

"I'd really talk to him about manaakitanga, I'd actually talk to him about values and what he knows about it": Contemporary Māori parenting practices centring on perceptions and responses to aggressive behaviour among preschool-aged children

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Abstract

There are limited studies in Aotearoa (New Zealand) which focus on physical aggression and relational aggression during early childhood. Of the few which do exist (e.g., Swit, 2018, 2019) the findings are predominantly based on perceptions of non-Māori parents/whānau. Therefore, to fill this gap, this Kaupapa Māori focussed study interviewed four urban Māori parents/whānau to assess their perceptions and responses to physical aggression and relational aggression displayed by preschool aged children. A main finding of this study found that Māori culture was incorporated into the general practices of contemporary Māori parents/whānau. The parents/whānau spoke about the importance of incorporating tikanga values such as whakapapa (heritage), te reo (Māori language), wairuatanga (spirituality), whānau (family) and more into their day-to-day parenting. Another key finding showed there were mixed parental perceptions of the seriousness of physical and relational aggression. Parents tended to hypothetically respond to physical aggression with more direct intervention methods (e.g., telling the child off), compared to intervention responses to relational aggression which tended to be more passive (e.g., talking to the child about their actions). The findings as well as the parents' suggestions for additional caregiver resources (e.g., parenting classes and pamphlets on teaching children values) helped to identify areas to support their understanding of how to respond to physical and relational aggression in the future.

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Ko wai au?/Who I am?

*I te taha o tōku māmā,
Ko Maungapōhatu, Tū Te Maungaroa, ko Taiarahia ūku maunga
Ko Waikare, Ōhinemataroa ūku awa
Ko Mataatua, Te Arawa ūku waka
Ko au te kākano o Ngāi Tūhoe, Whakatōhea me Ngāti Whakaue hoki
Ko Tamakaimoana, Te Whānau Pani ūku hapū
Ko Te Māpou (Maungapōhatu), Ōhotu ūku marae
Ko Teiria Heemi rāua ko Henare Black ūku tūpuna
Ko Stella Black tōku māmā*

On my mother's side
Maungapōhatu, Tū Te Maungaroa and Taiarahia are my mountains
Waikare and Ōhinemataroa are my rivers
Mataatua and Te Arawa are my canoes
I am a seed of Ngāi Tuhoe, Whakatōhea and Ngāti Whakaue
Tamakaimoana and Te Whānau Pani are my sub-tribes
Te Mapou (Maungapōhatu) and Ōhotu are my marae
My grandparents are Teiria Heemi and Henare Black
Stella Black is my mother

*I te taha o tōku pāpā
Nō Pākehā, Airihi ia
Ko Ted Tierney rāua ko Joslyn Tierney ūku tūpuna
Ko Philip Tierney tōku pāpā
Ko Mya Black tōku tuahine
Ko Courtney Tierney tōku ingoa*

On my fathers side
He is European and Irish
My grandparents are Ted Tierney and Joslyn Tierney
My father is Philip Tierney
Mya Black is my younger sister
My name is Courtney Tierney

*He kākano āhau (I am a seed)
I ruia mai i Rangiātea (Scattered from Rangiatea)
And I can never be lost
I am a seed, born of greatness
Descended from a line of chiefs,
He kākano āhau (I am a seed)*

Note: Sourced from Tamehana (2001)

My grandparents Teiria and Henare were raised in the heart of Te Urewera, and they were fluent in te reo Māori and lived tikanga (Māori way). They were raised with traditional values on marae and within their respective pā (villages) surrounded by whānau. My Nanny

and Koro got together after Nan's first husband was tragically killed in a logging accident, in Maungapōhatu. Nanny was widowed with six children – two of her children were whāngai or raised by whānau, and Koro became an instant father to Nanny's remaining four children. Nanny wanted to provide her children with more opportunities. She had a sister living in Mount Maunganui so they moved there and bought a house. Unfortunately, I never got to meet my Nanny as she died when my mother was in her teens, although the stories I have heard about her, described her as a kind and caring woman who had a deep faith in God.

After the move to Mount Maunganui, my Koro and Nanny had children of their own, one of those being my mum Stella. Koro worked in forestry while Nanny was a cleaner, which meant the children were often left looking after each other or were with their cousins who lived around the corner. My mother, aunties and uncles have all shared stories of growing up in a household with te reo speaking parents. My older aunty and uncle only knew how to speak te reo Māori when they first moved to the Mount but over time this was lost for all of the children. However, regular visits back to Koro and Nanny's marae for hui, tangi and other fundraising events were typical.

On my Pākehā (New Zealand European) side, my grandparents are Joslyn and Ted. My grandparents first met as teenagers in a milk bar in Newmarket. They courted and later married, eventually having my father Philip in their early twenties, then two years later they had another son. Nana and Poppa really wanted a daughter and were fortunate to be able to adopt a baby girl five years later. Throughout their childhood, Nana was a stay at home mother while Poppa was a boilermaker. My father grew up in Auckland and, after leaving school, he started his career in the grocery industry where he met my mother.

I was their first-born child and my sister followed five years later. My parents got divorced when we were very young and we were raised under a court ordered shared

custody agreement. This meant we spent half of our time at mum's house and the other half with dad and his parents. For most of my childhood, I would describe it as very westernised. I grew up in Auckland and mum rarely took us back to Te Urewera unless there was tangi. I was largely raised by my European family. My Poppa passed away when I was in high school but I have vivid memories of him beautifully singing Pōkarekareana – one of his favourites. I have always been close to my Nana growing up and I am lucky enough to still have her in my life today.

When I was around eight years old, my Koro came to live with us in Auckland, I did not know it at the time, but he was dying and needed us to help care for him. I have very limited memories of him. Although I do recall him coming to watch my kapa haka performances and being really proud. He was quite a character, and would often chuckle and tease my sister and I when we did the pūkana (kapa haka action).

I attended public schools and was privileged to be surrounded by culturally diverse pupils and teachers throughout my education. I enjoyed being in the bilingual Māori unit with my Māori peers learning te reo Māori and doing kapa haka. I participated in several sports and one year I represented my college at the Manu Kōrero speech competition (in English). Mount Albert Grammar School had a reputation for being strict, but I appreciated the high standards it set for its students.

I have shared my personal story and positionality not only to introduce myself but also as a way of demonstrating the many changes from generation to generation in parenting social structures and styles. By doing so, I hope to have set the scene from my own whānau experiences in relation to the following study, which looks at the parenting practices of four urban based Māori parents. Child and Family Psychology has generated my interest in Māori parenting practices, specifically parental perceptions and responses to physical and

relational aggression, as I seek to explore whether Māori culture influences Māori childrearing practices given the demands of the Pākehā world we live in today.

Glossary

The following glossary involves basic translations of these terms and is a guide of how these terms have been used throughout.

Ako = Māori way of teaching and learning

Aotearoa = New Zealand

Aroha = To love, generosity and compassion

Atua = Deity/God

Haerenga = Journey

Haka = Māori dance

Hapū = Sub-tribe

He awa whiria = Braided river approach

Hui = Meeting/s

Inu = Drink

Io = Supreme/cosmic being

Io Matua Kore = Parentless one

Iwi = Tribe

Kai = Food

Kanohi ki te kanohi = Face to face

Kapa haka = Māori performing art

Karakia = Prayer

Kaumātua = Māori elder

Kaupapa Māori = Māori agenda/way

Kawa = Māori protocols

Kawa o te kainga = House protocols

Kawa o te marae = Marae protocols

Kete = Basket

Kōrero = Story/narrative/input

Koro = Grandfather

Kotahitanga = Unity

Kura Kaupapa = Māori schools

Mahi = Work

Māmā = Mother

Mana = Power/prestige

Manakitanga = Hospitality, generosity, to care for others

Mana-motuhake = Autonomy

Maramataka = Māori seasonal calendar

Matauranga Māori = Ancient Māori knowledge

Maunganui = Place Tāne was anointed

Mauri = Life force, life essence, life spark

Noa = Safe/ordinary

Pākehā = New Zealand European

Pāpā = Father

Papatūānuku = Earth Mother

Pepeha = Māori introductions

Peruperu = Type of haka used in battle

Pito = Placenta

Pounamu = Greenstone

Pūrākau = Stories/cautionary tale

Rakau = Stick

Ranginui = Sky father

Raruraru = Problem/issue

Rautaki = Strategy

Rehua = Guardian summoned by Io

Riri = Anger/aggression

Rōpū = Group

Ruatau = Guardian summoned by Io

Tāne = Son of Ranginui and Papatūānuku

Tāne Mahuta = God of Forests and Birds

Tāne-nui-ā-Rangi = Great Man of the Heavens

Tāne-te-Wānanga-ā-Rangi = Tāne- Retriever of knowledge from the sky

Taonga = Treasure/gift

Tapu = Sacred/prohibitions/restrictions

Tāwhirimatea = God of wind

Te ao Māori = Māori worldview

Te Ao Marama = World of light

Tēina = Younger sibling

Te Kōhanga reo = Māori preschool

Te Matatini = National kapa haka competition

Te Korekore = Period of nothingness/potential

Te Pō = The night/period of darkness

Te reo Māori = The Māori language

Tika = Correct

Tikanga Māori = Māori customs and values

Tino rangatiratanga = Self-determination

Tīpuna = Ancestors

Tohi ceremony = a ceremony where parents would dedicate their child to the service
of a chosen atua

Tohu = Award

Tohunga = Māori healer

Tuākana = Older sibling

Tūmatauenga = God of man/war

Tūpuna = Grandparents/whānau

Tūrangawaewae = Special place, place to stand

Wairua = Spirit

Wairuatanga = Spirituality

Wā takaro = Play time

Whakahoro = Māori cleaning ritual

Whakapapa = Genealogy

Whakataukī = Māori proverbs

Whakawhanaungatanga = Relationship building

Whānau = Family

Whanaungatanga = Relationship, kinship, sense of family connection

Whāngai = Raised by others

Whare = House

Whiro = God of Darkness

Chapter one – Introduction

The introduction is comprised of several sections. Section one begins with the Māori creation pūrākau (story) to set the context for the structure and positioning of this thesis. Section two provides a brief history of Aotearoa and describes the traditional ways of life for Māori, the changes that came with colonisation and how this may have impacted Māori lives today. Section three provides key definitions pertinent to this topic of research. Section four outlines the background of physical aggression (PA) and relational aggression (RA) research among young children including the rationale for this study. The research questions are also described in section four. Finally, section five outlines the structure for this thesis.

In the beginning, there was nothing (Te Korekore – Period of nothingness/potential), out of this void came Te Pō (the night/period of darkness) (Rata, 2012). Ranginui (God of the Sky) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother), who are known as the first primal parents, lay together inseparable and in darkness with their many offspring living between them (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). The children eventually came to discover a whole new world outside of their parents embrace. There are many different iwi (tribal) versions of this pūrākau in terms of what led the children to explore. However, it is said that the children over time became increasingly frustrated at the lack of space they had to share, and so they began to wonder what it would be like to have light in the world (Royal, 2005). They realised that for this to happen, they would have to separate their parents, although not all of the children agreed to this (The Te Reo Māori classroom, 2019). Eventually, it was their son Tāne Mahuta who pushed Ranginui up above so that he could become the sky we know today (Royal, 2007). Ranginui and Papatūānuku were saddened at their separation, but the children respected their parents and therefore, they did what they could to ease their pain. For example, Tāne Mahuta using his abilities as God of the Forests and Birds covered his mother in trees and foliage as a sign of respect for her (Cherrington, 2009). Following the separation, this allowed light to flood the Earth, where this new period was called Te Ao Marama (World of light) – the world as we know it today (Royal, 2007).

This is a generic version of the Māori creation pūrākau (story) which can vary among different iwi (tribe). This story, in particular, is important because in a Māori context all intelligence and knowledge stem from this pūrākau (Valentine, 2016). The creation pūrākau and other stories like it are significant because they are matauranga Māori (ancient Māori knowledge) which inform Māori beliefs. These pūrākau present traditional indigenous Māori messages for the reader to interpret (Amopi, 2016). Pūrākau are open to interpretation and therefore can have many understandings. I have structured this thesis in pūrākau style and because the creation story came before anything else in the world, it has been placed at the forefront. I also chose to begin with the creation story to position this thesis within a socio-cultural framework. To briefly explain, this way of thinking can be understood as “a comprehensive model that looks at how societal and cultural factors influence the thoughts, feelings, and behaviours of an individual or a group” (Eshun & Boburka, 2017, p. 3252). This socio-cultural worldview has been used as a key theoretical framework underpinning how the data in this thesis has been interpreted and analysed. In addition to social and cultural factors, the influence of historical factors has also been briefly explored in the following section.

History of Aotearoa and parenting practices over time

This section briefly describes the history of Aotearoa to understand how significant events such as colonisation have impacted the lives and particularly the parenting practices of Māori today. Traditionally, Māori lived collectively in villages with members of their iwi (tribe) and hapū (sub-tribe) where all members of this community had roles and responsibilities to provide for the village such as hunting and gathering kai (food) for everyone (Derby, 2013). Traditional family structures were very different to Pākehā nuclear families. For example, children were not viewed as belonging simply to their biological

parents. The children belonged to the community, and therefore, raising children was a collective task shared among the village (Higgins & Meredith, 2011). Children were treated as taonga (treasures) and were thought of as being tapu (sacred), therefore, children were treated with the utmost respect and were rarely punished (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). However, with the arrival of Pākehā in Aotearoa, this brought many drastic changes. For example, Pākehā introduced many new illnesses and diseases which dramatically reduced Māori life expectancy (Lange, 1999). Another important change saw the displacement of large amounts of Māori through the loss of Māori land which was either confiscated following the 1860s wars or bought by the Crown (Belgrave, 2013). One researcher described the significance of Māori land loss as separating “people from their whenua, destabilising place-based whānau, hapū and iwi identities, breaking long-established knowledge-practices around land use, resulting in dependence on colonial economic systems and undermining the very fabric of Māori society” (Walker, 1990, as cited in Moewaka-Barnes & McCreanor, 2019, p. 24). The displacement of Māori also meant many Māori had a lack of access to natural food resources which resulted in poor diets and it ultimately caused many Māori to live in poverty in overcrowded and unhygienic conditions (Pool & Kukutai, 2011).

Other radical changes for Māori involved the introduction of many state policies which were designed to assimilate Māori into colonial society. For example, this includes the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act which prohibited tohunga (Māori healer) practices (Anaru, 2011), and the introduction of the Native Schools Act 1867. While there was no official policy in the 1867 Act banning children from speaking te reo Māori, many were physically punished (Neilson, 2020; Sherman, 2015). Rapid urbanisation of Māori in the mid 1900s due to job opportunities also saw big changes to traditional Māori ways of life (Derby, 2013; Keane, 2011). With many Māori moving away from their village communities into single homesteads forming nuclear family structures, this meant they were

less connected to and supported by their iwi, hapū and whānau supports back in rural areas (Ministry of Culture & Heritage, 2020). For example the impact of colonisation had a significant impact on the breakdown of traditional whānau structures. Pihama et al. stated:

“the privatisation of whānau relations within a nuclear family model effectively removed for the majority of Māori fundamental mechanism of support, responsibility, obligations and accountability. What happened in a private individual home now became the ‘business’ only of those who lived within those four walls. The eyes of the whānau were removed, the obligation to our collective well-being became increasingly difficult to sustain and as the Pākehā legal system took more and more control, the mechanisms of communal accountability declined” (2003, p. 21).

The collapse of traditional ways of life such as child-rearing practices can also be partly attributed to the introduction of corporal punishment within schools. As previously mentioned, physically harming a child was rare – living by traditional Māori values. However, it started to become normalised, for many New Zealand children when European missionaries and teachers beat Māori children in schools to stop them from speaking te reo Māori and to encourage them to speak English (Higgins & Meredith, 2011).

Unfortunately, because of the extent of colonisation in Aotearoa and the perpetuated systemic racism, many Māori continue to be disadvantaged today. For example, Māori adults are more likely to have low rates of school completion, high rates of unemployment and low personal income with many receiving income support (Ministry of Health, 2018). This brief history was simply to give the reader an idea of how Māori lived pre-colonisation and how colonisation may have contributed to some Māori being disconnected from traditional Māori ways of life today. The next section will outline the definitions of important concepts examined in this study.

Definitions of physical aggression and relational aggression

It is important to define what aggression is and how it has been used throughout this study. Aggression can be defined as behaviour intended to hurt another physically, socially, emotionally and/or psychologically (Colman, 2015; DeLamater, Myers & Collett, 2018). A key point to note in this definition is that to be considered *aggression*, the individual must have malicious intent to hurt the receiver (Hsieh & Chen, 2017; Tremblay et al., 2005). An example of behaviour that does not fit this criterion in the relevant early childhood context, would be a child who loses their balance, trips and hits another child. However, there are other limitations with the above definition. Firstly, there are some types of aggression such as proactive aggression which does not seek to cause harm to others but instead, it aims to gain rewards for personal benefit (Geen, 2001). An example of this could be that a child hurts another child, not necessarily because they want to hurt them, but because they want the toy the other child is withholding from them. Secondly, the provided definition of aggression is not only based on the behaviour of the individual but it is also determined by how the behaviour is perceived by others. This further complicates the above definition because what one person may consider to be aggressive behaviour may not necessarily be to others (Bandura, 1973). The third and final limitation relates to the motivation of the receiver. Geen (2001) states that to be considered aggression, the receiver must be actively trying to avoid the aggressive behaviour because if an individual is seeking to harm themselves, this would not be labelled as aggression.

While there appears to be disagreement around one clear definition for the broad term *aggression*, there is a consensus over the definition of physical aggression (PA) and relational aggression (RA), which are the primary foci of this study as they are highly prevalent in early childhood – the developmental period of interest. PA has been defined as observable overt behaviours which cause physical harm to people or objects (Alink, et al.,

2006; Casas et al., 2006; Crick, 1996). Examples of PA which can be common in early childhood include behaviours such as hitting, kicking, biting and pushing. RA, on the other hand, is known as the behind the back form of aggression and can involve covert and overt behaviours. Unlike PA, RA does not always involve a direct face-to-face relationship between the individual and the receiver, RA often aims to damage a peer's social status and relationships (Bowie, 2007; Morine et al., 2011). RA may involve using relationships as vehicles of harm by threatening to end or damage relationships, manipulation, rumour spreading, social exclusion and denying others access to social resources (Casas et al., 2006; Crick, Ostrov & Werner, 2006). Examples of RA in early childhood could be a child tells another child "if you don't give me that crayon, you are not invited to my birthday" or "no I already told you, you can't play with us". The focus on the early childhood literature and the definitions above have been used to inform the interpretation and use of PA and RA in this study. The following section provides some of the background of PA and RA research and the rationale for conducting this study. The research questions have also been outlined.

Rationale and research questions

Research on childrens' uses of PA has been a topic that has been studied for over 60 years (Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1961; Tremblay et al., 2004). More recently, the literature on RA has started to increase, alongside an increasing awareness of the importance of studying RA in conjunction with PA among young children (Bonica et al., 2003; Swit et al., 2018; Swit, 2019). The overarching findings show that parents/whānau commonly perceive PA to be more serious than RA (Evans et al., 2012; Goldstein & Boxer, 2013; Hurd & Gettinger, 2011; Swit et al., 2018; Swit, 2019; Werner et al., 2006). Research shows parents/whānau and teachers express more negativity and concern towards PA compared to RA (Swit, 2019). One study found mothers were more likely to show fewer feelings of sadness, anger and upset towards hypothetical situations involving children engaging in RA as opposed to PA

(Werner et al., 2006). Hurd and Gettinger (2011) discovered similar findings where both parents/whānau and teachers of pre-schoolers showed higher ratings of hurtfulness towards PA compared to RA. Other studies revealed parents showing less empathy towards receivers of RA compared to receivers of PA (Goldstein & Boxer, 2013; Swit et al., 2018; Swit, 2019). Overall, these findings show that PA is perceived to be worse than RA. Hurd and Gettinger (2011) have a theory that this may be due to RA being subtle in nature, therefore causing it to be difficult to identify. Researchers have also discovered that the way parents/whānau perceive PA and RA is important because these perceptions can influence parental intervention methods to these types of behaviours (Nicolaides et al., 2002; Swit et al., 2018; Werner et al., 2006; Werner & Grant, 2009).

Parental perceptions of PA and RA have been found to align with their responses to pre-schoolers' uses of aggressive behaviours. The findings demonstrate that parents/whānau are less likely to intervene in situations involving RA and when they do, they usually use more passive intervention strategies compared to their responses to PA (Goldstein & Boxer, 2013; Swit et al., 2018; Swit, 2019; Werner et al., 2006). Hurd and Gettinger (2011) discovered 83% of the parents thought it would be necessary to intervene immediately for PA compared to only 31% for RA. Hurd and Gettinger's study also revealed that almost half of the parents stated they would use negative consequences such as time out in response to PA compared to only 5% when RA is involved. These findings are similar to other studies which found in response to PA, parents/whānau were more likely to use time-out, inform the child the behaviour was unacceptable and ask the child to apologise to the receiver (Swit et al., 2018; Werner et al., 2006). The study by Werner and others also found when RA was involved, more distracting methods were used such as asking the child to go and play somewhere else or saying to the child "that must have made you mad" (p. 205). Overall, these results show that in response to PA, parents/whānau are more likely to use more direct,

severe and immediate methods. Whereas, in response to RA, parents/whānau either respond more passively or are less likely to intervene at all.

As studies have shown, because parents/whānau and teachers commonly believe RA to be less serious compared to PA, they do not respond to RA as consistently as they do with PA (Goldstein & Boxer, 2013; Swit et al., 2018; Swit, 2019; Werner et al., 2006). The common beliefs around RA being less serious are concerning for many reasons. For example, Swit et al. (2018) assert it communicates the idea to children that RA is more normative, acceptable and easier to avoid punishment. Therefore, children are more likely to continue to use these behaviours which may persist and worsen over time (Vaillancourt et al., 2007). This is extremely important because research has shown that the effects of RA (for children who use these behaviours or children who are subjected to RA) are just as bad as the negative effects of PA (Card et al., 2008; Gower et al., 2014; Hurd and Gettinger, 2011; Paquette & Underwood, 1999). Other researchers have reported RA to be highly aversive and damaging to children (Crick, 1996), as it can lead to long-term social-emotional, behavioural and academic difficulties in school (Archer & Coyne, 2005, as cited in Hurd & Gettinger, 2011; Rose et al., 2004; Zalecki & Hinshaw, 2004).

Research on PA and RA in Aotearoa has been limited, although there was one local study conducted by Swit (2019) which assessed preschool parents/whānau and teachers perceptions and intervention responses to hypothetical scenarios depicting PA and RA. However, a gap of Swit's study was that only six per cent of the parents identified as Māori. Nevertheless, the findings of this study, like other studies (Hurd & Gettinger, 2011; Swit et al., 2018; Werner et al., 2006) demonstrated that parents/whānau are more likely to use more direct, severe and immediate intervention behaviour management strategies in response to PA compared to RA. For example, in Swit's 2019 study, children using PA were more likely

to be told their behaviour was intolerable and/or they were given negative consequences. In comparison, parents/whānau intervention methods toward RA were more passive and involved teaching the child prosocial skills and encouraging them to empathise with the receiver. A key finding from the national study showed that 15% of parents/whānau indicated they would do nothing in response to the child using RA. As mentioned above, these results are a cause for concern because if parents/whānau do not consistently respond to PA and RA, they may be sending the message that RA is more acceptable and easier to get away with (Swit et al., 2018). Therefore, encouraging its continued use among young children.

Other research on PA and RA in Aotearoa has been limited, especially in the early childhood developmental period. Studies in Aotearoa have more commonly assessed PA and RA with a focus on bullying and/or research which involves secondary school students (Green et al., 2013; Page, 2011; Page & Smith, 2012; Raskauskas, 2009). Another limitation of the current Aotearoa PA and RA research is that studies have predominantly involved Pākehā communities. Therefore, this study sought to fill this gap as the first of its kind to solely examine Māori parents/whānau perceptions and responses to PA and RA behaviours displayed by preschool children. The preschool developmental period was chosen because these are the years when beliefs and behaviours are not yet ingrained in children and therefore they can either be positively or negatively influenced (Swit et al., 2016). Deater-Deckard and Dunn (2002) also identified the early childhood period as significant because this is the time when sibling relationships are particularly salient and influential. Research identifies PA and RA to be typical behaviours among preschoolers with siblings (Ostrov et al., 2006; Stauffacher & DeHart, 2005). It is important to note that it is normal for children to engage in some aggressive behaviours during early childhood as they learn what is acceptable social behaviours (Malti, 2020). However, it is when children continue to use

aggression, despite appropriate intervention from parents/whānau and teachers, where problems may arise. A strong emphasis must be placed on teaching children culturally and socially located norms, such as the unacceptability of PA and RA in these early years. Otherwise, these children are at higher risk of experiencing school failure, and negative peer and family interactions (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 2013; Landon-Lane, 2017).

The following research questions were asked to gain a better understanding of this topic and to fill the gap in the current Aotearoa literature:

Research Question One: '*Does Māori culture influence the general parenting practices of Māori parents, if so – how?*'

Research Question Two: '*What are Māori parents/whānau perceptions of physical and relational aggression among 3-5 year old children?*'

Research Question Three '*How do Māori parents/whānau respond to physical and relational aggression among 3-5 year old children?*'

Research Question Four: '*What additional resources do Māori parents/whānau want or need to better understand and respond to PA and RA among young children?*'

These questions aimed to explore and give voice to a small group of Māori parents/whānau living in Aotearoa as they reflected on how they would hypothetically manage the PA and RA behaviours of preschool-aged children. The next section describes the structure of this thesis.

Thesis structure

The remainder of this thesis consists of five further chapters, as outlined below.

Note: All chapters begin with pūrākau Māori (Māori stories) which are referred back to throughout.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter is organised into five sections. The first section demonstrates the influence and the importance of culture on beliefs and actions. The second section explores how aggression may be perceived by parents/whānau by investigating how aggression is perceived in te ao Māori (Māori worldview). The third section of this chapter aims to understand how parents/whānau may respond to PA and RA by assessing traditional Māori childrearing practices, pūrākau and whakataukī (Māori proverbs). The fourth section provides some background on general Māori parenting studies in New Zealand. The final section describes some of the parenting programmes available in Aotearoa today.

Chapter three: Methodology

This chapter includes a brief history and rationale for using Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology to interview the Māori parents. The recruitment process of participants, as well as data gathering methods and data analysis processes are reported. A description of the cultural and ethical considerations is also provided.

Chapter four: Results

This chapter is divided into four sections, each section follows the stories of each of the parents/whānau who participated in the study. This chapter explores the parents beliefs of the influence of culture on their general parenting practices as well as parental perceptions and responses to hypothetical situations involving PA and RA among young children.

Additional parental resources suggested by the parents/whānau on how to better understand and respond to PA and RA are also outlined.

Chapter five: Discussion

This chapter contains a discussion of the key findings analysed from te ao Māori (Māori worldview) with comparison to previous literature. Recommendations are also outlined on additional resources that may be beneficial for Māori parents/whānau to better understand and respond to PA and RA. The reflections, strengths and suggestions for future research are also outlined in this chapter.

Chapter six: Conclusion

This chapter provides a brief conclusion of the overall study including some of the key findings and some final remarks for future research and resources which may benefit caregivers in raising young children.

Chapter two – Literature review

Creation story continued: After Tāne Mahuta separated Ranginui and Papatūānuku, another one of their sons Tāwhirimatea (God of Wind and one of the siblings who disapproved of the separation) followed his father up into the sky (Keane, 2006). In a rage, Tāwhirimatea caused destruction on Earth by sending strong winds and storms down to Earth to attack his siblings (Keane, 2006). Papatūānuku responded by hiding her children underneath the trees and foliage gifted to her by Tāne (Cherrington, 2009).

This chapter is organised into five sections to gain a better understanding of how to answer the research questions. These sections are as follows:

Section one: The influence of culture on beliefs and behaviour

Section two: Perceptions of aggression from te ao Māori

Section three: Traditional Māori parenting practices

Section four: Māori parenting practices of today

Section five: Parenting programmes in Aotearoa

The influence of culture on beliefs and behaviours

Before we delve into how aggression may be viewed in te ao Māori, we must first understand the influence that culture may have on the learning and the development of behaviours such as aggression. Culture has been discovered to play a major role in terms of how we think and how we behave (Rotherham & Phinney, 1987). Culture determines how we view the world and what we deem to be normative and acceptable (Cheah & Rubin, 2004). Therefore, the influence of culture on the development of behaviour can be explained by the practice of *socialisation*. Grusec (2002) states socialisation can be defined as the “way in which individuals are assisted in the acquisition of skills necessary to function

successfully as members of their social group” (p. 143). In a te ao Māori context, behaviour is understood as primarily relational, meaning behaviour is viewed as the result of interactions between people and their environments or social events (Savage et al., 2012). Through the process of socialisation then, parents/whānau condition and socialise children into culture and family, where the values, aspirations and responsibilities of the collective are learnt and modelled – or not (Harkness & Super, 1995). One term necessary to mention in a Māori learning environment is *ako*. Ako refers to all Māori processes of learning and teaching where there is an interconnectedness between all learners and teachers (Smith, 1997). Ako can be used to describe a teaching and learning relationship where the teacher also learns from the student, making their relationship reciprocal, collaborative and dynamic (Boldstad & Gilbert, 2008). Ako commonly occurs within tuākana-tēina relationships where tuākana (elder siblings) have the responsibility of guiding and helping the tēina (younger siblings). However, as mentioned above, in a learning environment which involves *ako*, the tuākana-tēina roles may be reversed at any time (LeGrice et al., 2017). In early childhood and Kōhangā Reo (Māori preschool) settings, parents/whānau, teachers, and/or tuākana teach young children that PA and RA towards others is socially unacceptable. Some popular ecological theories which further explain the role of culture in the early learning of behaviours are by academics such as Vygotsky and Rogoff. These theories are briefly discussed below.

Ecological theories

The socio-cultural theory developed by Vygotsky in 1978 is a popular explanation for the development of behaviour. This is the idea that human learning is a social process influenced by factors in society and culture. For example, this theory postulates that all humans are born with biological constraints on their minds but it is the *intellectual tools of adaptation* as Vygotsky calls them which allow children to use their mental abilities in a

way that is appropriate to the culture they live in. Vygotsky defines intellectual tools of adaptation as methods of thinking, learning, remembering or strategies for problem-solving that children internalise from their interactions with more experienced members of society.

It is important to note that knowledge in te ao Māori can come from atua (gods), tūpuna (ancestors), from children and the biophysical environment (Pihama, Simmonds et al., 2019). Therefore, examples of intellectual tools of adaptation relevant to te ao Māori could involve learning through pūrākau, dreams, observation, participation and through interactions and experiences with people and the environment. In comparison to Western society, note-taking, for example, could be considered a common intellectual tool of adaptation. Further, Vygotsky's theory also states that learning takes place within the *Zone of Proximal Development*. This zone refers to "the distance between the actual developmental level of the individual as determined by independent problem-solving, and the level of potential development as determined through problem-solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). Rogoff (1990) expanded on the work of Vygotsky characterising this process as *guided participation*. In te ao Māori, guided participation and Vygotsky's zone of proximal development can be likened to the tuākana-tēina relationship previously mentioned (Westerbeke, 2016). The previous section examined how behaviours such as PA and RA can develop through the influence of culture. The next section explores Māori culture to understand how aggression is viewed in te ao Māori.

At this point, it is necessary to acknowledge the differences in Western and Indigenous knowledge and ways of thinking. The first section of this chapter focussed on Western theories and research. The following sections focus on Indigenous Māori knowledge and perspectives. However, the review will use the He Awa Whiria: Braided Rivers Approach (Macfarlane et al., 2015) where Western and Indigenous knowledge have

been used to complement one another. He Awa Whiria postulates that by blending the two knowledge streams, as they call them, this produces an approach which is potentially more powerful than either stream on its own (Advisory Group on Conduct Problems, 2011). With this in mind, the next section focuses on exploring Māori culture to understand how aggression is viewed in te ao Māori.

Perceptions of aggression from te ao Māori

To understand Māori perceptions of aggression, we first must understand key Māori world beliefs. “A Māori world view acknowledges a natural order to the universe, a balance or equilibrium” (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013, p .274). Two terms important in understanding balance in te ao Māori are tapu and noa. Tapu is a cosmic power imbued in all things from the moment they come into existence (Henare, 2001). Tapu is also commonly known as *sacred* or *spiritual restrictions* because when tapu is in a strong state, it must be treated with caution (Royal, 2007). All things and people have some degree of tapu, for example, children are tapu as they whakapapa to and have a strong connection with the atua (Mana Ririki, n.d). As a result of tapu, there are some tikanga practices set in place to keep us noa. Noa can be described as a place, resource or activity that is deemed ordinary, safe or free from restriction or tapu rules (Ataria et al., 2019). There are certain whakanoa (to make safe) practices which can lift tapu and return one to a state of noa. For example, this can include whakahoro rituals which involve using water and reciting karakia (prayer) (Keane, 2011). The system of tapu/noa regulates human behaviour as there are particular tapu rules which should be followed to appease the atua and to remain to some extent in a state of noa (Smith, 1981).

The system of tapu/noa relates to emotions such as aggression because emotions can sometimes be perceived to be the work of the atua. For example, Smith (1981) explained:

“fear was not viewed as being induced by a fear causing event but instead was seen as the work of a hostile atua angered by the violation of a tapu rule” (p. 149). However, despite this belief, Smith (1981) also said that these instances were not completely out of the control of humans because the individuals who knowingly violate a tapu rule know the consequences and therefore they play a role in the process. Similarly, Cherrington (2016) who is a Māori psychologist also speaks to this point and talks with her clients about their connections with the atua. She asks her clients which atua they align to the most in terms of personality traits and behaviour. She questions whether disorders such as bipolar can be attributed to too much of Tāwhirimatea’s excitable energy. It is a fascinating idea that aggression could perhaps be the result of Tūmatauenga’s rage as God of Man/War.

Further, in traditional times, aggression was not necessarily perceived as a negative trait. Boys were often dedicated to Tūmatauenga or other local war gods in tohi ceremony to provide the child with spiritual protection and necessary survival traits such as strength, bravery and endurance (Jenkins & Harte, 2011; Keane, 2011). So from this perspective aggression was viewed as a desired trait for male children involved in warfare. This demonstrates that in te ao Māori, aggression was not thought of as a negative or unwanted trait. Instead, aggression was something to be channelled for a particular purpose rather than to be reactionary. This notion is further demonstrated with the haka.

Haka briefly defined can mean *posture dance* (Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2010). It is a well known way of channelling aggression and can be used for several purposes but is mainly used to convey messages to a certain audience (Timu, 2019). For example, it is common for kapa haka rōpū (Māori performing art group/s) at Te Matatini (National kapa haka competition) to use haka to communicate political messages such as advocating for Māori rights. Traditionally, one type of haka known as peruperu was commonly used as a tactic

during a battle (Gardiner, 2001). This haka was used to scare and intimidate the enemies through the bulging of the eyes and the poking out of tongues (Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2010). However, haka was used and is still used today to channel the energy or the attributes of the atua (gods). Haka can be used as an outlet to channel the attributes of *controlled aggression* from Tūmatauenga (God of War) (Timu, 2019). So, as we’ve seen, emotions can sometimes be perceived to be the work of the atua due to a violation of a tapu rule or aggression can be something to be channelled in the appropriate contexts. In the next section, whakataukī from Pihama, Greenshill et al. (2019) have been explored to provide more insight into how aggression is viewed in te ao Māori.

Whakataukī

The following whakataukī educate us of the dangers of anger and aggression:

“Ka tuwhera te tāwhera o te riri, kāore e titiro ki te ao mārama”

“When the gates of war have been flung open, you can’t see reason”

“He ora te whakapiri, he mate te whakatakariri”

“There is strength in unity and defeat in anger”

Like the wider body of research (Hurd & Gettinger, 2011; Swit et al., 2018; Werner et al., 2006), these whakataukī warn us of the negative effects anger and aggression. Pihama, Greenshill et al. (2019) state that the top whakataukī cautions us that feelings of anger/aggression can be overwhelming and therefore cloud our judgement. This whakataukī reminds us to be mindful of our actions, to pause when it is needed to settle intense feelings and to make space for calm. The bottom whakataukī encourages us to hold strong supports with whānau, iwi and hapū so that overall well-being can be supported otherwise anger/aggression can result from being alone. These whakataukī demonstrate that aggression is something to be cautious of and therefore they discourage the use of aggression toward

others. Tikanga Māori values also support this idea and have been discussed in the next section.

Tikanga Māori

Tikanga Māori values can be defined as “instruments through which Māori make sense of, experience, and interpret their environment” (Marsden, 1988, as cited in Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013, p. 275). Harmsworth and Awatere (2013) state these values “provide the concepts, principles, and lore Māori use to varying degrees in everyday life, and often to form ethics and principles” (p. 275). Therefore, these values drive Māori to behave in ways that are perceived as tika (correct) (Whaanga, 2012). Some key tikanga Māori values which have been explored to understand how aggression is viewed in te ao Māori are aroha and manaakitanga. Broadly speaking, aroha and manaakitanga go hand in hand where each one is vital for the other (Barlow & Wineti, 1991). Aroha, as it is commonly known today, translates to love, respect and compassion (Mead, 2003). However, traditional definitions of aroha encompass a lot more than the simple definition provided above. Accurate definitions of aroha involve the importance of the obligations we have to others in terms of nurturing relationships and treating others with care (Wilson et al., 2019). From this definition, we can see that pre-colonial Māori notions of love are founded by manaakitanga (Barlow & Wineti, 1991). Manaakitanga, as it is commonly known today, can mean hospitality, generosity, or respecting and caring for others (Pere, 1982). However, it is important to note there are multiple ways of defining manaakitanga depending on the different contexts in which it is used. For instance, manaakitanga has been described as a process of reciprocity where my whānau gave an example from their childhood (Snowdon-Rameka & Rameka, personal communication, March 6, 2020). They described manaakitanga as the obligation for hosts to look after their visitors such as by offering kai/inu (food/drink) (even if this is the last food in the house). They also described

manaakitanga as being the obligation of the visitors to accept what the host is offering them out of respect. Despite the differing views on the specific definitions of aroha and manaakitanga, it is agreed in basic terms that these values mean to love and care for others. As the definitions of tikanga Māori values are vast, only two were chosen to discuss. However, it is important to briefly note that there are many other values such as whanaungatanga (sense of family connection), mana (prestige, power) and kotahitanga (unity) which do not encourage the use of aggression towards others. In the next section, the creation pūrākau (provided at the start of Chapters 1 and 2) is explored to see what it teaches us about aggression.

Messages on aggression from the creation pūrākau

The creation story teaches us several key messages about conflict, anger and aggression. One key learning from this pūrākau is that it teaches us that every child is unique in terms of having different qualities and temperaments and that at times there will be a rivalry between siblings (Oranga Tamariki, n.d.). From this story, we also learn that aggression can be a result of whānau separation if we think of Tāwhirimatea's rage at the separation of his parents (Cherrington, 2009). It also teaches us that at times people may act aggressively, however they still have the capacity to love, care and help others (Cherrington, 2009). For example, the act of Tāne separating Ranginui and Papatūānuku could be perceived as *aggressive*. However, he showed love and care to his parents by covering Papatūānuku with trees and foliage (Leather & Hall 2004). Another example which was not mentioned in the creation pūrākau provided, involves the time when Tāwhirimatea (after his violent attacks toward his siblings) helped his brother Tāne to ascend the heavens and collect the baskets of knowledge (Cherrington, 2009). Further, the creation story not only teaches us about aggressive behaviour and its after-effects, it also provides us with insight into how aggression was responded to. For example, it teaches us about how Ranginui and

Papatūānuku responded to Tāwhirimatea's aggression. However, the child-rearing messages from the creation story are described in further detail in the next section.

In this section, aggression from a te ao Māori point of view was explored to try and understand how Māori parents/whānau may perceive and respond to PA and RA in young children. It was discovered that emotions such as aggression can sometimes be the influence of the atua, whether that be due to a violation of a tapu rule or from channelling controlled aggression through haka. However, it was also determined that ultimately acting aggressively is discouraged in whakataukī, tikanga Māori values and the Māori creation pūrākau. Furthermore, to further understand how Māori parents/whānau may perceive and respond to PA and RA, Māori parenting practices have been explored. Firstly, the creation story has been assessed to inform this viewpoint alongside the historical literature on traditional Māori parenting practices and whakataukī.

Māori parenting practices

Pūrākau

The creation pūrākau is useful to this study because it provides insight on Māori child-rearing practices which may help to understand how Māori parents/whānau perceive and respond to PA and RA in young children. Jenkins and Harte (2011) articulate that the creation story depicts Ranginui and Papatūānuku in a loving and committed relationship where they had to put their childrens' needs ahead of their own and to give their children space to grow. In relevance to the context of this study, this pūrākau also teaches us about how Ranginui and Papatūānuku responded to Tāwhirimatea's aggression. Papatūānuku responded by hiding her children from Tāwhirimātea's attacks within the foliage (Keane, 2006). The protective acts of Papatūānuku show that she does not condone aggressive behaviours. This is also evident with the primal parents unwanted separation. Ranginui and

Papatūānuku did not reprimand their children but instead, they made several helpful suggestions to their children (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). For example, the primal parents advised Tāwhirimatea to forgive his siblings, as they knew the separation was in the best interests of all the children (Reed, 1977). The creation pūrākau teaches us numerous messages of the loving parenting practices of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. In the next section, to gain a better understanding of how Māori parents/whānau may perceive and respond to aggressive behaviours, traditional parenting practices have been explored.

Traditional Māori childrearing practices

In traditional Māori times, children were highly valued as they were viewed as a continuation of whakapapa and as the future of whānau, hapū and iwi (Rimene et al., 1998). According to Jenkins and Harte (2011) children were viewed as tapu. These perceptions of children were important because they determined why the children were treated with the utmost respect. There are several whakataukī to support these claims that children were highly valued in te ao Māori. The following whakataukī by Higgins & Merdith (2011) demonstrates how well children were treated in te ao Māori:

“He kai poutaka me kinikini atua, he kai poutaka me horehore atu, mā te tamaiti te iho”

“Pinch off a bit of the potted bird, peel off a bit of the potted bird, but the inside is for the child”

This whakataukī reiterates how adored and respected Māori children were by giving them the best parts of the food. Furthermore, as previously mentioned above, the importance of whānau was critically influential in ensuring the positive and healthy development of children. As previously mentioned in conventional times, the raising of children was not left solely to the biological parents but instead, it was a collective responsibility among whānau,

hapū and iwi (Barlow & Wineti, 1991). With the shared care of children among parents/whānau, tūpuna (grandparents/whānau), tuākana and cousins, this made for light work all round and the children were able to develop a strong sense of community and social connectedness (Herbert, 2001). Collective responsibility of children is still present today, for example, it is not unusual for children to be raised by their tūpuna (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Collective responsibility of children can be recognised as a positive factor. This is because it allows for healthy child development through multiple nurturing relationships, high socialisation and it enables the parents to have a break from their parenting responsibilities (Taonui, 2010). There are several accounts which state that violence against Māori children was rare in pre-European times (Poananga, 2011; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1997; Taonui, 2010). Written records from visiting Europeans have documented that Māori parents/whānau were warm, indulgent, playful and active, and children were rarely punished let alone physically abused (Angas, 1847, as cited in Taonui, 2010; Polack, 1840, as cited in Jenkins & Harte, 2011; Shortland, 1882, as cited in Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Jenkins and Harte (2011) stated children were treated as atua and therefore to mistreat a child was viewed as mistreating the atua. Harsh physical discipline or reprimand was also scorned because it was thought that hurting a child would hinder their mauri (life force/life essence) and the ability for their (wairua) spirit to thrive and flourish (Edwards & Ratima, 2014). The following whakataukī sourced from Higgins & Meredith (2011) supports the notion that physical discipline towards a child was discouraged.

“Ko te mahi a te tamariki, he wāwāhi tahā”

“The activities of children break calabashes”

Higgins and Meredith (2011) state that this whakataukī teaches us that at times children may make mistakes and break things, although they assert it is the role of the whānau to teach the child how to behave without responding with anger or punishing the

child for being inquisitive. Further, another reason children were not physically punished was because acts of violence towards whānau were viewed as extremely serious transgressions of tikanga Māori (customs/protocols). These transgressions were considered to breach the mana and tapu of the individual, their whānau while causing a loss in mana for the transgressor and their entire whakapapa (Mikaere, 1994). Mana briefly described has many meanings such as “authority, control, influence, power, prestige, psychic” (Hemara, 2000, as cited in Rameka, 2012, p. 136). Mana in traditional times (and still today) was highly valued and was a desired attribute to Māori. To be aggressive or physically abusive towards children was to lose mana which was a serious deterrent. In these instances, however, processes of utu (reciprocity) would take place. Utu often involved wrong-doers and their whānau and hapū having to compensate the receiver and their wider whānau to make amends for the transgression (Patterson, 1991). Utu was a key process in restoring balance and harmony which as previously mentioned is very important in te ao Māori. Overall, traditional Māori parenting practices, the potential of losing mana and processes of utu were all deterrents against physically disciplining or acting aggressively toward children.

This section explored Māori childrearing practices through assessing the Māori creation pūrākau, whakataukī and by exploring traditional parenting methods. From these sources, we see children were raised in environments where whānau were affectionate, active and indulgent. Whakataukī and records of traditional Māori parenting practices show that children were adored and it was not common for parents/whānau to physically discipline their children. Now that traditional Māori childrearing practices have been explored, the parenting practices of Māori today need to be examined. In doing so, the next section aims to investigate the research evidence on whether Māori culture is being implemented in the current parenting practices of Māori. This will help to understand how Māori parents/whānau may perceive and respond to PA and RA used by children.

Parenting practices of today

As I briefly touched on at the beginning of the introduction chapter, due to colonisation, many Māori are living very different lives to traditional Māori methods. There is no *one* way to be or live as Māori, this is a concept Durie (1995) refers to as Māori living *diverse realities*. However, research shows many Māori today still maintain a connection to ancestral iwi and marae (Māori meeting place), are involved in some form of contemporary cultural practice, and view Māori culture as significant (Statistics Aotearoa 2013a, as cited in Kukutai & Webber, 2017). Of the limited Māori parenting studies in New Zealand, research has revealed Māori culture does influence how Māori parents raise their children today.

One study by Abel et al. (2001) found that Māori parents/whānau today use karakia for the protection of their children, rituals such as the burial of the pito (placenta) and the bestowing of a Māori name to provide spiritual protection and strength. Other studies show that Māori parents today find it important for their children to know their whakapapa, to understand tikanga Māori, to learn te reo Māori and to embrace their spirituality (Abel et al., 2001; Campbell, 2012; Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2011; Poananga, 2011). Furthermore, another study also found Māori parents/whānau find it important for their children to learn and know their whakapapa, to have a strong positive cultural identity, to be connected to their whenua and tūrangawaewae, and to feel their wairua (Ware et al., 2018). As this study is interested in the parental responses to PA and RA behaviours shown by children, Aotearoa studies, which have focussed on the *disciplinary or behaviour management strategies* (as they call them) of parents/whānau, have been explored.

Cultural differences in behaviour management approaches

There are limited studies which focus on the behaviour management strategies of Māori parents/whānau. However, there is some research on the use of physical discipline towards children. Carswell (2001) found the European/other parent grouping were more likely to find it acceptable to physically discipline children over Māori and Pacific parents. The Discipline and Guidance of Children review also found no evidence to support Māori as any more accepting of physically disciplining their children (Smith et al., 2004). There does not seem to be any recent research on Māori parental use of physical discipline but there are a few national studies which tend to only have a handful of Māori participants (e.g., Morton et al., 2017).

Further, given the paucity of research in this area, three Aotearoa studies have been explored to demonstrate the different cultural approaches to managing child behaviour. One study with predominantly European parents, one study with Samoan parents and one study with Māori parents.

The study by Kremer et al. (2010) analysed family records of behaviour management incidents with under five-year-old children. This study involved mainly European families with 8% being Māori and they found in most cases, parents/whānau used several different behaviour management techniques. The most common methods included using verbal instruction (e.g., asking the child to do something), verbal warning, time-out and praise (e.g., saying “good girl for listening”). They found there were very low levels of physical punishment or aggressive verbal responses towards children’s behaviour. Verbal instruction, negotiation or explanation/reasoning were commonly used techniques by parents/whānau rather than power assertive methods (e.g., threats of punishment) and physical discipline.

Another Aotearoa study by Cowley-Malcolm (2013) focussed on New Zealand Samoan parental responses to PA behaviours in one to three year old children. These parents/whānau were found to use a different cultural response and various strategies. Some of these included using humour, talking with the child calmly and giving the child a look of disapproval. A key finding of this study found that hitting was more commonly used as a response than techniques such as time-out and explaining.

In contrast, Poangana (2011) found that Māori parents/whānau use several other culturally-located parenting strategies to manage child behaviour. These parenting methods include using time-out with kaumātua (Māori elders) allowing for respite for caregivers, taking children to marae and hui, and teaching children the rules of the whare (house) and principles of whānau (e.g., manaakitanga and respect for elders).

This section explored the different cultural approaches to parenting in Aotearoa. One of the research questions aims to identify the parenting resources parents/whānau feel they may need or want to better understand and respond to PA and RA. Therefore, the next section focuses on some of the current parenting programmes available in Aotearoa to identify the gaps where parental resources may need to be developed.

Parenting programmes in New Zealand

It is widely known that parents/whānau and teachers all around the world commonly perceive RA to be less serious than PA and therefore they respond to RA more passively or they do not intervene at all (Hurd & Gettinger, 2011; Swit et al., 2018, Swit, 2019; Werner et al., 2006). Therefore, in Aotearoa, it is not only Māori parents/whānau who may need additional resources to better understand and respond to PA and RA but this education needs to be taught during teacher training and to parents/whānau of all ethnicities. This study offers a unique relational approach where parents/whānau were specifically asked for their

feedback. Too often parenting resources are imported from overseas and are developed by the experts rather than in partnership with parents/whānau for which these resources are intended for. For example, both the Incredible Years and the Triple P parenting programmes which are widely used in Aotearoa originate from overseas (Sanders et al., 1999; Webster-Stratton, 2001). Some of the content of the Incredible Years and Triple P programmes involve assisting parents/whānau to improve the management of challenging child behaviour through spending quality time with children, encouraging positive child behaviours, setting clear rules and boundaries, whilst also using praise and encouragement when appropriate. However, there are some concerns over the effectiveness of these general programmes for Māori parents/whānau due to the programme content not being specifically tailored to the cultural needs of many Māori (Smith, 1999). Despite these reservations, general parenting programmes have been found to show some positive effects for Māori. For example, Fergusson et al. (2009) found the Incredible Years programme significantly improved child behaviour and social competence.

Recent times have seen the establishment of several Kaupapa Māori (Māori agenda) and culturally adapted parenting programmes designed specifically for Māori. Some of the kaupapa Māori programmes include Tikanga Whakatipu Ririki, Te Atawhaingia te Pā Harakeke, Te Mana Kainga Programme, Poutiria te Aroha, Oranga Whānau and Whānau Toko i te Ora. Some of the culturally adapted programmes include Te Pou Toru (adapted Triple P parenting programme), Incredible Years adapted programme and Hoki ki te Rito (Mellow Parenting Programme). Culturally adapted parenting programmes are those that have been tailored to *culturally match* the context in which they are to be delivered (Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, 2015). One concern of culturally adapted programmes is that they can be built on values and beliefs that can differ to or be contrary to indigenous values (Cargo, 2008, as cited in the Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, 2015). To

further explore this idea, a table by Savage et al. (2014) has been provided below outlining the differences between general and Kaupapa Māori parenting programmes.

Table 1. *A lens on behaviour. Two opposing perspectives*

A traditional Western lens on behaviour	A te ao Māori lens on relationship
Punitive, blaming, labelling, removal, isolation	Inclusive, problem-solving, restorative, mana enhancing.
A deficit lens that focuses on the current behavioural incident; low tolerance	A holistic lens that focuses on potential, skills and the essence of the whole person; a greater tolerance for ‘mischief’.
An individual focus: behaviour viewed as a problem from ‘within’ the child; the snapshot; a focus on the present event; the individual child and his/her behaviour; a linear process	An ecological focus; the impact of environmental variables on the behaviour; a video perspective of the setting and context; behaviour as a having a history/whakapapa; the interconnectedness of relationships in the whole class; a circular process.
Clinical approaches: solve the current crisis, context of the dominant hegemony	Cultural approaches — the big picture, achieving balance and restored mana, relational trust, using behaviour such as using all senses, listening, the ‘look’, voice tone and so on.

Note. Sourced from: (Savage et al., 2014, p. 171)

One of the most prominent differences is that the general parenting interventions such as Triple P and Incredible Years are based on Western paradigms where the focus is on changing parents behaviours to change the behaviour of the child. Whereas Kaupapa Māori programmes recognise that Māori have a different way of thinking and doing things in the world. For example, the Kaupapa Māori interventions hold a holistic te ao Māori worldview (Rolleston et al., 2020). These programmes acknowledge that for beneficial outcomes to occur, interventions need to involve building on the wider strengths of the parents/whānau rather than treating the problem which can sometimes be common among Western

frameworks. Now that a general overview of these parenting programmes has been provided, in the next section the literature has been assessed to determine the effectiveness of Kaupapa Māori and general parenting programmes.

What works for Māori?

Parents/whānau in this study were asked to identify any resources they think would be useful in helping them to better understand and respond to PA and RA in young children. Therefore, current parenting programmes have been assessed to determine what is already available to parents/whānau and to discuss the evidence of the impact for Māori.

Some of the literature suggests that kaupapa Māori programmes work more effectively for parents compared to general programmes (Adamson et al., 2006). However, Robertson (2014) concluded there are very few parenting programmes including no kaupapa Māori programmes that meet the Western scientific research standards in Aotearoa. Robertson (2014) also asserted it is difficult to determine whether culturally adapted parenting programmes are any better than kaupapa Māori programmes. However, the Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit (2015) found both Kaupapa Māori and culturally adapted parenting programmes to be effective with whānau as they acknowledge and validate Māori knowledge, beliefs, values, and practices.

Despite the differing views, the culturally adapted Incredible Years Programme has demonstrated some positive effects but overall the programme has been more responsive for non-Māori compared to Māori (Berryman et al., 2012, as cited in Sturrock & Gray, 2013). Another study found the Incredible Years programme to be an effective parenting programme for six urban Māori with decreased negative child behaviours at school and home, and some improvement in parenting confidence and identity (Herewini, 2014). However, Herewini recognised the need for more Māori to be trained as programme

implementers and for more Māori resources to be developed. A study conducted by Keown et al., (2018) saw the adaption of the Triple P programme for Māori where there were improvements in disruptive child behaviour problems, negative parenting practices, parenting confidence and inter-parental disagreements. However, as this adapted programme is so recent, there is no other research to support the findings. Further, it is noted that a key factor of the success of parenting programmes for Māori is the cultural appropriateness of the interventions therefore, this has been explored in the next section.

Programme cultural appropriateness

As this study is interested in parenting resources which may be helpful for parents/whānau to better understand and respond to PA and RA, it is important to consider whether these resources are culturally appropriate. One of the main concerns of many Māori is whether Aotearoa parenting programmes are culturally appropriate and responsive for Māori. For example, a preliminary evaluation by Fergusson et al. (2009) concluded Incredible Years to be culturally appropriate due to significant improvements in child behaviour and social competence scores; and because of high parental satisfaction ratings. However, the Advisory Group on Conduct Problems (2009) stated that ensuring the cultural appropriateness and responsiveness of programmes also requires a lot more than just positive participant satisfaction ratings. Fergusson et al. (2009, as cited in Cherrington, 2009) later acknowledged they did not provide information regarding how many people dropped out of the programme calling their claims *overly optimistic*. Further, Berryman et al. (2012, as cited in Sturrock & Gray, 2013) conducted a Kaupapa Māori study of the Incredible Years programme and concluded that although the findings of this study showed some positive effects, more needs to be done to ensure “a more responsive, cohesive (and at times differentiated) and aligned approach to meet the needs of Māori families” (Berryman et al., 2012, as cited in Sturrock & Gray, 2013, p. 59). Additionally, the adapted Triple P

programme was determined to be culturally acceptable by Keown et al. (2018). The authors of this study stated they obtained high completion of the programme, medium to large effect sizes, high internal reliability, and they also reported they consulted with the local iwi. This section has described some of the parenting interventions available in Aotearoa as well as parenting programmes specifically on offer for Māori. The next section provides a summary of this chapter.

Chapter two summary

Overall this chapter examined some features of contemporary parenting practices. Although parents today may not live in villages collectively raising their children, contemporary Māori parents continue to incorporate tikanga Māori into their parenting practices such as teaching their children te reo Māori and whakapapa. Māori culture and tikanga were also explored to demonstrate how culture may influence Māori parents/whānau today in terms of how they perceive and respond to PA and RA among young children. Aspects such as te ao Māori perspectives, traditional Māori child-rearing practices and tikanga Māori were discussed in detail. However, it is difficult to make any definitive conclusions on how Māori parents/whānau address PA and RA as there is no pan-Māori approach to child-rearing. Each whānau has their unique interpretations of child-rearing particularly concerning the management of challenging behaviour. However, Kaupapa Māori interventions are useful tools to identify commonalities between how parents/whānau draw from traditional wisdom and their beliefs around the sacredness of children. What emerged from this literature review was the clear strength-based paradigm that Kaupapa Māori interventions are grounded within. For example, Kaupapa Māori parenting programmes focus on building on the strengths of parents/whānau rather than treating the problem which is common among Western frameworks. The research also demonstrated that the general parenting programmes have some benefits for Māori but more could be done to

make them more responsive. The next chapter will discuss the methodology used for this study.

Chapter three – Methodology

After some time, Io who is also commonly known as Io Matua Kore (The Supreme Cosmic Being or the Parentless One) summoned two heavenly guardians named Rehua and Ruatau (Te Matorohanga & Pohuhu, n.d., as cited in Kiwa Digital, 2017). Io asked the guardians to travel to Earth to find which of Papatūānuku and Ranginui’s children could ascend the 12 heavens to Te Toi-o-ngā-Rangi (where Io resides) to obtain the three baskets of knowledge to share with the world (Kāretu, 2008). Like many pūrākau, there are many variations of this story. However, once on Earth, Rehua and Ruatau asked many of the siblings “what route would you take to Te Toi-o-Ngā-Rangi to obtain the baskets of knowledge?” (Te Matorohanga & Pohuhu, n.d., as cited in Kiwa Digital, 2017). Each of the children gave their answers including Whiro (God of Darkness) however, it was Tāne’s proposed route which was accepted (Spiller, 2011). Before Tāne began his haerenga (journey) to collect the baskets of knowledge, he was taken to Maunganui where he was anointed and given one of his many names – Tāne-Nui-ā-Rangi (Great Man of the Heavens) (Te Matorohanga & Pohuhu, n.d., as cited in Kiwa Digital, 2017). As Tāne (closely accompanied by Tāwhirimātea) climbed higher, he encountered many obstacles and tests in which he had to overcome. One of these challenges involved confronting Whiro who became enraged when he discovered Tāne-Nui-ā-Rangi was sent to acquire the baskets of knowledge (Waitoki, 2016). Whiro was upset because he believed he had more rights to the baskets as the older brother (Kāretu, 2008). When Whiro and Tāne met, Whiro attacked him with birds and insects including mosquitos, sand-flies, spiders, weta and more (Te Matorohanga & Pohuhu, n.d., as cited in Kiwa Digital, 2017). However with the help of Tāwhirimātea, Tāne was able to survive the attacks of Whiro and reach Te Toi-o-Ngā-Rangi to acquire the baskets of knowledge from Io-Matua-Kore (Waitoki, 2016). Using this knowledge, Tāne’s task was to keep order on Earth and he was given the name Tāne-te-Wānanga-ā-Rangi (Tāne – bringer of knowledge from the sky) (Te Reo Māori Classroom, 2019).

When I think of Tāne's journey to collect the baskets of knowledge, I liken his haerenga (journey) to my own where I have been collecting knowledge throughout this study. Like Tāne, I have faced many challenges being a novice researcher and having to navigate such a new space primarily on my own. For me, Whiro represents at times – procrastination, demotivation, pressure and stress. However, like Tāne, I have learnt so much throughout my journey and now my kete (basket) of knowledge is fuller than ever. Like Tāne, I understand my duty to take this knowledge I have learnt and share it.

This chapter is written in pūrākau style (i.e. it has been told in the sequential order in which events occurred). The first section explains the origins and rationale for the study. The second section provides some definitions of key methodology terms used such as the overarching qualitative research method, Kaupapa Māori theory and Kaupapa Māori methodology, inductive analysis and semi-structured interviews.

The origins of this study

The idea to explore Māori parental perceptions and responses to PA and RA behaviours displayed by preschool-aged children first originated when I had a meeting with my primary supervisor. This was a topic that sparked my interest for many reasons. One of the reasons was because I learnt that parents/whānau commonly perceive RA to be less serious than PA and therefore they respond to it more passively. I discovered this is important because when parents/whānau do not consistently respond to PA and RA, this can have many negative developmental outcomes for children. Hence, I was interested in conducting this research within a unique Māori context to understand whether the prior research noted above applied to the parents/whānau within this study. If so, firstly I wanted to understand why this might be, and secondly, I was interested in the kōrero (input) that Māori parents/whānau had in relation to PA and RA through a cultural lens. For example, I

wanted to understand if cultural nuances impacted the way that parents/whānau perceived and interpreted PA and RA.

I chose to specifically focus on the preschool developmental period because in my opinion early prevention and intervention are key in impeding the development of challenging behaviours in children. As Swit et al. (2016) explain, this is a critical time for young children because they are still developing an understanding of what is acceptable and unacceptable social behaviours. Therefore, parents/whānau can have a negative or positive influence on the development of childrens' behaviours in these early formative years. The reasoning behind recruiting Māori parents/whānau for this study was because I have a strong desire to work with Māori throughout my career and I wanted to use my knowledge to help enhance Māori life outcomes. I also believed this study would be an important contribution because this study explores parents' considerations of culture and its impact on their parenting which only a few local studies have examined. This study is also beneficial to the current knowledge base because parenting research with Māori in Aotearoa is scarce. Though there are a small number of PA and RA studies in Aotearoa, they mainly consist of predominantly European communities (Swit, 2018, 2019). Based on the above rationale, the parents of interest for this study were parents/whānau of 3-5-year-old children who identified as Māori.

In the early stages of this study, I considered using a quantitative research approach through collecting survey data. Based on my values and beliefs I decided that this would not be culturally congruent with the kawa (Māori protocols—what Māori do) and tikanga (Māori customs and values – how Māori do it) in which I wanted to conduct my research. So instead I chose to use a qualitative research method because I feel it aligns with a culturally appropriate way of conducting research with Māori communities. I favoured qualitative

approach because it accounts for key Māori practices such as *whakawhanaungatanga* (relationship building) and *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face interactions). These concepts as well as others have been further discussed in a later section of this chapter. A final rationale for my choice to use a qualitative method was due to the sensitivity of my research topic and consequently my interview questions. Parenting is a special practice and I wanted to take the time to sit down with each of the parents/whānau to understand the full extent of their perceptions and experiences as a parent. Therefore, the relationship-building element to qualitative method was thought to be a perfect fit for this study.

Qualitative research

Defining qualitative research is difficult because it is multifaceted and can mean different things to different people (Apsers & Corte, 2019). However, qualitative research can involve collecting data by listening to people's stories and observing what people do (Morrow & Smith, 2000). This approach has been described as one which provides the researcher with first-hand experience to study the empirical world through the eyes of the participants, allowing the collection of meaningful, valuable and rich data (Duffy, 1985; Emerson, 1981, as cited in Bryman, 1984). Thus, providing the researcher with more of a full picture or a deeper more valid understanding of each of the parents (Carr, 1994; Duffy, 1987). In this study, I chose to use the qualitative research paradigm as the overarching research approach, followed by semi-structured interviews and inductive analysis methods. This approach was grounded in Kaupapa Māori theory and research methodology, these are discussed below.

Kaupapa Māori and Kaupapa Māori theory

Before defining Kaupapa Māori theory, I must firstly define Kaupapa Māori. Kaupapa Māori is difficult to define as its meaning is based on several principles that can

differ based on the unique context in which it is applied (Mahuika, 2008). For example, the meaning of Kaupapa Māori can vary among different iwi and amid academic scholars (Eketone, 2008). Personally, I favour the definition by Henry and Pene (2001) because they include the importance of Māori origins or the creation pūrākau as being fundamental to Māori ways of being. The creation pūrākau is something I have drawn on throughout this study, therefore, I believed this definition of Kaupapa Māori was most fitting for this context. These authors describe Kaupapa Māori as “the Māori way or agenda, a term used to describe traditional Māori ways of doing, being and thinking, encapsulated in a Māori world view or cosmology” (p. 235). Therefore, this definition and interpretation of Kaupapa Māori has been used throughout this thesis. Now that I have loosely described what Kaupapa Māori is, Kaupapa Māori theory must be defined.

The term *theory* was purposely added to create *Kaupapa Māori theory* by Graham Smith in his thesis as an intentional move to create space for Māori to use Kaupapa Māori within the academy (Smith, 1997). Calling it a ‘theory’ was a purposeful and strategic move by Smith to challenge dominant Western ideologies and practice and to have it recognised as a valid and legitimate alternate form of thinking and doing. To provide some history, the development of Kaupapa Māori theory stemmed as a response to power imbalances where Māori wanted the rights to have Māori-run schooling for Māori (Smith, 1999). This led to the opening of Māori schooling facilities such as Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and Whare Wananga (Pihamo, 2015).

Like the different interpretations of the definition of *Kaupapa Māori*, it is also difficult to pinpoint a precise explanation of what Kaupapa Māori theory is (Powick, 2003, as cited in Mahuika, 2008). However, because it emerged out of a time of *resistance* as some would say, definitions of Kaupapa Māori theory have seen it described as a theory of

change, liberation and transformation reinforced by Māori struggles for mana motuhake (autonomy) and tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) (Smith, 1997). Wehipeihana (2019) more recently described Kaupapa Māori theory as a “theoretical framework which positions Māori worldviews, and what Māori value and believe as authoritative, legitimate and valid” p. 20. However, Kaupapa Māori theory goes beyond this as researchers state its goal is to challenge the power imbalances and the oppressive social order in which Māori are located (Pihamo, 2015; Mahuika, 2008). Overall, because Kaupapa Māori theory is different to different people, it has been described as not so much as a set of ingredients or principles but as space for Māori to work in ways more appropriate to a Māori context and free from the dominant Western constraints (Smith, 2017).

I define Kaupapa Māori theory as a *tool* or *space* to draw on and apply *Kaupapa Māori* in a research context within the Western dominant academy. I also align Kaupapa Māori theory more with a constructivist approach than the commonly aligned critical theory. A constructivist approach is a view that there is no *one* reality but instead, there are multiple truths depending on how we each see the world through our own eyes (Eketone, 2008). Critical theory, on the other hand, in basic terms, requires identification of a dominant and an oppressed group whereby the goal of the oppressed group is to resist, emancipate and regain power from the dominant group (Smith, 1999). For the purpose of this research I have chosen to position Kaupapa Māori theory within the paradigm of constructivism. Culturally, I believe Kaupapa Māori theory is the right approach to use as Māori working with Māori (constructivist approach), rather than to use it as a tool to rebel and resist against the West (critical theory) (Eketone, 2008). I also believe Kaupapa Māori theory aligns better with constructivist theory because it acknowledges the differences in the perceptions of social reality among Māori. It allows for differences in perceptions rather than assuming all Māori position themselves as oppressed and therefore, want to emancipate or liberate themselves

from Pākehā ways of life. This section has defined Kaupapa Māori and Kaupapa Māori theory. The next section will define Kaupapa Māori methodology before stating the rationale for using Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology.

Kaupapa Māori as a methodology

What is *real* and what is *true* determines the set of methods and procedures to use and how to use those tools (Henry & Pene, 2001). What is real or the nature of reality is known as *ontology*, the ways of how we come to know that reality as being true is described as *epistemology* (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). To provide some context around what Māori ontology and epistemology looks like, I have included a quote from Henry and Pene (2001) who state it is the ethics founded within Kaupapa Māori which inform Māori ontology and drive Māori epistemology. They state:

“Kaupapa Māori is both a set of philosophical beliefs and a set of social practices (tikanga). These are founded on the collective (whanaungatanga) interdependence between and among humankind (kotahitanga), a sacred relationship to the ‘gods’ and the cosmos (wairuatanga), and acknowledgement that humans are guardians of the environment (kaitiakitanga), combining in the interconnection between mind, body and spirit. Taken together, these ethics inform traditional Māori ontology and assumptions about human nature; that is, ‘what is real’ for Māori. Traditional Māori ethics and philosophy also drive Māori epistemology; that is, to live according to tikanga Māori, that which is tika (correct) and true” (p. 237).

Using a Māori ontology and epistemology the methodology for this study was constructed. *Axiology* which involves my values, ethics and morals as a researcher also guided the research approach (Wilson, 2008). The qualitative research method which I believed to align nicely with a culturally appropriate way of conducting research encompassing tikanga values was a *semi-structured interview* approach.

Semi-structured interview

The semi-structured interview is a qualitative research strategy where the researcher asks participants a series of predetermined and open-ended questions (Given, 2008). I chose an open-ended interview technique because it provides more flexibility in how the participants want to answer the questions (Longhurst, 2003). The benefits of this approach is that it allows for the discovery of findings that may not have been originally anticipated while also reducing researcher bias as it does not suggest responses like close-ended questions do (Foddy, 1993; Reja et al., 2003). To briefly define, researcher bias or experimenter bias relates to “any systematic errors in the research process or the interpretation of its results that are attributable to a researcher’s behaviour, preconceived beliefs, expectancies, or desires about results” (American Psychology Association, 2020, p. 1). During each interview, I also used a probing technique which can be used to get more specific or clearer responses from participants. Follow up questions are an example of a probing technique I used (Moerman, 2010).

While determining the methodology for this study, one of the sources I followed was Te Ara Tika research guidelines by the Putaiora Writing Group (Hudson et al., 2010). They state that a Kaupapa Māori research approach involves a research design which acknowledges the importance of partnerships and the responsibilities of ensuring the study delivers its intended outcomes to Māori communities. When using a Kaupapa Māori research approach, the development of research that is designed and conducted by Māori, and research that benefits Māori is encouraged. (Ministry of Health, 2006, as cited in Hudson et al., 2010). The Putaiora Writing Group also state that Kaupapa Māori research should be centred around Māori Kaupapa as the primary interest of the study, it should

recognise Māori as co-constructors of the study, it should support Kaupapa Māori theory and it should use Māori research methodologies as appropriate.

There are several reasons I wanted to choose Kaupapa Māori theory and Kaupapa Māori methodology. I believed this approach to be most culturally appropriate for the parents/whānau because Kaupapa Māori theory was designed by Māori for Māori to be used with Māori. Another reason I wanted to use a Kaupapa Māori research approach is because this strategy allows the researcher and parents to collaboratively work together. As Kaupapa Māori research is a co-constructed collaborative process between the researcher and participants, this approach has benefits for the parents such as it builds tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and mana-motuhake (autonomy) which was important to me. Finally, due to the smaller amounts of Kaupapa Māori research available, it was important to me to contribute to this research evidence base in Aotearoa especially considering most of the PA and RA research is based from a Western perspective.

The kaupapa Māori research guidelines by the Putaiora Writing Group (Hudson et al., 2010) and some of the ethical principles and values outlined by Smith (1999) below have been incorporated throughout this study and are discussed in the procedure section.

Table 2. Example of some of the values and principles incorporated in the study

Values	Definition	Implementation in study
Aroha ki te tangata	Respect for the people you are working with	Was maintained through my mana enhancing approach to the participants
Kanohi kitea	The importance of the seen face	All interviews were kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face)
Titiro whakarongo kōrero	Look and listen first: Speak later	Was used during each interview
Manaaki ki te tangata	Be generous in sharing with and hosting people	Took kai/inu (food/drink) to share with the participants
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	Take care not to trample on the mana of people	Acted politely in the space of others
Kia tūpato	Be cautious	Obtained cultural guidance for this study from my established research advisory rōpū
Kaua e māhaki	Do not flaunt your knowledge	Kept all information simplified and asked for clarification of understanding
Whānau	As it is known, Māori are a collective community and it is recognised that whānau (family) play a key role in providing support (Pihamo, 2001).	All parents/whānau were offered the opportunity to bring whānau or support people to the hui.
Karakia	It is suggested that karakia (prayer or blessing) are necessary to ensure the safety of those involved (researcher/participants) (Jones et al., 2006).	Karakia was offered before starting the interview. However, none of the parents/whānau wished to do so.
Tino rangatiratanga	Tino rangatiratanga can be loosely translated self-determination (Mead, 2003).	Tino rangatiratanga was applied in many ways throughout the study. For example, parents had the opportunity to decide on the information they wanted to be shared.
Koha	Koha can be loosely defined as a gift (to be reciprocated) or contribution (Mead, 2003).	The parents were offered kai/inu and a pounamu (greenstone) as a thank you for participating in the study.

My positioning and rationale for a Kaupapa Māori research approach

Before reviewing the procedure of this study, I first need to state my positioning because this is key in understanding how my personal characteristics and experiences may, or may not, have impacted the research (Berger, 2015). I am first positioning myself as an outside researcher due to my Western educational background and upbringing. Due to this, I have not been exposed to te ao Māori as much as I would have liked and I understand that I have a lot to learn on this haerenga to improve my Māoritanga (Māori values and ways of life). However, I also position myself as an inside researcher because of my Māori heritage and because I personally know three of the four parents/whānau I interviewed in this study. Having previously established connections, made the interview hui a lot more comfortable for both the parents/whānau and myself.

Procedure

As a novice researcher who is still learning, I wanted to ensure I had appropriate and strong supports to guide this research in a culturally appropriate manner. Therefore, one of the first things I did during the planning phases of this study was to establish a Māori research advisory rōpū (group) consisting of my whānau and friends. The members of this rōpū consist one of my Koro who is fluent in speaking te reo Māori, my uncle who is a te reo and Māori performing arts teacher as well as an owner of a Māori cultural performance business, my Aunty who is knowledgeable in kapa haka, weaving and runs the Māori cultural performance business, my māmā (mother) who is a Māori health researcher, and my friend who is a te reo Māori teacher. The members of this rōpū are from various iwi including Ngāti Whātua, Tūwharetoa, Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Kahangunu, Ngāi Tūhoe and Ngāti Whakaue. As a rōpū they guided my data analysis and final write up.

The interview questions were adapted from a study by Swit (2018). This study also assessed parental perceptions and responses to PA and RA behaviours described in

hypothetical scenarios. However, the study was conducted with an Australian sample of parents/whānau and teachers. During the planning phases of this study, Associate Professor Sonja Macfarlane had some input into the design of culturally relevant questions and she helped in making them mana-enhancing for the parents/whānau. I also took a trip from Auckland to Paeroa to see my friend who is a te reo Māori teacher. She helped me make the interview questions more responsive for Māori in terms of using more everyday basic language and incorporating te reo Māori. Table 3 below illustrates examples of the adapted questions from Swit's study.

Table 3. *Adapted interview questions*

Previous interview questions by Swit (2018)	Altered interview questions used in this study
During free play you witness a child say to another child, "No. I already told you that you can't play with us." The child is left isolated and plays alone.	During wā takaro (play time), you see a child say to another child, "No. I already told you that you can't play with us." The child is left by themselves and plays alone.
Why do you think this strategy would be effective?	Why do you think this rautaki (strategy) would work?
Are there any situations when ignoring aggressive behaviour is appropriate?	Are there any situations when doing 'nothing' in response to aggressive behaviour is appropriate?

Table 4 below displays some of the questions that were added which include asking parents about culture and the influence this may have on their parenting practices.

Table 4. Interview questions added to the study

Questions about the influence of culture
What does being Māori mean to you?
In what ways do you think culture influences your beliefs and actions? For example, how does culture influence your beliefs about the relationship you hold with your child?
How does being Māori influence the way you parent?

Testing the interview questions

When the draft interview questions were established, I trialled them by conducting a mock interview with my māmā. Gilliam (2000) states there are many benefits to trialling the interview questions such as it identifies if questions are productive or stimulating or not, it highlights key questions as well as the questions that are redundant and need reworking. While trialling the interview questions, all the questions were thought to work well. Therefore, no further changes were made to them.

Once the interview questions were finalised (see appendix 1), the study information and the consent forms were established along with a full ethical review from the UC Human Ethics Committee – for more information please see Appendix 2, 3, 4 and 5 (recruitment letter, study information sheet, parent consent form, and ethics approval). The format of these forms were also used and adapted from the 2018 study by Swit. My supervisors and some members of the research advisory rōpū also read over these forms and several changes were made to make it easier to read and understand for the parents/whānau. Additionally, I had discussions with my māmā who is a Māori researcher who helped me design this study. We talked about the importance of conducting research *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face interactions) and the importance of *whakawhanaungatanga* (building relationships).

Participant sampling method

A key part of using kaupapa Māori methodology is ensuring that the theory and methods allow for the building of relationships with participants and that they are benefiting those whom the research is intending to benefit. Using these principles, I thought what better way to conduct research than with those I already have established community relationships with, thus a snowball recruitment method was proposed. The snowball method aligned with the Kaupapa Māori approach as a culturally congruent way to approach recruitment for this study. This method involves the primary recruitee helping to enlist other respondents of interest, who then recruit others, starting a process which can be likened to a snowball rolling down a hill (Wasserman et al., 2005). The plan was to use a snowball sampling method to send a message (via social media or text) to my personal contacts asking if they would be interested in participating in this study or if they knew anyone who would be interested in participating (see Appendix 2). The decision was made to recruit from my home town and community in which I resided, Auckland. I also originally wanted to offer a te reo Māori translator to the parents but the ethics committee voiced concerns over the translator knowing the identities of the participants. This was disappointing as the translator (who is also a well-known kaumātua of mine) would have made a good contribution to the study in terms of providing me with first-hand cultural support in each of the interview hui. However, after changes were made, ethical approval was granted (see appendix 5).

I did not meet my initial target of recruiting six parents/whānau through snowball sampling. However, it was thought the richness of the data of the four parents/whānau I had interviewed would be sufficient for the requirements of a Masters thesis. Three out of the four parents/whānau were my personal contacts and the other parent was a personal contact of one of the three parents/whānau. Four urban Māori parents/whānau participated in this

study, three māmā and one pāpā (father). The parents/whānau are from a variety of iwi and range in age. Each parent has been described in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Introduction to participants

Participant names	Participant descriptions
Hera	Hera is a 23 year old Māori māmā in a committed relationship and has two children. Her eldest daughter is 3 and her youngest daughter is 1. Hera is from Huntly, Waikato and she has iwi links to Ngā Puhi and Tainui. Hera did not attend Kura Kaupapa but she was in the bilingual unit at high school and participated in kapa haka throughout her schooling.
Tania	Tania is a Māori māmā in a committed relationship and has two children. Tania is of Te Arawa and Tainui descent. Tania did not attend any Kura Kaupapa although she was in the bilingual unit at high school. Tania speaks basic kupu hou every day.
Sera	Sera is a 40 year old Māori māmā from Tauranga who has five children. Sera's children range in age from twenty three to five years of age. Although she would have liked to, Sera did not attend any Kura Kaupapa or Te Kōhanga Reo.
David	David is a 24 year old Māori and Cook Island father from Christchurch who has a five year old son. David did not attend any Kura Kaupapa as he was home schooled. David speaks te reo Māori occasionally.

Recruitment, interviews and kaupapa Māori methods of engagement

Once the parents/whānau agreed to participate in the study, parents were asked to meet for one to four sessions (the fourth session being optional) depending on their availability and level of participation they chose to have in the study. The intention was to have four hui between myself and the participants. These sessions included (1) a whakawhanaungatanga hui to build or further build a relationship between myself and the parents/whānau , (2) one interview hui, (3) a follow-up hui to do member checking. Member checking is a method for confirming the credibility of findings by returning the data to

parents to check for accuracy with their experiences (Guba & Lincoln 1994). The last session consisted of (4) a summary dissemination hui (optional in person otherwise sent to each participant via email or by post). Each of these sessions are listed and are described in more detail below.

Whakawhanaungatanga hui

Each of the parents/whānau determined the time and setting of each of our hui. For one parent, it was most convenient for them to kōrero over the phone and for another, we met at a cafe. However, for the other parents/whānau, I took some kai and inu (food and drink) to share. Some of the parents/whānau children and other whānau were present. As I knew most of the parents/whānau recruited, I felt comfortable in the whakawhanaungatanga hui. For the one parent I did not previously know, I found sharing whakapapa to be a really good way to get to know and to feel more comfortable with one another. Further, as outlined by the Putaiora Writing Group (Hudson et al., 2010), the study information including the study risks must be clearly outlined to participants. As such, after sharing whakapapa, I went through the formalities of the study with each of the parents/whānau. This included proposing the research agenda, informing them of the risks associated with their participation as well as informing them of their rights and my responsibilities as a researcher. Then there was time for the parents/whānau to ask any questions or discuss anything further.

After the whakawhanaungatanga hui, the parents/whānau were able to decide whether they wanted to continue to participate in the study. All four of the parents/whānau recruited agreed and they handed me their signed consent forms. Following the University of Canterbury ethics requirements, all consent forms, as well as other data such as audio recordings and the verbatim transcripts, were all uploaded to a secured Dropbox and access

was limited to myself and my two supervisors. All parents wished to be identified using their real names. Once consent was given, the first interview went ahead.

Interview hui

Each interview was audio recorded with the permission of the parents/whānau so they could be transcribed verbatim. The first half of the interview questions were about the parents/whānau feelings of being Māori and whether they believe their culture affects their thoughts and actions in regard to their role as parents. The second half of the questions presented parents/whānau with common PA and RA behaviours used by young children. Parents/whānau were asked to describe their perceptions and responses to the PA and RA behaviours described in the hypothetical scenarios. Parents/whānau were also asked to reflect on the additional resources they would find useful to support their understanding of PA and RA behaviours among preschool-aged children.

Before the end of this hui I also informed the parents/whānau that I have a list of free counselling supports such as Lifeline and Healthline should they need them. However, none of the parents/whānau showed distress or the need/desire for these supports. I then took some time to catch up with each of the parents/whānau to ask them how they thought the interview went, we shared kai and inu then I thanked them for their time and informed them I would make contact again soon once I had transcribed their interviews.

Follow-up

After the completion of the interview, each of the participants' interviews were transcribed verbatim and sent to them via email. This was considered culturally appropriate and would help to further build whanaungatanga and tino rangatiratanga. Parents were contacted one week after sending them their transcripts to check whether everything was correct and whether they wished to modify anything. The parents had full control over their

interview responses where they were able to add, remove and check their responses before the final publication. Bishop et al. states this was a way:

“To maximise opportunities for reciprocal negotiation and a collaborative construction of meaning by the participants... Often, the actual words used at a particular time may not convey the full meaning that the person wanted to express. They may be able, on reflection, to express themselves in a manner that further explains or advances their position and understanding” (2003, p. 220-221).

Originally, I planned to meet kanohi ki te kanohi with the parents if they wanted to make any changes to their transcripts or if I needed to clarify my interpretations of their kōrero. However, they were all happy with how their interview transcriptions were written up and I did not need to clarify anything so no kanohi ki te kanohi hui was arranged with any of the parents/whānau. The data was then analysed in several stages which is described in the next section.

Data analysis

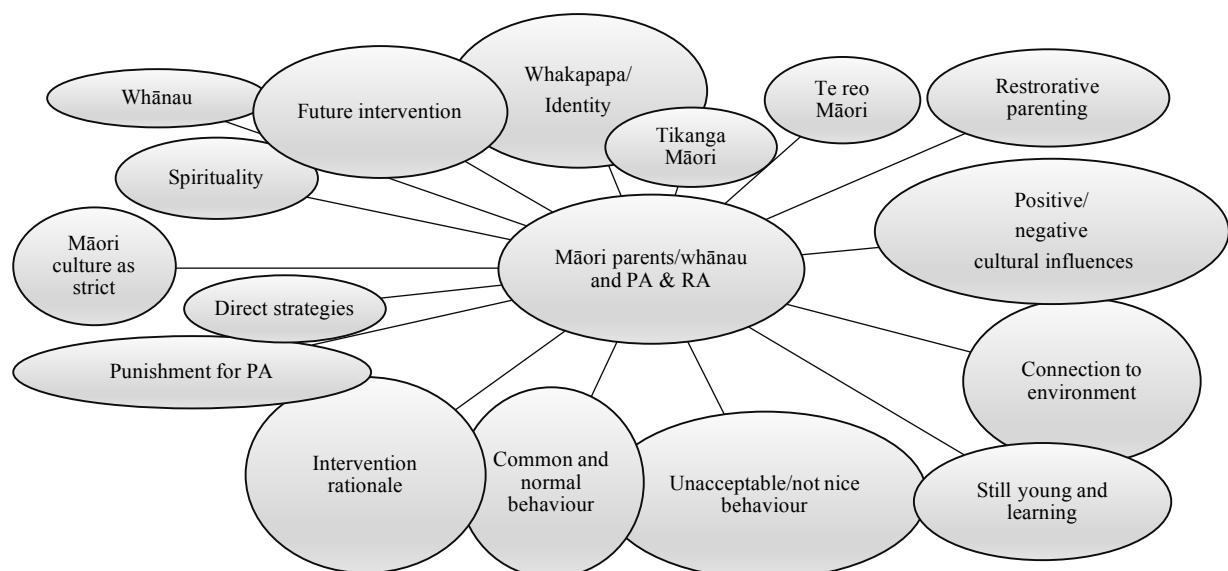
As this study was the first of its kind to assess Māori parents/whānau perceptions and responses to PA and RA behaviours among young children, an inductive approach was used to analyse the data. An inductive method uses the data produced to generate a new theory, ideas and insight into the given research topic (Gratton & Jones, 2010). However, an inductive approach still allows the researcher to use existing theory to produce the research questions to be explored (Saunders et al., 2019). This study did use theory from international studies such as Swit's (2018) and others (Goldstein & Boxer, 2013; Hurd & Gettinger, 2011; Werner et al., 2006) to formulate some of the research questions. However, in terms of the analysis from the research findings, I believed an inductive approach was fit for the purpose of this study as the intention was to explore the perceptions and experiences of the parents themselves. I think it is important to tell as much of the parents stories as they explained it

rather than excluding parts to suit the researchers preconceived notions of important categorical themes and/or findings. An inductive approach allows the voices of the parents/whānau to remain at the forefront of the overarching findings. It is a collaborative meaning-making process where member checking data ensures the parents can co-construct the final analysis with the researcher. These are key elements of Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology and therefore, inductive analysis was identified as the best method to answer the research questions driving this study. The next section explains the processes of data analyses.

Stage one data analysis with supervisors

In the first phase of data analysis, the interview transcripts were read by myself and my two supervisors, we then collectively worked on the first round of data analysis together. This first cut was intended to be round one of a four stage process in analysis. An initial inductive thematic analysis was created by myself and my supervisors of all the ideas that emerged from the interview data (refer to figure 1.).

Figure 1. Data analysis phase one with supervisors



Stage two data analysis with supervisors

After stage one, we conducted a more focussed inductive thematic analysis by organising the data under each research question and by noting any outliers that did not belong in any of the established categories. Refer to figure 2. as an example.

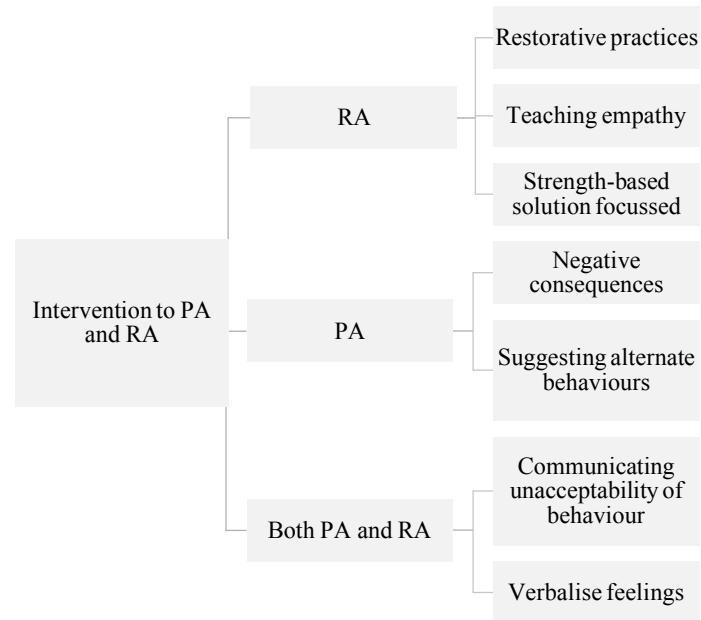
Figure 2. Data analysis phase two with my supervisors

Cultural influence of parenting	Parental perceptions of PA and RA	Intervention to PA and RA	Future Interventions
<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Spirituality•Tikanga Māori•Te Reo Māori•Whānau centric	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Child still learning•Differences in perceptions of seriousness•Common and normal	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Restorative approach to RA•Negative consequences to PA• Encouraging the verbalising of feelings	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•Pamphlets to teach children values•Educational parenting classes for PA and RA•More education needed for teachers to show compassion for families experiencing hardship

Stage three – six data analysis with supervisors

During stages three to six, we made sub-themes under some of the research questions based on what was emerging from the data then we identified some preliminary themes based on the reoccurring data. See figure 3 as an example.

Figure 3. Example of one of the final stages of data analysis



Round two data analysis – coding, categorisation and synthesis

Following data analysis with my supervisors, I then went on to conduct a more detailed thematic analysis of the data using the method by Braun and Clarke (2006) which they define as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data” (p. 79). Their guide involves the familiarisation of the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, and reviewing, defining, and naming the themes.

Stage one and two of personal data analysis

As I was the interviewer and the transcriber of the interviews, I was very familiar with the data as I played each interview over and over to check the accuracy of the transcription. During stage two, after reading each interview transcript line by line, I inserted initial codes. A code is “most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based...data” (Saldana, 2009, p. 3, as cited in Wargo, 2013). The benefits of assigning codes

to words and phrases in each interview response is that it helps to capture the essence of what the response is about which in turn helps the researcher to better analyse and summarise all of the data (Medelyan, 2019).

Stage three of personal data analysis

During stage three, this phase involved searching for themes from the initial codes identified in stage two. I put all of the initial codes from stage two in a Word document and then I started to group the codes which had similar meanings. Once all the codes had been allocated into a group. Themes were identified among the meaningful patterns among the codes.

Stage four of personal data analysis

Stage four of thematic analysis involved reviewing the identified themes. During this phase, I made a separate table on Microsoft Word with all the themes identified during my own thematic analysis. I then made another list in Microsoft Word with the themes identified from data analysis with my supervisors. Most of the themes from my own data analysis overlapped with the themes from data analysis with my supervisors. However, for some of the themes, I changed their names to make them more fitting and I combined some of the themes due to overlapping, see table 6 below as an example.

Table 6. Example of themes combined

Theme 1	Theme 2	Themes combined
Strength based worldview	Restorative practices for RA	Restorative practices
Tikanga Māori	Values	Tikanga Māori

Stage five of personal data analysis

During stage five, I made another table in Microsoft Word displaying the theme, the code used for that theme and examples from the text to demonstrate how the code had been used, see table 7 below.

Table 7. *Snapshot of data coding process*

Sentence	Initial code	Theme
“Places that are tapu we pass that onto our kids so like don’t sit on the tables”	Tapu rule	Tikanga Māori
“Some kind of pamphlet made that shows the values like basic values for a child”	Pamphlet	Parental resources
“It’s sense of belonging, it’s who you are, where you come from”	Belonging	Whakapapa

Cultural input from the research advisory rōpū in data analysis

On completion of round two of data analysis, I made a PowerPoint of the themes identified by myself and my supervisors. I then travelled to Taupō where some of my whānau reside so that I could present these findings to them and gather their thoughts on the cultural appropriateness of the themes. With the help of the research advisory rōpū, some of the themes were recategorised and/or renamed because the rōpū did not believe they encompassed what the parents were talking about or they did not believe the theme name represented their understandings of the terms. As I began to write the results section, data analysis procedures continued to occur as decisions were further made to alter and condense the themes that appeared to overlap.

Final hui

After the data analysis phase, I wrote up the parents/whānau kōrero, I contacted each of the parents/whānau via email or phone to see whether they preferred to meet in person to

check their satisfaction with the write-up. They were given the opportunity to add, check or remove anything they wished to. I sent each of the parents kōrero to them for checking over email. There were minor changes to be made such as one parent wished for me to make her place of origin more specific rather than the wider area I originally had listed. I also gave each of the parents/whānau involved a summary of the results of the study and a small pounamu as a koha. This was to show respect and gratitude to all the parents/whānau who generously contributed to this study. This section has described the study procedure, the next section summarises this chapter.

Chapter three summary

This chapter outlined the design of this study using pūrākau style. The rationale for conducting this study was due to the limited PA and RA research in Aotearoa particularly involving Māori. The intent behind this study was also to benefit the life outcomes of Māori by contributing to the growing body of evidence in Aotearoa on RA and PA, especially for whānau Māori. As Māori parents/whānau were of interest, Kaupapa Māori methodology supported by Kaupapa Māori theory was thought to be the best approach to use. A qualitative interview method was chosen because it aligns with a Kaupapa Māori way of conducting research. Four parents/whānau were recruited using a snowball sampling method, three of which were my personal contacts. Whakawhanaungatanga was used as a research strategy with all of the parents before the interview hui. The parents' interview transcriptions were then written up and sent to them for member checking and to make any alterations they wished to. The data was analysed using qualitative inductive analysis as the primary coding tool and included a member checking analysis procedure with my two supervisors, my own data analysis and among my whānau and friends. There were many cultural considerations taken into account throughout this study which involved applying tikanga Māori such as whakawhanaungatanga, kanohi ki te kanohi hui and more. The next

section tells the stories of each of the parents/whānau and describes each of their unique parenting experiences.

Chapter four – Results

Māui was the fifth and youngest son of Taranga (Pomare, 1934, as cited in Hall, 2005). He is an ancestral hero known for his many accomplishments (Ware, 2009). Some of these include; fishing up the North Island, obtaining fire, acquiring his grandmother’s magic jawbone and slowing down the sun (Rameka, 2013; Walker, 1996, as cited in Ware, 2009). As Māui’s escapades were daring and sometimes involved the use of deception (Rameka, 2012; Ware, 2009), he has been described as a trickster, and as mischievous, a cheat, arrogant, and irresponsible (Robertson, 2008; Ware, 2009).

The following kōrero (narratives) are provided by four urban Māori who are diverse in their connections to te ao Māori. It is important to note that Māori today live diverse realities and therefore the parental perceptions within this study may not reflect the perceptions of all Māori. However, to remind the reader, the abbreviations of PA and RA stand for physical aggression and relational aggression. To briefly reiterate their definitions, PA can be defined as behaviours which cause physical harm to others or objects. Examples of PA which can be common in the early childhood context include kicking, biting and pushing (Alink, et al., 2006; Casas et al., 2006). RA on the other hand, can be defined as behaviours which aim to cause damage to a person’s social status and relationships and cause psychological harm (Morine et al., 2011; Rys & Bear, 1997). Examples of RA can include social exclusion and manipulation (e.g., saying “give me the pink crayon or you are not invited to my birthday”) (Casas et al., 2006; Swit & McMaugh, 2012; Swit et al., 2018). The following parental responses were based on two hypothetical scenarios. For contextual information, the scenario describing PA involved a situation where a child pushes another child to get to the front of the line. The scenario depicting RA described a situation where a child says to another child “No I already told you, you can’t play with us”.

Several kaupapa (themes/topics) were identified across the kōrero of the parents/whānau, these will be discussed using their voices. For this chapter, a *theme* will be translated and referred to as a *kaupapa* to help put the findings into context for the reader as per the recommendation from the research advisory rōpū. This chapter describes the perceptions and experiences of Māori parents/whānau in relation to the research questions underpinning this study. These questions were as follows:

Research Question One: ‘*Does Māori culture influence the general parenting practices of Māori parents, if so – how?*’

Research Question Two: ‘*What are Māori parents/whānau perceptions of physical and relational aggression among 3-5 year old children?*’

Research Question Three ‘*How do Māori parents/whānau respond to physical and relational aggression among 3-5 year old children?*’

Research Question Four: ‘*What additional resources do Māori parents/whānau want or need to better understand and respond to PA and RA among young children?*’

This chapter is organised into four sections, telling the individual stories of the parents Hera, Tania, Sera and David.

Hera

Hera is a 23 year old Māori mother in a committed relationship who has two children. Her eldest daughter is three and her youngest daughter is one. Hera is from Huntly, Waikato and she has iwi links to Ngā Puhi and Tainui. Hera did not attend Kura Kaupapa but she was in the bilingual unit at high school and participated in kapa haka throughout her schooling. For Hera, whānau was deemed as an important feature of being Māori. Houkāmau (2006) defined Māori identity as “the person’s unique interpretation of what it means to be Māori, which reflects their own social background, relationships and circumstances” (p. 223). Hera described what it means to be Māori as:

“*Having a strong sense of whānau.*”

In a discussion about how Māori culture influences parenting styles, Hera emphasised the importance of passing on knowledge and teaching her children te reo and tikanga Māori, particularly within their home. She provides the following examples:

“Lots of things to do with like tikanga. So you know places that are tapu we pass that onto our kids so like don’t sit on the tables. Don’t put your feet or anything on the pillows. Karakia before we eat so just all those sorts of things that we pass onto them now.”

Hera also spoke of the influence her cultural understandings and connections to te taiao (the environment) have on her parenting practices to ground and moderate her child’s emotions:

“With Amaia-Rose when she gets like quite upset, it’s quite hard to reason with her cause she’s just so upset. Well I’ll like take her outside or something or like we go out to the beach and I think it just helps to literally ground her like connect her back with you know the environment. And she calms down...cause we were actually struggling for a bit and then yeah that’s been the only thing that’s been helping, that or like water so even if we can’t go outside if it’s raining like if she has a bath or like a nice hot shower, it just helps yeah, she’s like a new kid afterwards it’s so funny, yeah, just send them outside.”

When discussing the hypothetical scenarios with Hera, she comments that PA and RA are both unacceptable regardless of the seriousness and clarifies her rationale:

“I’d say both then to be honest yeah because especially if they’re not dealt with straight away I think they’ll have more grave consequences.”

In terms of responding to PA and RA, Hera believes there are no situations where non-intervention would be appropriate. Where children demonstrate RA behaviour, Hera’s preference would be to encourage the child/ren to verbalise their feelings. Thus, opting for a restorative approach that enables children to empathise with other children. She elaborates:

"I would ask them why like why they felt the need to exclude this other kid...And then just probably try and get them thinking aww but what if you did allow this kid to play with you? You know think of all the fun things you could do together so you know just making it a more positive thing so hopefully, this kid gets thinking oh yeah next time I could just let anyone play with me so you know more friends to play with that sort of stuff teaching them that maybe there is another way to do it in the future like you know there's another way to go about it."

Hera confirmed she would also use a restorative approach in dealing with the receiver of RA. Meaning, she would comfort the child and focus on solutions in dealing with similar situations in the future. She offers the following strategy:

"I would go and play with the child myself and just explain to them that like it's okay, this might happen sometimes...there might be some people that you know act this way towards you but like it's okay. There's always going to be other people around and other ways for you to sort of pick yourself up...other ways for you to have fun."

Similarly, with RA, Hera also said she would encourage the child who used PA to verbalise their feelings. However, Hera's chosen intervention method also required that the child apologise to the receiver. Hera commented:

"I would ask him why he did that like I'd want to hear from him why he thought he could do that...because it gives the child a chance to express why they thought they could do that which I think is important...then I'd want him to apologise."

In response to the PA receiver, Hera said she would hug them and again encouraged the verbalising of feelings by asking if they're okay. Lastly, Hera shared her thoughts on whether there are resources which could help parents/whānau to better understand and respond to PA and RA. Hera thought it might be useful for parents/whānau if they could attend a workshop. She elaborated below:

"I think like having some type of workshop and things in the day cares for that age range on how to... deal with if that sort of behaviour did come up."

In summary, Hera articulated the importance of incorporating te reo Māori and tikanga Māori values and practices into her parenting. Although she did not grow up with te reo Māori, her bi-lingual education, and opportunities to take part in kapa haka did expose her to tikanga Māori values, practices and te reo. Hera draws on her cultural knowledge or te taiao to settle her daughter when she is upset. She describes PA and RA as unacceptable behaviours which are equally serious. Overall, Hera strongly advocated for a strength based restorative approach to be utilised when responding to PA and RA. This would involve encouraging the child using PA or RA and the receiver to talk about how they feel and what might make it better. Hera added that the user of PA and RA could also offer an apology to resolve the conflict. Lastly, Hera identified that an intervention workshop may be useful for parents/whānau to learn strategies in how to effectively understand and respond to PA and RA.

Tania

Tania is a mother and an early childhood teacher in a committed relationship with two children. She is of Te Arawa and Tainui descent. Tania did not attend any Kura Kaupapa although she was in the bilingual unit at high school. Tania speaks basic kupu hou every day. To Tania, identity is an important feature of what it means to be Māori. Tania describes being Māori as:

"Having that sense of belonging, knowing who you are, your own identity and where you come from.

”

In a discussion about how Māori culture influences parenting practices, Tania expresses her thoughts on the importance of her son knowing his pepeha, she elaborates below:

"I just always make sure that my son knows...his pepeha and just to be confident to use Māori even though he's only like a kindy but just to know that he's Māori and to be proud of it."

Further, Tania talks about how her cultural understandings influence her parenting practices in terms of how she implements tikanga Māori she has learnt from school within her home. She expresses:

"I guess it's just a lot of stuff from tikanga that I've been taught through school and from my whānau as well and just yeah common sense around just living, rules – what's right and wrong...yeah so I've incorporated a lot of that into my parenting, how I look after my kids, how I teach them."

Tania also speaks of her whānau being role models while growing up which has impacted her parenting practices. She elaborates:

"The way I've been brought up and the way I've seen my whānau bring their kids up, I've sort of just brought my kids up the same."

In response to the second kaupapa regarding Māori parental perceptions of PA and RA, Tania expresses her sadness of seeing RA a lot at daycare, on the playground and when whānau come over to her house with their children. Tania describes RA as being “stink”. Tania says she has seen a lot of PA and RA and has had to stop a lot of PA among children. To Tania, PA and RA are included in the definition of bullying. In a discussion about the causes of bullying, Tania expresses that children learn these behaviours from influences within their home such as “TV and YouTube”. She clarifies:

"I reckon it's a lot of what they see and what their home life is and what they've learned. Because I've noticed a lot of things I don't teach my son he comes home with. And yeah I don't know if he's picked it up from other kids where their parents have different values, different parenting styles but yeah I think a lot of it is what they see, what they see on tv, YouTube and...what they're brought up around, their environments."

When thinking of her son, Tania describes RA as something her son may be learning from school as she talks about his RA behaviour as something he has not learnt from her. Tania also believes that the

age of the children can influence their aggressive behaviours. Tania reported that PA and RA were both unacceptable and equally serious as she clarifies her rationale:

"I don't know because I think...they're both the same like cause...one's the emotional well-being and then the others physical but I feel like well look at the mental health at the moment, like it's skyrocketing and I feel like both of them are sort of like – yeah I know the child got physically hurt but then the other child is being emotionally hurt and... it's hitting their āhua [character/nature] and it's like well I'm being left out and it hurts... yeah between the physical and the emotional well-being...it's yeah I reckon it's the same...I feel like the emotional hits me bad."

In terms of responding to PA and RA, Tania believes that her decision to intervene in situations of PA or RA would be dependent on whether the child has a disability where they do not understand that their behaviour is not socially acceptable. She states:

"It depends like so if you had a special needs kid...cause I'm going through it with the kindy...There's an ASD [Autism Spectrum Disorder] kid there...His mechanism is to just push kids like I've seen him push my kid twice and I haven't been able to do anything because he doesn't understand it."

When responding to RA receivers, Tania emphasises she would ask if the child is alright, focussing on their well-being. In response to the user of RA, Tania articulates that she would use a restorative approach, meaning she would try to get the child to understand the impact of their actions. She explains her approach:

"I would actually pull him aside and be like, this is how it feels and then show him what he'd done, like re-enact it to him. Model it out and then get him to understand from that. Because if you just tell them, they're just gonna go 'yeah okay' but if you really like model it out and get them to like feel it then maybe they'd have a bit more understanding."

When reflecting on her own experiences of watching her son use RA behaviours, Tania describes her response of encouraging her son to understand and verbalise his feelings:

"I've always with my son I've drilled into his head like this is what happens when you do something to this kid, here I'll do it to you how does it feel? And then he's like aww I don't like that, that's not nice. And I'm like how are you feeling and he's like sad. And I'm like see this is how the child feels when you leave them out when you pick on them, this is how they're feeling... I've noticed kids they can't really express how they feel but if you break it down to simple emotions like how do you feel? How is this making you feel? I feel sad, what if the other person feels sad?"

On the other hand, Tania emphasises she would comfort the receiver of PA by asking if they are okay. Whereas in response to the child who uses PA, Tania's preferred approach is to explain and teach the child the value of manaakitanga, get the child to apologise and encourage them to use their words. She describes her approach:

"Just to stop the whole thing, ask him how would he feel if he did it, get him to apologise but then I'd really talk to him about [things] like manaakitanga, like I'd actually talk to him about values and what he's knows about it. I know he's still young but just to see what his interpretation of it is."

When recalling an experience of her son using PA behaviours towards his cousin, Tania describes teaching him empathy as well as suggesting alternate behaviours her son can use:

"I was like you can like talk to her or like ask her nicely. You don't have to boot her like that...I was like man you need to look after your cousin, not hurt her sort of stuff...I'd be like how would you feel if you were pushed? Look at this kid, he's crying. Do you want to feel like that? And then hopefully he expresses empathy...how do you feel? Like how do you think she feels? Do you want to be booted off like that?"

In a discussion about what roles parents/whānau have around teaching children non-social behaviours, Tania believes it is the parent's job to take ownership of the child's behaviour. However, Tania describes her experiences of some parents/whānau finding it difficult to do so. She clarifies:

"It's to take ownership, yeah to take ownership but also to like...they should be teaching their kids all these values and just respect and empathy and caring. I think they should be aww depending on the parent. Depends you don't really know what everyone's going through and if you pass a judgment. You could get an okay I'll take that on board or you could get you don't know what I'm going through."

Lastly, Tania thinks it might be useful for parents/whānau if a pamphlet is made to educate them on how to implement values such as manaakitanga and aroha into their parenting practices. She elaborates:

"Some sort of pamphlet...that shows values you should be teaching your child and how to incorporate that into your parenting. That would be mean and bullet points like of simple stuff and how to teach them about appreciation and stuff like that."

In summary, Tania drew on her cultural understandings that she developed through her whānau and during her time in the bi-lingual unit at secondary school in her responses to the interview questions. Through her lived experiences and unique world view she described being able to implement her tikanga values and practices at home. To Tania, teaching tikanga Māori and making sure her son knows his pepeha is important to her. Tania describes both PA and RA to be unacceptable and equally serious behaviours. She also described these behaviours as common during early childhood. Tania perceives PA and RA to be bullying behaviours which she believes could be attributed to the influence of YouTube, TV, role-modelling from parents/whānau and peers at the child's school and the age of the child. Tania opts to respond to RA by discussing with the child using RA – the impact of the child's actions. Tania's choice of intervention method for PA includes getting the child to apologise, talking to the child about values such as manaakitanga to help them to care for others,

assisting the child in understanding the impact of their actions and suggesting alternative ways for the child to behave. Teaching compassion, care and empathy are common methods Tania uses in response to both PA and RA. In addition, Tania believes a pamphlet with key messages on how to incorporate values may be useful for parents/whānau.

Sera

Sera is a Māori mother from Tauranga who has five children. Although she would have liked to, Sera did not attend any Kura Kaupapa or Kōhanga Reo. Sera does not speak as much te reo Māori as she would like to and she talks about not having the opportunity to learn te reo Māori when she was younger. Sera mentions her intention to learn te reo Māori as an adult so she can speak the language with her children. She explains:

"I'm thinking about taking a Māori paper next year so that I can use it a lot more in our everyday conversations especially with the kids...I never got to go to any Kura Kaupapa schools or not even Kōhanga...which is a shame...I am sad that we didn't have that growing up so yeah I'd like to do that for the kids."

In a discussion about what it means to be Māori, Sera describes being Māori as knowing your origins. She clarifies:

"It's sense of belonging, it's who you are, where you come from."

When talking about how Māori culture may influence beliefs, actions, parenting behaviours and the relationships parents/whānau share with their children, Sera describes Māori culture as having both positive and negative influences. Sera elaborates:

"I think it has both negative and positive influences because I'm aware of those I try not to let the negative influences or things I've seen and learnt behaviours come into our lives anymore but I definitely have when I was younger and first started having kids. Those things obviously

subconsciously just came out in the way I parented and the way I treated and spoke to my children even. I think culturally it has a lot of beautiful positive aspects, the closeness with your children and then sharing the relationships with our whānau, with our marae where we belong with whenua. All of those things. You know that played a big role in how I parent and even more so because that's part of our culture.”

In further discussing the influence of Māori culture, Sera recognises the role that spirituality plays in raising her children. Spirituality is not something she originally attributed to being a part of Māori culture. However, Sera came to the realisation that her culture is important and that Māori culture may play more of a role in her parenting practices than she originally thought. She expands:

“I think that's just me as a parent and what I've learned spiritually and having lots of children...I think that spirituality has had more of an influence than Māori but I guess that's a huge part of Māori culture so maybe subconsciously without even knowing, it really has played a big role because you know that spiritual aspect is something that I'm really proud of, that's part of our culture.”

In response to the second kaupapa, Sera describes RA to be “normal” as she expresses seeing it all the time at home or the playground but she also labels RA as “mean and not okay”. Similarly, Sera also describes PA as “not okay” and believes it to be more serious than RA as it crosses a boundary. She elaborates:

“I think the hitting is more serious because they've actually gone to being physical...with one child to another...just the physical aspect of it I mean obviously mentally if that behaviour continued towards one child, it would affect them but I think the physical is where it crosses the line.”

When describing her thoughts on the appropriateness of intervening in situations of PA and RA, Sera mentions contextual factors such as knowing her child and how this influences her decision on

whether to intervene. Sera explains that in certain situations it may be best to leave her daughter alone when she is tired rather than intervening. She clarifies:

"I think maybe...if it's a one-off situation and you're aware of the surrounding factors. I mean sometimes with my own kids I know if my little one is tired and she starts screaming and displays aggressive behaviours but doesn't hit anyone or throw anything then I say to the other kids just leave her alone. She needs to go to bed, she's quite tired."

When reflecting on the potential intervention methods she would use, Sera says that in response to children who use RA, she would use a restorative approach to encourage the children to verbalise their feelings and also to assist them in having empathy for the receiver. Sera believes it is important to use this method in a way that is not "trying to intimidate or growl". Sera elaborates:

"I would speak to all of the children involved and explain to the other children how that would feel if that was done to them...trying to get them to be aware of – would they like that if somebody did that to them? Like how would you feel...I'd try and get them to understand how that child must feel being picked on, being isolated and then being mean to them."

In response to the receiver of RA, Sera offers an intervention strategy which involves suggesting other appropriate ways for the children to react in the future. Similarly, to Hera and Tania, Sera notes that she would also assist the children to verbalise their feelings. Sera's approach also involves encouraging the children not to take the behaviour personally. She explains:

"I would reassure them that it wasn't personal, that that's just something that happens sometimes with kids. But how to handle that situation you know without getting angry or hitting or fighting, just say that's mean, that's not okay and you wouldn't like it if I did that to you. You know try and get them to verbalise what they're actually feeling rather than respond with anger or hitting or start crying."

On the other hand, Sera mentions she would respond to the receiver of PA by picking them up from the floor and asking if they are alright. In response to the child who displays PA, Sera describes an intervention method that would involve letting the child know that their behaviour is unacceptable and sending the child to the end of the line (relevant to the provided scenario). Sera expands:

“The child that did the pushing I would explain to them that that wasn’t okay and because of their actions, they’re now going to the back of the line.”

In discussing what bullying looks like, Sera provides several examples some of which involve RA. She elaborates:

“Name calling, continually singling out that one child and picking on them more than you know once or twice it becomes bullying. When they’re choosing to isolate that one child and pick on them. I think that’s when it turns into bullying. And gathering other children and saying things about that one child so all of them can pick on that one child. That to me is what bullying looks like as well.”

Although Sera believes there are differences between PA and RA behaviours, and bullying, she states that bullying is intensified, involves the *singling out* of others and can worsen as children grow up or enter school settings. She explains:

“I think it’s just more intensified. You know when I think about those scenarios, I think of them as in different age groups, younger kids in say day-care and stuff like that would do the behaviours “aww I don’t want to play with you anymore” whereas when you go into a school situation, they’re a bit older that’s when it would turn into bullying and they’d get other kids to join in.”

Sera expresses her beliefs that children learn bullying behaviours from what is happening within their home. Sera clarifies:

“I think that it’s definitely a reflection of something that is going on at home and possibly maybe even what’s being done to them, the way that they are being treated...What’s going on for them at home? You know that’s always my concern...what really could be happening at home, why that child is coming out into the world and behaving like that to other people to other kids.”

When asked about the role parents/whānau play when they witness negative social behaviours by young children, Sera sees a link between negative social behaviours and what the children are watching online. Therefore, Sera believes parents/whānau have the responsibility to discourage such behaviours through dissuading their children from watching videos which promote violence. She explains:

“I discourage my kids from clicking on any videos that show kids being beaten up or hit in a small setting where other kids are filming it because you’re just giving it more attention and you know helping it to go viral when imagine if that was you, imagine if that was your little sister that was getting beaten up at school and someone was filming it. That would be horrible. So just don’t participate in it, don’t share it, don’t talk about it. I mean it obviously doesn’t make it go away but the more people, the more teenagers that just ignore that kind of behaviour and don’t condone it.

Don’t be afraid to speak up and say this is disgusting.”

In a discussion about future interventions which may be beneficial for parents/whānau, Sera contextualises her knowledge of the causes of PA and RA which she thinks are dependent on the child’s home environment. Sera firmly believes that teachers could use more education on how to be more understanding and compassionate for whānau who may be experiencing difficult circumstances, she elaborates:

“I think for parents/whānau when you’re going through heavy things and it’s affecting your entire family the last thing you want is that fear of people getting involved and then calling the authorities when it’s just normal you know like lots of people go through relationship breakdowns

and you know have something dramatic happen in your family. It doesn't mean that you need to be judged or attacked, you need to just have people understand and how you can work together as adults for the child who's at school."

In summary, Sera expresses her desire to improve her te reo Māori use. She acknowledges her spirituality as a part of being Māori as well as an integral part of her parenting practices. Sera describes RA as "normal" as she describes seeing it a lot among children, although Sera also labels RA as "mean" and "not okay". Sera perceives PA to be "not okay" and believes PA to be worse than RA viewing it more seriously as it crosses a boundary. In context, Sera articulates that because she knows her daughter and recognises when she is tired and needs to be alone, these factors influence her decision to intervene in PA or RA situations. In response to children who use RA, Sera says she would ask the child how they would feel if they were the receiver. Whereas Sera's approach to the RA receiver involves clarifying to the child that RA is unacceptable, letting the child know not to take the behaviour personally and dissuading them from reacting with anger, violence or by crying. In comparison, Sera's response to the receiver of PA involves picking the child up off the floor and asking if they are okay. However, Sera's response to the child displaying PA involves explaining to the child that PA is unacceptable as well as sending the child to the back of the line (relevant to the scenario). When Sera is asked about her thoughts on bullying, she provides some examples of RA behaviours. However, she thinks bullying is different from the PA and RA scenarios provided as she views bullying to be more intensified. Sera identifies bullying to be the cause of what is happening within the child's home environment. Lastly, in thinking of useful future interventions to help others to understand and respond to PA and RA behaviours used by children, Sera believes more education for teachers is needed so they learn to have more compassion and understanding for children and families going through a hard time.

David

David is a 24 year old Māori and Cook Island father who has a five year old son. David attended public schooling before later being home schooled. However, while in the public schooling system, David was not in the bilingual unit nor did he attend any Kura Kaupapa. However, David does speak te reo Māori now and again. When discussing what being Māori means to David, he explains that he is more familiar with his Cook Island side. He elaborates:

“I don’t know I kind of just see it as my culture and I don’t know. I’ve never really had much to do with like the Māori side.”

When asked to reflect on how his Cook Island or Māori cultural experiences have influenced his beliefs and actions in his relationship with his son and his parenting practices, David talks of the influence of growing up in a large family, remaining close to them and wanting the same for his child. He states:

“We were pretty close growing up...it was quite big...we kind of just grew up together and like stayed close so that’s kind of what I want to do for my kid.”

In a discussion about how culture may influence how he manages his child’s behaviour, David describes the differences in how he was raised between his Māori side and his Cook Island side. He explains:

“I guess in a way more towards like the attitude side of things and like cause my Cook Island side they weren’t so strict on us like we kind of had a lot of like lee-way growing up but then with my Māori side, like my grandparents/whānau and stuff they were quite strict with like what we could do and yeah that’s kind of something I’d use towards my son. Not giving him too much free-reign to do whatever he wants.”

In response to the second kaupapa, David describes PA as being common and “something that you are always going to see happen”. However, he articulates that he has not had to deal with it too much

with his own children. When asked about his original thoughts on the scenario depicting PA, David describes the child using PA as needing to be “taught a lesson”. In comparison, David labels RA as “normal” as he describes seeing it often at the playground. David’s description of RA is based on his perception that children are too young to know better when using these behaviours. He clarifies:

“I mean it’s not wrong but not nice either...I kind of don’t see anything wrong with it when they’re 5 and under kind of thing.”

To remind the reader the first scenario presented to David describes a situation of RA where a child is told “no I already told you, you can’t play with us”. The second scenario of PA depicts a child being pushed out of the line. In terms of the seriousness, David believes RA is more serious because of the long-term impacts on the receiver whereas he considers PA to be easily deterred through decent parenting. He elaborates:

“Probably the playing with someone thing [RA]...I kind of feel like it plays more of a part on them as a kid...That second one [PA] is you know easily changed by parenting...snatching toys off another, that’s something that can be fixed through parenting just like the second one like you know the kid just needs to learn to share or you know have manners.”

David also agrees with Hera that there are no situations where non-intervention of PA and RA would be appropriate. In response to RA, David outlines he would use restorative approaches toward both the user and receiver of RA. David has a different approach to the mothers within the study where he does not opt to use *discussion* as a response to the RA receiver. Instead, David states he would play with the child and make them feel good as he believes this is an easier approach rather than trying to explain to the children why RA happens. Although for the child who uses RA, David says he would use an approach to try and get the child to have empathy for the other child. He explains:

“You know try and make them to understand yeah if someone wants to do that to you you’d obviously feel sad.”

On the other hand, in response to PA, David says he would put the receiver back into the line they were pushed out of to show the individual that they cannot get away with that behaviour. He elaborates:

"I'd probably tell them off and be like you know, probably shouldn't be doing that but...things like that, it's probably best to like go to their parents/whānau ."

David was asked what he believes bullying looks like among children aged 3-5 years to see whether this differed to his perceptions of PA and RA. His examples of bullying include examples of PA and RA, although he thinks bullying behaviours during early childhood would be limited by their young age. David explains:

"Snatching toys off each other, you see that all the time. Obviously not wanting to play with other kids, yeah there's not really much for 3-5 year olds...[to] bully someone else about."

David views children's bullying as learnt behaviours within their home environment. He clarifies:

"Home, stuff happening at home. For like their parents/whānau yeah. I mean if some kid's like getting constantly yelled at or like sworn at and stuff and like you know hit. They're obviously going to go to school and be like my mum does this to me like I'm going to do this to you"

When asked if he would respond differently to bullying versus the scenarios of PA and RA provided, David outlined he would have a frank discussion with the child using bullying behaviours – discouraging them from using these behaviours toward others. He states:

"Then the kid getting picked on, I would try and explain to them, make them realise that you know it's always going to happen. Like there's always going to be someone that's going to pick on someone else. And just try not to you know take that and go and do it to someone else just because you know it happened to you."

Whereas, David struggles with how he would approach the bully if the child is not his own.

However, he opts for an intervention method similar to his response to RA where he would explain to the bully that they would feel sad if they were being treated that way. He elaborates:

"I guess I'd just I don't know pull them in and just talk to them about it. Like I don't know it's kind of hard to think what I'd do if that was someone else's kid but personally if it was my kid bullying someone else like I would reign them in and be like you know you probably shouldn't be doing that like explain to him why and then you know try and make him understand why he shouldn't do that next time."

When asked what do you believe is the role of parents/whānau when you see negative social behaviours in young children David says it is the parent's job to discipline their children. He explains:

"Discipline them. I wouldn't say go and hit them but sometimes some kids do need a good whack. But I wouldn't say go and hit a kid, they probably shouldn't but yeah there are times where kids like you know a smack on the bum's going to help."

Lastly, to help further understand and respond to PA and RA behaviours among young children David believes there is a need for general parenting classes for everyone with a particular focus on Māori, Pacific Islanders and teenage parents/whānau. David expands:

"I kind of feel like there are some people out there that should probably take parenting classes before they you know...because a lot of people get pregnant at a young age and they're thrown in the deep end on how to raise a kid and it's not easy...Māori and Islanders definitely need some parenting classes like you know because they obviously need it...so yeah probably compulsory parenting classes before you know they actually have a kid...I just reckon just parenting classes for everyone."

In summary, David says he uses te reo Māori now and again and that he is more familiar with his Cook Island culture than his Māori culture. David believes RA is common among younger children and therefore is normal behaviour. He considers RA to be more serious than PA because of the more serious impacts on the receiver and because he perceives PA to be easier to change through good parenting. A strategy he would personally use in response to the RA receiver would be to comfort and play with them. As for the child using RA, he would talk to the child about how they might feel if they were the receiver. On the other hand, David describes PA as unacceptable behaviour. He would put the PA receiver back in the line and tell off the child who used PA and talk to their parents/whānau. In terms of bullying, David perceives the age of the child and the home environment to be the leading causes of developing bullying behaviours which he believes to include PA and RA. David's response to bullying differs from his responses to the scenarios in the sense that he would have more of a discussion with the children involved. However, David raises a discomfort in approaching children who demonstrate bullying behaviours and who are not his own. David believes the role of parents/whānau is to discipline their children. In terms of the resources that could help parents/whānau to better understand and respond to PA and RA, David thinks compulsory parenting classes for everyone especially Māori, Pacific and teenage parents/whānau would be useful.

Chapter four summary

Throughout this research, several key themes were identified. With the first question which was '*Does Māori culture influence the general parenting practices of Māori parents, if so – how?*'. The parents/whānau identified te reo Māori and tikanga Māori as influencing their parenting practices. Tikanga Māori values such as being connected to whānau, whakapapa and spirituality were identified as playing a significant role in the way the parents within this study raised their children.

In regards to the second research question '*What are Māori parent/whānau perceptions of PA and RA in young children?*' They believed the causes of PA and RA were attributed to a variety of different factors including the age of the child and/or the home environmental factors, the influence

of social media such as TV and YouTube. The parents/whānau also described PA and RA as being common, normal and unacceptable behaviour. However, when they were asked for their beliefs on whether PA or RA was more serious, the parents/whānau shared different perceptions. Two parents/whānau thought PA and RA were equally serious, one parent believed PA to be more serious and one parent thought RA was more serious.

In answering the third research question '*How do Māori parents/whānau respond to PA and RA among young children?*'. For PA, the parents/whānau used proactive methods such as encouraging the children to use their words and suggested other ways of behaving. This was similar to their responses to children who were targets of RA as they discouraged them from responding with anger or taking the behaviour to heart. Overall, a key finding showed the parents/whānau used more restorative and passive approaches in response to RA. Whereas, the parents response to PA tended to be more direct and result in negative consequences such as insisting the child apologises and sending them to the back of the line.

The fourth and final question sought to identify '*What additional support do parents/whānau need to better understand and respond to PA and RA among young children?*'. To answer this, the parents/whānau suggested parent and teacher classes, and parenting pamphlets on teaching children values as being useful future resources. The next chapter provides discussion around some of the key findings of this study.

Chapter five – Discussion

Despite some of the negative perceptions of Māui, some scholars have expressed that his actions represent intelligence, resourcefulness and fearlessness (Walker, 1990, as cited in Rameka, 2012). Ware (2009) states “as a result of his exploits, Māui brought...good (in the form of broadening previously restrictive conventions)...his actions set a precedent for the development and advancement of Māori society through challenging, extending and enhancing the status quo” (p. 21).

This chapter will first summarise the study’s results with comparison to appropriate literature, then segue into an interpretation of those findings based on Kaupapa Māori and Western theories of parenting and child development. The strengths and limitations of the study will be presented followed by implications and suggested recommendations, as informed by the results and theoretical positioning of this study. To answer the research questions, the creation pūrākau which is the cosmological underpinning of traditional Māori society has been drawn on as it provides the perfect cultural foundation in which to ground the research findings. The threading together of ancient learnings with the modern-day perspectives and experiences of parents is structured in the remainder of this chapter to uplift and honour their voices. To remind the reader, this study aimed to answer four main research questions which were:

Research Question One: ‘*Does Māori culture influence the general parenting practices of Māori parents, if so – how?*’

Research Question Two: ‘*What are Māori parents/whānau perceptions of physical and relational aggression among 3-5 year old children?*’

Research Question Three ‘*How do Māori parents/whānau respond to physical and relational aggression among 3-5 year old children?*’

Research Question Four: ‘*What additional resources do Māori parents/whānau want or need to better understand and respond to PA and RA among young children?*’

To answer the first research question, a brief history of Māori child-rearing practices is revisited as well as historical events which have contributed to some of the contemporary parenting methods of Māori today. Traditionally, Māori children were raised in a village by the hapū, and they

were treasured and rarely punished as they were believed to be gifts from the atua (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). However, factors such as Māori displacement through land loss, Māori assimilation, and Māori urbanisation has made it difficult for some Māori today to live traditional Māori lifestyles (Pool & Kukutai, 2011). Compared to traditional times, contemporary Māori are less likely to speak te reo, live in urban cities away from tribal lands (Te Puni Kokiri, 2018). More than 90 percent of Māori live in a variety of different family households including couples with child(ren) households, one parent with child(ren) households, multi-family households, or couple only households (Te Puni Kokiri, 2011). While more than half of Māori households (52.9 percent) have members that are Non-Māori (Te Puni Kokiri, 2011.) Despite the colonial events of the past, research shows that Māori parents who are less connected to their iwi, hapū and marae still incorporate Māori culture into their parenting practices in the present day (Mulder, 2019). Studies show that Māori parents today find it important for their children to know their whakapapa, to understand tikanga Māori, to learn te reo Māori, to embrace their spirituality and be able to feel their wairua (Abel et al., 2001; Campbell, 2012; Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2011; Poananga, 2011; Ware et al., 2018). The findings of this study support previous literature with many of the parents from this study identifying key tikanga values they believed to be essential to their Māori identity and part of their day-to-day parenting practices.

Tikanga Māori values used by parents

Traditionally, tikanga Māori values were used to regulate behaviours in Māori society to maintain balance and harmony (Whaanga, 2012). In the current study, the tikanga values of whakapapa, whānau, wairuatanga, manaakitanga and te reo Māori were discussed by the parents. These values are elaborated early in the chapter to understand how the parents within this study used these values to perceive and respond to PA and RA (discussed in a later section).

Whakapapa

Being Māori for two māmā was described as knowing who you are and where you come from, a term otherwise known as *whakapapa*. One māmā explained that *being Māori* and *knowing*

her whakapapa gives her a “sense of belonging”. In terms of how the parents incorporated whakapapa into their parenting practices, one māmā placed importance on her son being proud of his Māori heritage and knowing his pepeha which details whakapapa. While whakapapa translates to genealogy or heritage (Taonui, 2015). It also has deeper meanings and can be described as an expression of “sets of relationships, conditional obligations and privileges that determine a sense of self wellbeing between whānau, hapū and iwi and the interconnectedness between whānau, hapū and iwi and the environment” (Kruger et al., 2004, p. 18). While most parents viewed whakapapa as crucial to having a sense of belonging and identity, the parents did not express their wider understandings of whakapapa, its connectedness, and the accompanying obligations that come with it. It could be argued that assimilation of Māori into European society has contributed to the lack of understanding and the disconnection to te ao Māori belief systems (Armstrong, 2016; Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2011). The blending of the meanings of te reo Māori and English words may also contribute the parents’ lack of understanding of the term (Henare, 2001; Wilson et al., 2019). Nevertheless, research shows extensive knowledge of one’s whakapapa can help an individual to feel secure in their identity (Jahnke, 2002). Secure cultural identity for Māori has been discovered to have benefits for the person’s health and wellbeing such as fewer depressive symptoms (Durie, 1995; Williams et al., 2018). In contrast, the importance of knowing your heritage in a United Kingdom sample was found to differ as only some believed it to be important to better understand self-identity, while others thought there is no future benefit in researching the past (Kramer, 2011). Another tikanga value the parents related to Māori identity and used as parenting practices was *wairuatanga* which can translate to *spirituality*.

Wairuatanga

One māmā in this study specifically named wairuatanga as an important part of Māori culture. For Māori, wairuatanga is a major feature of the culture, hence spiritual health is included in Te Whare Tapa Wha model as being essential for overall Māori well-being (Durie, n.d., as cited in Ministry of Health, 2017). Wairuatanga was an evident tikanga value in the day to day parenting

practices of the parents interviewed in this study. For example, some parents talked about the incorporation of karakia (prayer) and using te taiao (the environment) to manage their child's behaviour which is discussed further in a later section. In other cultures, spirituality has been correlated with positive parenting practices and parents have talked about the benefits of spirituality in terms of guiding their values, decisions and their roles (Kaufman, 2020; Letiecq, 2007). The following section discusses the tikanga value of *te reo* which the parents believed to be important in incorporating into their parenting practices.

Te Reo

The parents in this study had varying te reo Māori abilities. While two māmā used “small phrases” and “basic kupu hou” daily. The other two parents used te reo Māori occasionally with one of these parents saying she did not speak te reo Māori as often as she would like. For this māmā, she expressed deep sadness in not having more opportunity to learn te reo Māori when she was younger. However, she spoke of the importance of learning te reo Māori not only for herself but so she could speak it with her children. As all living things have mauri (Henare, 2001), it is important to understand that because te reo Māori is a *living language*, it also has its own mauri. When mauri is in a strong state, the health and well-being of the beholder is also strong (Ministry of Health, 2014). One way mauri can be protected is by respecting culture and identity which as previously mentioned has many health and well-being benefits. Therefore, when the parents speak te reo Māori with their children, they are nurturing their child’s cultural identity, mauri, and therefore their well-being (Durie, 2017; Ministry of Education, 2017). Another tikanga value parents believed to be part of their Māori identity which they incorporate into their daily parenting practices is *whānau*.

Whānau

Similar to the primal whānau who lived together and maintained close bonds, all the parents within this study described being part of a *whānau* as what it means to be Māori. All the parents within this study spoke of the importance of maintaining close ties with their whānau and how

whānau influences their parenting practices. For example, David spoke of the close-knit bonds he experienced growing up in a large family and his desires for his son to be brought up in the same way. Here, David describes a core element of connectedness (whanaungatanga) via whakapapa which carries with it obligations to whānau underpinned by aroha and manaakitanga (Collins & Wilson, 2008; Denise et al., 2019). *Whānau* are significant as it is a critical component for holistic well-being in Durie's Te Whare Tapa Wha model. In Durie's model, Te taha whānau or family health is based on the capacity to belong, care and to share, it allows us to be who we are recognising that individuals are a part of wider social systems (Ministry of Health, 2017). Extensive research shows that whānau are a key determinant for Māori wellbeing or success (Durie n.d., as cited in Ministry of Health, 2017; Mark & Lyons, 2010; Waitoki et al., 2016). However, this not only applies for Māori but for other cultures too. The quality of family relationships – determined by social support and/or strain for example, has also been discovered to influence individual well-being positively or negatively (Thomas et al., 2017). Overall, it was clear that these parents live by the whakataukī, "Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini ke!" which translates as "My strength is not that of one person, but of thousands". This whakataukī recognises a fundamental cultural belief for Māori that strength and resilience is part of a collective.

This section has described the tikanga values which the parents in this study specifically stated as being important to their Māori identity and valuable in terms of incorporating into their daily parenting practices. In the following section, there were some underlying values which the parents did not specifically name in te reo Māori but they unconsciously described them hence the title for the next paragraph is *values reimaged*.

Values reimaged

Many of the parents expressed wanting their children to learn values such as empathy, gratitude, love and compassion which all share a multifaceted relationship (Kim et al., 2018). There are benefits to living by these values such as people with daily gratitude habits are happier and

healthier (Emmons, 2007). Conversely, from a te ao Māori perspective although the Māori terms have not been used by the parents in this study, the above values describe aroha (love), tika (correctness, justice, fairness) and pono (honesty/genuinity). Aroha, tika and pono are important because to be pono in a tika way, using aroha allows the mana, mauri and tapu of people to be supported and strengthened (Rangataua Mauri Ora, 2007). Parents intervention methods towards PA and RA which are mentioned later demonstrate how the parents used aroha, tika and pono. The next section discusses the different ways parents in this study incorporate kawa (protocols) into their households which I have called *kawa o te kainga* (house protocols).

Kawa o te kainga

Each parent had different ways of passing knowledge and instilling values with their children. Durie (2017) has encouraged whānau today to transfer or duplicate kawa o te marae (marae protocols) within their homes so that in this way, tikanga practices and values are actualised in day-to-day life. Kawa can be defined as protocols derived from matauranga Māori (Durie, 2011). Tikanga on the other hand, relates to “the sets of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or individual” (Mead, 2003, p. 12). It is important to note that kawa and tikanga vary amongst iwi, hapū and rohe (Keane, 2013). For one māmā, the observance of mihi mihi and pepeha (both common introductions) were important kawa o te kainga she was teaching her son. While for another māmā, the observance of karakia, not sitting on the tepu (table) and not putting feet on pillows within her kainga were examples of kawa o te kainga to teach her children. Underpinning the rationale for the observance of kawa o te marae and kawa o te kainga for this māmā relates to three sources of order and dispute resolution, this includes: tapu (sacred power), mana (power, prestige) and utu (form of payback/reciprocity).

Tapa, mana and utu

Tapu, mana and utu are important te ao Māori concepts which regulate behaviour and are critical in understanding how the parents responded to PA and RA in the later sections. To briefly recap, tapu is a sacred power which is sourced from Io which people and things inherently have,

although some more than others (Henare, 2001). If something or someone is considered too be very tapu, this tapu must be respected which is why tapu can often mean *restricted* (Ataria et al., 2019). By understanding the boundaries and protections of tapu that work to safeguard the mana of each person including children, the mechanism then from a te ao Māori perspective in dealing with transgressions is best understood by utu. Utu has many definitions but can be defined as reciprocation (Mead, 2003). Traditionally, utu involved a process of making amends or compensating the receiver and/or their whānau to right a transgression (Patterson, 1991). The hope of utu is that it brings about a collective restoration of peace and harmony when a transgression has caused an imbalance in the world (Ahu et al., 2011). The next section analyses an example from Hera (a māmā in this study) to show how each of the tikanga values described above are interwoven. The following quote demonstrates how this māmā ensures how her daughters mana (power, prestige), mauri (life force/life essence) and tapu are upheld, protected and respected as well as ensuring her daughters wairua (spirit) can thrive and flourish. The following example is a demonstration of how Hera teaches her daughter to self regulate her own emotions and behaviour.

Tikanga values operationalised

“With Amaia-Rose when she gets like quite upset, it’s quite hard to reason with her cause she’s just so upset. Well I’ll like take her outside or something or like we go out to the beach and I think it just helps to literally ground her like connect her back with you know the environment. And she calms down...cause we were actually struggling for a bit and then yeah that’s been the only thing that’s been helping. That or like water so even if we can’t go outside if it’s raining, like if she has a bath or like a nice hot shower, it just helps. Yeah, she’s like a new kid afterwards it’s so funny, yeah, just send them outside” (Hera)

For Māori, our deep connections to te taiao (the environment) and te moana (the sea), is detailed within whakapapa linkages (Ngata, 2018). There is a strong interconnected relationship where the wellbeing of humans cannot be separated from the well-being of environment (Pihama,

Simmonds et al., 2019). When the environment is healthy so are the people and vice versa (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013). In this example, Hera demonstrates her wairuatanga as she understands the wellbeing of her daughter very much relies on her daughter having a connection to te taiao. When Hera is talking about wai (water), this is important because wai is a significant element in te ao Māori as it has cleansing and healing properties that lift tapu (Ngata, 2018). Wai is used in whakawatea rituals (a cleansing in a body of water) and the healing power of wai is still used in rongoa (Māori medicine) to remove nganara (negative energies) and riri (upset/anger) (Mark et al., 2017). Likewise, Hera refers to the healing powers of Papatūānuku who can also draw out ngangara and re-energise our being (Mildon, 2016). This relates to the creation pūrākau which details Papatūānuku as a protector as she hid her children underneath foliage away from the wrath of Tāwhirimatea. Hera understands that when her child is connected to Papatūānuku, she will nurture the well-being of her child. Further, like the interconnected relationship between humans and te taiao. Hera talks about the relatedness between her daughter's well-being and the well-being of the whānau as she describes her whānau as struggling when her daughter is unhappy.

Additionally, rather than getting angry at her daughter, Hera sees an opportunity to learn what her daughter's needs are and she allows her daughter to do what she needs to to feel better. In this way, Hera sees the value in ako. Ako is a reciprocal learning relationship where the teacher and learner can swap roles and learn from one another (Morrison & Vaioleti, 2011). This is also an example of responsive parenting which can be defined as the use of warm behaviours to respond to children's needs (Patton & Wang, 2012). Responsive parenting has many benefits for children such as improved social, emotional, cognitive, and psychosocial development (Bakermans-Kranenburg et al., 2003; Eshel et al., 2006; Landry et al., 2008). Hera is demonstrating aroha and manaakitanga as she handles the situation with delicacy, patience and consideration as she understands that her child is still young and is still learning to handle her emotions. As Hera uses an approach which maintains respect for her daughter, Hera uses socialisation to teach her daughter about aroha, tika and pono-the

caring, correct and genuine way of treating others (Grusec, 2002). This process relates to what Rogoff (1990) characterises as ‘guided participation’.

Overall, this māmā uses a mana-enhancing approach by giving her daughter options of being outside or with wai, Hera understands that her daughter is not helpless and can calm herself down using methods that work for her. Hera does not use overbearing authoritarian parenting methods (e.g., punitive punishment without giving reasoning) (Thompson et al. (2003), but instead, she maintains a caring, loving and supportive approach which ensures her daughter’s mauri and wairua is nurtured. This is a positive parenting approach because nurturing responsive relationships among parents and their children have many benefits for healthy child development. For example, they help to build healthy brain architecture which supports the child’s learning, behaviour and health (Shonkoff et al., 2009). This section has demonstrated how Hera has been able to adapt these tikanga values within her home as kawa o te kainga as a cultural parenting tool with her child. In the next section, I will be addressing research question two and three noted below:

Research Question Two: ‘*What are Māori parents perceptions of physical and relational aggression among 3-5 year old children?*’

Research Question Three ‘*How do Māori parents respond to physical and relational aggression among 3-5 year old children?*’

Parental perceptions of PA and RA

To answer these questions, I again draw on and weave together pūrākau, tikanga values and other learnings outlined in the previous section to inform the analysis of how parents perceive and respond to PA and RA. Overall, the parents based their perceptions and intervention methods on Kaupapa Māori philosophy and values, treating their child with aroha and manaakitanga rather than authoritarian parenting practices which may be more familiar in some European families who have strict expectations of compliance.

All the parents acknowledged that PA amongst children was common, and that they often observed this behaviour within their homes, on the playgrounds and in early childhood centres. Parents

described PA in a variety of ways, such as being “normal” “mean” “not okay” and as “crossing a boundary”. However, all parents expressed that PA was unacceptable and serious, the parents also shared their perceptions of RA which they again agreed was also commonly observed behaviour among children. One māmā noted the emotional harm of RA which she believed to have long term implications on mental health and well-being as she likened the impact of RA on a child as “hitting their āhua”. Āhua can refer to aura, attributes, talents and characteristics (Mead, 2003). When the āhua of a child is impacted, this damages their wairua, weakens their mauri, and undermines their mana. This māmā noted that the effect of RA on a child is equally devastating to the ahua or well-being of the parents, reflecting the interconnected relationship between personal and whānau well-being (Durie et al., 2010). This is reflected in other research which has revealed that parents experience notable emotional distress and an array of complex emotions when their children are distressed (Benatov, 2019; Humphrey & Crisp, 2008).

One key finding of this study was the clear divide in how the parents perceived PA and RA in terms of seriousness. Tania and Hera, for example, stated PA and RA were both equally as serious, whereas Sera believed PA was more serious, and David believed RA to be more serious. The mixed perceptions of the parents is significant because it does not align with previous research which suggests that RA is perceived as less serious by parents and teachers (Evans et al., 2012; Goldstein & Boxer, 2013; Hurd & Gettinger, 2011; Swit et al., 2018; Swit, 2019; Werner et al., 2006). It was thought that Tania’s perception of PA and RA being equally serious may be influenced by her level of experience and exposure to both of these behaviours as an early childhood education teacher and parent. Within this learning setting, PA and RA behaviours are undoubtedly observed as common behaviours among children (Crick, Ostrov & Werner, 2006; Ostrov et al., 2006; Swit et al., 2018). One theory as to why Hera perceived RA to be equally serious as PA, could be because Hera has two daughters which is relevant because some studies show RA is more prevalent among females (Bonica et al., 2003; Crick & Grotjeter, 1995). However, this theory does not apply to Sera’s case as she also has a preschool-aged daughter with many siblings (female and male) although Sera believed PA to be

more serious. David's perception of RA being more serious than PA was interesting because he was the only parent to believe RA to be more serious than PA contrary to the literature. David's perception is also fascinating because he seemed to describe RA more passively as "not wrong but not nice either" whereas he appeared to be more firm with children who use PA describing them as needing to be "taught a lesson". However, David's reasoning circles around his beliefs that RA has more severe long term impacts on the receiver, compared to PA which he thinks can be managed easily through adequate parenting. This is an interesting finding because other studies typically find fathers to be more accepting of boys using PA describing the behaviour as boys being boys and as something they will grow out of (Casas et al., 2006; Maselli et al., 1984).

The differential perceptions of the seriousness of PA and RA reflects a need for more parental awareness and education around the equally negative effects on the children who use PA and RA as well as the receivers (Card et al., 2008; Gower et al., 2014; Hurd and Gettinger, 2011; Paquette & Underwood, 1999). From a te ao Māori view, PA and RA behaviours can hurt a person's mana, mauri and wairua. Similarly, from a Western point of view, some of the negative effects of PA and RA can include peer rejection (Archer & Coyne, 2005; Crick, 1996). Overall, these parental perceptions of PA and RA are extremely important because they influence how parents consequently intervene and respond to these behaviours (Nicolaides et al., 2002; Swit et al., 2018; Werner et al., 2006; Werner & Grant, 2009). This is discussed further in the next section.

Parental intervention methods to PA and RA

The parents in this study used a variety of intervention methods in response to PA and RA perpetration and victimisation. As the parents perceptions of the seriousness of RA were mixed, it was expected these perceptions would align with their choices of intervention methods toward PA and RA behaviours. However, the parents intervention methods supported previous literature which highlights that parents respond more passively to RA individuals and receivers compared to PA individuals and receivers (Hurd & Gettinger, 2011; Swit et al., 2018; Werner et al., 2006). The

findings of this study were similar to another study which found for situations involving PA, parents/whānau were more likely to give out negative consequences, convey that a rule had been broken to the child, inform the child the behaviour was unacceptable and ask the child to apologise to the receiver (Swit et al., 2018; Werner et al., 2006). In this study for example, some of the parents responses to PA involved sending the child to the back of the line and making the child apologise. As it is known in te ao Māori, a respectful relationship toward others ensures balance and peace but a bad relationship can often lead to disharmony and imbalance (Henare, 2001). Therefore, I believe the parents intervention responses to PA reflect a process of utu as the parents recognise a transgression has taken place and that amends must be made to restore balance, peace and harmony. On the otherhand, the study by Werner et al. (2006) similar to this study also found that when RA was involved, more passive methods were used such as asking the child to go and play somewhere else.

Theories of why parents respond more passively to RA than PA suggest that adults may not truly consider RA to be equally hurtful, serious or as negative as PA (Craig et al., 2000). Therefore, they demonstrate more tolerant or passive attitudes towards RA (Hazler et al., 2001). Another theory is that because RA is subtle and covert (McEvoy et al., 2003). The parents may not view RA as serious because they do not often observe it or because they have difficultly identifying it at all. Some studies show that RA increases among peers and decreases among siblings, therefore, RA may be more common in the school environment than the home (Stauffacher & DeHart, 2006). However, in the early childhood period, another study found RA to be more common among siblings than peer interactions (Stauffacher & DeHart, 2005). Parents in this study were not directly asked to comment on their child's interactions with their siblings, although it could be expected that parents may witness these RA behaviours among siblings. The next section provides some discussion around some commonly used intervention methods and their relations to Kaupapa Māori values and philosophy.

Compared to other studies (Swit et al., 2018; Werner et al., 2006) the parents within this study were found to use a more educational and loving approach where they took the time to discuss the child's behaviour and its impact on others. The parents made it an educational experience rather than a negative experience for the child. They used positive methods such as suggesting alternate ways to behave, teaching empathy and asking the child to explain themselves. One particular response to RA included *encouraging inclusivity*. Encouraging inclusivity is reflected in Māori philosophical beliefs and in traditional parenting methods. One example of this parenting practice was seen when Hera said she would encourage her child to be inclusive of other children. Hera said she would ask her daughter "what if you did let this kid play with you, think of all the fun things you could do together?". This quote reflects the Māori philosophical view that every child has something unique or something special to offer the world and that every child should be accepted for who they are (Rameka & Glasgow, 2015). In this example, Hera is teaching her child about the mana of other children and the importance of maintaining relationships through aroha and manaakitanga.

Another common parenting response to both PA and RA used by parents in this study involved *giving the child a voice*. The parents commonly explained they would ask their children to verbalise how they were feeling or to explain why they used PA or RA behaviours. Giving children a voice is also no new concept as Māori children in traditional times actively participated in elder's council meetings (Jenkins and Harte, 2011). By allowing children to think and speak for themselves, the parents are respecting the mana of the children. These methods incorporate aroha and manaakitanga and these approaches were used more often than negative or power assertive methods (e.g., physical punishment, threats, belittling statements), similar to the New Zealand parenting study by Kremer et al. (2010). These intervention methods also share similarities with traditional Māori parenting practices where harsh behaviour management strategies were not used in order to nurture a child's self-efficacy and to not tame the child's wairua (Edwards & Ratima, 2014). These positive parenting methods as well as teaching their children how to maintain healthy relationships, through treating their children with kindness, care and warmth helps to overall discourage aggression among

children (Brown et al., 2007; McFadyen-Ketchum et al., 1996). When parents demonstrate prosocial behaviours to their children, they are more likely to replicate these behaviours with their peers (Mize & Pettit, 1997; Werner et al., 2014).

Overall, the parents saw their roles as supporters rather than dictators, they chose methods which maintained respect and love, and they used *ako* (to learn from their children and to educate them) rather than harsh punishment. This section analysed the parents' perceptions and intervention methods to PA and RA among young children. The next section answers the last research question which was:

Research Question Four: "*What additional resources do parents want or need to better understand and respond to PA and RA?*"

Additional parental resources

Parenting resources are often created by experts in the field. However, a strength of this study was that the *rakau* (stick) was instead handed to the parents to share their thoughts on parenting resources they felt would be helpful to better understand and respond to PA and RA in the future. Two of the parents thought a parenting workshop or class would be beneficial for parents for this purpose. One of these parents thought everyone should take compulsory parenting classes although they thought, a specific focus should be on Māori, Pacific Island and teenage parents.

The current parenting programmes in New Zealand were briefly reviewed in the literature review. Some of the literature suggests that *kaupapa Māori* programmes work better for participants compared to general parenting programmes (Adamson et al., 2006). However, Robertson (2014) concluded that there are few parenting programmes which meet the Western scientific standards in Aotearoa New Zealand, this includes all *Kaupapa Māori* programmes. Robertson (2014) also determined there is no evidence to suggest culturally adapted programmes are any more effective than *Kaupapa Māori* programmes. However, the Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit (2015) found *Kaupapa Māori* and culturally adapted parenting programmes to be effective with *whānau* because they take into consideration Māori knowledge, beliefs, values, and practices. *Kaupapa Māori*

and culturally adapted parenting programmes tend to focus on building relationships based on tikanga values such as aroha, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga which discourages PA and RA among children. For example, some of these programmes include Tikanga Whakatipu Ririki, Te Atawhaingia te Pā Harakeke, Te Mana Kainga Programme, Poutiria te Aroha, Oranga Whānau and Whānau Toko i te Ora.

Kaupapa Māori and culturally adapted programmes such as the Incredible Years and Triple P programmes have demonstrated some positive effects (Berryman et al., 2012; Herewini, 2014; Keown et al., 2018). Some of the positive results from the culturally adapted Incredible Years and Triple P parenting programmes include improvements in disruptive child behaviour problems, negative parenting practices, parenting confidence and inter-parental disagreements (Herewini, 2014; Keown et al., 2018). Despite some of the positive results, studies have shown there is a need to make changes and refinements to enhance the programmes in making them more culturally appropriate and responsive for Māori (Berryman et al., 2012; Herewini, 2014). Therefore, there is a need for more parental educational programmes to be developed in partnership with Māori, to be delivered by Māori and that draw from the lived reality of Māori parents themselves. As Herewini (2014) discovered there is a need to develop more Māori resources and for more trained Māori programme facilitators. Nonetheless, it is also important to mention that currently in some regions in Aotearoa, there is some exciting mahi (work) with parents taking place. For example, in Kaitaia they have introduced and adapted the Incredible Years programme with the input of kaumātua and kapa haka which has seen some positive benefits for Māori parents already (Reed, 2020, as cited in Ryan, 2020). Some of these findings include successfully teaching parents how to appropriately use praise with children and the encouraging parents spending quality time with their children.

In terms of available resources which focus on targeting or reducing PA and RA in young children. There are some mainstream programmes involve teaching the use of positive parenting methods such as encouraging communication among parents and children, and encouraging and

praising prosocial child behaviours to ultimately discourage PA and RA behaviours (Incredible Years, n.d; Triple P Parenting, n.d.). However, it is noted that there are few intervention or prevention programmes which specifically target RA in young children. This is in stark contrast to many evidence-based programs that target PA (Campbell, 2006; Leff et al., 2010). In a review of the existing programmes which target RA behaviours, most of the identified programmes were designed for school aged children and older, and only a few of the programmes are implemented in New Zealand (Coyne & Ostrov, 2018). Some of these social-emotional learning programmes include You Can Do it and PB4L. However there are other RA targeted New Zealand programmes such as KiVa and Roots of Empathy which have showed reductions in exclusion and manipulation in schools, reductions in aggressive behaviour and an increase in prosocial behaviour (Green et al., 2019; Roots of Empathy, n.d.). However, as most of the identified programmes are designed for school aged children and older. There is a need for further early childhood resources that teach educators about RA, there is especially a need for kaupapa Māori resources in early childhood around RA.

Another point for discussion is Sera's recommendation that teachers need to have more understanding and compassion for a child's home situation and how this may be impacting the child and their behaviour. Sera specifically mentioned circumstances where children may be experiencing the divorce of their parents. There are mixed findings regarding the impact or child adjustment to parental divorce on children, based on the children's level of resilience or whether the divorce was anticipated or not (Brand et al., 2019). Nonetheless, the negative effects of divorce on children can include high anxiety (Wyman et al., 1985). If we revisit the Māori creation story, there are clear messages which teach us that the separation of whānau can lead to aggressive behaviour (Cherrington, 2009). Sera also mentioned that teachers should learn more about how to work with families in a mana enhancing and culturally congruent way especially in times of challenging life circumstances. As this māmā noted there can be a fear of being judged or having the authorities called on them if they share their personal situations with educators. This is significant because this parallels with a statement that Tania made. Tania was talking from a teachers and parents perspective

as she was speaking of her experiences of talking to the parents of children displaying non-social behaviours. Tania talked about some parents either taking her concerns on board or she stated they would say “you don’t know what’s going on at home”. This is an interesting finding and supports the notion that something needs to be done to improve communication among teachers and parents during difficult times.

The other parental suggestion was of a pamphlet being made for helping parents to incorporate Māori values into their parenting. Currently, there are some online parenting resources which give parents examples of aroha, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. However, none of them provide specific instructions on how parents can teach these values to their children (through discussion). Further as previously mentioned, one pāpā in the study was unsure of how to approach other people’s children when they witness them using aggressive behaviours towards others. From the data collected, the mothers in this study seemed to feel comfortable in responding to and approaching other peoples children. Therefore, this suggests the need for resources to educate parents or perhaps fathers on how to respectfully intervene in situations when other peoples children are displaying non-social behaviours. This section has explored some of the recommendations for future parental resources. The next section provides a recommendation not relevant to the context of parenting although it is still useful to note for contemporary Māori.

Other recommendations

As Durie (1995) states Māori live diverse realities today and therefore there is no one way to be Māori. Therefore, although the parents within this study were urban Māori who offered interesting perspectives, it is noted these perceptions may not be reflective of all Māori. When the Māori advisory rōpū were consulted for the clarification of cultural appropriateness of the identified theme names, a suggestion they provided and thought would be useful was for there to be more education for urban Māori around certain Māori terms. The advisory rōpū did not state the parents from this study were wrong but they did state there is room for Māori parents today to increase their

understanding of Māori terms as over the years some Māori terms have become watered down and deeper meanings have often been lost. Some examples of these terms include *manaakitanga*, *whakapapa* and *wairua*. This section has analysed the final research question which was to identify resources which would help parents to better understand and respond to PA and RA. In the following sections, reflections and strengths of the study have been provided as well as recommendations for future research.

Reflections

Despite the strengths of the study, on reflection, there were a few things that could have potentially been done differently to further reinforce the study. Firstly, the use of hypothetical scenarios could have been limiting in understanding how parents would actually respond in real life if their child engaged in PA and RA (Hurd & Gettinger, 2011; Werner et al., 2006). However, a strength of using vignettes is that it permitted parents to provide a subjective parent perspective which in this way allowed them to be both reflective and critical. The use of hypothetical vignettes have also been discovered to be a methodology which successfully taps into the perceptions of parents and is generally a good indication of how they would respond in *real* situations (Bauman & Del Rio, 2006). Further, I think to improve this study, I could have made the hypothetical scenarios more relevant to the parents as one of the vignettes involved pushing a child out of a line which is more likely to occur in a school environment. Therefore, the scenarios could have been adapted to a kaupapa Māori setting – at home with whānau and pictures could have been used to bring the scenario to life. Further, I also think the design of the interview questions could have been more culturally congruent to the demographics of this study. For example, in the interview, the questions were asked using the terminology of *PA* and *RA*. These terms are quite scientific and Pākehā and therefore, there is the risk that parents may have provided me with scientific and Pākehā responses as a result. Perhaps if I had designed the interview questions in a way that is more responsive for Māori using Māori terms or more everyday language, I may have obtained different responses.

Strengths of the study

There were also many strengths of the current study which are worth mentioning. First, the focus topic of Māori parental perceptions of PA and RA among young children is a strength. This is because there is a gap in the research around studies on this topic in Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori parenting studies in general are limited (although they have been growing in recent years) and this study was the first of its kind to assess Māori parents perceptions and responses to PA and RA. Further, the use of qualitative interviews guided by Kaupapa Māori methodology was also a strength of the study because it allowed for rich kōrero with each of the parents. This was particularly important because it allowed the parents to open up and share their unique experiences of raising their children. This study also identified some important areas for future research to build on, particularly with regards to the parenting practices of Māori parents.

Future Research

Based on the findings from this study, I would recommend in the future that a longitudinal study be conducted using Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology, and including a wider range of age and geographically located parents. This would aid in growing the dearth of research on primary caregivers perceptions of children uses of PA and RA. The inclusion of teachers perceptions is another area to be considered for future research as teachers can have just as much influence on the perceptions and behaviours of children as parents. Furthermore, the inclusion of ethnographic observational methods may also enhance future design methods to determine whether teachers' and parents' beliefs about PA and RA predict actual behaviour among children.

Chapter five summary

This chapter answered the research questions and discussed some key findings of the study in comparison to the literature and provided some key recommendations for further research. A more detailed conclusion is provided in the next section.

Chapter six – Conclusion

To answer the first research question which sought to assess the influence of the parents cultural beliefs and actions, it is clear there were differences. Māori are not a homogenous people, there are iwi, hapū and whānau variations in kawa and pūrākau beliefs. While, tikanga Māori is not fixed to a geographical location and can evolve with knowledge and experience, there are key tikanga values that apply in most situations. Furthermore, as a colonised indigenous people, Māori live diverse realities today. However, despite being raised in cities, having varying connection with their whenua, marae and contrasting educational experiences to learn about their culture including te reo Māori, all parents continued to the live out the impacts of colonisation. Although their parenting practices reflected the incorporation of several key tikanga values they believed to be important such as whakapapa, te reo Māori, whānau and wairuatanga.

In response to the second and third research questions which focussed on examining Māori parental perceptions of preschool children uses of PA and RA. The key findings of this study demonstrated that Māori parents are influenced by Māori culture in the ways they choose to perceive and respond to PA and RA. The parents based their perceptions and intervention methods on Kaupapa Māori philosophy and values, treating their child with aroha and manaakitanga rather than authoritarian parenting practices which may be more familiar in some European families who have strict expectations of compliance. Despite the parents having mixed perceptions of the seriousness of PA and RA, their choices of more direct intervention methods in response to PA compared to RA suggested they truly believed PA to be more serious – this finding is further supported in the literature (Goldstein & Boxer, 2013; Hurd & Gettinger, 2011; Swit et al., 2018; Werner et al., 2006).

Therefore, to answer the final research question which focused on future resources to better understand and respond to PA and RA, several suggestions were made. Further education and awareness is needed to educate parents/whānau and teachers to review these common perceptions of

PA and RA, and to build strategies to respond to PA and RA with an equal amount of seriousness and concern. The study's results suggest that parents in New Zealand could benefit from more education around the seriousness of both PA and RA. The parents within this study also identified some form of parenting workshops or classes, and parenting pamphlets that could help them with this. However, for an intervention to be successful for Māori, it needs to be appropriate and responsive. Therefore, Cherrington (2009) talks to the necessities that interventions for Māori need to have. She stated that this includes the encouragement of the development of a secure and positive cultural identity; the positive reinforcement of being Māori; incorporation of Māori content including Māori values, beliefs, practices and Māori models of wellbeing; increased Māori involvement in the planning and delivery of programmes; the inclusion of whānau Māori; appropriate Māori programme implementers, and personalised treatment plans that address cultural, clinical and whānau needs.

As a lasting note, I think all parents and educators can take key messages from the Māui pūrākau. As Ware (2009) notes, Māui had less expectations upon him compared to his elder siblings because he was the youngest child. However, this pūrākau represents the potential to surpass expectations and doubts and to achieve great things despite one's status (Ware, 2009). I think this pūrākau shows us what children are capable of all on their own. Māui was innovative, intelligent creative and independent. I believe in the relevant parenting context, caregivers could benefit from recognising the talents within their children, and uplifting and encouraging them to use these attributes to solve their own problems. To end this study, I will leave you with a whakataukī which reminds us of our collective responsibility to children:

“Poipoia te kākano kia puawai”

“Nurture the seed and it will grow”

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Appendix A: Interview questions

1. Ko wai koe? No hea koe? (Who are you? / Where are you from?)
2. Do you identify with any other ethnicities? If so, is there an ethnic group to which you identify with more strongly?
3. What schools did you attend? Were any of those kura kaupapa (full immersion schools) or bilingual schools?
4. How regularly do you use te reo Māori in your everyday life?
5. What does being Māori mean to you?
6. In what ways do you think culture influences your beliefs and actions? For example, how does culture influence your beliefs about the relationship you hold with your child and how does culture influence the way you parent? For example, how does culture influence your beliefs about the relationship you hold with your child and how does culture influence the way you parent?"
7. How does being Māori influence the way you parent?
8. How does being Māori influence the way you manage your children's behaviour?

Here are two scenarios. These are the types of behaviours I want you to think about when responding to each of these interview questions.

Scenario one

During wā takaro (play time), you see a tamaiti (child) say to another tamaiti, “No. I already told you that you can’t play with us.” The tamaiti is left by themselves and plays alone.

9. What are your thoughts on this scenario?
10. How would you respond to the tamaiti that said, “no I already told you that you can’t play with us?” How would you respond to the child that is left to play alone?
 - a. Why would you choose to use this rautaki (strategy)?

- b. Why do you think this rautaki (strategy) would work?
11. Have you ever seen any tamariki that show the behaviours in scenario one? If so, can you describe what happened (the situation and the behaviours)?
- Scenario Two**
- The group is getting ready to go outside and the tamariki are in line at the door. You see a tamaiti push another tamaiti to the ground in order to get to the front of the line.*
12. What are your thoughts on this scenario?
13. How would you respond to the tamaiti that pushed the other tamaiti?
- How would you respond to the tamaiti that were pushed?
- a. Why would you choose to use this rautaki (strategy)?
- b. Why do you think this rautaki would work?
14. Have you ever seen any tamariki show the behaviours in scenario two? Can you describe what happened (the situation and the behaviours)?
15. Which scenario do you think is more serious and why?
16. (If the participant views these two scenarios differently in terms of seriousness) Why do you view these behaviours differently? What makes one scenario more serious than the other?
- General questions**
17. What do you think bullying looks like for children aged 3-5 years?
18. How do the bullying behaviours you have described differ to those described in the scenarios above?
19. If you were to see bullying, how would you respond to the tamaiti getting picked on and the tamaiti doing the picking on?
20. What do you believe to be the major cause of bullying in children between the ages of 3-5 years?

21. What are some of your main concerns about bullying used by young children?
21. What is the role of parents (mātua) when you see negative social behaviours in young children?
23. Are there any situations when doing ‘nothing’ in response to aggressive behaviour is appropriate?
24. What additional support do you feel you need (or would like) as a mātua to better understand and respond to young children’s aggression?

Appendix B: Parent recruitment letter



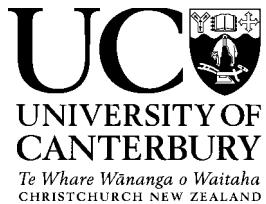
Course Code: CFPY695

“Kia Ora,

I am writing to you because as you know I am conducting my own study this year where I am looking for Māori parents/caregivers of children aged 3-5 years old to participate. I will be holding interviews with participants and asking them about their thoughts on common non-social behaviours carried out by pre-schoolers. If you or someone you know is eligible and are interested in more information, could you please share this study information sheet with them and have them contact me if they'd like further information. They can contact me on +64 21 179 5617 or courtney.tierney@pg.canterbury.ac.nz.

Nga mihi
Courtney

Appendix C: Study information sheet



College of Education, Health and Human Development
School of Health Sciences

Telephone: +64 21 179 5617
Email: courtney.tierney@pg.canterbury.ac.nz
Monday 7th October 2019
ERHEC Ref: [2019/30/ERHEC]

Māori parents/caregivers' thoughts on children's social and non-social behaviours

Information Sheet for Parents/Caregivers

This study is being conducted by myself-Courtney Tierney, a Master's student at the University of Canterbury. Tuhoe and Ngati Whakaue are my iwi. My research is being supervised by Dr Cara Swit and Dr. Porsha London.

You are invited to participate in a study exploring Māori parents perceptions of preschool (3 to 5-year-old) children's use of common non-social behaviours. You have been selected because you are a Māori parent or caregiver of a 3-5-year-old child. The purpose of this study is to listen to Māori parents about their thoughts towards common non-social behaviours used by young children such as physical interactions and social isolation.

If you choose to take part in this study, you will take part in the following activities:

Whakawhanaungatanga hui

The whakawhanaungatanga hui is an opportunity for you and I to get to know each other. I will describe the study and further discuss the Kaupapa Māori research process that you'll complete, if you choose to participate. During this time, and you will have the opportunity to ask any questions or discuss any concerns that you might have about the study. After receiving all the information about the study you will be given a one week period to decide whether you would like to participate further. If so, you will be asked to contact me to arrange a time that is convenient for you to participate in the first kōrero hui. The whakawhanaungatanga hui is expected to take approximately 30 minutes.

First Interview hui

In this hui, you will be read two hypothetical scenarios that commonly occur within young children's social settings. One of the scenarios describes a child pushing another child and the other scenario describes a child excluding another child. You will be asked a range of questions about these hypothetical scenarios such as whether you think these behaviours are serious and how you might respond. With your permission, this hui will be audio-recorded so that your responses can be transcribed. Although you will have the right to turn off the audio recorder and cease this process without further questions being asked. Your safety is paramount to this study. This hui is expected to

take approximately thirty minutes to one hour. During this time we will also share kai/food, inu/drink as well as mihi/greeting, whakapapa/genealogy, karakia/prayer, and waiata/songs (at your request).

Follow-up hui

Once the first kōrero has been transcribed, I will send you your transcript in the mail or email prior to meeting again. After one week of sending the transcript, I will contact you again to organise the follow-up hui. During this hui, I will share with you the transcript of your previous kōrero so that you can check, remove, add or change any details. This hui is expected to take thirty minutes and will include time for sharing of kai/inu.

Final hui

The final hui is optional. During this hui I will present the findings of the study and it will be an opportunity for me to show gratitude for your participation in the study. This hui is expected to take approximately half an hour and will include time for sharing of inu/kai, to explain the results and answer any questions you may have about the findings. You will also be gifted a small pounamu as a thank you for participating. If you choose not to participate in this final hui, you will still receive a written summary of the findings and your pounamu by providing your email or postal address at the bottom of the consent form. The total time commitment asked of you will be between two hours and two and a half hours at most.

You will have the option of choosing how you want to be identified in the final report; either using your real name or a pseudonym. Direct quotes will be used but no personal identifying information will be provided and you will not be identified as a participant without your consent. I will be transcribing all of the interviews myself in English. In order to be able to supply you with a transcript of our kōrero, you cannot remain anonymous. However, your identity will only be known to me Courtney—the researcher undertaking this study.

Study Risks

There are some risks you should be aware of before you provide consent to participate in this study. Any responses that indicate illegal activity where the health and safety of a child may be at risk are required to be reported to Oranga Tamariki or the police. An example of this may be admitting to physical treatment such as smacking a child as this is against the law. In these instances, anonymity will not apply. Although only instances where illegal activity towards a child will be reported to authorities, it is imperative you are reminded that an assault against an adult is also a criminal offence.

Furthermore, this study may also run the risk of causing cultural offence. I have consulted extensively with the University of Canterbury Māori research advisory team as well as my own established Māori research advisory rōpū (group) and I have received ongoing cultural advice and guidance to ensure that this study is culturally appropriate for Māori.

There are also some risks regarding the types of answers the interview questions may elicit. One of the interview questions ask participants “*in what way do you think culture influences your beliefs and actions?*” This could be a risk for some who may have experienced negative cultural experiences. In this instance, I will only ask you to answer if you are comfortable to and I will remind you that I can turn off the audio recorder at any time. All participants are welcome to bring a support person to each hui and you will also be provided with a list of available free services for you to access, if needed.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

The results of this study may be published, but you may be assured of the confidentiality of data gathered during each hui: your identity will not be made public without your prior consent. In following tikanga and kaupapa Māori protocols, it is expected that we will share personal information with each other. As such, anonymity is not possible, however, your personal details will remain confidential. Only I will have access to the hard-copy data, which I will upload to the UC server where my supervisors Dr. Cara Swit and Dr. Porsha London will have access to the electronic data collected. After the completion of the study, all electronic data will be stored on the UC server for five years then securely destroyed. This thesis will be a public document and will be available through the UC Library.

Withdrawing from the study

Participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any stage without penalty. You may ask for your raw data to be returned to you or destroyed at any point. If you withdraw, I will remove all information relating to you. However, once analysis of the raw data one month after the first interview hui, it will become increasingly difficult to remove the influence of your data on the results.

Data Storage

Participant's consent forms, audio and verbatim transcripts will be scanned and saved onto the UC Server by myself and hard copies securely destroyed. After the study, the study data (electronic) will be kept on the UC server for five years then it will be securely destroyed.

Please indicate on the consent form if you wish to receive a copy of the summary of results of the project.

The project is being carried out as a requirement for a Master's degree within the Child and Family Psychology Programme by myself under the supervision of Dr. Cara Swit and Dr. Porsha London. Dr. Cara Swit can be contacted at cara.swit@canterbury.ac.nz and will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, and participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

If you agree to participate in the study, please send your signed consent form to courtney.tierney@pg.canterbury.ac.nz or please contact Courtney via email or telephone on +64 21 179 5617 to arrange a time for the first hui and bring the signed form with you.

Courtney Tierney

Appendix D: Study consent form



UNIVERSITY OF
CANTERBURY

Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha
CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

College of Education, Health and Human Development

School of Health Sciences

Telephone: +64 21 179 5617

Email: courtney.tierney@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

Māori parents/caregivers' thoughts on children's social and non-social behaviours

Consent Form for Parents/Caregivers

By ticking each of the boxes below, you are indicating your consent to participate in the study

- I have been given a full explanation of this project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research.
- I understand I will receive a copy of my transcript to review and amend if necessary.
- I understand that participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without penalty. Withdrawal of participation will also include the withdrawal of any information I have provided should this remain practically achievable one month after the first interview hui.
- I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researchers (Courtney Tierney, Dr Cara Swit and Dr Porsha London) and that my personal details (real name) will not be published or reported in the results without prior permission.
- I understand that a thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.
- I understand that all data (electronic and hard-copy) collected for the study will be kept on the UC server and will be destroyed after five years.
- I understand that with my consent each kōrero will be audio recorded for transcription purposes, although if you would prefer not to be recorded, notes will be taken instead.
- I understand what is meant by 'illegal activity towards a child'.
- I understand that in the disclosure of illegal behaviour that relates to a child, Oranga Tamariki or the Police will be notified on the same day as which it was disclosed.
- I understand that in the disclosure of illegal behaviour that relates to a child, any recorded notes or audio recordings will be provided to the agencies listed above.
- I understand that I can choose how I wish to identify in this study whether that be using my real name or a pseudonym.
- I wish to identify using my real name in the final publication.
- I do not wish to identify using my real name in the final publication.

- I understand that personal information (e.g., contact details, whakapapa or other tapu information) will not be used in any publications without your prior approval.
- I understand the risks associated with taking part and how they will be managed.
- I understand that I am able to receive a copy of a summary report on the findings of the study and I have provided my email address (or postal address) below.
- I understand that I can contact the researcher Courtney Tierney (0211795617) courtney.tierney@pg.canterbury.ac.nz or supervisor Dr. Cara Swit cara.swit@canterbury.ac.nz for further information. If I have any complaints, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)
- By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

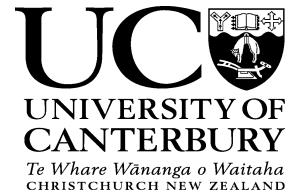
Name: _____ Signed: _____ Date: _____

Email address or postal address (for report of findings, if applicable):

If you agree to participate in the study you will be asked to send your signed consent forms to Courtney either via email courtney.tierney@pg.canterbury.ac.nz or you can bring the signed forms to the first hui. Please contact Courtney to arrange a time for the first hui on +64 21 179 5617 or courtney.tierney@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

Courtney Tierney

Appendix E: Ethics approval



UNIVERSITY OF
CANTERBURY

Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha

CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Secretary, Rebecca Robinson
Telephone: +64 03 369 4588, Extn 94588
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: 2019/30/ERHEC

7 October 2019

Courtney Tierney
College of Education, Health and Human Development
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Courtney

Thank you for providing the revised documents in support of your application to the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee. I am very pleased to inform you that your research proposal “Māori Parents and Caregivers’ Perceptions of and Responses to Common Non-Social Behaviours in Preschool Children” has been granted ethical approval.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your emails of 14th August, 16th September, and 2nd October 2019; **and the following:**

- *Information Sheet: please amend to “...child will be reported to authorities”.*

Should circumstances relevant to this current application change you are required to reapply for ethical approval.

If you have any questions regarding this approval, please let me know.

We wish you well for your research.

Yours sincerely

pp

R. Robinson

Dr Patrick Shepherd
Chair
Educational Research Human Ethics Committee

Please note that ethical approval relates only to the ethical elements of the relationship between the researcher, research participants and other stakeholders. The granting of approval by the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee should not be interpreted as comment on the methodology, legality, value or any other matters relating to this research.

F E S