kind of hide it and be like, ‘oh, I don’t really know anything about it, so I don’t really want to talk about it, and I don’t want anyone to ask me anything about it” (P6).

(Minster, 2018)

International literature

- Multicultural psychology literature – aspects of being multi-ethnic/(-racial) can be stressful:
 - **Identity denial** – when others perceive you to be an ethnic group that is different from how you identify yourself
 - **Ingroup discrimination** – being discriminated against by others in your own ethnic group/s
 - **Weak sense of belonging** – not really fitting in anywhere
 - **Social exclusion**
- Those with ‘integrated’ bi- and multicultural identities generally have better mental health outcomes.

Social Exclusion and Mental Distress

Pacific respondents who reported that there had been an occasion when they felt personally excluded in a social situation over the past four weeks were more likely to report ever having an experience with mental illness.

[after controlling for the effects of age, gender and deprivation (OR=7.9; 95% CI: 2.7, 23.3, n=344)]

Intra-Pacific analyses

Multi-ethnic Pacific Peoples

- Sole-Pacific (n=969)
- Pacific/Māori (n=91)
- Pacific/Other (n=219)

Constitutional rights as New Zealanders

- Constitutional NZ rights (n=322)
- Non-constitutional NZ rights (n=804)
- Other Pacific (n=153)

Constitutional rights as New Zealanders

Background:

- Patterns in Pacific health outcomes observed across research (some examples):
 - Blakely et al. (2009)
 - Kokaua & Wells (2009)
 - Schluter et al. (2013)
 - Fa'alili-Fidow et al. (2016)

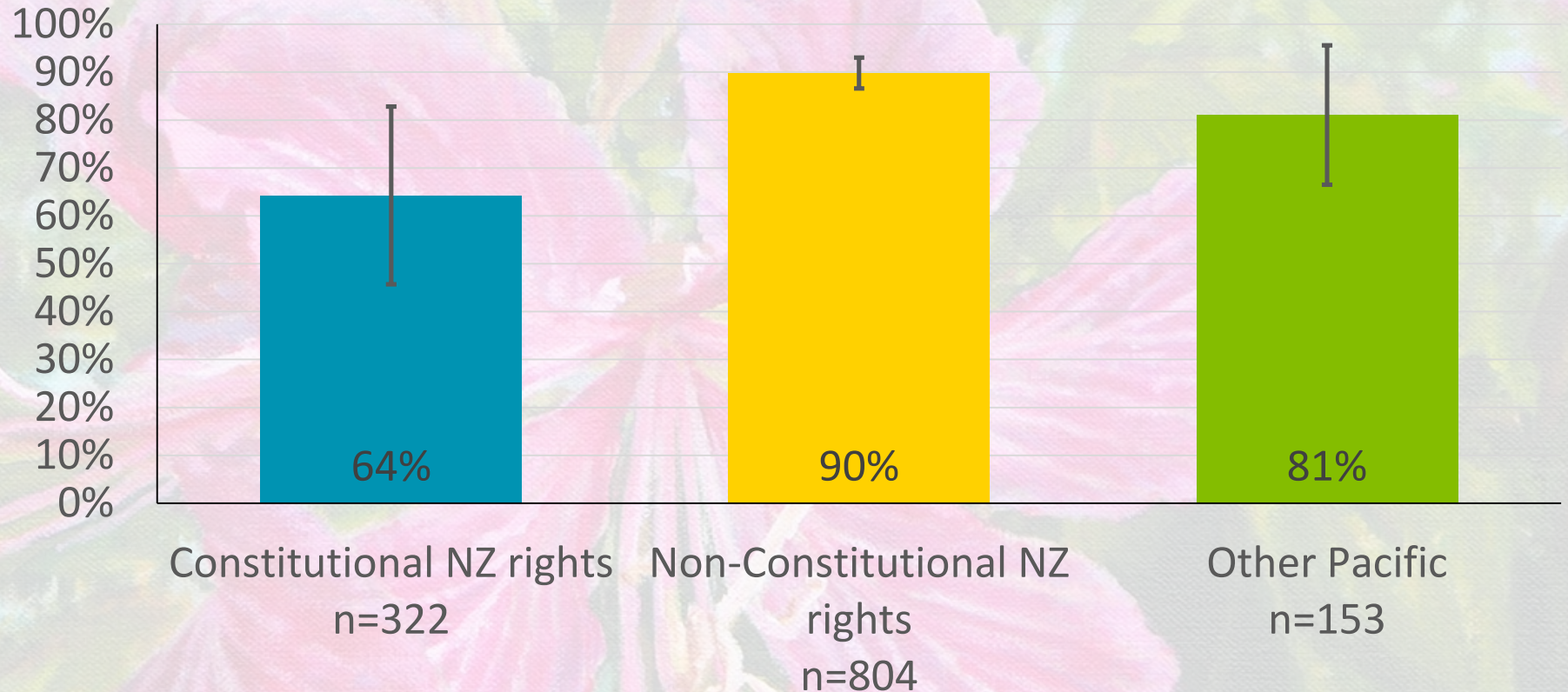
More background:

- What's going on with Cook Islanders and Niueans?
- Culture as a social determinant of health
 - Impact of colonisation and migration on health
 - How do these Pacific groups interact with NZ environment (Constitutional NZ rights status)
- What do various cultural indicators look like in these groups.....?

Cultural Indicators by NZ Constitutional rights status (NZ Census)

Cultural Indicators (Description)	Proportion in New Zealand population(%) Sourced from 2013 NZ Census information				
	NZ Constitutional Rights			Non-NZ Constitutional Rights	
	Cook Islands	Niuean	Tokelauan	Samoaan	Tongan
Language retention [Can hold an everyday conversation in their Pacific language]	12.8	18.7	31.9	55.6	53.2
NZ-born [Born in New Zealand]	77.4	78.9	73.9	62.7	59.8
Ethnic intermarriage [% of multi-ethnic Pacific]	43.0	45.0	33.9	31.2	23.1
Religious affiliation [Affiliated with at least one religion]	65.1	65.9	83.4	83.4	88.1

Importance of maintaining a strong connection to culture by NZ constitutional rights status



Pacific importance of maintaining a strong connection to culture, by NZ Constitutional Rights status (predicted prevalence, adjusted for age and gender).

Importance of maintaining a strong connection to culture

Pacific subgroup	Agree % (95% CI)	Neither agree nor disagree % (95% CI)	Disagree % (95% CI)
Non-NZ Constitutional Rights	89.8 (86.6, 93.0)	7.7 (4.7, 10.6)	2.5 (1.0, 4.0)
Other Pacific	81.0 (66.4, 95.6)	11.5 (0.0, 25.2)	7.4 (1.2, 13.6)
NZ Constitutional Rights	64.3 (45.7, 82.8)	28.2 (8.2, 48.2)	7.5 (2.4, 12.7)

What do I think...

- **The way our Pacific cultures have adapted in NZ influence how we develop our Pacific identities**
- **Going back further... the way our Pacific cultures adapted to colonisation (in the Pacific Islands) influenced how they adapted in NZ**

Eg, Education policies in Cook Islands in 1950s to 1970s (Cook Islands Maori language was forbidden to be spoken in schools)

- **Post-colonial attitudes towards our Pacific cultures influenced how they were transmitted to the next generations...**

“The older people, who had spent several years of their lives in heathenism... were great witnesses of the changes which had taken place on the island in those thirty years. They had seen the progress encountered – and suffering experienced - in the attempt to establish a new way of life on their island. The old life had given way to the new with promises of a brighter and better future... It would have been folly to turn back into the darkness of the past and live as their ancestors did”

(Taira Rere – The History of Rarotonga, 1982).

Looking at the patterns...

- **Identity is important to Pacific peoples' mental wellbeing**
- **Developing one's Pacific identity in NZ can be a source of tension and stress**
 - 'Identity journeys' (Anae, 1998)
- **All sorts of things sit underneath and alongside 'identity':**
 - Knowledge of Pacific culture and traditions (including knowledge of genealogy)
 - Ability to speak Pacific language
 - 'Polycultural capital' (Mila, 2011; 2013)

What is identity?

- **Identity**

“a sense of self that is formed over time and is strongly influenced by the social and cultural world. Identity guides one’s behaviours, activities, and sense of purpose in life” (Vedder & Phinney, 2014).

- **Cultural identity –**

“Cultural identity is important for people’s sense of self and how they relate to others. A strong cultural identity can contribute to people’s overall wellbeing”

Ministry of Social Development – The Social Report (2016).

Pacific identity...

- Identity is about sense of belonging
- Identity is spiritual – connection to ancestors
- Identity is knowing and feeling our Pacific roots
- Identity keeps us grounded

“Knowing about your family history, ancestors and culture can help you know where you come from, and that’s a part of who you are. It can help you carry a sense of ‘home’ wherever you go, no matter where you are or who you are with”

(Le Va, 2014).

Cultural identity and wellbeing

“Identifying with a particular culture helps people feel they belong and gives them a sense of security. An established cultural identity has also been linked with positive outcomes in areas such as health and education. It provides access to social networks, which provide support and shared values and aspirations”

(MSD, 2016).

Reflections on Intra-Pacific findings

- **Tell the full story (and the Pacific story):**
 - Complement survey findings with what we know from in-depth qualitative research
 - As Pacific peoples our histories (colonisation and migration) have an impact on our mental health in the present day.
- **Ask bigger questions of Pacific analyses:**
 - Multi-ethnic analyses show similar patterns to NZ-born vs Island-born mental health analyses
 - Look at the **patterns** across Pacific research
 - Think about what underpins the results...

Reflections on Intra-Pacific findings

- **Look within Pacific peoples:**
 - Subtle differences between Pacific groups can illuminate potential protective factors.
 - There is more than one way to 'slice the cake' – think about innovative ways to highlight Pacific diversity.
- **Cultural identity is important to consider for promoting Pacific mental wellbeing:**
 - Sense of belonging
 - Cultural connectedness (cultural knowledge, skills, language, social connections)

Pacific cultural identity as a mental health promotion tool

- Le Va: Preventing Suicide for Pasifika – top 5 tactics
- ‘Cultural identity’ is one of the top 5 tactics

“For young Pacific people in New Zealand, the stronger their cultural identity, the stronger their mental wellbeing.”

“Culture gives us a sense of belonging, pride and identity.”

Le Va (2014) – see:

<https://www.leva.co.nz/resources/preventing-suicide-for-pasifika-top-5-tactics>

Pacific cultural identity as a mental health promotion tool

- Manuela and Anae (2017)
- ‘Cultural enhancement’ programmes that promote learning Pacific language, history and cultural skills are important to consider for the mental health of Pacific youth.

Overall conclusions from Te Kaveinga

- Pacific peoples are well connected socially and culturally but there is variation in cultural connectedness between Pacific groups.
- Pacific peoples report higher levels of psychological distress and depressive symptoms than Others.
- Pacific peoples experience a higher burden of mental health issues than Others. This is largely explained by the youthful demographic and socioeconomic disadvantage [Te Rau Hinengaro and Te Kaveinga].

Overall conclusions from Te Kaveinga

- Stigma surrounding mental health issues is an area that still needs work among Pacific communities.
- Need to raise awareness of national mental health websites (these provide linkages to getting help for mental health issues).
- We could do with more research to unpacks the mental health issues for multi-ethnic Pacific peoples.
- We could do with more research that explicitly explores the relationship between Pacific cultural identity and mental wellbeing.

A song about Pacific identity: 'Island Ways'

I wana hear the wind blowing through the coconut palms
I wana hear the parrots talking in the jungle's arms
I wana feel the sand gather at the tip of my toes
I wana see the aqua blue lagoons that mother nature shows

But the boat sailed in that fateful day and they told my people
what to say

They said you'd lead a better life if you would just live this way
And my people moved downstream, they put on suits, pursued
the dream

Now there's a new kind of disease

We sing: 'oh, oh, oh, where did the loving go?'
You ask me if it's progress, I'll answer, 'I don't know'
Hey, hey, hey, we simply got led astray
From our Island ways

I wana smell hibiscus blooming under the blazing sun
I wana taste the food cooked in the earth for everyone
I wana feel that waterfall running over my golden skin
I wana feel that pawpaw juice dripping off the edge of my
chin

The next thing my people moved offshore 'cause the new folks
had left them wanting more
They said, 'there'll be prosperity if you would open up this door'
And it's a little bit unclear why we're dying sooner over here
And the fish won't swim in parts of the water over there

We sing: 'oh, oh, oh, where did the family go?'
You ask me if it's progress, I'll answer, 'I don't know'
Hey, hey, hey, I'm told of a brighter day
It's back in our Island ways

Swimming under the sun each day, back in our Island ways
Is this the price we should pay?
Where's our Island ways?

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