

MANA TĀNE, MANA WHĀNAU: FACTORS WHICH CONTRIBUTE TO THE SUCCESS OF MĀORI MEN DESISTING FROM WHĀNAU VIOLENCE

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Abstract

Despite considerable government and private-sector intervention, whānau violence in Aotearoa New Zealand continues to occur at an alarmingly high rate (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008). In addition, we know very little about former perpetrators who have been able to successfully find pathways away from whānau violence. In light of the fact that tāne Māori are over-represented as perpetrators of whānau violence (Marie, Fergusson, & Boden, 2008), there is a considerable need for research that captures the voice and the journeys of those men who have made the transformation towards a violence free life. Partially replicating earlier research (Ruwhiu et al., 2009), this study attempted to understand participants' subjective perspectives of the individual, social, cultural, spiritual and other life-course experiences that contributed to their journey of change. Employing a qualitative methodology with Kaupapa Māori research principles in order to more effectively respect the mana of the participants and collaborate with the community organisations that have supported them, four tāne Māori, each with a substantiated history of change, completed in-depth interviews. The results identified five consistent themes which span the participants' experiences of change, including mana tangata (significant individuals), mana tū (hope and agency), mana motuhake (identity re-formation), mana whānau (power of belonging), and te ara whakatika (remorse and making amends). These findings are discussed in relation to the Meihana Model of whānau wellbeing (Pitama, Huria, & Lacey, 2014; Pitama et al., 2007), and the implications arising from the results are discussed in consideration of the context of intervention in Aotearoa.

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Glossary of Māori words

Aotearoa	New Zealand
awhi	embrace
hapū	extended family
hinengaro	psychological wellbeing
iwi	broader tribal connection
iwi katoa	systems and services which provide support
karakia	prayer
kaupapa	work, ways of being and doing
koha	gift given in appreciation
mana	prestige/respect accorded an individual
manaaki	care for others
mātauranga	knowledge
mauri	life force
mihi	introduction
moana	ocean
ngā hau e wha	the four winds of Tāwhirimātea
ngā roma moana	the ocean currents
Papatūānuku	Mother Earth - involved in creation of earth
poroporoaki	conclusion of event
pūtātara	conch shell used to summon people
Ranginui	Sky Father - involved in creation of earth
rarohenga	the underworld
te ao tūroa	the natural world

Tai Tokerau	tribal group in north
taiao	physical environment
tamariki	children
tāne	Māori man
taonga	treasure
tapu	sacred, holy, not common
Tāwhirimātea	guardian of the winds
te ao kikokiko	the physical world
te ao Māori	the general Māori world
te ao wairua	the spiritual world
te reo	Māori language
tikanga	protocols
tinana	physical wellbeing
wāhine	Māori women
wairua	spirit, soul
waka hourua	double hulled canoe
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatere	navigation
whakawhanaungatanga	establishing a connection between people
whānau	family group
whānau ora	wellbeing of the family group

Chapter One : Introduction

The study of family violence is a relatively recent phenomenon, with scholars in the 1960's holding that family violence was rare, and was a result of mental illness or psychological disorder (Gelles, 1980). Initially researches struggled to define family violence, with early definitions being based on a confession or an admission by an adult that they were abused (Gelles, 1980). Since then, the field has matured somewhat, and while there are still a wide variety of terms and definitions in use within the literature. More recently research in this area has been guided by the definition from the World Health Organisation (WHO) that focuses on the intentionality behind the use of power or force, resulting in an increased likelihood of harm to an individual (Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg, & Zwi, 2002), while legal consequences remain guided by the relevant national legislation.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, policy documents frame family violence as a “broad range of controlling behaviours, commonly of a physical, sexual, and/or psychological nature which typically involve fear, intimidation and emotional deprivation.” (Ministry of Social Development, 2002, p. 8). This approach outlines that family violence can occur in a variety of close, interpersonal relationships, and along with partner violence, includes violence against children, elders, between siblings, and towards parents. This definition also outlines that family violence can occur between individuals which do not reside at the same house, but function as family. Over and above this definition, for legal purposes the law has separated and defined each form of violence, through legislation such as the (Domestic Violence Act 1995) and the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act, 1989. However, by separating out and defining the various forms of violence, the law situates the violence as occurring between two people, being the perpetrator, and the person who suffers the abuse, with no attention paid to the impact of violence on whānau or wider communities. This compartmentalizing of interpersonal violence potentially disregards the fact that within families there is rarely only one form of violence, perpetrated by one individual against another individual. Rather, the presence of one type of violence within a family is often predictive of

other forms of violence also present within the family (T. I. Herrenkohl, Sousa, Tajima, Herrenkohl, & Moylan, 2008). There is also the possibility that violence is not simply perpetrated by one individual, but rather, victims of violence may also go on to perpetrate violence against others in the family (Appel & Holden, 1998). This is particularly salient when considering the co-occurrence of intimate partner violence and child maltreatment, as exposure to intimate partner violence increases a child's risk of experiencing maltreatment, particularly in the form of neglect or physical abuse (T. I. Herrenkohl et al., 2008). In recognition of the complexity in this area, rather than simply focusing on intimate partner violence, this thesis is addressing a broader definition of family violence which integrates various forms of abuse, with a particular focus on partner and child abuse.

In Aotearoa, in addition to terms such as family violence, domestic violence, intimate partner violence (IPV), wife abuse and spousal abuse, there is also another term often used, that of whānau violence. This is regularly used to refer to violence that occurs within Māori families as opposed to that which occurs within Pākehā families. However, whānau violence has a much deeper meaning than simply referencing Māori family violence. The word whānau refers not just to a Māori family unit, but also contains ideas of rights, responsibility, and obligation to the collective. It re-situates the family unit from being a single nuclear family functioning independent of other families, to existing within a hapū and iwi, with all the responsibilities, rights, and obligations this entails (T. W. Walker, 2006, 2010). Whānau also implies the presence of whakapapa, the reality of a relationship between *te ao kōkōiko* (the physical world) and *te ao wairua* (the spiritual world). According to the Second Māori Taskforce on Whānau Violence,

“Whakapapa is expressed as 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. Whakapapa is broadly defined as the continuum of life that includes kinship and history.” (Kruger et al., 2004, p. 18).

Stemming from this expanded definition of whānau, Kruger et al. (2004) describe whānau violence as disrupting the spiritual and physical essence of te ao Māori, transgressing whakapapa and tikanga, damaging hapū and iwi, and resulting in harm that is pervasive, both physically and spiritually. In recognition of the distinct differences between family violence and whānau violence, and the cultural contexts that apply to these two phrases, this thesis uses family violence to refer to violence when referring to statistics or other government documents, or in any discussion regarding violence which occurs in non-Māori families. The use of whānau violence is limited to refer to violence which occurs within a Māori context, acknowledging the broader cultural implications of this, while also recognising that there is a wide range of diversity, experience, and outworking of te ao Māori in the lives that are represented by this phrase.

Family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand

Partner Violence Perpetration. In an effort to understand the extent of family violence in Aotearoa, statistics from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) are often used as a point of comparison. The OECD is comprised of 36 countries who have banded together, in an effort to promote the development of policy which supports the economic and social wellbeing of people around the world (OECD, 2018). Responses by the OECD countries on crime and victimisation surveys identified that Aotearoa New Zealand reports the highest rate of partner violence perpetrated by both males and females against their partners (OECD Family Database, 2013).

In addition there are several key studies addressing prevalence rates in Aotearoa. The benchmark study by Fanslow and Robinson (2011) replicated the WHO Multi-Country Study addressing rates of female victimisation by male perpetrators. A representative sample of 2,674 women from the Auckland/Waikato region aged 15-64 reported on lifetime and 12-month prevalence of violence and abuse. The authors found that, when psychological/emotional violence (PEV) and sexual violence were included in the definition of violence, 55% of the sample reported experiencing at least one form of violence in their lifetime, with 45% having no experience. Of those

reporting violence, 19% reported experiencing only PEV, and 32.7% reported the presence of PEV plus physical or sexual violence. Only 2.6% reported experiencing only physical violence, .06% reported only sexual violence. The 12-month prevalence rate was 18.2%, with the 12.6% reporting only PEV, and 4.8% reporting PEV plus either physical or sexual violence.

The Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health and Development Study and the Christchurch Health and Development Study (CHDS) have also both addressed prevalence rates of family violence, however these studies also included female perpetration of violence against males, providing a more detailed picture of violence at a dyadic level. Using data taken from the Dunedin study, Moffitt and Caspi (1999) found that 21.8% of male participants, and 37.2% of female participants reported perpetrating partner violence. The Christchurch Health and Development study also found that women reported a higher rate of perpetration of family violence than men (Fergusson, Horwood, & Ridder, 2005), with only 33% of participants, at age 25, reporting the absence of any form of violence in their relationship. These findings regarding a higher rate of female perpetration of partner violence are in line with a more recent literature view that included prevalence rates from 111 studies undertaken between 2000-2010. In this review Desmarais, Reeves, Nicholls, Telford, and Fiebert (2012) identified prevalence rates for the perpetration of partner violence of 28.3% for women and 21.6% for men.

Several factors potentially explain the discrepancy in reported rates across the various studies. Firstly, the differing samples across studies explains some of the variability in the above results. Only one study, that of Fanslow and Robinson (2011), utilised a sample which represented the typical population of Aotearoa. The Dunedin cohort had less than 7% participants who were non-Pākehā (Māori or Polynesian), with no mention of Asian or other minority ethnicities, and the Christchurch study, also a birth cohort, reported underrepresenting families from lower socio-economic backgrounds. While the section below addresses the various rates of violence across various ethnicities in more depth, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the underrepresentation of

ethnicities with higher rates of family violence in these two studies may have contributed to the lower level of violence reported.

Secondly, Costa and Barros (2016) notes that the use of differing instruments and methods of delivery may also have impacted on the reported rates of violence. With both the Christchurch and Dunedin studies using questions drawn from the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS), and Fanslow and Robinson (2011) utilising a questionnaire drawn from the WHO Multi-Country Study, there is the possibility that the discrepancy between results was influenced by the manner in which the survey was delivered, as well as the different tools used.

A final interesting feature of these three studies is their use of community samples, rather than a more clinical population. In contrast, research with participants in clinically abusive relationships often concludes that women are primarily victims of family violence, while men are primarily perpetrators (Hamberger, 2005; Hamberger & Larsen, 2015). As a result of research typically focusing on either community or clinical populations, there is ongoing debate within the family violence field regarding perpetration rates. This debate is often referred to as the gender a/symmetry debate (Winstok, 2011). Chapter Two discusses these theories in more depth.

At this point it is important to note that despite paradigmatic controversy within the field of family violence, the body of evidence seems to suggest that in Aotearoa, partner violence is present in a large proportion of families. While there may be ongoing controversy regarding the exact form this takes, there is less controversy regarding the different ways that men and women experience partner violence. In Aotearoa, family violence is the leading cause of female homicide death, and the most common form of violence which women experience (Lambie, 2018). It is also widely recognised that women experience greater rates of physical harm, are at greater risk of sexual violence, experience greater levels of economic deprivation, and when the relationship ends, tend to carry a larger proportion of child care responsibilities going forward (Desmarais et al., 2012; Hamberger & Larsen, 2015; Straus, 2009; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).

LGBTQI+ Perpetration Rates. Research with the LGBTQI+ community regarding partner violence is limited and is mainly produced internationally. However, what is available suggests that partner violence among non-heterosexual couples also occurs at a high rate. Some research suggests that while there are similarities between violence within heterosexual and non-conforming couples, the rate of partner violence within this population is equal or greater to that occurring within minority populations, with research suggesting rates of 42% - 72% prevalence (Decker, Littleton, & Edwards, 2018; R. S. Henry, Perrin, Coston, & Calton, 2018; Reuter, Newcomb, Whitton, & Mustanski, 2017).

Violence Against Children. The statistics cited above come from sources which represent adult perspectives on family violence. However, research in Aotearoa suggests that children are also frequently witnesses and/or victims of family violence. The New Zealand Health and Wellbeing Survey, with 8500 high school students across Aotearoa, found that one adolescent in seven reported being deliberately harmed at home (Clark et al., 2013). In addition, while exploring the intergenerational transmission of violence in Aotearoa, Fergusson, Boden, and Horwood (2006) reported that at age 25, 40% of participants reported witnessing interparental violence before the age of 16, perpetrated by both mothers and fathers. More recently, police and welfare statistics reported in 2016/17 that there were 14,802 confirmed cases of harm against children.

Further to this, Moffitt and Caspi (1998) note that family violence appears more frequently in families with young children present (Moffitt & Caspi, 1998). As a result, it appears that young children are at increased risk of exposure to family violence, regardless of whether they are at immediate risk of harm themselves. According to the legal definition of family violence in Aotearoa, exposure to family violence constitutes psychological abuse for which the perpetrator of family violence can be held accountable for (Domestic Violence Act 1995). Over and above this, there is a substantial body of research discussed below, which suggests that even in the absence of physical harm, exposure to violence in the home has a detrimental impact on the wellbeing and development of children.

Ethnicity and Family Violence. In addition to addressing rates of family violence based on gender, research has identified differences in the distribution of family violence across various ethnicities present in society. The conclusion has been that indigenous families, and families who belong to an ethnic minority tend to experience greater rates of family violence than those who belong to the ethnic majority (Anitha, 2011; Capaldi, Knoble, Shortt, & Kim, 2012; Vives-Cases et al., 2014). Research in Aotearoa confirms this, suggesting that the burden of family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand is not carried equally by all. Fanslow's (2010) survey of 2,674 women, who identified as Pacific, Asian, Māori or NZ European/Other found that of the four groups, wāhine Maori reported the highest rate of violence, with more than half indicating that they had at some time experienced physical or sexual violence against them by a family member. Pacific and Asian women also indicated substantially higher rates of violence than those in the NZ European/Other category. Responding to early growing concerns regarding intimate partner violence in Aotearoa, Marie et al. (2008) utilised data from the CDHS in an effort to identify and hopefully clarify the association between ethnicity and intimate partner violence. They found that even after adjusting for socioeconomic status and a range of family functioning factors, Māori families appeared to be at higher risk for experiencing whānau violence than non-Māori families. The failure of these variables to account for the association between ethnicity and family violence suggests that there are other causal mechanisms contributing to the link between ethnicity and whānau violence. According to the International Symposium on the Social Determinants of Indigenous Health (Mowbray, 2007), for indigenous populations there is "one critical social determinant of health" (p. 32), the ongoing effect that colonisation has had on indigenous populations.

Colonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand

In Aotearoa New Zealand, understanding the history of colonisation is critical to understanding the high rates of whānau violence. While some whānau violence may have been present in Māori culture pre-treaty, it the prevalence and acceptance of within society appears to have post-treaty, as a direct result of the processes involved in the colonisation and subjugation of Māori (Lambie, 2018)

This is the position taken by Ruwhiu et al. (2009) who provide a thorough review of both historical and contemporary literature regarding whānau violence in pre-treaty times. Their review of historical documents highlights settler accounts describing whānau life as warm and caring, with children well cared for. Ruwhiu et al. (2009) points out that while there is historical evidence of violence against women and children, this typically occurred within the context of inter-hapū conflict, rather than within the hapū and whānau, and contend that there is no evidence that whānau violence as it stands today was acceptable in pre-treaty Māori culture. This was the contention of Metge (2014), who discussed how violent behaviour was responded to by tribes of the Far North. Metge (2014) suggested that it appeared that while a certain amount of violence was tolerated by women and the tribe, particularly if the husband was a good provider, persistent or unrepentant offending may have resulted in action by the whānau of the women involved, particularly her brothers. An example of this in action can be seen in a report described by Milroy (1996) who recounts an incident which occurred in Ruatoki in the 1920's, which was recorded by her grandfather in Māori in his journal, regarding events revolving around an unnamed wāhine. The incident began when the wāhine fled to her whānau after her husband beat her. Her whānau then went to her husband at Ruatoki to seek retribution from the man, and the two groups settled the dispute with a large payment from the people at Ruatoki to the woman's whānau. They then returned her children to her care, and she left with her whānau. Subsequently, the offender's whānau required he repay the debt he owed to them. Balzer, Haimona, Henare, and Matchitt (1997) links this communal response to whānau violence back to the communal nature of Māori culture, where an individual could not exist separately from their whānau, hapū, iwi, and ecosystem. As a result, an attack on one was considered an attack on all, and therefore all must respond.

In addition, the oral histories which shaped Māori culture did not appear to condone violence towards wāhine Māori. An example of this is the legend of Niwareka (Pihama, Jenkins, Middleton, & IRI, 2003), which highlights whānau violence as being an unacceptable behaviour which brought shame upon the perpetrator. In this legend Niwareka, who dwelt in Rarohenga (the underworld),

had visited the realm of mankind and married Mataora. After being physically mistreated by Mataora, Niwareka returned to her family in Rarohenga. Her husband followed her and was challenged by her brothers regarding the appropriateness of his behaviour, to which he responded with shame and sorrow.

In addition, researchers go on to contend that historically, not only was whānau violence not widely accepted in the same way as today, but that instead, Māori society considered wāhine and tamariki to be tapu. They were the link between the tribe and their whakapapa, and as a result, society valued and treasured them (Simmonds, 2011). Mikaere (2003) and Simmonds (2011) contend that this began to change with the introduction of colonial values. The patriarchal, and individual nature of Pākehā culture was at odds with Māori culture, which was based on values of respect and balance, and collective in nature (Johnston & Pihama, 1994). As the colonising government took hold, Maori experience increased levels of deprivation and disadvantage stemming from the loss of resources and standing necessary to function at a level conducive to wellbeing. The combined effect was the restructuring of Māori society, particularly in relation to gender roles, religion, property and whānau. This served to strip wāhine Maori of their mana, relegating them to a lower place in society, and isolating them from their whānau. In turn wāhine Maori experienced increased vulnerability to abuse, through the establishment a social structure which was more accepting of whānau violence (Mikaere, 2003; Simmonds, 2011).

The discussion above briefly touches on how the act of colonisation negatively impacted Māori society at the time. These immediate impacts are easier to identify due to the temporal proximity of the event. However, that colonisation continues to have a lasting and negative impact on Māori is more difficult to understand, to see and to measure, due to the distance between then and now. As a result, there are several hypotheses which outline the mechanism which enables the impact of colonisation to be an ongoing and very real factor for Māori in the present day. The first of these hypotheses is that of the intergenerational transmission of trauma (ITT), and the second is an ecological hypothesis, utilising the bio-ecological model proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1979).

Hypothesis 1: Intergenerational transmission of trauma. Prevalent in the literature, particularly in relation to First Nations populations in the Americas, is the hypothesis that the current societal disadvantage experienced by indigenous populations is potentially due to the intergenerational transmission of trauma (ITT). This theory references a historical event (e.g., colonisation) as the source of current day problems. ITT is drawn from the Holocaust, and posits that an event which is massive, cataclysmic, and widespread across a people creates dysfunction and trauma, which is then passed down as unresolved dysfunction through families. While widely accepted in relation to Native American Indians, several questions have recently been raised regarding the usefulness and appropriateness of applying this theory to the process of colonisation (Denham, 2008; Gone, 2014; Kirmayer, Gone, & Moses, 2014; Maxwell, 2014). Perhaps the key challenge raised regarding this theory is whether the theory of ITT inadvertently serves to continue the process of colonisation through framing whole indigenous populations as dysfunctional due to past experiences, while ignoring the current political and social structures which serve to maintain disadvantage and dysfunction. Critics have also noted that this theory problematises parents, and their parenting, as the dysfunctional mechanism by which trauma in families is passed down, rather than highlighting the structural inequality which was established through the process of colonisation, which is still present in society today (Gone, 2014; Maxwell, 2014; Zambas & Wright, 2016). While this theory is prevalent internationally, it's application in the context of Aotearoa has been controversial, although there has been discussion regarding the usefulness of this theory as a way to identify and better understand the intergenerational impact that colonisation has had on Māori (Pihama et al., 2014).

Hypothesis 2: Bioecological model. A second hypothesis is that the impact of colonisation is still present in the societal structures and cultural practices of New Zealand, a culture dominated by a Western European worldview. A model which has been used to understand the ongoing and present day impact of colonisation is that of the bioecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The bioecological model recognises that individual outcomes are the result of interaction which occurs between multiple factors at multiple levels, over time

(Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; D. M. Lawson, 2015). In the terminology of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory, and as mentioned above, the immediate impact of colonisation redrew the macrosystem. Instead of being one formed and shaped by Papatūānuku (Mother Earth) and Ranginui (Sky Father) with a focus on the collective and close ties to their physical and spiritual context, the new macrosystem reflected the values of an individual and patriarchal European culture. This shift gave rise to social structures in the exosystem which valued the social capital of Pākehā and disempowered Māori and the collective social structures that were the fabric of Māori culture, and provided support and accountability. These changes filtered to the microsystem level, placing increased stress on whānau, negatively impacting the spirituality, health and wellbeing of whānau. As these changes continued over time, which is situated in the chronosystem of the model, the social structures and attitudes became entrenched in policy, and accepted as widely held beliefs about Māori, further ensuring the ongoing disempowerment of whānau, iwi and hapū. Marie et al. (2008) possibly captured the contribution of these processes with a project which was unable to completely account for the higher rates of whānau violence using only socio-economic variables. Instead, she identified that an unknown causal variable appeared to be a contributing factor to whānau violence over and above all other factors measured. However, it appears there was no further research focused on identifying the unknown contributing factor.

A strength of this model is that as opposed to the ITT, the bioecological model provides a framework from which to consider intervention at both a personal level, and at a wider societal level (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Hoffman & Kruczek, 2011). While there are concerns regarding the individualistic nature of a model which traditionally situates the individual rather than whānau as the centre of focus, it has been used successfully in research with Māori, and found to be an effective tool to capture the manner in which broader socio-political factors have influenced the experiences of those at the centre of the research (e.g., T. Ford, 2012; Layland & Smith, 2015; Royal Tangaere, 2012).

Response to violence in Aotearoa New Zealand

Regardless of the mechanism linking historic events to present realities, there is widespread consensus that indigenous communities have been negatively impacted by colonisation, contributing to high rates of whānau violence. The Aotearoa government has responded to the prevalence of family and whānau violence by research and policy with a focus on intervention, protection and prevention (e.g., Fanslow & Kelly, 2016; Slabber, 2012; Taskforce for Action on Violence Within Families, n.d.; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008, 2010). The introduction of Family Violence Court, the increased ability powers given to Police to issue safety orders, as well as initiatives by the Ministry of Social Development, the health sector, and the Work and Income Family Violence Project all target the reduction of family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand (Fanslow & Kelly, 2016). However, recent information highlights that Police involvement with family and whānau violence has consistently been increasing over the past eight years rather than decreasing (Allan & Leahy, 2018; Lambie, 2018). While it is unclear whether this is a result of increased rates of violence or increased willingness of victims to contact police, it does suggest that at the very least, rates of violence are most likely not decreasing. However, according to Slabber (2012), rather than providing information on effective intervention, the current body of available research provides information on what is not working in Aotearoa and abroad.

On the international front, research in this area is predominantly research undertaken with, for, or about the women who have been on the receiving end of family violence (M. Campbell, Neil, Jaffe, & Kelly, 2010), and this body of work is crucial to understanding the experiences of female victims of family violence. However, recently professionals and researchers both in Aotearoa (B. Morrison & Davenne, 2016; Polaschek, 2016) and abroad (E. Campbell & Hulls, 2015; M. Campbell et al., 2010) have begun to call for a greater level of research into the perspectives and needs of perpetrators. Research in this area is controversial, with critics arguing that this split focus potentially results in diversion of funding, resources and support away from those who need it most (Loseke & Kurz, 2005). However, it is the position of this project that expanding the focus of

research is necessary to enable the development of interventions which connect, engage, and support men who commit family violence to make positive change.

Research in Aotearoa

There is very little research specific to the context of family or whānau in Aotearoa New Zealand (Polaschek, 2016), and even less research focusing on men who commit violence and the process of change they experience. An extensive search identified three projects pertaining to this area, specific to Aotearoa.

The first is The Glenn Inquiry (Roguski & Gregory, 2014), which addressed the perspectives and experiences of 27 men (70% Māori) as part of a wider independently commissioned report regarding family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand. The qualitative data came from semi-structured interviews, and the report focused on the experiences of the men, and factors which they believed contributed to their desistance from family violence and supported their ongoing success. Findings showed that 85% of the men had early exposure to violence, and factors such as maturation, self-reflection, and peer support were crucial processes in their desistance journey. Four key factors helped sustain success, including a deep personal commitment to change, developing a violence free network, achieving sobriety, and learning to cope and change. However, despite the majority of participants being Māori, this report made no attempt to explore the impact of culture on the experiences of the men involved.

Paulin et al. (2018) evaluated the effectiveness of Ministry of Justice funded intervention programs, including programs with Kaupapa Māori framework. Utilising a mixed methods approach, this project surveyed 65% of the service providers in Aotearoa, interviewed 64 adult users of domestic violence programs, completed an analysis of administrative data, and undertook a re-offending study based on crime statistics. Overall, this project concluded that for Court referred but non-mandated participants who had completed the program, there was reasonably strong evidence supporting the effectiveness of these programs. Additionally, participants exposed to tikanga Māori through their course reported re-establishing closer links to te ao Māori, as well as appreciating

being introduced to the relevance of tikanga Māori in their lives today. However, there are several difficulties with this project. Firstly, Paulin et al. (2018) made no mention of limiting participants to those with a verified history of change. As such, it is difficult to ascertain whether the programme resulted in real world changes in behaviour. Secondly, the authors noted that while referrals from the court system are the primary referral path into stopping violence groups, only one third of the referrals are non-mandated referrals. Of these non-mandated referrals, only 33% of men are likely to start the program. This potentially means that this project represents the experiences of only 11% of the total population of men who potentially use this service. In addition, the part of this study which addressed re-offending after group participation drew on an even smaller pool of potential participants as it required participants to have completed a stopping violence group. As a result, the re-offending study represented the experiences of a group of people making up only 9% of the total population of service users. The implication of these limitations is that it is difficult to generalise results from this research to the broader population of men involved in stopping violence groups in Aotearoa.

Mana Tāne: Echoes of Hope was a report commissioned as part of a wider community based education and intervention programme based in Te Tai Tokerau (Grennell & Cram, 2008; Ruwhiu et al., 2009). Twenty tāne Māori, vouched for by wāhine in their community as being violence free, took part in a series of hui regarding their journey of change. Seven wāhine Māori also took part, to provide further insight into their experiences. The objectives of this project were to document the journey tāne Māori experienced as they worked to live free of whānau violence, and to identify their aspirations for whānau oranga (whānau wellness). From this process Ruwhiu et al. (2009) identified ten concepts associated with violence. These concepts revolved around things which generated and maintained violence within whānau. The factors maintaining violence were:

1. Role modelling, normalisation and validation of violence
2. Contemplation of, or retaliation by, victims of violence against abuser or weaker individuals

3. Childhood internalisation of message that violence has positive results
4. Whānau violence was multifaceted including emotional and sexual violence
5. Contribution of drugs and alcohol
6. The long term impact of violence needed to be addressed as part of healing
7. The natural world gave off energy which also needed to be addressed
8. Colonisation and racist policies impacted whānau
9. Negative emotions such as jealousy were a place from which violence occurred
10. Cult status was given to men who achieved a certain type of masculinity

They also identified seven concepts which facilitated change, which they referred to as strategic factors for change. These were

1. Change was driven by emotional reaction with support from others
2. Change required men to engage with and challenge thoughts which maintained violence
3. Complete change related to reconnection with the spiritual part of themselves
4. Significant others played a crucial part in generating a climate of change
5. New social groups and support networks were crucial to success
6. Healing was found in service to the community
7. Healing for te ao tūroa in places where violence occurred was important

However, one of the limitations of this study was when discussing the process of change, there were no links drawn between the research outcomes, and relevant Māori theories of wellbeing. As such, there is a space for research linking experience and theory, in an effort to better understand the process of desistance as experienced by Māori men.

Regardless of the differing approaches to research used above, the two studies which made space for te ao Māori within the project (Paulin et al., 2018; Ruwhiu et al., 2009) identified the importance and the value which connection to te ao Maori held for the men. The research highlighted that for tāne Māori, there were moments of change guided by tikanga Māori, mātauranga Māori and relevant only within te ao Māori. Like the call of the pūtātara (conch shell

used to summon people), the presence of te ao Māori within the research above signals the need for further research which is contextually and culturally based, in an effort to understand how to better support tāne Māori on their path towards living violence free.

However, despite repeated calls by policy makers, researchers and professionals for further research to be undertaken in this area, the most recent government report (Lambie, 2018) makes no mention of further research with tāne Māori or from a kaupapa Māori perspective. Rather, it again highlights this gap, and calls for research which is in-depth and culture and context specific to better inform the development of services and supports (Lambie, 2018).

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical space within which this project dwells spans two key streams of knowledge, that of mātauranga Māori, and mātauranga Pākehā. This project recognises the equality, validity, and richness of each stream of knowledge (Superu, 2018), taking the philosophical position that mātauranga Māori is a valid and unique stream of knowledge which is able to be utilised to understand and make sense of Māori experiences (L. T. Smith, 1996). The intersection of Māori and Western knowledge traditions is validated and guided by the framework entitled He Awa Whiria – the Braided Rivers (A. Macfarlane & Macfarlane, 2018; Superu, 2018), developed by Professor Angus Macfarlane, and inspired by the braided rivers of Canterbury plains, one of the last bastions of biodiversity in the region (BRaid Inc., n.d.). Formed by multiple channels of water flowing across a gravel and shingle riverbed, braided rivers are, on a worldwide scale, somewhat rare. These channels weaving together, intertwining, mixing, before returning to separate paths. They are a place where life grows and flourishes. Developed to represent the intertwining of Māori and Western streams of knowledge, He Awa Whiria outlines that the place where the streams join is a place of opportunity for learning. It is a place for the creation of new knowledge which measures up according to the standards of both traditions, without comprising either (Durie, 2004a; Nikora, 2007). However, it also a place where there is purpose beyond simply accessing the benefits from

both traditions. It represents a space where the creation of knowledge is also focused on achieving gains for the indigenous people represented within the model (Durie, 2004a).

Mātauranga Māori Stream

The mātauranga Māori stream within this project contains the two key theoretical models which shape this project. The first is that of the health and wellbeing model entitled Meihana Model (Pitama et al., 2014; Pitama et al., 2007). The second is that of Kaupapa Māori research, which has provided the principles upon which the research methodology of this project rests.

Meihana Model. Developed at the University of Otago in 2007, and based on the well-recognised model of Te Ware Tapa Whā (Pitama et al., 2007), the Meihana Model (Figure 1.1) is an ecologically focused health framework developed to capture a broader understanding of the factors which have contributed to the current wellbeing and outcomes that Māori experience (Pitama et al., 2014).

The Meihana Model (Pitama et al., 2014; Pitama et al., 2007) is based around the analogy of a waka hourua (double hulled canoe). The two hulls of the waka hourua represent the individual and the whānau – interlinked, reliant on each other, and inseparable. An individual's development or growth is represented by the voyage of the waka hourua across the moana (ocean). Factors impacting on the journey of an individual are both intrinsic as represented by beams connecting the two hulls of the waka hourua, and external, as represented by ngā hau e wha (the four winds of Tāwhirimātea), ngā roma moana (the ocean currents) and whakatere (navigation). In relation to the beams, the thesis will focus on the place of these factors in the journey of tāne Māori to live violence free, and how they describe and discuss these factors.

Waka hourua. The beams of the waka hourua illustrate the importance of the whānau relationship, as well as highlighting intrinsic components which are central within Māori worldview of humanity. The beams of the waka hourua are tinana (physical wellbeing), hinengaro (psychological wellbeing), wairua (spiritual connection), taiao (physical environment), and iwi katoa (systems and services which provide support).

Figure 0-1 The Meihana Model



Note: Reprinted from “Improving Māori health through clinical assessment: Waikare o te Waka o Meihana,” by S. Pitama, T. Huria, and C. Lacey. The New Zealand Medical Journal, 127(1393), P. 108. Copyright NZMJ 2014. Used with permission.

Ngā hau e whā. The four winds represent the factors of colonisation, marginalisation, racism and migration. These factors capture the societal influences of a primarily negative type, which impact on the lived experience of Māori in Aotearoa. Within the context of this model, migration refers to the movement from rural to urban, from North Island to South, or from whānau to whānau which many Māori have experienced.

Ngā roma moana. The currents of the ocean represent te ao Māori, and the manner in which individuals relate to te ao Māori. The four currents are ahua (personalised indicators of Māori-ness), tikanga (Māori principles in daily life), whānau (roles, responsibilities) and whenua (genealogical/spiritual connection to land). These factors provide an important insight into an individual’s connection to te ao Māori

Whakatere. Whakatere represents navigation, the deliberate plotting of a course and setting the sails to reach a goal. In the context of this project, this refers to specific choices and changes individuals have made, such as course they have chosen to attend. However, it also contains choices

made by external forces, such as the justice system, which requires an alteration to be made in the journey of the waka-hourua.

Kaupapa Māori

The second theoretical model within the mātauranga Māori stream is that of Kaupapa Māori research. Kaupapa Māori research is a framework for research which is structured by several well accepted principles. While researchers in this field acknowledge that Kaupapa Māori research is not solely defined as being by Māori and for Māori only (G. Smith, Hoskins, & Jones, 2012; L. T. Smith, 2015), it is also understood that Kaupapa Māori research is a place where Māori, and te ao Māori, are privileged – a place where Māori researchers and scholars can be acknowledged for their contribution (G. Smith et al., 2012). As a result, there is complexity to be found within this space which goes beyond the scope of this research project, and so while this project has attempted to adhere to the guiding principles of Kaupapa Māori research, it makes no suppositions regarding its standing as being Kaupapa Māori.

While there is no single definition of Kaupapa Māori research (E. Henry & Pene, 2001), there are widely accepted principles which guide research in this area. Firstly, and arguably central to Kaupapa Māori research, is the principle of *tinio rangatiratanga*, which embodies concepts of self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, control and power (Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; S. Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006). This principle is about the right to control the research – that research is grounded upon and rests within Māori cultural understandings and practices and that research reflects the needs and concerns of Māori (Bishop, 1996, 1999; Cram, 1993). This principle is seen in the theoretical framework of this project, through the adoption of He Awa Whiria and the Meihana Model as a primary lens of analysis.

A second principle of Kaupapa Māori research is that it is critical in its research stance (G. Smith et al., 2012). It must speak to the “everyday pressing issues” (G. Smith et al., 2012, p. 14) which Māori face - it must win the hearts and minds of people, and challenge and critique the deficit view which society holds, and research reinforces, regarding Māori. Kaupapa Māori research is a

place to find hope, giving privilege to tikanga Māori as a place in which answers reside (Mahuika, 2008; S. Walker et al., 2006)

A third principle which occurs repeatedly is the mana enhancing nature of Kaupapa Māori research. This principle extends beyond enhancing simply the mana of those involved in the research, although that is part of it, and challenges researchers to consider the way in which the research will impact on, and reflect on, Māori (Pihama et al., 2002; S. Walker et al., 2006). That this research comes from a strength-based perspective provides an opportunity to showcase the success of the participants. The positive portrayal of success challenges the socio-political ideologies which portray Māori negatively, and therefore maintain the disadvantage and social discrimination that Māori experience.

In addition to these principles, L. T. Smith (2013) has outlined seven cultural values key to research with Māori, which have been expanded to include guidelines for researchers. These guidelines are presented in table 1.1, and were used as a reference through the project in an effort to ensure that the principles of Kaupapa Māori were integrated at all stages of the research (Cram, McCreanor, Smith, Nairn, & Johnstone, 2006).

Table 0-2 Values and guidelines for Kaupapa Māori research

Cultural values (L. T. Smith, 2013)	Research Guidelines (Cram et al., 2006)
Aroha ki te tangata	Enable respect and empowerment for people within the research process.
He kanohi kitea	Illustrate your commitment by showing up and being a face that is seen and known to those who are participating in research.
Titiro, whakarongo...korero	Look, listen and then, later, speak. Researchers need to take time to understand people's day-to-day realities, priorities and aspirations.
Manaaki ki te tangata	Being open to sharing, hosting and being generous with time, expertise, relationships, etc.
Kia tupato	Being cautious through ensuring culturally safe practices.
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	Do not trample on the mana (dignity) of people.
Kia mahaki	Researchers should find ways of sharing their knowledge while remaining humble

Note: Adapted from L. T. Smith (2006), "A community up approach for defining researcher conduct."

Mātauranga Western

The mātauranga Western stream of the project contains the experiences and expertise of the lead researcher, and the organisation within which this project occurs. A key aspect of this stream is the personal experiences which formed my understanding of the world, and shaped my desire to work bi-culturally in Aotearoa. This project takes place against a backdrop of my experience of living in Cambodia, a third world country, for 11 years. From this time in Cambodia, what I have is an experience of being 'the other', the minority in a majority culture. I have a lived experience of my values which I thought were concrete and universal, being disregarded because the culture at hand

did not consider them valid. I have had to learn to recognise, and sometimes fight for, the validity of multiple world views, and not because I was in a position to graciously allow these views room to exist, but because they existed, valid and strong, independent of whether I, or others, wished to acknowledge them or not. I returned to Aotearoa, and the experience of being a foster parent, combined with study, opened my eyes to the reality of children being removed from their families and whānau, with little knowledge or support in being put in place to support restoration for families and whānau. However, what I did not have to bring to research was a framework which could contain and transform this awareness into theory and then practice, for use in the context of a research project within Aotearoa New Zealand. With this as my backdrop, I came to this research project tentatively, knowing the potential for misstep or harm, and doubting if there was even a space where it was appropriate for a Pākehā female to delve into tāne Māori experiences. Kaupapa Māori research has provided me with a framework which resonated with my experiences, provided practical guidance and made a way to work within a space which I would have otherwise deemed inaccessible.

Research as Taonga

In light of the above, the gaps in knowledge, the statistics regarding family and whānau violence in Aotearoa, and the repeated yet unheeded calls for further research in this area, there is space for a project such as this. However, it is important to note that while this research addresses the factors which contribute to the successful change of tāne Māori on their journey towards a non-violent life, it in no way aims to minimise or ignore the experiences of non-Māori in Aotearoa. This project recognises that violence does not only occur in adult heterosexual relationships (Walters, Chen, & Breiding, 2013; Wincentak, Connolly, & Card, 2017). That violence occurs in families of other ethnicities is equally unacceptable. This project is also not suggesting that all whānau experience violence and acknowledges the undeniable presence of strong whānau filled with *manaaki* (care for others) within all levels of society in Aotearoa New Zealand. The decision to

undertake this research with Māori families has not been taken lightly and has been guided by three key factors.

Firstly, limiting this research to participants of Māori ethnicity recognises that Māori have a unique way of viewing the world, and that Māori experience and ways of being are legitimate and valid (Kruger et al., 2004; Pihama et al., 2002; S. Walker et al., 2006).

Secondly, focusing on Māori experiences also recognises that so far Pākehā understanding and approaches within this field have not provided answers or reduced the rates of whānau violence in Aotearoa. As a result, there is a need to look to tikanga Māori to find healing and wellness (Kruger et al., 2004), and this can only be done through research which reflects the Māori perspectives.

Limiting participants to those of Māori ethnicity creates a space where analysis can be undertaken using Māori models of wellbeing, in an effort to better understand Māori perspectives (Pihama et al., 2003).

Thirdly, limiting this project to one ethnicity is both a capacity issue, as well as an issue of respect. The recognition that the experiences that the men share in any project such as this are a gift, are *taonga* (treasure), can requires that one respond to their stories with appropriate care, effort and time. As such, it was felt that the within the context and constraints of a Master's thesis, the limitation of participants to a single ethnicity better set the stage for treating the taonga given by the men with appropriate care.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Fathers who are violent

Until recently, there has been little information available regarding what occurs at the intersection of fatherhood and family violence perpetration. Literature does not separate men who are violent towards their partner only, vs those who are also violent towards their children, incorporating all men into the simple category of 'perpetrator'. It has also identified that the majority of children who are exposed to family violence in their home continue to have contact with the perpetrator either through their continued presence in the home or through the children having ongoing contact after family separation (Holt, 2015; Hunter & Graham-Bermann, 2013). The available literature also suggests that for children with fathers who were able to either substantially lower, or stop their use of violence, ongoing contact with their child appeared to be beneficial, acting as a buffer against the negative impact that family violence can have on children (Hunter & Graham-Bermann, 2013).

The small body of work undertaken with fathers suggests that the intersection of fatherhood and family violence is a space filled with tension and emotion. Fathers are reported to experience shame and guilt when reflecting on the impact of their behaviour, but also minimise, deny or deflect blame (Bourassa, Letourneau, Holden, & Turcotte, 2017). They may see themselves as protectors of their children (Meyer, 2018), and may express a deep yearning for relationship (Broady, Gray, Gaffney, & Lewis, 2017; Holt, 2015), all the while lacking the skills and sensitivity to make that a reality (Holt, 2015; Mohaupt & Duckert, 2016). They may see themselves as good fathers, being able to acknowledge their violence yet being unable to fully acknowledge the impact that their violence has on their children (Perel & Peled, 2008).

Despite the research which suggests that violence and fatherhood have high rates of co-occurrence (Moffitt & Caspi, 1998) the vast body of work refers to these men only through the lens of 'batterers' or 'partner violent men' (Heward-Belle, 2016). The focus of research and intervention has traditionally been with survivors of abuse, with men as fathers largely being invisible in policy,

practice and research (Meyer, 2018). This has shifted the responsibility for safe parenting to the women in these relationships, holding men only accountable for their violence, not for the safety and wellbeing of their children (Holt, 2015; Meyer, 2018). However, potentially due to the growing awareness regarding the lack of effectiveness of current approaches to intervention, research appears to become more nuanced, starting to view the men and women involved in this area as more than simply 'batterers' and 'victims'.

Effects of Family Violence for Children

In contrast, there is a large body of work addressing the impact that exposure to family violence has on the behaviour, adjustment, and long-term well-being of children. This work has linked childhood exposure to the development of problematic internalising or externalising behaviours, greater experience of physical health problems, and an increased risk of PTSD symptoms (Graham-Bermann, Castor, Miller, & Howell, 2012; Howell, 2011; Vu, Jouriles, McDonald, & Rosenfield, 2016). Hungerford, Wait, Fritz, and Clements (2012) reviewed the literature on the impact of family violence exposure on cognitive development, social development. They found behavioural problems and found that childhood exposure to family violence is associated with increased difficulty in all three areas. More recently, Artz et al. (2014) undertook a comprehensive review of research published from 2006 to 2014. Their findings supported the conclusions of previous reviews, and added to the information available by including current perspectives regarding the impact of family violence on neurological outcomes, delinquency, crime and victimization, and academic and employment outcomes.

One of the complications of research in this area, however, is that childhood exposure to family violence has also been linked to the presence of other forms of violence, abuse, and stress (Hamby, Finkelhor, Turner, & Ormrod, 2010; Lamers-Winkelmann, Willemsen, & Visser, 2012; McGavock & Spratt, 2016; Turner, Finkelhor, & Ormrod, 2010). This makes it difficult to untangle the impact of one form of maltreatment from the rest (Park, Smith, & Ireland, 2012). Research attempting to do so has produced varied results, with studies identifying both the presence of

increased risk due to exposure to multiple childhood events (J. D. Ford, Elhai, Connor, & Frueh, 2010; Graham-Bermann et al., 2012; Margolin, Vickerman, Oliver, & Gordis, 2010; Turner et al., 2010), and others identifying no cumulative effects directly relating to multiple exposure (e.g., Fergusson et al., 2006; T. Herrenkohl & Herrenkohl, 2007 ; Maughan & Cicchetti, 2002). Hahm, Lee, Ozonoff, and Van Wert (2010), examined the links between childhood exposure to multiple forms of trauma versus only witnessing family violence on adolescent outcomes for young women. They analysed both between and within group effects, and included cumulative classification and expanded hierarchical type classifications to allow for the differential effects of maltreatment. Their research identified that multiple exposure in and of itself did not denote increase risk. Instead, they identified that it was the different combinations and severity of maltreatment experiences that resulted in different outcomes, with more serious outcomes being associated with childhood exposure to more serious forms of maltreatment. While this project only included female participants, the differential and cumulative impact identified within this research have also been identified elsewhere (Margolin et al., 2010). This suggests that one of the factors contributing to the different outcomes found throughout the literature above may reflect the differing ways in which researchers define and measure various life experiences.

Finally, a key feature of this research is the heterogeneity of results, with multiple studies noting that some children exposed to family violence do as well as, or better than, children who have not been exposed to family violence. This heterogeneity suggests that childhood exposure to family violence is not deterministic in nature. Even when exposed to multiple other risk factors, there are moderating factors at play which serve to reduce or remove the negative outcomes. This is supported in the review of 74 studies by Howell (2011), who identified that factors such as maternal mental health, quality of the child's attachment relationship, effective boundary setting by a parent or caregiver, higher socio-economic status, as well as individual characteristics such as a child's temperament and even their physical attractiveness have been found to have an effect on the impact of exposure to family violence.

While early reviews of research regarding the impact of family violence on children criticised the lack of attention paid to both confounding and moderating factors (Kitzmann, Gaylord, Holt, & Kenny, 2003), more recent reviews have been better at attending to the presence of covariates, controlling for confounding factors, or identified the presence of moderating factors. This heightened awareness of contributing factors adds strength to the conclusion presented by Artz et al. (2014) that exposure to family violence is linked to increased risk of negative developmental outcomes for children across all the realms of childhood functioning addressed, including neurological, social, emotional, physical, academic and behavioural realms.

Effects of Family Violence for Partners

Research on the impact of family violence is not limited to children, with a reasonable body of work focusing on the immediate and longer-term consequences that family violence has for partners who have been on the receiving end. Consistent with other research in this field, there is less information available regarding the impact that family violence has for male survivors, with even less research with violence survivors from the LGBTQI+ community. The discussion below is not a comprehensive review, rather aims to outline the themes which were repeated within the relevant body of work to give an overview of the potential way in which family violence negatively impacts on survivors.

One of the key consequences appearing repeatedly across the literature was the impact family violence had on health, both at a general health level, and in regards to the use of acute services. Both men and women, regardless of whether their relationship was heterosexual or non-conforming, were identified as generally having worse health than non-abused peers, were more likely to make use of emergency medical services, and were at increased risk of developing a chronic disease or chronic mental illness (Carbone-López, Kruttschnitt, & Macmillan, 2006; Coker et al., 2002; Decker et al., 2018; Dillon, Hussain, Loxton, & Rahman, 2013; Phelan et al., 2005). While women were identified as being more likely to experience serious injury, men were also at increased risk for serious injury when compared to the general population (Hines & Douglas, 2010; Kothari et al., 2015). Risky sexual behaviours were also linked to partner abuse, in both heterosexual and

LGBTQI+ couples, with an increased risk of contracting HIV (Dillon et al., 2013; Heintz & Melendez, 2006; Siemieniuk et al., 2013)

In regards to the mental health and wellbeing of partners, research has also identified the presence of ongoing negative consequences arising from experiencing partner abuse. Fear (Hamberger & Larsen, 2015; Ross, 2012), suicidal ideation (Fergusson et al., 2005), loss of confidence and self-esteem, as well as mistrust, confusion, shame and guilt (Drijber, Reijnders, & Ceelen, 2013; George & Yarwood, 2004; Simmons, Knight, & Menard, 2018) have all been associated with experiences of abuse. Over-use of sick days and mental health days, neglect of employment duties, and loss of employment are also linked to partner abuse (George & Yarwood, 2004; Simmons et al., 2018).

In addition depression and PTSD are the most commonly linked sequelae of partner violence (Lagdon, Armour, & Stringer, 2014), and have been identified as occurring with this population at rates substantially higher than occur within the non-abused population (Buller, Devries, Howard, & Bacchus, 2014; Coker, Weston, Creson, Justice, & Blakeney, 2005; Fergusson et al., 2005; R. S. Henry et al., 2018; Pico-Alfonso et al., 2006). The available research suggests that partner relationships which lasted for longer and involved more serious forms of abuse were linked to greater levels of depression and PTSD in survivors (Coker et al., 2002; Lagdon et al., 2014; Thompson et al., 2006), suggesting a dose-response relationship.

Theories of Family Violence

In addition to research addressing the consequences which violence has on survivors, there is also a wide body of research addressing the causes of family violence. A thorough review of the key theories in this area has been undertaken by Ali and Naylor (2013a, 2013b). While there are no overarching theories which fully explain why some individuals go on to perpetrate violence, there are several which appear with greater frequency within the literature, and have a wider base of research to draw on. These are reviewed below.

Feminist and Family Violence Theories. One of the earliest explanations put forward regarding why men perpetrate violence against their partners is that of feminist theory. Early feminist theory placed the dynamics of power and control, which occurred within a context of a patriarchal society, as a root cause of partner violence (Straka & Montminy, 2008). It views men as dominant and women as submissive, as giving power, position, and authority to men. Feminist theorists felt that society condoned the use of violence as an acceptable way for men to gain and hold power and control over women and their families (Yllö & Bograd, 1988), and situated men primarily as perpetrators, and women primarily as victims (Dobash R. E & R., 1979; McPhail, Busch, Kulkarni, & Rice, 2007).

A second alternative theory regarding the causes of family violence is Family Violence theory. This is a systems based theory which views violence as a product of a system rather than as a result of individual characteristics (Straus, 1973). It posits that conflict within families is universal and inevitable, and how families manage and resolve conflict is the key to understanding why family violence occurs. Within this model, family violence is viewed as non-gender based, dyadic, and equally perpetrated by men and women with the purpose being conflict resolution (Fergusson et al., 2005; J. Lawson, 2012).

Family violence theory has presented direct challenges to feminist theory over the past decade or so. This has come in the form of research indicating the presence of bi-directional violence, the identification that women report initiating and using violence in a non-self-defensive way, the statistically equivalent nature of violence when reported by perpetrators and victims, and the recognition that violence also occurs within non-heterosexual relationships (e.g., Donald G Dutton, 2012a, 2012b; Donald G Dutton & Nicholls, 2005; Fergusson et al., 2005; Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 2010). Feminist theory has also been questioned as not being a particularly useful approach to understanding family violence as it provides no explanation for why some men go on to abuse while others do not, despite being exposed to the same social messages (Heise, 1998). Gender scholars have also criticised the use of gender within feminist theory, citing that there is limited

research which links gender, in and of itself, to the use of violence (Anderson, 2005). As a result of these challenges, there has been some movement within the feminist theory, resulting in development of different typologies of family violence, each with different characteristics. However, feminist theory still maintains that intimate terrorism, the type of violence most typically found within shelters and women's refuges, is primarily male perpetrated, with women using violence only in self-defence (Johnson, 2005). Feminist theory researchers also suggest that biased reporting, faulty measurement tools, and the typologies of violence may provide explanations for female violence and non-heterosexual violence (e.g., DeKeseredy & Dragiewicz, 2007; Johnson, 2005, 2010a, 2011).

Feminist theorists have responded, suggesting family violence theorists ignore the the different levels of harm and fear which stem from male violence in comparison to female violence. They propose that the increased levels of harm and fear that women experience at the hands of violent male partners means that family violence is indeed, gendered, with power, gender and fear being closely linked. However, Donald G Dutton and Nicholls (2005) have noted that society does not condone men acknowledging fear, and this rarely asked about. They also note that if fear is thought of as being a response to violence, it is difficult to assess or accept the presence of male fear if one does not accept or recognise the presence of female violence. In summary, there is ongoing debate in this field, with both feminist theorists and family violence theorists appearing to view with suspicion research from across the divide, often claiming deliberate concealment, denial, invention and ignorance on part of the other (e.g., Johnson, 2005; Straus, 2014).

Social Learning Theory. Social learning theory posits that people learn new behaviours by seeing others model these behaviours, and by witnessing the rewards and punishments which accompany any given behaviour (Bandura, 1978). In the context of aggression and family violence, this theory situates violence against one's partner as being a learned behaviour, through observing violence and its sequelae in one's family of origin (Bell & Naugle, 2008). For boys, this exposure is thought to normalise the use of violence within the family as being an acceptable way to interact with one's

partner. Conversely, as girls observe their mother's acceptance of violence, they then learn to accept violence perpetrated against themselves, placing them at greater risk of victimisation during adulthood.

Social learning theory is one of the more widely used theories and forms the basis on which theories of intergenerational transmission of family violence rests. It is a pivotal theory within the field of intervention, as the acceptance of violence as learned behaviour has resulted in programs targeting unlearning of behaviour, typically through the use of methods such as CBT (K. Scott, 2004).

Intergenerational Transmission of Violence. Another area of research in regards to the origin of family violence relates to the question of whether family violence is transmitted through generations. There is a large body of work addressing the intergenerational transmission of male-perpetrated violence against intimate partners, and research in this area has grown exponentially over the past 20 years with research often drawing causative links between childhood and adolescent exposure to family violence and later perpetration of family violence (e.g., Black, Sussman, & Unger, 2010; Fehringer & Hindin, 2009; C. A. Smith, Ireland, Park, Elwyn, & Thornberry, 2011).

. There are also several key meta-analyses regarding the rates of transmission. Stith et al. (2000) undertook a meta-analysis involving 39 studies from 1987-1997, involving 12,981 individuals, with a focus on calculating the effect size in relation to growing up in a violent home, and becoming a perpetrator. Overall, they concluded that there was a small to moderate effect size (mean $r = .18$, $p < .001$) between growing up in a violent home and becoming a perpetrator. However, within-group analysis identified that there was a greater effect size for males than for females (men: mean $r = .21$, $p < .001$; women: mean $r = .11$, $p < .001$). There was also difference between community samples and clinical samples (community: mean $r = -.12$, $p < .001$; clinical: mean $r = .30$, $p < .001$). Stith et al. (2000) also outlined that in comparison to men, women experienced a greater increased risk of becoming a victim when exposed to violence in their family of origin (male: mean $r = .09$, $p < .005$; female: mean $r = .18$, $p < .001$). A review by Delsol and Margolin (2004) also addressed

intergenerational transmission rates of violence across 19 studies. They also identified differences in transmission rates depending on the sample and questions used, and concluded that while the evidence suggests there was a link between exposure to family violence and perpetration, as a risk factor it was neither necessary nor sufficient for later perpetration of family violence.

Finally, a more recent meta-analysis undertaken by Smith-Marek et al. (2015) which included 124 studies since 2000 returned similar results, with the addition that as studies became more rigorous, their effect sizes decreased. This meta-analysis aligned with Stith et al. (2000) in identifying a stronger effect size for males ($r=.25, p<.001$) than for females ($r =.19, p<.001$), although they returned higher overall effect sizes than previously noted. Reflecting the change in research focus over the past 20 years, Smith-Marek et al. (2015) were also able to explore gender effects in more depth, identifying that the gender of the perpetrator had no impact on the effect size for either males or females becoming either a perpetrator or a victim later in life.

Taken together, these studies appear to provide support for the intergenerational transmission of violence, suggesting that exposure to family violence within a child's family of origin functions to increase the risk that a child will later go on to become either a perpetrator or a victim of family violence. However they also both identify that exposure to violence in childhood in an of itself is not enough to ensure the continuation and transmission of violence across generation. Additionally, the final finding by Smith-Marek et al. (2015) in regards to the lack of gender-based effect size potentially contradicts the transmission mechanism put forwards by learning theory, in that it suggests children are not internalising gender-based roles in relation to the perpetration or acceptance of family violence, but that there is potentially some other mechanism at play.

Ecological Theory. Ecological theory frames individual behaviour and development as stemming from repeated interactions between an individual and their personal, situational, and sociocultural environment. Perhaps the most well-recognised model of ecological theory is the Bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Belsky (1980) proposed a slightly adapted ecological model of family violence based on the early Bioecological model of

Bronfenbrenner (1979), integrating components from an earlier model of individual development proposed by Tinbergen (1951). Belsky (1980) proposed that family violence was predicted by variables from four contextual layers – (a) ontogenic development, (b) microsystem, (c) exosystem, and (d) macrosystem. The ontogenic level refers to characteristics of the individual that are inherited and early developing (later, Bronfenbrenner identified this as the ‘person’ system), which influences the way an individual responds to other systems and how those other systems respond to them.

Several scholars (Carlson, 1984; Corsi, 1994; Donald G Dutton, 2006; Edleson & Tolman, 1992; Heise, 1998; McKenry, Julian, & Gavazzi, 1995) have attempted an ecological analysis of the factors which cause and maintain family violence, utilising the literature and research available at the time. The conclusion of each was similar. They identified that family violence was a multifaceted phenomenon, with factors at each level of the ecological system contributing to the occurrence and maintenance of family violence. As a result, multifaceted intervention was needed to target factors at each level of an individual’s ecology. A meta-analytic review by Stith, Smith, Penn, Ward, and Tritt (2004) of quantitative studies collapsed effect sizes in an effort to identify risk factors most strongly associated with intimate partner physical abuse. They calculated composite effect sizes for factors associated with perpetration and victimization, and categorised these according to the levels of the ecological model developed by Belsky (1980) and (D. G. Dutton, 1995). Their meta-review identified that factors with the smallest effect sizes were factors most distal to the individual – those located within the exosystem. Four of these factors were identified as being negative, for example being unemployed ($r=-.10$), and career/life stress ($r=.26$). Risk factors within the microsystem and ontogenic level were more strongly correlated to perpetration of violence, however the effect sizes between these two were not clearly different, and all had small to moderate effect sizes. This is in line with others who suggest that there is no single factor causing family violence.

The versatility and broadness of this model means it is an effective tool to hold multi-modal explanations of the causes of family violence, rather than focusing on individual, single cause explanations. However, these theories have not conceptualised a causal process or mechanism. As

in the review by Stith et al. (2004), researchers often note that risk factors are not deterministic in nature, and their presence does not necessarily denote the presence of violence. As a result, ecological theories are primarily used to conceptualise the variety of predictors at differing levels within an ecosystem, while providing little understanding regarding the causal mechanisms of violence. In addition, the use of ecological theory when working with Māori is somewhat difficult as they tend to place the individual at the centre of the model, separating them out for consideration as an entity influenced by, but independent from, their whānau, hapū, and iwi, as well as the natural world and spiritual domains (Manning, 2017). This is contrary to the Māori world view which views individuals as subsumed by, or absorbed, into their whānau, which is contained within the hapū, and the hapū, within iwi (Makereti, 2008).

Typology / Personality. The typology approach suggests that violence, and men who perpetrate family violence can be categorised into different groups or types based on a range of factors. Various typology models have been developed from clinical, forensic, and community samples, showing support for the existence of different forms of family violence perpetration. Support has been found for a typology containing two groups (Chase, O'leary, & Heyman, 2001; Gottman, Jacobson, Rushe, & Shortt, 1995; Herrero, Torres, Fernández-Suárez, & Rodríguez-Díaz, 2016; Tweed & Dutton, 1998) three groups (Hamberger, Lohr, Bonge, & Tolin, 1996; Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart, 1994; Simpson, Doss, Wheeler, & Christensen, 2007) , and occasionally four groups (J. B. Kelly & Johnson, 2008).

One of the earlier and still influential typologies was developed by Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994), who undertook a review of typology literature from 1974-1992. Based on that review, a typology consisting of three types of perpetrators was proposed – being family only, dysphoric/borderline, and general violent/antisocial. Family only batterers and dysphoric/borderline primarily perpetrated violence only against family members, while dysphoric/borderline perpetrators were also more likely to have substance abuse problems, borderline personality disorders, elevated levels of depression, and be emotionally volatile. Those in the general

violent/antisocial group were more likely to engage in more violence outside the home, to a greater level of severity. This typology was tested by Hamberger et al. (1996) using the Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory with a group of 833 court referred men. While the clusters they identified did not exactly map to the characteristics of the Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) typology, there were strong similarities between them, and overall, their findings supported a three-cluster model.

Gottman et al. (1995) identified perhaps the most influential two-factor model. He worked with a group of violent male perpetrators, basing his typology on physiological reactions during the conflict. Based on heart rate reactions during conflict, they identified two types of men. During conflict, the heart rate of Type 1 men lowered, whereas for Type 2 men, their heart rate rose, although there was no difference in the levels of physical or psychological abuse perpetrated by Type 1 and Type 2 men. Type 1 men were more likely to be violent outside of the family, were more likely to have been exposed to violence between their parents, and were more likely to be belligerent and contemptuous in the early stages of conflict than Type 2 men. Type 1 men appeared generally angrier than Type 2 men. When conflict arose, Type 2 men became increasingly aggressive, whereas conflict with Type 1 men started with high levels of aggression, which decreased as the interactions unfolded. However, this theory does not appear to identify a mechanism which links the differing physiological responses of the men to their use of violence in their relationships.

Interestingly, a review of recent neurobiological research into emotion modulation in individuals with acute or chronic trauma experiences has also identified two neurobiological responses to threat in people with PTSD (Lanius et al., 2010). They outlined that when processing threat, individuals with a history of chronic trauma experience the biological response of emotional under modulation. This is seen in an increase in activity in the Amygdala and Right Anterior Insula, which are both associated with emotions and emotion processing, and a decrease of activity in regions associated with regulation of emotion and arousal resulting in hyperarousal. Conversely, individuals who experienced an acute traumatic event experienced emotional over-modulation, where the emotion processing regions decrease in activity, while regions associated with regulation

increase, resulting flattening out of behaviour leading to dissociation. While this research was focusing on dissociation responses to threat in individuals with PTSD, it provides an interesting insight into the neurobiological processes which may be underlying the physiological and behavioural reactions identified by Gottman et al. (1995), particularly in light of the differing early trauma experiences between Type 1 and Type 2 men.

More recently, Johnson (1995, 2010b) and fellow researchers have developed a body of work focusing on three/four cluster typology of family violence (Eckstein, 2017; J. B. Kelly & Johnson, 2008). One of the goals of this typology was the reconciliation between the family violence field, which has a focus on gender symmetry, and the feminist field, which has a focus on male perpetration. This typology outlined four forms of violence, with the first being situational couple violence, occurring when conflict between partners escalates into violence. Secondly, perpetrated primarily by men intimate terrorism involves the use of violence with other control tactics to assert male privilege. The third form, violent resistance, is largely a female response to violence perpetrated against her, while the fourth form, separation violence, occurs in response to a break in a relationship with men as primary perpetrators. The causal mechanism within each type of violence is grounded in gender based theories of violence, yet is also unique to the form of violence being considered. For example, intimate terrorism focuses on the assertion of male privilege as men seek to maintain power and control, while violent resistance is typically considered to be a defensive behaviour caused by the presence of male violence.

The typological approach to family violence, whether classifying those who commit violence or the type of violence being committed, has been described as the “zeitgeist of partner violence research” (Chase et al., 2001, p. 567). Scholars have focused on the ability of this research to illuminate what kind of intervention programme is most likely to work for what kind of men, enabling the effective targeting of intervention (Cavanaugh & Gelles, 2005). However, critics argue that these models simplify the issue of family violence, by not accounting for perpetrator change

over time, and ignoring that violence within one relationship is not necessarily carried over to the next (Capaldi & Kim, 2007).

Theories Regarding Desistance

While there are multiple theories outlining the potential causes of family violence, there has been less research regarding why men stop using violence in their families. Researchers in the field have repeatedly highlighted this gap in knowledge, calling for increased understanding of the process of change that is involved in moving away from family violence (Alexander & Morris, 2008; Ruwahu et al., 2009; K. Walker, Bowen, Brown, & Sleath, 2015). There are two key models within the literature pertaining to the process of change. The first is the Transtheoretical Model of Change, and the second, more recent, the Walker Model of desistance.

Transtheoretical Model of Change. The Transtheoretical Model of Change (TTM; Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982; Prochaska, DiClemente, & Norcross, 1992) was drawn from work in the field of addiction, specifically addressing the change that smokers experience on their journey to being smoke free. It has since been widely adopted in a variety of fields from health to finance (e.g., Friman, Huck, & Olsson, 2017; Klonek, Isidor, & Kauffeld, 2015; Lee et al., 2017; Petry, 2005). The TTM suggests that the process of change is stage based, with five stages or steps, each providing a cognitive and behavioural foundation for further growth and change. The five steps of the TTM are *precontemplation*, which involves denial, minimisation and blame of others; *contemplation*, during which individuals begin to recognise the existence of a problem without attempting to change; *preparation*, where individuals start to think more clearly about ways they could change their behaviour; *action*, where real steps are taken to alter behaviours; and *maintenance*, where individuals monitor themselves to ensure success. Rather than a direct linear stage-based model, the TTM has been designed as a spiral model, allowing the space for individuals to move backwards and forwards among the stages in a way which reflects their own unique journey of change (Prochaska et al., 1992).

Begun et al. (2003) and Levesque, Gelles, and Velicer (2000), along with others (Alexander & Morris, 2008; Eckhardt & Utschig, 2007; K. Scott & Wolfe, 2003), applied this theory to the field of family violence intervention through the development of various profiles of change based on the TTM. Using respondent answers to questionnaires based on the TTM, through a process of cluster analysis, the above researchers identified base profiles of change, which they felt best reflected the various stages of change. The answers given by subsequent participants could then be mapped against these base profiles, allowing researchers to identify what stage an individual was in the process of change. This raised the possibility that participants could be supported through subsequent stages of change by providing targeted interventions which focused on increasing motivation to change (Maiuro & Murphy, 2009).

The use of the above theory in the manner described above has raised several issues. Firstly, the profiles of change were developed through a process known as cluster analysis. This process lacks a clear and consistent set of guidelines, and can require subjective judgements on behalf of the analysts. Possibly as a result of this, other researchers have been unable to consistently replicate the findings (Eckhardt & Utschig, 2007; Maiuro & Murphy, 2009). The quantitative nature of this approach has also come under critique, with some authors arguing that qualitative methods are better suited to capture the complexity of the factors that contribute to change and desistance (Kendal et al., 2015; Sheehan, Thakor, & Stewart, 2012). Finally, the non-representative nature of the participants involved in questionnaire development raises issues around the generalisability of the questionnaires across varying populations.

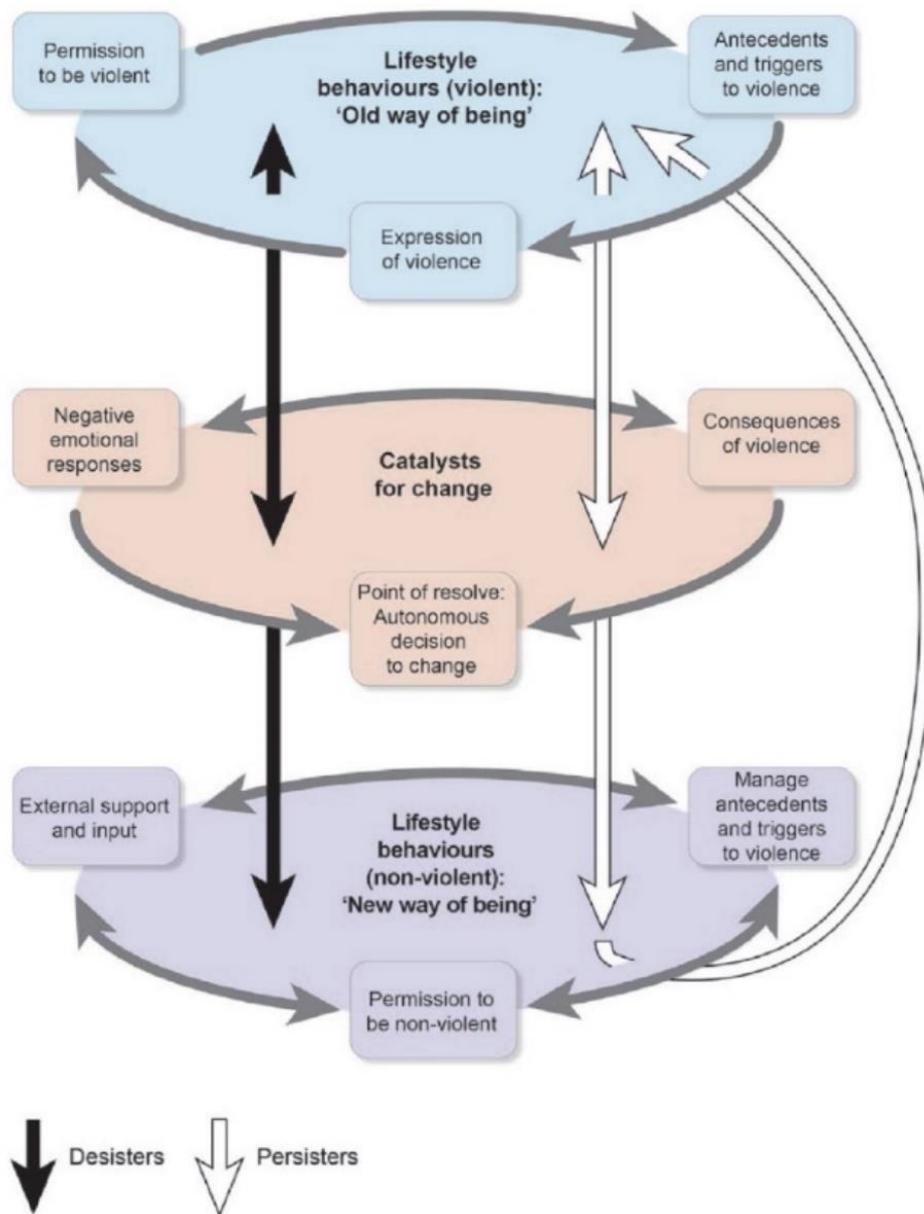
Walker Model of Desistance. The second theoretical framework is that of the Walker Model of Desistance (K. Walker et al., 2015, 2017a; K. Walker, Bowen, Brown, & Sleath, 2017b). This represents a more cyclical approach to the process of change, and embeds the process of change firmly in the context of the person under consideration. This model was inspired by research on the process of criminal desistance which identified that offending typically decreases with age, peaking in early adulthood, and falling until offending finally stops (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Sampson &

Laub, 2003). However, little is known about the process involved, or the mechanisms which explain this process. Using a process of qualitative data analysis, this model outline below was developed from a series of in-depth semi-structured interviews with 38 participants, including survivors of abuse, programme facilitators, and programme attendees, both self-referred and mandatory. The men involved were identified as either living violence-free for at least 12 months, or still using violence in their lives. The result of this process was a model of change with two key life phases, entitled Lifestyle Behaviours - Old Ways of Being (violent), and Lifestyle Behaviours - New Ways of Being (non-violent). These two phases were bridged by Catalysts for Change, which are defined as the triggers that an individual experience, which motivate change. Figure 2.1 illustrates the conceptual model of desistance as outlined by Walker is the visual representation of the model under discussion.

This model suggests that within the *Old ways of being* phase, there are *triggers and antecedents* to violence present, which result in the *expression of violence* which can be physical, psychological, or both. As a response to their violence, perpetrators must then rationalise their actions, giving themselves *permission to be violent*. This may occur through psychological defence mechanisms, such as minimisation or normalisation of violence, internalising characteristics of violence (e.g., identifying as a short-tempered person), and results in the perpetrator feeling psychologically comfortable with their actions, and obscuring recognition of the need for change.

Bridging the *Old ways of being* phase above, and the *New ways of being* phase, are the *Catalysts for change*. The mechanism which causes change within this model is the ongoing accumulation of *negative emotional experiences* alongside the accumulation of *consequences of violence*.

Figure 0-1 Walker Model of Desistance



Note: Reprinted “Desistance from intimate partner violence: A conceptual model and framework for practitioners for managing the process of change” by K. Walker, E. Bowen, S. Brown, E. Sleath, 2014, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, (30)15, p. 2735. Copyright 2015 SAGE Publications. Used with permission.

This ongoing accumulation breaks through the psychological comfort which is a characteristic of stage one, resulting in psychological discomfort, and leading to an *autonomous decision for change*, which leads into the final phase, that of *New ways of being*. (K. Walker et al., 2015) found

that the exact type of experiences which acted as triggers varied from person to person, and the realisation of the necessity of change occurred when triggers and discomfort had built to a point which the individual identified as important.

Conversely, in the *New ways of being*, K. Walker et al. (2015) identified three elements characterised by active participation on behalf of the men to live violence free. The three elements within this life phase run concurrently, and involve men *managing triggers and antecedents*, redefining themselves in such a way as to give themselves *permission to be non-violent*, and receiving *external support and input* which validates their change. This phase involved a paradigm shift in the worldview of the men, as they accepted responsibility for their actions, began to make change by altering environmental and contextual triggers, and began to re-define themselves with characteristics which promote non-violence, such as being calm.

A key limitation of this model as highlighted by the researchers is that this model was developed primarily with a somewhat homogenous group of participants from a small geographic area. They call for further examination into the question of whether or not this encapsulates the process of change which occurs for men with differing life experiences.

Approaches to Intervention

The field of violence prevention predominantly consists of two main types of interventions – those using the Duluth Model, and those using a cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) approach to interventions. In addition to this there are also some new comers to the field of intervention, sometimes referred to as third wave interventions. These interventions are based on postmodern theories of counselling and psychology, and include Acceptance Commitment Therapy (ACT), which has been adopted in several states within America, and Motivational Interviewing (MI), along with others.

Intervention Overview. The Duluth Model was developed early in the 1980's as part of the Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP), the first multi-disciplinary programme established to respond to family violence. The Duluth Model takes a gendered approach to violence,

situating men as batterers and women as victims. It considers family violence to be a product of a patriarchal society, a socially reinforced expectation regarding the male right to hold power, through the use of violence to control and dominate women (Bohall, Bautista, & Musson, 2016; Paymar & Barnes, 2007). Programs based on the Duluth Model take a psycho-educational approach, attempting to challenge and then change participant beliefs about their right to control and dominate their partner (Gondolf, 2007). It is a feminist socio-political approach to intervention, and is one of the most widely implemented interventions internationally.

Cognitive behavioural interventions (CBT) take a different approach, and assume that family violence is a learned behaviour. As result it can be unlearned, through being altered or replaced with adaptive behaviours (Slabber, 2012). CBT programmes view violence as stemming from dysfunctional thinking patterns, and attempt to first increase awareness of these harmful cognitions, and then replace them with more appropriate responses to violence provoking situations (B. Morrison & Davenne, 2016). Interpersonal skills are also often taught, such as anger management skills, relaxation techniques, and negotiation techniques, as a way to equip partner violent men with replacement behaviours.

ACT is an approach to therapy which is built on principles of CBT, yet focuses on different processes in behavioural change. ACT posits that psychopathology stems from an inability to be psychologically flexible when faced with a situation which does not align with one's values as a result of the interaction between language and cognition, and direct contingencies. Put more simply, ACT theorises that people lose sight of their long-term goals and values, with behaviour becoming rigidly guided by immediate and salient internal experiences (e.g., such as being right, or defending one's self-identity) (Hayes, Luoma, Bond, Masuda, & Lillis, 2006; Zarling & Berta, 2017).

Finally, MI, which at its simplest can be defined as "a collaborative conversation style for strengthening a person's own motivation and commitment to change" (Miller & Rollnick, 2012, p. 12). Rather than attempting to challenge or guide an individual to a point of change, MI re-focuses intervention on the individual's own motivation, supporting clients to identify, develop and explore

identify their own reasons for change, as well as resolving feelings of ambivalence towards change (Rubak, Sandbæk, Lauritzen, & Christensen, 2005).

Effectiveness of Intervention Programmes. The approaches to interventions described above are typically delivered as community based programs, running over a set period, in a small group format. Participants come to the groups from a variety of sources, with some being mandated to attend by the courts, or can self-refer voluntarily, or encouraged by social workers or others to attend. As a result, participants engage in these groups with varying levels of voluntariness, motivation, and willingness to change.

These types of prevention programs are widely considered to be the first type of intervention for men who engage in family violence (Aaron & Beaulaurier, 2017), and as such, there have been a number of evaluation studies published suggesting the efficacy of individual programs both in Aotearoa and internationally (e.g., Bozorg-omid, 2009; Denne, Coombes, & Morgan, 2013; Novo, Fariña, Seijo, & Arce, 2012). One of the early, and perhaps most often referenced study is the landmark study undertaken by Babcock, Green, and Robie (2004), which reviewed 22 batterer intervention programs. They included both mandated and non-mandated programs, classified into Duluth, CBT, and other (e.g., couples' therapy, relationship enhancement). They found that beyond the effects related to being arrested, these programs had minimal impact on reducing the recidivism rate of those who perpetrate violence within their families. They also found no evidence suggesting that any programme was more effective than any other. More recently, Eckhardt et al. (2013) undertook a descriptive and detailed review of not only previous literature reviews, but what was at that time, the most current intervention literature, involving 30 studies, of both traditional and alternative approaches. In terms of traditional approaches, they identified that neither the Duluth nor the CBT approaches appeared any more effective than no-treatment control groups. Their review also identified that there was no evidence in support of any one programme over another. These studies have been supported recent research in an attempt to identify the level of impact that intervention programs have on preventing family violence (Akoensi, Koehler, Lösel, & Humphreys,

2013; Cluss & Bodea, 2011; Lila, Oliver, Catalá-Miñana, & Conchell, 2014; McMurrin, 2009; Shea, Nahwegahbow, & Andersson, 2010).

In regards to assessment of the effectiveness of third wave interventions, there is very little information available. Ferraro (2017) reviewed current intervention programs, and identified one programme utilizing an ACT approach to intervention, with a published evaluation. This study, compared the impact of the ACT programme on reducing new criminal charges 1-year post-intervention, as compared to traditional Duluth/CBT intervention, in a sample of 3,474 men who were court mandated to attend treatment (Zarling & Berta, 2017). The authors reported that the ACTV programme showed significantly better results across four of the six recidivism outcomes for those who completed the programmes, although effect sizes were in the small range (Cohen's d .21–.47). However, there was a greater rate of participant drop-out in the ACTV programme compared to the Duluth/CBT programme.

There is also a limited body of research regarding the effectiveness of Motivational Interviewing (MI) in the field of family violence. McMurrin (2009) undertook a systematic review and out of 13 MI studies identified three specific to this field. More recently, a review by Soleymani, Britt, and Wallace-Bell (2018) identified five studies addressing the impact of MI of enhancing engagement and the impact on treatment outcomes. The findings of these reviews are consistent, in that both identified that the inclusion of MI alongside an existing intervention increased attendance, homework completion, and supported men to engage in the groups in a more positive manner. They also suggested that through using MI, participants developed a stronger working alliance with therapists, and were more likely to seek outside support.

There was also some support for the potential for MI to reduce the severity of violent reoffending, with three studies (Levesque et al., 2000; Lila, Gracia, & Catalá-Miñana, 2018; Musser, Semiatin, Taft, & Murphy, 2008) noting changes in this area, although only one (Levesque, Ciavatta, Castle, Prochaska, & Prochaska, 2012) was sufficiently large enough for the changes to be

statistically significant. However, there was no evidence that MI had reduced rates of recidivism in any of the studies reviewed.

It is worth noting, as Eckhardt et al. (2013) do, that these reviews do not suggest that attendance at an intervention programme precludes the possibility of individual change, but rather that the attendance does not increase an individual's odds of experiencing change. Given their failure to prevent intimate partner violence, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that there is in some way a disconnect between the programmes and the participants they are tasked to serve (B. Morrison & Davenne, 2016; Ruwhiu et al., 2009; K. Walker, Bowen, & Brown, 2013).

Combined Alcohol and Violence Intervention. In addition to programs focused solely on intervention, there is a considerable body of evidence collected over the past thirty years identifying a connection between substance abuse and perpetration of family violence (Leonard & Quigley, 2017; Stuart, O'Farrell, & Temple, 2009). Due to the size of this body of work, a full review is beyond the scope of this project. However, according to Leonard and Quigley (2017), while alcohol abuse is neither necessary or sufficient regarding to cause family violence, the increase risk stemming from its presence should be considered as equal to other environment risk factors.

To provide a very brief overview, this body of evidence identifies that those who perpetrate family violence are over-represented in programs for substance abuse, and those who abuse substances are over-represented in stopping violence groups (e.g., Gondolf, 1999; Stuart, Moore, Kahler, & Ramsey, 2003; Stuart et al., 2009). Furthermore, literature has identified a temporal connection between alcohol abuse and perpetration (e.g., Fals-Stewart, 2003), as well as noting that alcohol abuse by one or both partners increases the risk and severity of violence, (e.g., Graham, Bernards, Wilsnack, & Gmel, 2011; Wilson, Graham, & Taft, 2014). In addition, the use of illicit drugs has also been linked to family violence, and has been noted to be an independent risk factor for violence after controlling for risk associated with alcohol abuse .

These findings have led the field to query the link between alcohol addiction treatment and reduction in family violence. A two year longitudinal study by O'Farrell, Van Hutton, and Murphy

(1999) addressed family violence in 75 families before and after alcohol treatment in regards to the impact of substance abuse treatment on family violence perpetration. Mignone, Klostermann, and Chen (2009) addressed the link between recidivism in alcohol consumption and a return to family violence perpetration in 294 men and their partners. Finally, Stuart, Ramsey, et al. (2003) addressed the rates of male to female, and female to male violence before and after intensive alcohol treatment for male alcohol addiction in 24 couples. Each of these studies identified that successful treatment of addiction reduced the incidence of family violence, while recidivism in regards to alcohol use was related to a return to elevated levels of violence. However, it is important to note that these studies did not identify that treatment of alcohol addiction resulted in a complete remission of family violence. Rather, upon successful treatment, the level of family violence decreased to being comparable to the level of violence other families with similar demographics (O'Farrell et al., 1999). For some families, this would have resulted in a total cessation of violence, and for some, a reduction.

Although there is limited research regarding the integration of addiction treatment into violence prevention programs, there have been several studies completed targeting the effectiveness of providing integrated alcohol and violence intervention. The first of these is the follow-up study to an early programme pilot designed by Easton et al. (2007). Easton, Crane, and Mandel (2018) compared the effects of a cognitive substances abuse-domestic violence programme (n=29) to a drug counselling intervention (n=34). They identified that over the follow up period of three months, those who received drug counselling reported being 1.85 more times likely to commit acts of violence on drinking days than those in the substance abuse program, although the authors reported this was, statistically, only near significance.

Stuart et al. (2013) queried hazardous drinking in 252 men in violence intervention programs. Participants received either a standard intervention programme (SIP) or a combined SIP + 90 minute motivational alcohol intervention (SIP+), with follow-up being completed over 12 months. At three months follow up, those in the SIP+ group reported significantly less frequent severe physical

aggression, and less frequent severe psychological aggression compared to those in the SIB group, although was no longer visible at the 6 and 12 month follow-up.

Kraanen, Scholing, Hamdoune, and Emmelkamp (2014) also undertook a programme comparison with 52 participants, addressing differences between outcomes in a 16 week intervention programme integrating treatment for substance abuse and partner violence (I-StoP) as compared to 16 weeks of standard CBT substance abuse treatment (CBT-SUB). They identified that at programme completion, participants in both conditions reported committing significantly less physical violence at post-treatment than pre-treatment (I-StoP: $Z(10) = -2.68$; $p = .00$ (1-tailed); CBT-SUB: $Z(7) = -2.37$; $p = .01$ (1-tailed)). Kraanen et al. (2014) concluded that when considering the comparative costliness of the two programs, it was more cost effective to treat violence and substance abuse through a standard CBT-SUB intervention than I-StoP.

Coming from a different perspective, Lila, Gracia, and Catalá-Miñana (2017) undertook a comparative study addressing dropout rates from a standard CBT violence intervention programme among those with alcohol addiction in 286 males. They identified that although the men with alcohol addiction were more likely to drop out, those who completed the programme experienced a significant reduction in alcohol consumption despite receiving no alcohol intervention.

Taken as a whole, the research above highlights the complexities which are present when considering the field of family violence intervention. This also suggests that to effect change, some families may require more than interventions targeting only family violence. This complexity also highlights the need for further research which is focused on understanding the experiences and perceptions of men in this field, in an effort to bridge the gap between the services the programs offer, and the needs of the participants they are tasked to serve.

Qualitative Research with Perpetrators. While there is considerable research of varying quality around batterer intervention programs, there is little research undertaken with perpetrators themselves to identify the characteristics of desistance and the process of change involved in living violence free (B. Morrison & Davenne, 2016; Ruwahu et al., 2009; K. Walker et al., 2013). Individuals

in the field have highlighted this gap in knowledge, calling for increased understanding of men's experience of change (Alexander & Morris, 2008; Ruwhiu et al., 2009; K. Walker et al., 2015). There is also an ongoing discussion of the need for intervention programs to better meet the needs of perpetrators as well as victims (L. Kelly & Westmarland, 2015; Westmarland, Kelly, & Chalder-Mills, 2010), as well as highlighting the importance that programs be culturally and contextually relevant to the men whose behaviour they hope to impact (E. Campbell & Hulls, 2015; Matamonasa-Bennett, 2015).

As a result of this, there is a small, but growing body of research with men who have a history of violence, in an effort to better understand their experiences of change, and their involvement with violence prevention and intervention services. This research utilises a qualitative approach, allowing researchers to gain a more in-depth understanding of the experiences of the people involved (Sheehan et al., 2012). Within this research, the key focus appears to be the intervention characteristics, addressing how programme components or individual learning within intervention programs supports change within individuals. Studies were typically undertaken at the conclusion of a stopping violence program, or shortly thereafter, and focused on either group characteristics, programme components, or a mix of both (Boira, del Castillo, Carbajosa, & Marcuello, 2013; Brownlee & Chlebovec, 2004; Michael G. Chovanec, 2012; Edin & Nilsson, 2014; Gray et al., 2016; Holtrop et al., 2017; P. K. Morrison et al., 2018; Pandya & Gingerich, 2002; Rosenberg, 2003; K. L. Scott & Wolfe, 2000; Shamai & Buchbinder, 2010; Silvergleid & Mankowski, 2006; M. E. Smith, 2011).

Studies focusing on which specific skills the men credited as helpful consistently identified that taking responsibility, learning to identify abuse, anger management tools and communication were all helpful in stopping violence (Brownlee & Chlebovec, 2004; P. K. Morrison et al., 2018; Pandya & Gingerich, 2002; Rosenberg, 2003; K. L. Scott & Wolfe, 2000; M. E. Smith, 2011). In addition, increased empathy was also accredited as contributing to change (Brownlee & Chlebovec, 2004; Gray et al., 2016; K. L. Scott & Wolfe, 2000). Studies focusing on which group characteristics

supported change identified that connection with facilitators, being both supported and challenged by those in the group, as well as learning from others in the group were key components which kept individuals motivated, engaged, and on the path towards change (Brownlee & Chlebovec, 2004; Michael G Chovanec, 2014; Gray et al., 2016; Holtrop et al., 2017; P. K. Morrison et al., 2018; Pandya, 2009; Rosenberg, 2003; Shamai & Buchbinder, 2010; Silvergleid & Mankowski, 2006). Participants also reflected on the importance of ongoing support (Holtrop et al., 2017; Silvergleid & Mankowski, 2006), in addition to hope and increased self-awareness (Flinck & Paavilainen, 2008; Lindsay, Roy, Turcotte, & Montminy, 2012).

Recently, there have also been multiple theses and dissertations published in this area (e.g., Parker, 2015; Räsänen, 2006; Simmonds, 2011; Spooner, 2016; Takano, 2014; Virzi, 2012). This emerging body of work highlights the growing interest in research which goes beyond a quantitative focus on intervention evaluation to a more nuanced understanding of the needs, perceptions and experiences of individuals with histories of violence.

Looking beyond studies addressing characteristics of group programs or learning which facilitated change, there are also qualitative studies that have attempted to develop theories of change drawn specifically from this field. In addition to the Walker Model of Desistance (K. Walker et al., 2015), Merchant and Whiting (2018), developed a very similar model based on interviews with 10 heterosexual couples, regarding the process they underwent on their journey to violence free relationships. This particular model identified that desistance from violence began with a turning point experience, followed by an individual's decision to change, which resulted in individuals doing things differently in an effort to move forward. The strength of this model is its inclusion of both men and women as research participants. Despite this more diverse population, Merchant and Whiting (2018) outline a model of desistance that aligns closely to the more complicated model put forward by K. Walker et al. (2015), suggesting that there may be consistency in the process of desistance as experienced by diverse populations.

Overall, there are several limitations to this body of work. First, it is important to note that, as mentioned previously, the efficacy of these programs, which were primarily Duluth or CBT based, has been questioned as being no more effective than no intervention. This casts a shadow over the findings of research which appears to be based on an assumption that involvement in the men's group was a necessary and sufficient component of their experience of change. A second limitation of this work is that many of the studies above failed to question whether any change had occurred in the men they were interviewing. Studies were typically conducted at the immediate conclusion of groups, and did not follow up with participants to identify whether change had been maintained. This implies that all reports of change were considered equal, despite the projects failing to substantiate claims of change.

Several studies, however, were aware of these issues, taking steps to understand the varying levels of impact involvement in the group may have had for individuals (Boira et al., 2013; Kilgore, Lehmann, & Voth Schrag, 2018; K. L. Scott & Wolfe, 2000; Shamaï & Buchbinder, 2010). Shamaï and Buchbinder (2010) conducted a phenomenological-qualitative study in Israel with 25 men regarding their perception of treatment, and the meaning they attached to it. The initial analysis identified that every single participant felt they were a new person who had changed. However deeper analysis of their narratives identified the stubborn presence of attitudes and behaviours which suggested the men's schemas around relationships and violence had not fact changed. As a result, Shamaï and Buchbinder (2010) suggest that a simple CBT approach to intervention may affect some behaviour change, but is limited in its ability to alter the attitudes that underlie the use of violence in intimate relationships.

A similar finding relating to the ongoing presence of underlying harmful relationship schemas was identified by Kilgore et al. (2018) in their narrative assessment of letters that participants were asked to write as a capstone activity. Their findings outlined a greater level of diversity in the deeper analysis of individual responses than Shamaï and Buchbinder (2010), suggesting some may have experienced change. However they also identified that some men were effective in using and

integrating the language from the program, without this impacting their underlying attitudes. Boira et al. (2013) drew a similar conclusion, suggesting that program evaluations which a qualitative analysis approach that does not scratch below the surface may not be able to identify whether any meaningful change has occurred for individuals.

Research with Indigenous Populations

A feature of the research above is while several of the studies focused on specific cultural groups (e.g., Holtrop et al., 2017; Merchant & Whiting, 2018; Pandya & Gingerich, 2002), the studies utilised traditional Western theoretical frameworks. A second substantially smaller group of qualitative studies involves research with men from indigenous populations. These studies were structured to reflect the cultural realities of the participants.

Parra-Cardona et al. (2013), conducted semi-structured interviews with 21 Latino men engaged in a culturally focused intervention program. They identified themes of becoming aware within a group context, of change being a slow process and a lifetime challenge that required action, rather than simply words. They identified that the Latino men placed a high value on inclusion of cultural components which reflected their realities, including the challenges and discrimination they faced.

Matamonasa-Bennett (2015) engaged in loosely structured, open ended interviews with nine Native American men living on a reservation regarding their perceptions of violence and change. This project clearly articulated family violence as stemming from colonisation and the introduction of alcohol to the tribes. The men involved spoke of the returning to traditional and cultural practices as being the facilitator of change and healing.

In Aotearoa, the earlier study by Ruwhiu et al. (2009) also fits into this body of work. This study focused on the journey of tāne Māori towards being violence free, and the physical, spiritual, emotional and social processes that occurred throughout that time.

In addition, (Puchala, Paul, Kennedy, & Mehl-Madrona, 2010) utilising a quantitative pre-post assessment, identified the impact of including traditional healing elders in the clinical care of

aboriginal families experiencing family violence. They captured dramatic change in self-report questionnaires compared to no change for those with no intervention, highlighting the place the inclusion of spiritual approaches to healing in indigenous populations.

This tiny body of work highlights the need for further research into intervention which is culturally and contextually relevant, as very few writers provide clear guidelines around how to develop this type of programme. Durie (2004b) tackles this question in his model of indigenous health, identifying that the foundation of indigenous wellbeing is based on a clear cultural identity with easy access to the indigenous world. Thus, to develop programs which support indigenous health and wellbeing, they must promote a secure cultural identity and support the reconnection of indigenous people with their respective indigenous world. Durie (2004b) positions the development of a secure cultural identity as being crucial to the successful promotion of health and wellbeing of indigenous populations.

The diverse approaches to research and interpretation within these studies highlight the phenomenological understanding that our world view, and the things we find important, inform the questions. As such, this work reinforces the call to move away from intervention based on 'race neutral approaches' (Hampton R.L. & W., 2006, p. 1) to contextually valid interventions and culturally congruent perpetrator intervention programs which reflect the values and culture of those they are designed to work with.

Intervention with Indigenous Populations

Shea et al. (2010) undertook a systematic review addressing intervention studies conducted in indigenous communities around the world, targeting the reduction of family violence, including only studies which provided qualitative or quantitative estimates of prevention. They identified 2 randomised control studies (RCT) focused on the prevention of child abuse through home visits. They also found 14 non-RCTs addressing community injury prevention, reduction in alcohol, home visits, traditional healing circles, prevention of elder abuse, group counselling, and parenting skills; however, no studies focused on working with indigenous men to reduce violence within their family.

Of these studies, only one (Brewin & Coggan, 2004) was based in Aotearoa, focusing on an injury prevention programme within Ngāti Porou (a Māori iwi located on the eastern coast of the north Island of Aotearoa New Zealand), which included a hui with the iwi around whānau violence.

A systematic qualitative review by Finfgeld-Connett (2015) examined the literature pertaining to intimate partner violence among Native Americans in an effort to develop a comprehensive understanding of family violence and its resolution among this population. Of the 13 studies included in the review, only one reflected the voice of tribal elders and men moving away from violence (Matamonasa-Bennett, 2013), with the rest targeting community development or working specifically with women.

More recently, Gallant et al. (2017) undertook a scoping review of research around intimate partner violence among indigenous men. They identified 10 studies between 1994 and 2015 targeting family violence intervention. Across these 10 studies six key characteristics were visible. The first of these was that while type of programme being presented reflected differed from context to context, the underlying programme goals were similar. Secondly, these studies argued that community buy in was an important part of working with indigenous men. Programs did not run independently of the communities they were serving. The third characteristic was that programs also addressed healing for the men, rather than just targeting behaviour change. Fourth, programs were holistic, often working with families, partners and children when appropriate. Fifth, programs matched the cultural realities of the men, included specific activities and experiences relevant to the respective cultures. The sixth characteristic was that the majority of programs were ongoing, rather than limited to a specific set of sessions. The last characteristic was that programme content was not limited to simply stopping violence, but also included other features such as drug and alcohol use, impact of violence on children, and skill development. Unfortunately, of the 12 studies in the review, only four included any evaluation component, with Gallant et al. (2017) reporting that they placed heavy reliance on the perception that their programme was effective, and provided limited reference to men's outcomes in support of their program.

In addition, the literature view by (Roguski, 2009) identified one programme working specifically from a Kaupapa Māori framework which provided clear evaluation data, that of Te Whare Ruruhau o Meri - Recidivist Offenders Programme (ROP). This programme was based in Otahuhu, and targeted the top 10-15 recidivist offenders and their whānau as referred by Police. The programme worked with the tāne, their wāhine, and tamariki, offering counselling, support, holiday programs, as well as working to build relationships between the participants and the service. The intervention involved a 12 week program, but the evaluation document also reported staff worked with families over an extended period of time, sometimes over the course of 18 months, to gain trust and provide support, working to upskill tāne and wāhine Māori in communication, resolve personal issues, and work with external factors hindering success. The evaluation of this programme did include effectiveness information, with the New Zealand Police providing recidivism data for 41 participants, at seven months after completion of the program. Of the 41 participants, 21 participants (51%) had no reported convictions. Five (12%) participants had convictions relating to whānau violence. Of the remaining 15 (36%) participants, three were incarcerated and none had convictions related to whānau violence. Compared to the rates of re-offense rate of 21% reported by Babcock, Green, and Robie (2004), these statistics from ROP suggested the possibility of a promising intervention. However, this program was discontinued in 2009 due to the unavailability of funding.

Over and above the studies identified within the systematic reviews above, several other published pieces of work were identified pertaining to family violence interventions with indigenous men. Puchala et al. (2010) reported on a series of clinical cases of family violence where the inclusion of an elder in the healing process appeared to positively impact on the families experiencing violence. Longclaws, Rosebush, and Barkwell (1993) reported on the development and implementation of the Waywayseecappo First Nation domestic violence project, including a participant profile. This pilot programme involved 10 participants, and no information regarding the continuation, cessation, or impact of the programme was available. In regards to programs or other

available information regarding interventions in Australia and New Zealand, the Indigenous Justice Clearinghouse identified no further interventions specifically targeting men than has been discussed above (Cripps & Davis, 2012).

In regards to research undertaken with indigenous populations beyond the American Indian, Aboriginal, and Māori populations, there is very little information. An example of this lack of information can be seen in the work by Burman (2017) who completed a content analysis in an effort to map the information available within the Swedish context regarding violence against Sami women, who represent the indigenous population. The analysis included websites, policies, research and published literature. Burman (2017) noted that while male violence against women in Sweden was widely recognised, male violence against Sami women, was almost invisible. The content analysis identified that at that time there were no published records relating to violence against Sami women. Burman (2017) identified only one dissertation from Norway which included a focus on this areas. As a result, there is no information currently available regarding intervention with men in this indigenous population which can be used to further inform this discussion.

The lack of published research in this area in some way stands at odds with other reports. For example, McCalman et al. (2006) point out in their literature review that in the years just previous, around 130 violence prevention programs were being, or had been, implemented. In Aotearoa, there are also currently programs targeting tāne Māori, in a violence prevention capacity. Yet with no formal evaluation and limited research on which to base their intervention procedures these programmes run somewhat in the dark.

Kowanko et al. (2009) outlines two potential factors contributing to the lack of research regarding effective programs working with men who are violent towards their families. The first, according to Kowanko et al. (2009), is that the reality is there are not many programmes which provide intervention specifically for men of any indigenous ethnicity. The second is that many programs operate on a tight budget, with a level of financial support which prohibits programme evaluation due to its costliness. As a result, much of the information available is material published

by organisations in newsletters, websites, or in one case, what appears to be an opinion piece (Franks, 2000). This grey literature speaks to the presence of interventions targeting indigenous men, however, provides little information regarding effective strategies for engagement and intervention in an evidence-based manner.

Chapter Three : Present Study

Summary of Previous Chapters

The previous chapters have described the context of family and whānau violence internationally and here in Aotearoa, the theoretical frameworks which attempt to account for the predictors of family violence, and the intervention strategies which form the backdrop to this study. Within these chapters, there are several prominent overarching themes which thread their way through the discussion.

The first key theme threading through these chapters is the importance of how we view context and culture when thinking about all aspects of whānau violence. The use of theory to outline possible ways that the historical process of colonisation may still be impacting on whānau supports those who take the position that whānau violence does not stem from Māori culture (Metge, 2014; Ruwhiu et al., 2009). This also highlights that current socio-economic factors should also not be considered in isolation when considering the current rates of whānau violence (Marie et al., 2008). That Aotearoa has 30 years of traditional western intervention, which appears to have had little impact on rates of reducing whānau violence (Slabber, 2012) also suggests that there is a mismatch between interventions and those they are tasked to serve. This mismatch has been identified by those in Aotearoa, and abroad, as potentially stemming from the lack of cultural and contextual congruency of current intervention programs (E. Campbell & Hulls, 2015; Matamonasa-Bennett, 2015). However, intrinsic within this theme, there is also hope. Those who suggest that the mismatch between Pākehā interventions and Māori culture is contributing to the failure of the interventions, go on to suggest that Kaupapa Māori interventions, based on tikanga and mātauranga Māori, may offer an alternative path forward which is contextually and culturally relevant for tāne Māori and their whānau (Pihama et al., 2003).

However, the importance of culture and context is not limited to intervention, with the chapters above also outlining the need for theoretical approaches to research which are culturally

and contextually relevant. The use of theories drawn from te ao Māori is thought to allow for the development of research which is culturally nuanced, and better able to capture the centrality of concepts such as spirituality, which are often not captured by Western epistemologies. However, the use of these theories does not necessarily preclude the utilisation of skills, knowledge, and people contained within traditional research epistemologies. Instead, the creation of a research space where te ao Māori is privileged allows for the development of new knowledge which draws from both worlds, creating research which is contextually valid, empirically sound, and culturally relevant to those it aims to serve.

Another thread traversing these chapters is that of the lack of effectiveness, and lack of research regarding the current intervention approaches, both in Aotearoa, and abroad. Multiple reviews and meta-analysis have been undertaken (Akoensi et al., 2013; Cluss & Bodea, 2011; Lila et al., 2014; McMurrin, 2009; Shea et al., 2010), and summarised by Eckhardt et al. (2013), that participation in programs did not increase one's chances of change any more than if one did not participate. It is also important to note that primarily, effectiveness research is quantitative, focusing on rates or recidivism. However, there is a small, but growing body of work utilising a qualitative approach, focuses on men's evaluation of specific programme components or learning. While participants in this research consistently reported similar themes or concepts as being helpful to their learning, the lack of follow up regarding the success of participants made it difficult to identify whether the participants were implementing strategies for successful change. Indeed, the qualitative research which made the effort to explore the underlying perceptions of men as well as their programme evaluations identified the persistence of abusive attitudes and behaviours, despite the men's identification of helpful learning (Kilgore et al., 2018; Shamaï & Buchbinder, 2010). The conclusion from these researchers corroborated those of the quantitative analyses above, which suggested that these programs have limited effect as they are currently being implemented (Boira et al., 2013).

In addition, consistently running through the chapters above is the repeated call for further research with perpetrators themselves, with a goal of better understanding the process of change in order to better support successful and meaningful change. This field contains two key theories which aim to outline the process of change. K. Walker et al. (2015) developed a theory of change from research with men who have both succeeded in changing, and those who have continued their abusive behaviours, while Prochaska and DiClemente (1982) adapted the Transtheoretical Model of Change from the field of addiction. There is also an increasingly prominent call for further research with men to better understand the perspectives and experiences of men who strive to live violence free, in an effort to better protect and serve the women and children who are family to these men.

The final thread, which perhaps serves as a focus for all that has come before, is the imperative around the need to research and develop effective intervention in Aotearoa. The high levels of family and whānau violence in Aotearoa do not appear to be decreasing (Clearinghouse, 2017), in spite of considerable investment from both the private and public sector. In addition, research is clear that family and whānau violence has a long lasting negative impact for victims and children exposed to violence. Despite the imperative presented by the statistics in Aotearoa, there is a scarcity of research specific to this country, beyond the occasional private sector report, or those commissioned by various Governmental departments. This tends to come from a western paradigm, focusing on prevalence rates, identification, and protection of victims and children. The research that is available regarding community interventions and research with tāne Māori highlights the differences in culture and context between traditional Pākehā worldview and te ao Māori (Brewin & Coggan, 2004; Roguski, 2009; Ruwhiu et al., 2009). This gap in context and culture recalls the earlier discussion around the need for interventions and research which are culturally and contextually valid, leading to interventions which whānau and tāne Māori can connect with in a manner which supports meaningful change.

This Study

Across the body of literature published both in Aotearoa and abroad, only one study has been identified querying the experiences of tāne Māori in Aotearoa. Ruwhiu et al. (2009), outlined in chapter one, focused on the life course experiences of 20 tāne Māori as they moved from a life of violence to a life free from violence, employing a Kaupapa Māori methodology with semi structured interviews based around an artefact or chart which the men had created to represent their journey. The authors also drew on the voices of wāhine Māori to broaden the perspectives and provide a more holistic understanding of the process of change as experienced by the entire whānau.

Ruwhiu et al. (2009) identified 10 themes relating to the continuance of family violence. These reflected the way in which social modelling normalised the use of violence, creating an atmosphere where violence was internalised as an appropriate behaviour and means to an end, with cult status given to those men who epitomised a physically aggressive and sexually active version of masculinity. The themes also identified the tendency of family violence to pass from generation to generation, and the negative energy left behind in physical spaces in which violence had occurred. Finally, they captured the complexity of family violence, and the factors which contributed to the use of violence, as well as the impact which social policies and colonisation have had.

They also identified seven themes which emerged regarding the process of change and transformation. These focused on change as originating from within the men themselves with emotions, both positive and negative, providing fuel for change. The themes contained a strong focus on interconnectedness. They revolved around change being unsustainable without support from significant people, and that change was not complete without reconnection back into their community, often through service. A deeper connection with wairua reoccurred as a crucial part of the journey of change, along with the need for greater connection to, and healing of places in te ao tūroa in where violence had occurred.

Ruwhiu et al. (2009) stands apart as one of the only projects this study is aware of which focused on the experiences of tāne Maori. However, while this study outlined several relevant Māori frameworks and development theories, it refrained from relating the findings back to these theories.

The present study is similar in nature, in that it revolves around semi-structured interviews, guided by kaupapa Māori principles. My first broad goal for this study is to identify the factors which men identify as being crucial components to the successful process of change they have experienced. My hope is that there will be a consistent set of factors which emerge from the interviews, allowing tentative conclusions to be drawn regarding how to more effectively support tāne Māori through the process of change. The purpose of using the Meihana Model as a theoretical framework for analysis, and the comparison with the Walker Model of change outlined in Chapter 2 is to allow this research to link with other work in this area, and to build on the body of work which is currently available rather than attempting to stand alone as an independent research project.

Research Questions

This study utilises Kaupapa Māori research principles to guide the process of semi structured interviews and qualitative data analysis, and addresses the following questions:

- 1) What are the common themes which emerge from the participants' experiences in their journey of change?
- 2) What are the subjective experiences which men felt contributed to their success during their journey of change?
- 3) What are the themes within the interviews which relate directly to parenting?
- 4) How do the experiences of tāne Māori on their journey of change reflect the dimensions of the Meihana Model?"

The first three questions were addressed from an inductive perspective, through the process of Thematic Analysis (TA) applied to the both the open and semi-structured components of the interview. The fourth question was also addressed using TA, however this was done with a

deductive approach, through the use of a coding scheme developed to reflect the components of the Meihana Model. The purpose of this was to situate the findings within a culturally congruent theoretical framework.

Chapter Four : Methods

Design

This study employed a qualitative approach to research, using a semi-structured interview, guided by principles of Kaupapa Māori research. As suggested by Barnes (2000), qualitative approaches to data collection and analysis are more amenable with the principles as Kaupapa Māori research, as well as being better suited to capture the complexity of individual experiences (Kendal et al., 2015; Sheehan et al., 2012), which are a key feature of this project.

It is important to note that this project makes no suppositions in regards to its position as being Kaupapa Māori research. A defining feature of Kaupapa Māori research is that is the research itself stems from the Māori community in such a way that it supports the tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) of the researchers and community involved (Bishop, 1999). It is drawn from and based upon Māori ways of being – Māori philosophies, understandings, values and worldviews, and affirms and legitimises being Māori rather than rejecting or excluding non-Māori (Pihama, 2012{Pihama, 2002 #761}). It is important to note that Māori writers and researchers do not rule out collaborative enquiry between Māori and non-Māori as a result of development of the Kaupapa Māori research space (Jones, 2017). Cram et al. (2006) describe this collaborate enquiry as being one which recognises the rights, responsibilities and respective stake that two parties, Māori and Pākehā, have within the research project. Within this space these two parties are working with partnership as a goal, rather than a state of being. The He Awa Whiria (Superu, 2018) model discussed above provides the theoretical framework within which a collaborative approach to research may dwell. As iterated above, this research project makes no suppositions regarding its place within the space of Kaupapa Māori research. Rather, it represents the privilege of working alongside Māori, while grounding itself in Kaupapa Māori research principles.

Recruitment

Recruitment utilised a purposeful sampling strategy focused on intensity case sampling (Patton, 1990; Sandelowski, 2000b). Intensity case sampling is used when research is focusing on cases which are rich in information regarding the central focus of the research, without being at the extreme in any way. This avoids possible distortion of data due to the extreme responses of individuals, yet still provides for rich examples of the phenomena at hand (Patton, 1990). It is a particularly useful approach to utilise when the end goal of research is the improvement of services which target supporting individuals to achieve specific goals.

Recruitment was undertaken in partnership with specific service providers who were working in the area of whānau violence with tāne Māori. This process was guided by the principles of Kaupapa Māori research in several ways, with key principles being those of he kanohi kitea (being a face that is seen and known by those in the community), and aroha ki te tangata (respecting and empowering those involved in the research).

The imperative presented by principles which demand that the research team be both known to participants, yet respectful and empowering presented a unique problem in that it was felt that the face to face presence of the lead researcher during recruitment and interviews, as a Pākehā female, would act as a barrier to engagement, rather than facilitate whakawhanaungatanga (connection) and demonstrate respect for mana. As a result of this tension, participants were recruited by service providers, and interviewed by a male interviewer with deep and personal connection to te ao Māori. However, the imperative presented by he kanohi kitea still required that the research team be known to participants if they wished. As a result, the lead researcher provided a written mihi to stand as an introduction, and participants were encouraged to contact the lead researcher if they so desired.

The principle of he kanohi kitea also seemed to require that the interviewer be more than just present for the interviews, never to be seen again. As a result, the two interviewers used in this process were either involved in the service in some way, or made several trips to the service to

become known to the men, with one interviewer going on to attend the violence intervention programme graduation ceremony for two individuals after the completion of the interviews. This was also the practical application of *manaaki ki te tangata* (being generous with one's time, caring for those involved).

As mentioned, specific service providers assisted with recruitment by approaching individuals whom they knew had a history of family violence (broadly defined) yet were also making conscious and increasingly successful attempts to live free from any type of family violence. During this first contact, men were verbally given a brief overview of the project including the gender, ethnicity and location of the lead researcher, as well as the identity of their interviewer, and were asked if they would be willing to share their experiences. This process took place over the course of several months, as time and other commitments of the interviewer and service providers allowed. Two individuals declined to participate when approached.

After indicating their willingness to participate, *tāne Māori* were given written information with the lead researcher's *mihi*, contact details of the research team, and a full information sheet with consent form. In an effort to operationalise the principle of *aroha ki te tangata*, potential participants were also advised that their interviewer would review the information and forms again when they met with for the interview. This last step was made an explicit part of the recruitment process as during the pilot interview it became apparent that for some individuals, the paperwork required to establish informed consent may present a barrier to participation. Interview times were arranged between the service provider and the participants, within the working hours of the interviewer, and were conducted at the programme facility the men were engaged with.

Participants

The participants in this study were four *tāne Māori*, referred from a single service. The men were between the age of 30-50 years old, and all had a history of using violence in their *whānau*, which was defined quite broadly. All the men had to also come to the point of recognising their need for change, and had showed a history of positive, and successful change as verified by their

programme coordinator. Their period of being known within the service ranged from 18 months to 25 years. All tāne were currently, and voluntarily, attending support groups at the service, with some also being involved in supporting others in the community. Two of the individuals had specifically completed the new Breakthrough programme, a joint intervention programme through Parenting Place and Salvation Army facilitated by a local community provider, with two reporting they had previously completed other interventions.

Inclusion criteria:

1. Male, identifying as Māori, and over the age of 21 years
2. Must have a history of committing violent acts against their partner, children, or other whānau; but are not required to have a police record of charges or convictions.
3. Must have shown positive and successful change which was able to be verified by a member of the service the men were involved with.

Exclusion criteria:

1. Participants mandated to an intervention programme as part of a court order will be excluded.

Interview Design and Procedures

The development of the interview schedule and process was iterative, through ongoing consultation with members of the academic community and the service providers involved in the research. It also involved informal consultation with an external and experienced Kaupapa Māori researcher, and with tāne Māori within the lead researcher's local community. A three-step process was used to develop the interview schedule. The first step involved the interview design and question development. The initial design was based on research by Ruwhiu et al. (2009) after an informal conversation regarding the procedures within their research, and adapted to meet the constraints of a Master's thesis. The design was focused on a two part interview, with the first part being open, where participants were free to share their journey in their own words, and the second being

guided by a set of questions in an attempt to ensure consistent data was obtained across the interviews.

The purpose of having both an open and semi-structured component to the interview was due to the imperative presented by the Kaupapa Māori principle of Titiro, Whakaronogo...Korero (look, listenthen talk). It was also set this way to operationalise the understanding that the experiences the tāne Māori chose to share was taonga – it was a gift, to be treated with due respect and given pride of place. It was also to make a space where the men’s mana and ownership of their experiences was respected – to make a space where the events which they considered crucial were brought forwards first, rather than focusing on the things which others deemed important.

The second part of the interview was a semi-structured component, guided by a schedule of questions (Table 4.1) which the interviewer was to use if they felt participants had not already answered the questions in the narrative description of their journey. The purpose of this was to give freedom to participants to express their experiences in their own words, while still enabling the interviewer to gain consistent information across the interviews. The schedule was developed in consultation with the lead interviewer, and after informal consultation with Māori in the lead researcher’s local community. The interview schedule employed by Ruwhiu et al. (2009) was used as guide for this project, with questions , and adapted for the purposes of this study.

Interview Schedule. The interview schedule is presented below in Table 4.1. The interviewers were free to ask these questions in any order they felt appropriate, focusing on questions which had not yet been answered in the course of the interview. Some were raised spontaneously, and later followed up with for further detail by the interviewer.

Table 0-1 Interview schedule

Focus of Question	Interview questions	Raised by men	Asked
Family focused questions	Tell me about your whānau - When did you first become a father?	X	
	What does it mean to you, now, to be a father?		x
	Has your understanding of what it means to be a father has changed, and if so, how?	x	x
	What does whānau mean to you?		x
	What are your current goals, hopes and dreams for you and your whānau?	x	x
	Do you think that your understanding of whānau has changed over time, and if so, how?	x	x
Te Ao Māori	What tools do you think are important for strengthening tāne Māori as fathers?		X
	What are you hoping to gain from your involvement in the Breakthrough programme?	n/a	
	What is your involvement with, or connection to, your Māori heritage/culture?		
	Has your connection to te ao Māori changed over time, and if so, how has it changed??	x	x
	Do you think your changing connection to te ao Māori has impacted on your life, and if so, in what way?		x
Violence related	What does it mean, for you to live violence free?	x	x
	What was the path towards living violence free like for you?	x	
	What do you feel contributed to your decision to live violence free?	x	
	When did you decide that anger/violence was something you wanted to address in your whānau?	x	
	What was life like at this time (i.e., the time when you decided that your anger/violence was something you wanted to address)?	x	
	How did you know you needed to make a change/What do you think prompted this decision?	n/a	
	What do think are the things which have shaped your attitude towards violence across your life?	x	x
	Were there any setbacks or times where you felt like your journey wasn't progressing?	x	
	At the times when you felt like were being successful, how did you know you were doing well?		x
	Can you identify things which have hindered you on your journey?		x
What are the things (e.g., cultural gifts, practical changes, people) that you feel have supported you in this journey?	x	x	

Interview Structure. The overall interview structure was designed to follow the Hui Process (Lacey, Huria, Beckert, Gilles, & Pitama, 2011), to ensure that culturally safe practices were consistently implemented across each interview. The Hui Process (Lacey et al., 2011) outlines four stages within the interview process, integrating the appropriate traditional principles, or tikanga, within each stage. The four stages of the Hui Process are *Mihi* (introduction of researcher, purpose of study, paperwork etc.), *Whakawhanaungatanga* (establishing connection), *Kaupapa* (taking part in the interview), and *Poroporaki* (conclusion, wrap up, ensuring tāne Māori has any support needed).

Prior to the interview beginning, tāne completed paperwork and consent, and the koha was given to indicate the unconditional nature of this gift. In this way, the administration did not break the flow of the korero later. At this point, *Mihi* began (first stage), often with a karakia depending on the preferences of the participant, and followed by the researcher introducing themselves and their background more fully to the tāne Māori, as well as how they came to be involved in the research. Next, *Whakawhanaungatanga* (second stage), which may have included the reciting of whakapapa, or a discussion about family, whānau, iwi connections, and work. This varied in length between the interviews, with some participants choosing to recite their whakapapa in te reo Māori, others choosing to share only in English.

As participants became more comfortable, they either initiated sharing their story, or were guided into this by the interviewer asking them to share about their experiences. This third stage, *Kaupapa*, included both the open interview and the follow-up questions. While these three stages are clearly separate on paper, they were not as clear in the recording on the interview itself. The seamless flow between the early stages of the interview, through relationship building and into the kaupapa suggested participants were comfortable and willing to engage in the process.

The final section, *Poroporaki*, involved a summary by the interviewer of the things they had talked about, and often involved the interviewer sharing their appreciation for the honesty and openness of the tāne. Some of the participants expressed that the opportunity to discuss their journey with a focus on the positive change they had experienced was helpful for them, and that

being specifically asked to share had also been a positive and encouraging experience. This reinforces the importance of the need for, and the benefits from engaging in research which expresses aroha ki te tangata – research which in its very processes is respectful, building the mana of those involved at the individual level, while also standing against negative stereotypes present at the societal level.

Overall, the interviews took between 40-120 minutes, guided by the participants rather than a pre-set time (manaaki ki te tangata). Interviews were conducted in one city within the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. The interviews were held at the facility where the tāne Māori attended support groups and were audio recorded. Subsequently, the recordings were transcribed by the lead researcher, who then distributed the transcripts to the academic and cultural supervisor. Tāne Māori were specifically asked if they would like the opportunity to review and correct the transcripts, but no one chose to take up this option.

Interviewer Selection and Training. The initial project design was based around the use of a single interviewer, who was well versed in tikanga Māori, had a deep and personal connection to te ao Māori, carried mana within the local community, and was involved in ongoing consultation regarding the overall project. The initial interviewer also brought a background in counselling as well as experience working with tāne Māori in the sphere of whānau violence. However, due to a tragedy in the whānau of the primary interviewer during the time of data collection, a second interviewer was required to complete a sufficient number of interviews to complete the project as planned. The second interviewer was identified through consultation with one of the service providers, and had similar experience and qualifications as the first interviewer.

While the interviewers came from different services and brought a unique set of skills and experiences to the project, both interviewers undertook the same process of training and orientation. This occurred in person with the initial interviewer, however due to the urgency of recruiting and training the second interviewer, his orientation and training were completed via video conferencing. Orientation and training involved working through the materials, consent forms, and

letters pertaining to the project to ensure the interviewers had a high level of familiarity with the documents, and ensured the participants received consistent information. The interviewer was also walked through the interview schedule, clarifying any questions or confusion about the process or the purpose of the follow-up questions. This was followed by the interviewer completing a pilot interview with a volunteer, on which he received feedback. Both interviewers also received feedback after the transcription of their first sessions.

Ethical Considerations

This study was approved by the University of Canterbury Ethics Committee. Both before, and during the process of gaining approval by the Ethics Committee there were a number of factors that needed to be considered.

The first factor which was taken into consideration from the very inception of this project was the concern regarding the around the lead researcher being female, and Pākehā, and receiving personal gain (a completed qualification), as a result of engaging in research with Māori. Therefore, for this project, it was an imperative that although it was being undertaken by a Pākehā, and would result in a completed qualification, that it would not end there. As a result this project has taken specific steps to avoid being a project done by Pākehā on Māori, for Pākehā benefit. It was undertaken in consultation with two services working with tāne Māori, and as part of this collaboration each service will receive a summary of results. The summary will focusing on any evaluative comments made by participants (anonymised) that could be useful for the services evaluation and review processes. In this way, this project hopes to be of benefit to the organisations involved, ensuring that the knowledge gained through this process is returned to the community.

The Ethics Committee raised two other key pragmatic concerns. The first was the potential for the emotional topics of conversation to have a negative impact on the wellbeing of the participants. This was resolved through the interviewers both being experienced counsellors, able to support tāne Māori throughout the korero as necessary. Several participants indicated that while the conversation was at times difficult, it was helpful to reflect on their journey, with a focus on the

positive changes they had experienced. The second ethical concern was regarding the ongoing safety of participants and those they spoke about. To address this, it was necessary to clearly inform participants of the limits of confidentiality, as well as offering the return of only anonymised transcripts should participants wish to receive them.

Data Analysis: Rationale

Thematic analysis (TA) was chosen as the most appropriate method for data analysis for this study, as this approach creates a space where findings can be presented in a manner which are readily accessible to individuals or groups who are not part of the academic community (Braun & Clarke, 2014). This is a particularly salient feature of this approach to data analysis given the commitment of this project to being guided by the principles of Kaupapa Māori research, which demand that the final product be of use within the social sphere, not just for academic purposes. It is also important to note that while TA is not an atheoretical approach to analysis, it does not filter participant experience through a philosophical western framework.

While some consider TA to be a tool linking various forms of qualitative research rather than a method in and of itself, Sandelowski and Barroso (2003) argued that qualitative approaches to research lie on a continuum, based on the extent of transformation which data experiences in the process of analysis. This continuum allows for 'simpler' methods such as thematic analysis, content analysis, and descriptive analysis to exist as approaches to research in and of themselves. When considering which approach among these 'simpler' methods to adopt for this research, the choice was guided by several specific factors. Firstly, TA was adopted due to its ability to incorporate both manifest and latent content in the data analysis process, as well giving recognition to the context of the individual (Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013). Manifest content occurs when components are obvious, or explicit, and no interpretation is required to identify the data. Latent content occurs when some level of interpretation is required to extract the underlying meaning of data (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992; Kondracki, Wellman, & Amundson, 2002).

In contrast, CA tends to focus on either latent or manifest content, identified through the quantification of language used within the interviews (Joffe & Yardley, 2004).

The versatility of TA is particularly salient when considering the bilingual nature of some participants. Words such as tika and pono were used by some participants to describe important aspects of their life, whereas other individuals described behaviours which displayed these values, without using those specific words. As a result, a simple quantification of manifest data such as tika and pono may have missed that these concepts were also present, but in the form of latent data. Given the sensitivity of the topic, the bilingual nature of some of the interviews, and the importance of context and latent content were expected to have during data analysis, TA stood out as a flexible approach, which would adequately capture the interwoven themes that were present in the data, and allowed the personal quality and narrative of the participants to be retained.

Another strength of TA is its ability to synthesise and present data from across interviews as common themes, rather than the presentation of data formed around descriptions given in the language of participants, which is a key component of Descriptive Analysis (Sandelowski, 2000a). This characteristic of TA was an important feature, as while the tāne involved in the study had a diverse range of experiences, their experiences and meaning making around events reflected consistencies within the underlying social and cultural realities of the men. In contrast, an analysis resulting in descriptions of narrative data was likely to miss these key cultural and social realities which were present as undertones in the interviews.

Analysis Procedures for Question 1,2 & 3. TA can occur both inductively, or deductively, and both methods were utilised within this project. The inductive approach to analysis was adopted for the first three questions, following the process outlined in Table 4.2. Analysis for each question was undertaken independent of the others for the first four steps. After the development of the thematic map in step 4, it became apparent that there was a high level of cohesion between the themes for different questions. These were then integrated as outlined in the thematic map. The process of

analysis was undertaken focusing on data within the interviews which pertained directly to the first three research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Phase 1. Interviews were transcribed, and then read and re-read by the lead researcher with initial ideas and notes jotted beside relevant passages. The first interview was passed to the other members of the research team who familiarised themselves with the text, coming together to ascertain the level of consistency in the reading and interpretation of this interview. One of the features of TA that is codes and themes should have a large measure of face validity, lending themselves to easy agreement between parties regarding the interpretation of data. This was the case with this first interview, in that all parties had identified similar understandings within the first interview. Cultural nuances were also highlighted at this stage, in an effort to add to analysis of further interviews.

Phase 2. From this point, as interviews became available the lead researcher undertook the process of initial analysis, coding each interview independently of the others. Coding was focused on both short and long events which the men chose to discuss as part of their story, the meaning the men attributed to their actions, and the way in which they made sense of their world, the way they participated and adapted across the various settings, and the various relationships they discussed (Lofland, 2006). While this is not an exhaustive list of coding possibilities, codes focused on these types of events tend toward producing an end product which reflects the realities and the experiences of the participants.

Phase 3. From these codes, tentative themes were developed by the lead researcher based on patterns occurring across the data sets, as related to the primary research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). These themes were then taken to the research team for discussion, with a focus on ensuring cultural accuracy and relevance of themes identified. This resulted in six initial themes. While typically themes are not named or defined until stage 5, the cultural supervisor provided tentative Māori names for the themes which related to the first research question regarding similarity of

participant experiences, as well as tentative definitions, to support the privileging of Māori knowledge in this space.

Phase 4. A key feature of TA is the development of a thematic map, which is a way of representing how data fits together. The development of the thematic map for this project involved identification of concepts contained within each theme, as well as the practical focus of the overall theme.

Throughout this process, an iterative approach to data analysis was undertaken, requiring constant reflection, and returning to the data to confirm whether each theme worked with the overall data.

As a result, one theme was lost, that of connection to place. This is discussed more fully in regards to Question 4.

Phase 5. The specifics of each theme were refined through the integration of data pertaining to the second and third research question into the thematic map. This process ensured that the themes developed so far applied across the data, which was an important part of this research, focusing on thematic seminars within the experiences of participants.

Phase 6. The final phase saw the selection of appropriate quotes integrated in to the final report. Quotes reflected moments within the interviews which appeared to be of importance to the men. Some men spoke of shock and struggle, while some spoke with poignancy around events, but all men spoke with an undeniable honesty and openness which is difficult to capture in written soundbites. The use of participant quotes ensured that the reality and the voice of the individual men were able to be heard in a project which was focused on similarities across participants. The final report was drafted in ongoing consultation with academic and cultural supervision to ensure the accurate and sensitive reporting of the findings.

Table 0-2 Phases of thematic analysis

Phase	Focus	Description of Process
1	Familiarizing yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2	Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code
3	Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme
4	Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis
5	Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme
6	Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis

Note. Adapted from "Using thematic analysis in psychology" by V. Braun & V. Clarke, 2006, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), p 87.

Analysis Procedures for Question 4 The analysis of the data as pertaining to the final question was undertaken using a deductive approach. A deductive approach to TA is undertaken using a priori codes developed before analysis begins. These codes are then applied to the data, using a similar process outlined in table 4.2. As the fourth research question focused on the suitability of the Meihana Model, in this instance, as a vehicle through which to understand the men's journey's a priori codes were drawn from the 15 components of the Meihana Model itself. These codes were that of Ahua, Tikanga, Whānau, Whenua, Iwi katoa, Wairua, Taiao, Tinana, Hinengarao, Waka-houroa (inter-relatedness of men and their whānau), Colonisation, Racism, Migration, and Marginalisation.

Once all interviews had been transcribed, these 16 a priori codes were applied to the data in following the process described in Table 4.2, with the focus again being on the events which the men chose to discuss as part of their story, the meaning the men attributed to their actions, the way in

which they made sense of their world, the way they participated and adapted across the various settings, and the various relationships they discussed (Lofland, 2006). Data was collated under the a priori codes established, and through the process of developing a thematic map to represent the data, concepts were established, firmed, and confirmed against the broader body of data.

Participant Feedback

At the conclusion of the analysis, the results were returned to the men involved for feedback. This was undertaken to ensure the operationalisation of the goal that this project respect the voices of those who had participate, and treat their stories as taonga. All the participants gave a positive response to the results, with three expressing that specific components of the analysis resonated with their experiences. The feedback from the participants was positive, with at least two of the participants expressing their appreciation for seeing their experiences reflected in the results.

Chapter Five : Results

As described in the methods chapter above, the interviews were analysed using a process of TA, with the goal of identifying the information within the interviews which pertained to the focus of the research project. Themes were developed through the identification of attitudes, processes or experiences, latent and manifest, which were present in each of the interviews.

The analysis of the interviews revealed that as the men spoke of their experiences, their choices, and their journey of change, they spoke of a life course which was unique to themselves and their whānau, with only a few surface similarities shared between them. Yet, at a deeper level, their stories intertwined closely with one another. These areas of intertwining form the main themes of the thesis, and are outlined below. Table 5.1 presents the Thematic Map (Braun & Clarke, 2006), with themes arranged based on the approximate order they appear across the life course of the men, although there was some variation in this, particularly in relation to the third theme, that of *mana tū*.

While the process of data analysis was initially undertaken with the goal of identifying separate themes and concepts relating specifically to each question, the analysis revealed that regardless of the question being addressed, the korero of the men consistently contained concepts which fell into five broad categories. These five broad categories have been titled *main themes*, for example, *mana whānau*. Each theme contained several specific concepts. For example, under the main theme of *mana whānau*, concepts identified were *relationships*, *belonging*, *consequence*, *giving back*, and *inheritance*. While some of the concepts only appeared in korero around specific questions, for example, *inheritance* only appeared in discussion relating to parenting, other concepts, like *Relationship*, appeared across questions.

Limitations within Interviews

Before addressing the results from the interviews, it is important to note that, as mentioned in the methods section, two interviewers were involved in the process of data collection, each

interviewing two men. Even though both interviewers went through similar training with pilot testing, there were still pronounced differences in their interview style. The first interviewer tended towards a more organic approach, using fewer specific questions and leaving men to spontaneously volunteer information pertaining to question two and three. Conversely, the second interviewer was more structured in his interview technique and specifically asked about factors contributing to success, and the men’s attitudes and experiences around parenting. The manner in which this was reflected in the coding of the data and applied to each of the research questions is outlined in the relevant sections.

Thematic Map A

Table 0-1 Thematic map A.

Theme	Description	Concepts
Mana tangata	The characteristics and impact of significant individuals	Mana Integrity
Mana whānau	The process of finding a sense of belonging	Belonging Journey Giving back Consequence Inheritance
Mana tū	It is never too late for change	Hope Agency Return
Mana motuhake	The process of finding oneself	Identity reformation Tension Learning Resolution
Te ara whakatika	The experience of feeling remorse and making amends.	Shame / Regret Forgiveness Hope

Thematic Analysis: Question 1

The first question of this research project was, “*What are the common themes which emerge from the participants’ experiences in their journey of change?*” The process of TA in relation to this question focused on identification the themes which were common to all men, which emerged

throughout their journey of change. Five main themes, each containing either two or three concepts were identified in relation to this question, as outlined in Table 5.1 above. These themes emerged consistently across interviews, with no differences evident according to which interviewer lead the korero. The following section describes each of these themes, and provides relevant quotes from participants as examples. All names below are pseudonyms.

Mana Tangata. The first theme, *mana tangata*, focused on the characteristics of, and the impact that significant others had on the men and their journey. While this theme encapsulates perhaps the broadest set of experiences, the key feature within this theme was that for all the individuals, their journey of change began when they were challenged by an individual in such a way that the men unable to discount the experience.

“I just thought, ‘far, you, you’re a bit of a - shit - that’s a bit of a, what a way to get my attention...he reminded me of my grandfather...he got my respect straight away.”- Rawiri

For three of the men, this was an individual external to the whānau and the experience was somewhat dramatic, but for *Kahu*, this person was a close family friend.

“Well...my mate’s sister, my mate, she said, because I was a shitty bastard at work. She goes “Honestly, if you go up, and just listen, they’re not gunna change you automatically. But they do have some good tools that can help you”. So it was good when I came up, got heaps of good ideas.- Kahu

This initial moment of connection seemed to form a bridge to further engagement with others in the field of whānau violence which was positive, non-judgemental, and authentic.

The next Wednesday she asked me to keep going [to group] so I said ok, cause I was grateful for [her support]. So I went. And I kept going, I can’t remember why...but about four weeks in...I met people [with similar background to me]...they told their story. And when I was listening to their testimony I was

listening to my testimony...It was men just like me who were telling their stories. I was overwhelmed. I wanted to cry..." – Kaden

These quotes highlight that the men all spoke of the impact of an individual with characteristics such as mana, integrity, strength, honesty, and authenticity.

Mana Whānau. This theme stemmed from the korero of the men pertaining to their whānau, the groups they were part of, and the impact that group membership had on their actions, as well as the manner in which they fed back into their whānau and the groups they were involved in. This contained the concepts of support through belonging, impact of group membership, and giving back. The concepts to do with whānau and legacy are also contained within this theme, however, as these pertain specifically to question three they are addressed further below.

For the men, this theme, and the concepts within it were made visible through the men's deliberate seeking out of both anti-social and pro-social organisations throughout their journey, and their expressed commitments to these organisations. That these connections had the power to shape behaviour was also apparent, as men spoke of their willingness to adhere to standards of behaviour required by the various organisations to achieve belonging.

"Got involved with the gangs for a while...they were my family...they were the ones that had my back when things were going wrong, and so I did anything to gain respect, to get respect, um, and to be given respect from whoever, and didn't really care". - Rawiri

In some cases, this commitment came at the expense of personal standards of behaviour.

"...what I witnessed was unbelievable...women being raped, being bashed, hung...but when you're in that scene, everybody wants to do something about it, but you're overpowered ...cause if you do, you become a nark. And a nark gets dealt to." - Connor

It is important to note that this engagement with gangs was not a key factor for all the men, with *Kahu* specifically choosing to distance himself from whānau and friends who were in the gangs for the sake of his children. However, consistent across all the men, as they began to engage in the process of change, they all found support and a sense of belonging within new relationships and organisations, which impacted positively on their behaviour.

“My walk is with the Lord now, but my walk is also with a brotherhood, um, with these fellas here I really awahi, my brothers...it’s a safe space being able to talk amongst men and see the unity of brotherhood that they can share...that we’re here to help one another” - Rawiri

“...I want to be a part of this walk. And in order to be a part of it, I’m going to have to make some serious changes...so [things] just instantly stopped because I knew that this kaupapa, that’s not what they were about.” - Kaden

“You get ideas off each other, yeah, not just hearing your story, but coming out of some else’s mouth. And listening to our other guys deal with it...and then you go home and you try those things and it does help.” - Kahu

Once the men had found a sense of belonging in the group, the need for ongoing support to achieve successful change was also paramount within this theme.

*“So I come up here to keep myself grounded and to keep myself safe and that’s what, almost 25 years...For me, it’s a f**ken journey till I die.” - Connor*

When I saw those guys that have been here for like three or four years, I was like “How come you keep coming back?” They were like “Bro, it’s a journey.”. I just can’t stop and think “that’s it, it’s fixed”. This is our journey.” - Kahu

Another aspect contained within this theme was that the process did not stay centred on the men, but impact their whānau and wider communities also. Men spoke of wanting to be examples

to their whānau, to friends, to gang members, to the wider community. They spoke of belonging within the organisations and community, of sharing their stories publicly, and of being grateful to be able to offer support to others.

“I have a love and a passion for our brothers that are struggling...We’re not here to judge you, whether you’ve beat your misses, whether you’ve hit your kid, whether you’re [part of a gang], it’s not about that. It’s about just helping them see that there’s better choices that they can make and it’s never too late” have a love and a passion for other brothers that are struggling.” -Rawiri

Mana Tū. This third theme, *mana tū*, focuses on concepts of hope, agency, and return with an eye to the ever present potential for change. The most poignant moments of hope came as the men expressed the early hopes they had experienced, for themselves, and their ability to change

*“...here’s [two guys with opposing gang tattoos on their faces] sitting side by side and they giving me a good f**king tune up, it’s holy f**k - this must be- if they can change, I can make some change.” – Connor*

“He showed me...I can actually take back the control. I have some sort of an input into this now. I can stop that...I can actually stop something that I don’t like...I was drawn to that first 10 minutes, 15 minutes, I had that concept in my head, boom. It was downloaded, it stuck there. I couldn’t get rid of it, and I was rapt. I was ready to go save the world” - Rawiri

“I was men just like me who were telling their stories...I was overwhelmed...it made me feel very good. It made me feel, um, I just, I wasn’t alone. I wasn’t alone...” - Kaden

Hope was also relevant when men had reverted to old patterns of violence, drugs and alcohol. The men's korero seemed to indicate that re-finding hope coincided with return to a lifestyle focused on change.

"When OT jumped in and said "Look, would you be willing [to go back to the groups]. We think it would be better for you, it would help you out. Would you be willing to go back there and learn again, and start again? And I said, "Yeah, ok then"... I come up to try and get better ideas on how to raise my kids. Rather than how I was brought up and how my partner was brought up. Those days are over. - Kahu

"I got some sort of encouragement, that encouragement gave me enough to think possibly, maybe, just a glimmer of hope that shit, I could get through this again. I could start again...if I go [to jail], I go for a long time. But at least when I get out I'm gunna come out never wanting to be like this again." – Rawiri

Mana Motuhake. The focus of this third theme is on the process of finding oneself, and the tension that occurred throughout that process. This theme contains concepts that address identity re-formation, re-storying and self-belief. It is closely tied to the theme of *mana tangata* (above), as this process often began in a relationship or with the input of a significant individual; however, this theme encapsulates the features of the men's experience, whereas *mana tangata* addresses the features of the significant other who the men were involved with.

A key concept of this theme was the process of re-storying around their personal identity. This re-storying occurred in two different ways. For three of the men, re-storying occurred as the result of the men latching on to a new way of seeing themselves as offered to them by an external source. This externally offered positive self-view resonated deeply in them, in such a way that it began the work of altering their perception of themselves and the world around them. Men began

to build a new sense of self based on this new narrative of their identity, which empowered the men in some way to start making changes.

*“He goes, “you’re a good person, yet your behaviour that’s not appropriate”...I was going F**k, my behaviour. F**k, I’m a good c***”. Everybody thought I was an arsehole, but I was a good fulla, but it was behaviour that wasn’t appropriate. My behaviour towards anybody...And so with that I became a social worker”*
Connor.

However for *Kahu*, the re-storying occurred when he was forced to reconsider his view of himself as a father, seeing clearly for perhaps the first time the negative parts of himself that he had not previously been aware of.

I thought I was fixed. I was all good.. But then I hit my two girls...and when I come up here I started listening to other guys... All those broken promises and that. That was the other stuff I started seeing. A fella coming up with a clearer mind. And you start thinking back...I can remember telling them “We’ll go and do this and go and do that” but I never did. I was always out drinking...

As a result, this re-evaluated sense of self often marked the start of a period of tension for the men, who experienced a mismatch between their new internal reality, and their external reality, which took time to resolve.

“Yet I was learning all this massive stuff inside, um, but nothing on the outside wasn't changing either.” – Rawiri

*“I come up on Wednesday, I know where all the parties are on a Wednesday with all my friends...but before they used to be “Oh f**k, don't worry about it man, just come out”. But now it's just like “Oh you got your men’s group”.”- Kahu*

Three of the men also spoke of this period as being one which required the learning of new behaviours, which for some resulted in new tension.

It was, it's real hard. It's sort of catching yourself before that comes out of your mouth, and you know. Putting apologising in there. That's another thing I'd never done". - Kahu

This tension can be seen in the quote below, where *Connor* spoke with both a measure of nostalgia regarding the ease of a life 25 years past which made few emotional demands, mixed with recognition that while his learning supported the lifestyle he was seeking, his learning also caused distress, requiring such things as humility and contrition.

*"Being f**ken honest, life was easy when I was backed in...I didn't have to worry about anybody then. And when you leave all that behind you gotta deal with issues. When you got no skill to deal with issues. You have to talk, and f**ken hell. You make a mistake and you have to apologise? ...That's hard aye." - Connor*

For some, however, these new behaviours brought a sense of achievement and reinforced their forward movement.

To learn module, to learn things, to be open to things, to say that "Yeah I'm wrong"...it's ok to cry, it's ok to have feelings. So through doing all those sort of things and owning al that, being pono and tika, freed my family, freed my children, feed my partner, my parents you know. - Rawiri

However, the final concept contained within this theme was one of resolution. While all the men spoke of the tension and difficulty they experienced throughout the process of change, they all spoke positively of the end result, despite ongoing difficulties experienced by some.

Yeah, and you get home and the kids are happy, everyone's happy, and they're happy to see you, you know. Especially the younger ones. Even the older ones. That's a real buzz. - Kahu

*"...people were telling me I was doing well. People were telling me bro. Coming up to me and saying "F**ck you look good. I started feeling well. Opportunities were coming my way. I was getting messages from people all over the country - bro, can you north, we've got this whānau day we'd really love to you to speak at...that's how I knew I was doing well, because people were starting to look at me and were believing my journey". - Kaden*

Te Ara Whakatika. This final and fifth theme was that of feeling remorse, and making amends.

While the men involved in this project were all at various places on this journey, they all incorporated into their story's elements of guilt, shame, forgiveness, and acceptance.

"Yeah, that's one thing I have to do. Is go back to the marae and tell my whānau the gangster thing sort of didn't work out. Can I sort of come and hang out with you again. But I haven't got the balls to do it yet".- Kaden

Three of the men also spoke of either apologising and repairing relationships, or of experiencing a growing desire to do so.

"I've gone back to see policeman that I really couldn't tolerate down south and just said "Look mate, I just want to apologise for my behaviour, how I used to follow you around and really stalk you and be a idiot. It's not the life I wanna live, mainly and I'm just sorry". - Rawiri

The men also spoke of guilt regarding the harm their actions caused to those around them, and regret these actions would be what they were remembered for.

*“And it was on reflection when I got back and look at it, it’s like ‘f**ks sake”. I still have guilty feelings about some of my behaviour towards other people aye.” -*

Connor

“I still see that memory now. All the time. Yeah, I hate that. And I hate it. I really hate what I did to them” - Kahu

However, for the three whose behaviour had far reaching impact beyond their whānau, mingled with the regret was hope that they might be able to convince others that they have changed.

“Because straight up, deep down it’s my - want to impress - or want to convince, it’s people. I don’t want to convince the store that I’ve changed. I don’t want to convince the pub that I’ve changed. I want to convince people that I’ve changed.”

- Kaden

Thematic Analysis: Question 2

The second question of this research project was *“What are the factors that men felt contributed to their success during their journey of change?”* Due to the two approaches used by the interviewers, only two individuals were specifically asked about what factors contributed to their success. Despite this, across all interviews the men spoke of factors which had facilitated their success, highlighting the things which they felt were crucial to their successful change. Within the korero of the men, two key concepts were identified as contributing to the men’s success. They were *belonging*, contained within the main theme *mana motuhake*, and *learning*, from the main theme of *mana whānau*.

However, in contrast to the section above, where the themes and concepts were separated out and presented individually, *belonging* and *learning* were consistently interlinked within the stories of the men. It appeared that as the men reflected on their journey, it was a sense of

belonging, stemming from non-judgemental relationships with positive people and organisations which created a space where men felt safe to reflect, learn and grow.

Belonging and Learning. The interlinked nature of these concepts was visible across the four interviews, with all the men speaking of finding a sense of belonging in relationship, leading to learning in their lives.

“Yeah, people have got your back aye. And when you know that, you’ll slowly start feeling that. And when you feel that, you know you’ll start being that. And so on.” - Kaden

“I needed to be amongst people who knew things, like the guys here, like some of my brothers, um, even to my old mates. I needed to be amongst positive people where we shared similarities, but just knowing that we all on a journey, and never too late, never too late to learn anything, never too late to change.” - Rawiri

Drugs and Alcohol. In addition, when asked directly about factors which supported their success, three of the four men also highlighted the need for them to give up drugs and/or alcohol as part of their successful change. The fourth spoke of being drug and alcohol free with pride, although he was not asked directly about this. The need for change in this area, in addition to other supports was powerfully expressed by *Kaden*:

*“...it might sound cheesy, but just knowing your worth, you know...and knowing that there are people out there watching you, and wanting you to do good...but there are tools that are bad and those are drugs, alcohol...you need to throw the f**k away. Especially the drugs. Because you will not get better if you’re trying to be a better man, yet trying to get high on the side. It doesn’t work.”*

Thematic Analysis: Question 3

The third question of this research project was “*What are the themes within the interviews which relate directly to parenting?*” As described above, the interview process impacted on the available data for question two and three. As a result, there were limited quantities of data on this topic, with each interview differing dramatically. As a result, it was difficult to identify themes which crossed all interviews in regards to the initial research question, which focused on how the men perceived their role as a parent to have changed over their journey. Therefore a decision was made to broaden the third research question to identify any themes within the interviews related directly to parenting.

The TA process identified one new concept within the stories of the men relating specifically to this question, that of *inheritance (mana whānau)*, as well as one already identified concept, that of *identity re-formation (mana motuhake)*.

Mana Whānau: Inheritance. The impact of *inheritance* highlights not the legacy the men are leaving their children, but what they inherited from their parents, and the way this shaped their parenting both positively and negatively. All the men spoke of complicated childhoods, and all described experiencing or witnessing violence committed by their fathers. As the men reflected on their journey as parents, they spoke of repeating their own childhood experiences, of using the same negative parenting behaviours present in their childhood whānau.

“I was intimidating them. And ah, the same thing that my dad sort of did to me”

- Rawiri

“And I’ve done that to my baby, exactly what my dad used to do to me. So I think that could be the core of where the violence came from”. - Kaden

My father, he was a shit head. And I knew nothing else. I started doing it on my kids.- Kahu

He was [my stepfather] and he was a very hard man, very physically hard, psychologically damaging...back then I had a partner and two children and there was a lot of domestic violence in there, but for me it was normalised, I didn't know." - Connor

However, it is important to note that a history of poor parenting was not the only childhood experience of parenting that the men shared. Some also shared stories of having been parented well by a parent or a grandparent. These men, who had some experience of positive parenting, spoke of wanting to return to skills, morals, and values they felt they had as a result of their positive childhood experiences.

"I was taught to dive and garden from my father when he was around, and I had never taught any of my kids that. And then um, just before we moved here, we got into the garden there, and we still do it now. And that's something they enjoy." - Kahu

"I knew he was right, he was showing me true morals and values back then, it was what he was trying to install into me before he left I believe, just I didn't see it that way. Wasn't till later in life I realised far later the true morals and values I need to teach my children." - Rawiri

Mana Motuhake: Identity Re-formation. A second theme throughout the korero was that the shift in men's attitudes towards parenting appeared to change in step with their overall journey of change. This was evident in the korero of the men regarding what they thought a good father was now, compared to their previous perspective.

When the men spoke of their actions as a father prior to their decision to change, they consistently reflected that their first priority had been that of financial provision for their whānau, with no mention as to how their lifestyle impacted on their children.

"I wasn't much of a father, I was a provider but I wasn't much of a father. We had plenty of money, cause I was dealing and I was growing, but I was never at home. Aye, I was always out wheeling or dealing or shagging other women. All that sort of behaviour stuff, and go home with a bucket full of money, you know, 10, 15 grand, you know. For the kids, and then away again. Was that a lifestyle? What that being a father? No, I don't think so."- Connor

"For me I always thought being a dad was clothes, house, you know, food, just providing for them. I thought was it. That's your role. Provide for them. But there's more it, there's teaching them things, you know" - Kahu

In contrast, when the men reflected on what it was to be a parent now, their priorities were vastly different. They spoke of teaching their children consequences, giving a firm foundation, spending time with their children, unconditional love, and supporting their children to grow, be independent, and make sensible choices throughout that process. They spoke of the future, and of hope, of plans and dreams for good.

"...a firm foundation to build on, where they can go out now and make choices that are right choices...we can give them the solid foundation for them...I wanna leave a good thing with them, I want them to remember their dad as being someone who loved and cared for them, who you could trust". - Rawiri

"Just have goodgood relationship with them. An open relationship, and honest relationship with them...I miss those days where we just sit there and you're sharing a meal and you're sharing what you've done for the day and then you start finding out what is going on in the kids' lives...Or either go camping with them, just spend a holiday. With all of them. With all of them." - Kahu

Thematic Analysis: Question 4

The fourth question of this research project was “*How do the experiences of tāne Māori on their journey of change reflect the dimensions of the Meihana Model?*”. The process of TA in relation to this question focused on how the events, experiences, interactions, relationships and meaning making of the men fitted into the Meihana Model (Lofland, 2006). As discussed during the methods section, analysis utilised *a priori codes*, which reflected the components of the Meihana Model. This process revealed that while the Meihana Model connected closely to the experiences of the men, some of the connections made appeared to be more salient than others when considering the experience of change, and some of the connections appeared to be more pragmatic. This seemed to occur due to the capacity of the Meihana Model to capture many aspects of the men’s lives, regardless of whether they were related to their experience of change.

Table 5.2 outlines the three levels of connection which appeared between the men’s experiences and the Meihana Model. The first level within this table represents components which occurred across three or four interviews, and were clearly important to the men. There were six components within this first level, those of *waka-hourua*, *tikanga*, *whānau*, *iwi katoa*, *tinana*, and *hinengarao*. These are referred to as the *core components*. The second level seen in Table 5.2 represents components which were clearly important within the korero of the men, but only for one or two individuals. These are referred to as *individual components*. However, the way the men spoke of events in this category suggested they had a high level of importance to the individual at hand. The third level of Table 5.2 represents components which were present within the interviews, but which did not appear to be of importance to the men. These were categorised as *pragmatic components*. Finally, *excluded components* contains those components not discussed in the korero.

However, it is important to note also that as the men were not asked specific questions pertaining directly to this model. As a result the absence of responses regarding any part of the Meihana Model is not suggestive of weakness within the model, but instead is much more reflective of the number of tāne involved in the project, and the lack of questions aimed at specifically eliciting

response regarding these areas. Discussed below are only the *core components*, which represent experiences common to all the men

Table 0-2 Thematic map B.

A priori code	Description	#	Conceptual focus
Core Components			
Waka-hourua	Tāne-whānau interconnectedness	4	The power of tāne to both damage and heal whānau
Tikanga	Knowledge regarding Māori ways of being and doing	4	Ever present nature of tikanga Change Consistency Tikanga as support
Whānau	Family - the place and roles of tāne in their whānau	4	Prevalence Influence Hurt and healing Changing perceptions of fatherhood
Iwi katoa	Involvement with systems and services	4	Positive supports Negative supports
Tinana	Physical health	4	Giving up long term substance abuse
Hinengarao	Psychological wellbeing	3	Rollercoaster nature of mental health Presence of ongoing difficulties
Individual Components			
Wairua	Spiritual connection	1	Healing through Christianity
Whenua	Connection with the land	1	Healing in childhood space
Colonisation	Colonisation	1	Imposter tikanga
Pragmatic Components			
Migration	Patterns of movement from place to place	4	
Taiao	Physical environment	1	
Marginalisation	Being pushed to one side or ignored within a system designed to support people	1	
Excluded Components			
Racism	Recounted experiences of racism	0	
Ahua	Manner in which tāne present themselves as Māori	n/a	To do with the identification of personalised indicators of te ao Māori such as wearing taonga. As interviews were recorded, this was un-assessable.

Core Components

Waka-hourua. At the centre of the Meihana Model is a double hulled waka, a waka-hourua, representing the interconnectedness and interdependence of tāne and whānau. The implication of this model is that the wellbeing of each of these is interlinked and dependant on the other, and that tāne do not stand on their own as an entity separate from their whānau. In this case, the results from the TA clearly highlighted the interconnection between tāne and whānau. Prior to desistence, the men consistently shared of violence against their loved ones (four men), of making decisions which resulted in limited contact with their children (three men), of introducing drugs and/or alcohol to their families (three men), of exposing their children to gangs and other criminal behaviours (four men).

Conversely, as part of their journey to desistence, these same men spoke of learning to apologise, and then teaching this skill to their children (x3). They spoke of emotional closeness between themselves, their partners and their children, of honesty, patience, self-control, and of endurance (x4). They spoke of peace and love within the family (x3). While these men did not all directly attribute these whānau changes to their personal changes, the consistent pattern across the interviews was that as the men changed, their behaviours changed, and their interactions with their families changed; and that as their children and partners saw these changes, they were positively impacted. As they learned, their families learned. As they healed, their families healed.

Tikanga. The component of *tikanga* reflects the how the men related to their Māori heritage - how this was present in their lives, and the way in which they framed themselves in relation to this. One of the consistent messages in this component was that all men had differing experiences of tikanga, and reported differing levels of connection to te ao Māori. There was no one single type of Māori upbringing. Two men, *Connor* and *Kaden*, spoke of growing up on the marae, of a strong and early connection to te ao Māori, which was subsequently lost. Of those two, *Conner* reported reconnecting back in to his marae after an extended period away, becoming an influential member within that community. *Kaden*, however, had not made that step yet, although he felt that

negotiating re-entry back into marae life was an integral and upcoming part of his journey. *Rawiri* and *Kahu* spoke of a lower level of connection to te ao Māori, with their stories focusing on exposure to te reo as children and teens, but not expressing a deep and personal connection to this aspect of themselves. *Rawiri* did not report any further connection to the visible aspects of tikanga. *Kahu*, on the other hand, shared a desire to restart his journey in this area, with a focus on learning te reo, kapa haka, and waiata with the aim of sharing this part of himself with his children.

While the men all discussed differing early experiences in this area, *Kahu*, *Connor* and *Kaden* all expressed a period of disconnection, followed by either reconnection or a desire to reconnect to te ao Māori. This desire was typically focused around reconnecting in a manner which was familiar to the men, and reflected their previous experiences of tikanga in their lives. There was little discussion of tikanga or te ao Māori on the part of *Rawiri*.

Whānau. While the individual outworking of the roles, responsibilities and relationships were unique to the men, the consistent message across all the discussions was that at all points in their story, the men had situated themselves within a broader group or wider relationships, and found a sense of belonging in doing so. As concepts around whānau was prevalent across all the stories of the men, with high level of salience to all, it has been discussed in depth above, in regards to the theme of Mana Whānau, relating to both the first and third research question.

Iwi katoa. The involvement of external services in the lives and whānau of the men again reflected the uniqueness within the individual stories. However, the consistent feature of this component was that all men spoke of some involvement with external agencies, which was non-optional, and altered the course of their lives in some way.

While *Rawiri*, *Connor* and *Kaden* spoke of experiencing a period of incarceration stemming from violence, drugs or other criminal activities, they did not recount this having had a positive impact. This was despite *Rawiri* discussing undertaking several stopping violence courses during that time. However, while incarceration was not noted as producing transformation in the lives of the men, it was noted by the three men as being something to be avoided for a variety of reasons. As a result,

for all three tāne described how, at one point in time, the possibility of another period of incarceration resulted in their willingness to accept support. For *Rawiri*, this revolved around the realisation he had not succeeded in his goal of being violence free; for *Connor*, it revolved around his desire to be able to tend to his spring plantation in the nearby forest; and for *Kaden*, it was simply a desire to not be incarcerated again.

However, while incarceration was something to be avoided, for *Rawiri*, *Kaden* and *Connor*, it was not incarceration which served as the motivation for change. Rather, it was the non-judgemental support of the services they received at that time, both governmental and private, which was the beginning of their journey forwards. For *Kahu*, who did not recount any criminal involvement, it was the involvement of Oranga Tamariki (child welfare services), which he recounted as being done in a respectful and thoughtful manner, which encouraged him to restart the change process which he had previously engaged in.

Hinengaroa. The discourse around topics of mental and emotional health and wellbeing suggested that each of the participants had experienced considerable challenges in this area. All the men spoke of struggling with mental health and wellbeing, and these areas did not resolve themselves simply by the men giving up substance abuse and changing their lifestyle. For some this was manifest as early experiences of suicidality and depression, one spoke of a long period during which he experienced symptoms similar to PTSD, as well as ongoing difficulties with depression, and two spoke of ongoing struggle with addiction, and anger management.

However, these difficulties were not static within the life-course of the men. *Connor* reported the highest level of ongoing difficulty in this area, describing events which sounded similar to periods of depression, highlighting the ongoing nature of his journey in this area. For *Rawiri*, *Kahu* and *Kaden*, while they spoke of periods where they experienced high levels of difficulty in the realm of emotional stability, anger management, addiction, and depression, they also spoke of more recent periods of emotional stability, peace, enjoyment of life, and a growing confidence in their ability to control their anger, and respond appropriately to a range of emotional experiences. In addition,

Rawiri and *Kahu* both spoke of attempting to teach their children appropriate emotional responses, such as crying when hurt.

Tinana. While the men generally did not speak of their physical health, there was one exception to this, and this regarded the impact of alcohol and substance abuse. One individual reported a chronic illness from an extensive history of alcohol abuse. For the other three, while they reported no physical impacts of their substance use, all reported having an extensive history using alcohol, and/or methamphetamine and marijuana. In line with this, all reported now being drug and alcohol free, with *Kaden* and *Connor* sharing their experiences of receiving intensive support in this area. For *Kahu*, rehabilitation from addiction was still very much an ongoing process, and he described specifically seeking out activities and supports to fill his time in a constructive manner. *Kaden*, quoted earlier, spoke of the importance the men placed on becoming drug and alcohol free, and the imperative regarding doing so.

Summary

Through the lens of the four research questions above, this chapter explored the factors which were present in the korero of four men regarding their experiences of change from the use of violence in their whānau, to a life free of violence. The first research question identified five themes which were present across all the interviews, which occurred in a relatively consistent order in the korero shared by the men. Those themes were *mana tangata*, *mana tū*, *mana motuhake*, *mana whānau*, and *te ara whakatika*. These themes highlight that for these participants, change was neither solely an internal process, neither was it solely an external process, but occurred through a complex interplay of internal and external factors. These themes also highlighted that change did not occur in isolation; rather, a sense of belonging, and supportive relationships were crucial components throughout the process of change. Additionally, change was not straightforward, but rather a process which involved a complex set of emotional reactions, required the learning of new behaviours and skills, and often took place over a period of time requiring more than one attempt.

In regards to question two and three, despite the differences in interviewer style, the analysis presented above highlighted that there were two consistent and interlinked factors which all men recognised as being important to their success. This factor was the presence of a supportive relationship within which they were able to learn new behaviours and skills necessary for success in their new life. This relationship may have served as a bridge to other relationships, or as a contact point for an organisation, however all the men identified that learning and change occurred within relationship rather than alone.

In regards to question three, two factors were identified across all the men as relating to their parenting, both currently, and previously. The first was that of the way that the positive and negative parenting the men had experienced as children had shaped their own parenting over their lives. The second factor identified through the korero of the men was that the process of change had impacted their beliefs around parenting, with the men reporting dramatically different parenting styles and approaches now, as opposed to before they began this change away from family violence.

Finally, question four addressed the effectiveness of the Meihana Model at capturing the process of change which these tāne reported. This model identified that that while journey of change experience by tāne was unique to each person, there were commonalities within their experiences represented within the Meihana Model. The model identified six specific and highly salient components which were present in the korero of three or four of the tāne, being Waka-hourua, tikanga, whānau, iwi-katoa, hinengarao, and tinana. This model also identified that there were several unique experiences which were salient to specific tāne, reflecting spiritual experiences, moments of connection to the land, and experiences of being marginalised.

Chapter Six : Discussion

The following discussion outlines how the results above link to the context of intervention in Aotearoa. Drawing from the information contained within the literature, this section first addresses how the results related to the current interventions within Aotearoa. Following this, the manner in which the results above link to the process of change as represented by the Walker Model of Desistence (K. Walker et al., 2013) is discussed. This model was used for comparison due to it being the only model of change developed in consultation with men who are/were perpetrators of family violence. These first two sections use the themes identified in question one as their point of reference.

The results from question two and three are addressed next, looking at the factors which support successful change, the information regarding to parenting, and their links to relevant literature. Finally, the last section addresses the effectiveness of the Meihana Model as a way to conceptualise the change process which tāne in this project experienced.

Intervention in Aotearoa

In Aotearoa, there is an increasing awareness regarding the need for more effective interventions in an effort to reduce family and whānau violence. At this current point, interventions typically takes the form of short term programs, run by providers who are contracted to the Government.

Programs are capped at approximately 40 hours length, and men self-refer, can be voluntarily referred by the Justice system, or can be mandated to attend groups (Paulin et al., 2018). Funding for groups is limited, and the availability of follow up services varies from region to region. Upon programme completion, there is no guarantee regarding the provision of ongoing support groups which may scaffold the men to continue their journey.

The stopping violence groups typical in Aotearoa utilise a combined CBT/psychoeducation /Duluth style approach to intervention. This posits that for successful change, a man must first be held fully accountable for his actions, then he must have a social environment which is nonviolent,

non-judgemental, and respectful of women, and finally that he must be willing to become painfully honest with himself as well as being accountable to the people he has harmed. In addition, groups integrate CBT principles, targeting the underlying cognitions of men, attempting to change behaviour through cognitive restructuring and modification of core beliefs in the context of a therapeutic relationship (Nesset et al., 2019). As noted previously, these two approaches can also incorporate other therapeutic practices such as motivational interviewing or positive psychology principles.

The intervention approach described above situates change as occurring as the result of psychological intervention targeting maladaptive cognitions and behaviours. In contrast the process of change described by those in this study was a complex, positively driven process which occurred in the context of supportive relationships. The men spoke of experiencing a process which, through their interactions with *mana tangata* (people of significance) transformed and altered the cognitions upon which their entire world view was based, such as shifting their self-identity, altering their self-worth, and promoting a sense of agency. This dramatic shift within the men's underlying cognitions altered the way in which they viewed themselves and the way in which they sought to behave towards others. While it may have presented as a challenge, as in the case of *Rawiri* who was challenged to acknowledge that he was not "all good" by an individual with the *mana* to do so. However, the challenge did not leave the men in a place of shame and guilt, rather, it left them with a sense of hope that change for them was possible.

The difference between the type of change reported by the men, and the type of change targeted by the intervention could potentially contribute to the discussion regarding the low efficacy rate of stopping violence programs. However, as discussed in the literature review, the body of work focused on eliciting perceptions of men's responses in regards to stopping violence programs they attended (e.g., Boira et al., 2013; Brownlee & Chlebovec, 2004; Michael G. Chovanec, 2012; Edin & Nilsson, 2014; Gray et al., 2016; Holtrop et al., 2017; P. K. Morrison et al., 2018; Pandya & Gingerich, 2002; Rosenberg, 2003; K. L. Scott & Wolfe, 2000; Silvergleid & Mankowski, 2006; M. E.

Smith, 2011). Overall, this research identified that typically, men reported favourable responses to the courses resulting in change. However, when evaluation occurred in a way which elicited responses reflecting underlying cognitions, there was a distinct lack of change in attitude towards family violence. As a result, Shamai and Buchbinder (2010) hypothesised that short term CBT based programs are not sufficient in and of themselves to alter underlying cognitions and change behaviour. These findings seems to line up with this, suggesting while stopping violence programs offer a level of cognitive restructuring which targets specific skill development, the actual process of change is more complex, and requires a greater level of transformation than can be achieved in a single course.

A second feature of the present findings is the absence of group attendance at a single group contributing to successful change. None of the men attributed their ongoing success, or their initial change, to attendance at a single stopping violence course. Rather, they spoke of the process of change as being a long term journey which occurred in the context of *belonging*. Connor specifically voiced the expectation that his journey was going to be a lifelong one, with the others repeating in their korero the expectation that they would be on this journey of change for an extended period of time. The idea that successful change occurs over an extended period of time is in line with previous research (Morran, 2013; Roguski & Gregory, 2014; Ruwhiu et al., 2009). This lifelong journey was an important aspect of the research undertaken by (Ruwhiu et al., 2009), which identified that for the men involved, change was a complex process which took time.

A final important point from these findings refers to the importance of *learning* within the themes above. For all the men, the *learning* which occurred within the context of the support group was one of the factors which contributed to successful change. Several of the men reported they lacked the skills they needed to successfully navigate problems across settings such as at work, in their families, and in social settings. As a result, the development of new skills, which they were able to implement in these setting was an important part of their journey of change. However, as identified within the themes above, this learning was not the driving force behind the change,

rather, seemed to be something which supported them to reach their goal of being violence free. These results seem to suggest that stopping violence courses and other skills based courses are important factors which contribute to the process of change, rather than create the process of change.

In combination, these two ideas of change involving learning in a group context are not new and have been identified previously in research with men and professionals in this field. However, as noted by McGinn, McColgan, and Taylor (2017) much of the evaluation research occurs at the conclusion of the program, with no follow-up regarding the success of the men in this area. As a result, there little information available regarding the long term impact of learning n a group setting.

There is also little research which situates change as part a long term journey requiring ongoing support. The report by (Roguski & Gregory, 2014) identified that the men, who experienced successful change also experienced ongoing challenges, and reported wanting ongoing experiences of support which were not available to them. That change is a long term journey was also noted in the research by (Gallant et al., 2017) who identified that programmes with indigenous men were more frequently ongoing rather than time limited. Beyond this, there is very limited information, as quantitative studies are typically undertaken at the conclusion of programs, and do not touch on this topic at all. As a result, this finding highlights an area where further research would aid in understanding the long term supports which would be most beneficial to support ongoing change.

In conclusion, regarding the manner in which the findings of this project link in with current intervention in Aotearoa, this project seems to suggest that the provision of stopping violence groups are one important piece of the puzzle when it comes to violence prevention. When skilfully delivered, they are able to create a sense of belonging and community within which men can learn from both each other and the course content. In addition, the men find the support from their peers and important part of succeeding going forwards, and appreciate the opportunity to give back to the groups. However, these results do suggest clearly that these groups are only one part of the process of change. They are not a standalone intervention which reliably creates change in all who attend.

They also do not appear to be the type of intervention which achieves ongoing success in the absence of ongoing supports.

Process of Change

In addition to addressing how the themes above link in with intervention in Aotearoa, they also add to the discussion regarding the process of change which men experience on their journey to live violence free. As outlined previously, there are only two robust models addressing the process of change, which are the Transtheoretical Model of Change, and the Walker Model of Desistance (K. Walker et al., 2015). Of the two, the Walker Model of Desistance (K. Walker et al., 2015) was the only one created specifically in regards to this population.

To briefly summarise, the Walker model (presented earlier in Figure 2.1) posits that there are three components to the process of change. First, the *Old way of being* includes *antecedents and triggers to violence, permission to be violent, and use of violence*. The second component is the *Catalysts of change*, which contains *negative emotions, negative consequences, and point of resolve: autonomous decision to change*. The final component is that of a *New way of being*, containing *external support and input, permission to be non-violent, and managing antecedents and triggers to violence*. This model posits that the initial process of change stems the increasing levels of discomfort men experience as a result of their negative behaviours. This prompts the men to make an autonomous decision to change. Recidivism is noted as a return to an earlier stage rather than failure, which leads to further attempts at change as men repeat the process.

When asking whether or not this model is a suitable model for attempting to understand the process of change discussed above, there are several things to note. Firstly, when considering this model through the lens of Kaupapa Māori research, there are several key difficulties, stemming from the principles which underpin Kaupapa Māori research. These principles advocate for research which is able to address the pressing issues relevant to the community involved, and able to critique the deficit view which society holds in regards to Māori (G. Smith et al., 2012).

When comparing the results above, and the Walker Model through a Kaupapa lens, there appears to be a key difference regarding the mechanism for change experienced by the men, vs. the mechanism for change within the Walker Model. The results above suggested that the key moments which the men identified as triggers for change, were predominantly positive in nature. They revolved around interactions with those who held mana and gave hope, rather than being negatively focused, or driven by fear of repercussion. This is a marked departure from the Walker Model which focuses on the autonomous decision to change being related to avoidance of negative stimuli.

The implications of this difference become important when considering the types of intervention approach which could potentially be justified by use of the Walker Model to outline tāne Māori change processes. An acceptance of the negative as a driving force for change could potentially result in an intervention approach which minimises the need for support, and increases sanctions in an effort to increase the negative costs of the men's behaviour, thus forcing change. However, the findings from this study regarding the experiences of the men do not suggest that an increase in negative sanctions would force change. Change for these men came through accessing people, supports, and services which were positive, respectful, and non-judgemental. In addition, all the men spoke of a distrust of social organisations, including support organisations. Therefore, any increase in negative sanctions could further serve to isolate the men from the organisations attempting to support their change, removing the opportunities for the types of interactions which supported their transformations. This is particularly salient in light of research which posits that Māori engagement with services is fraught with difficulty, as Māori experience greater levels of institutionalised racism, and increased levels of external imposition by practitioners which are more likely to be driven by negative practitioner biases (Cram, Gulliver, Ota, & Wilson, 2015; Keddell & Hyslop, 2019; Reid, Cormack, & Crowe, 2016). It is also important to note that there is no consensus regarding whether the imposition of harsher sanctions effectively reduces criminal offending, with research suggesting that there is a complicated relationship between sanctions and criminal offending, particularly in minority communities (Fagan & Meares, 2008).

While it is important to note that the men did report the presence of negative experiences which for some resulted in an openness to change, their autonomous decision to change clearly revolved around the events which had positively impacted them. It is also possible the men were downplaying the negative experiences they had by avoiding sharing complicated and hurtful moments in their lives. However, in other deeply personal areas, the men did not shy away from sharing emotionally difficult subjects. Overall, they did not appear to be attempting to portray themselves in a more positive light, so the avoidance of psychological dissonance is an unlikely explanation for this distinction. As a result, it is more likely that the men are accurately portraying their experience of change. While sanctions may have contributed to the process of change in some way it seems likely that for the men in this study, the impact of sanctions seemed to be secondary to the whanaungatanga and manaakitanga that continued throughout their journey.

In regards to the Walker Model, another key difference regarding the experiences of the men is that of the place of *permission to be non-violent* and *external supports and input*. While the Walker Model situates these components as part of the *new way of being*, the men spoke of these components as being central aspects of their decision to change. As a group, the men directly attributed their point of change to the impact that mana tangata, people of mana, had on their journey, their process of re-storying around their identity, and the impact of hope. These were the factors which differentiated this moment of crisis from other moments of crisis which had not resulted in change. The recognition afforded to mana tangata in the experiences of the tāne Māori also seems to more accurately reflect processes which may occur within a world view which situations the individual is being part of the whole, rather than an independent being making decisions in isolation from others.

As a result of the above, it seems that a comparison of the results, when framed within a Kaupapa Māori research paradigm, have uncovered nuances within process of change that are not represented by the Walker Model. This finding is in line with research which suggests that the use of externally developed frameworks for understanding Māori experiences is complex, and requires

ongoing research to develop models which accurately reflect Māori experiences (S. Macfarlane & Macfarlane, 2008). However, the scope of this project is such that instead of being able to offer an alternative model, what it does is point to an area where further investigation is required to more fully understand the process of change in tāne Māori, in an effort to more effectively support change.

The Facilitation of Ongoing Success

One of the difficulties within research in this area is the lack of information regarding what supports the ongoing successful process of change in men who are attempting to live violence free.

Longitudinal research in this area typically tracks recidivism rates up to approximately 12 months following programme completion, with an extremely limited number of studies qualitatively exploring the experiences of men since they participated in programs. While this scope of this project limits the ability of results to be generalised, the findings suggest that there may be specific supports which facilitate ongoing success, and that further research into these warranted.

The tāne Māori involved in this study spoke of two key things which they felt contributed to their successful change. The first was within themes of *mana whānau* and *mana tū*; that of finding a sense of belonging in a non-judgemental community within which they were able to learn new behaviours and attitudes which supported and facilitated ongoing change. This was discussed above, particularly in relation to the current intervention approach revolving around short term interventions in a small group format. The second thing which the men felt contributed to their successful change was addiction treatment, specifically revolving around alcohol and methamphetamine. This is discussed below.

Alcohol and Change

As mentioned in the results section, all the men had an extensive history of drug and alcohol addiction of varying forms, focusing specifically around the use and/or distribution of marijuana, methamphetamine, and alcohol. The importance of giving up drugs and alcohol appeared within the narratives of the men either as being a specific thing which they spoke of as necessary to their

journey, or as something which was mentioned in passing, but with a measure of pride and confidence regarding the extended period of time clean.

The korero of these men suggested that receiving treatment for their alcohol and substance abuse played a substantial part in their success regarding their achievement around living violence free. This is in line with research, which outlines a link between alcohol, substance abuse, and family violence, suggesting that successful treatment in this area lowers the risk of family violence to being on par with community samples, while recidivism was related to a return to elevated levels of physical abuse (Leonard & Quigley, 2017; Mignone et al., 2009; O'Farrell et al., 1999; Stuart, Ramsey, et al., 2003).

While it is important to identify factors and supports which reduce the risk in regards to family violence, research suggests that there are multiple risk factors which increase the risks in regards to the perpetration of violence (Smith Slep, Foran, & Heyman, 2014). Alcohol and/or substance abuse is not a necessary or sufficient factor in the use of family violence, despite it being present in the experience of all the tāne in this study. As a result, it is important to find a balance when considering the various aspects of the journey's the men shared and not simply view substance abuse treatment as the entire solution to the problem. Rather, it appears to be one piece of the puzzle for those who require support in this area. In Aotearoa, substance abuse information is incorporated into family violence programmes, however the feedback from the Ministry of Justice programme evaluation (Paulin et al., 2018) was that this could be included more effectively.

Regarding Parenting

As identified in the literature review, children and inter-partner violence appear to be clustered together in populations where violence is more likely to occur. As a result, it is important to remember that for many of the men receiving treatment for intimate partner violence are also fathers. Their violence is occurring within the context of whānau, as is their change, with each impacting on both the men and their whānau. In the men's korero regarding parenting, there were two consistent themes that became apparent. These were the themes of *mana whānau*, which

encompassed the concept of *inheritance*, and *mana motuhake*, which contained the concept of *identity re-formation*.

Mana whānau: Inheritance. With one voice, in regards to *inheritance* the men spoke of being parented by abusive fathers, who perpetrated violence against both them and their mothers, although at times they also spoke of being parented positively. They went on to discuss how they had then parented their children in the same manner, using the same positive and negative strategies of their childhood.

Research is clear that on its own, exposure to family violence in childhood is neither a necessary nor sufficient factor to explain the perpetration of family violence later in life (Delsol & Margolin, 2004; Fergusson et al., 2006). However, it also notes that of those who perpetrate family violence, approximately 80% were exposed to violence in their family of origin (Delsol & Margolin, 2004). The research by both Ruwhiu et al. (2009), and the review by Gallant et al. (2017) both spoke of the importance men placed on some form of healing for themselves, in an effort to cope and leave behind the experiences of their childhood. For some, this took the form of spiritual healing, while some identified the need for healing of spaces where violence had been committed. This speaks to the need for intervention with tāne Māori to look beyond the simple act of changing behaviour in an effort to facilitate long lasting change.

Additionally, the korero of the men speaks to the widespread social acceptance regarding whānau violence in Aotearoa, in that their violence, which they felt they had partially inherited, went unchallenged by those around them. This normalisation of childhood exposure to violence and the later use of violence is also visible in the research from Aotearoa, with both tāne and wāhine speaking of the social acceptance of violence (Hoeata, Nikora, Li, Young-Hauser, & Robertson, 2011; Roguski & Gregory, 2014; Ruwhiu et al., 2009).

In an effort to target this social acceptance of violence, the 'It's not ok' campaign was implemented (Centre for Social Research and Evaluation, 2010). This was a nationwide campaign targeting community involvement in changing attitudes towards violence. The campaign resulted in

an increase in demand for stopping violence services, particularly in some regional areas. However, in his review of the program (Roguski, 2015) identified that there had not been a corresponding increase in support services provided. As a result, while the campaign was linked to an increase in demand on service, it was had also resulted in it becoming increasingly difficult for services to meet the needs in their communities. This increased difficulty potentially serves to undermine the key messages of the 'It's not ok' campaign, possibly suggesting that while family and whānau violence is deemed 'not ok', it is also not serious enough to fund the necessary support services.

The implications of the concept of inheritance and the relevant research seems to be that to support long term positive change, tāne would benefit from support which was holistic, and able to support healing for tāne from complicated violent childhoods, rather than simply focusing only on behaviour change. However, this research also points to the need to continue programs which challenge social norms around violence, and the need to better fund support services for those who respond.

Mana Motuhake: Identity Re-formation. In addition to the concept of *inheritance*, which shaped their early acceptance of violence, the men reported undergoing a process of *identity re-formation* when it came to their roles as fathers. This process either involved both returning to long held but forgotten values around whānau, and discovering new ways of being while expanding their understanding of what it was to be a father.

An important aspect of this concept was the change in the men's' understanding in regards to what fatherhood was. Three of the four men discussed the process of beginning to realise that fatherhood was more than the simple provision of financial and physical needs of the child. They began to see that fatherhood involved creating and maintaining a positive relationship with their children, and imparting knowledge and skills necessary to function as adults. This was a particular area where the men reported the impact of *learning*, as they began to be exposed to new skills, implanting these in their whānau. These skills involved things such as learning to apologise and using positive discipline strategies, hugging and physically expressing love, and walking away when

angry. While there is limited research in regard to fathers who also perpetrate family violence, there is some evidence which supports these findings that group programs around parenting can provide tools which men find helpful as they attempt to live violence free (L. Kelly & Westmarland, 2015; McConnell, Barnard, & Taylor, 2017). These studies are particularly salient as while they incorporated self-report from the men involved, they also incorporated the voices of the children whose fathers were in the course. These children reported positive changes made by their fathers, such as their fathers being kinder and more interested in them, less overbearing interactions, less shouting, and less parental arguing. These changes are similar to the changes noted by the tāne in this study, who spoke of spending time with their whānau, not shouting at their children, and supporting the development of independent behaviours and thinking on the part of their children and teens. It should be noted that not all responses in the studies were positive, with some children reporting that there had not been enough change by their father, and some reporting ongoing social difficulties at school or in other areas. However, these studies support the findings above, and reinforce the value of programs which support men in their development of new parenting skills.

What is also interesting to note is that as the tāne in this study progressed through the process of change, they reported this as impacting on their whole whānau, not just on themselves. The men spoke of children being happier, their home environment being physically safer due to there being no drugs, alcohol, and gangs, and their children beginning to show greater levels of responsibility and respect. This was not limited to the immediate whānau, with one of the tāne reporting having one of his children returned to his care, and having greater levels of ongoing contact with other children who had been permanently removed previously. Furthermore, for one of the men, his change coincided with positive changes on behalf of his partner in regards to addiction. The positive impact of the ongoing presence of previously violent fathers has been tentatively identified in recent research. Although limited, it suggests that the continued presence of previously violent father in the lives of their children serves to reduce the emotional harm caused by their actions (Hunter & Graham-Bermann, 2013; Stover, Van Horn, Turner, Cooper, & Lieberman, 2003).

Taken together, this project, and the research above seems to suggest that when tāne Māori successfully engage in change, they bring change to their whole whānau which impacts positively on wāhine and tamariki, as well as on themselves. While they may have previously accepted the normalisation of violence as appropriate, these attitudes can be challenged and changed. In addition, while their early experiences may not have given tāne the opportunity to develop positive parenting skills, tāne can, and do, learn to integrate positive parenting strategies, and are able to become fathers who promote positive development in their tamariki. This again highlights the imperative for further research in this area to develop a greater understanding of the process of change and the factors that contribute to success.

Links to Meihana Model

The fourth and final question of this project was in regards to the suitability of the Meihana Model, in this instance, as a vehicle for understanding the experiences of change which tāne Māori describe. The Meihana Model constructs health and wellbeing as a journey upon which the individual and their whānau travel together, even as they are impacted by both concrete factors such as physical and mental health, and more abstract, less visible factors such as tikanga, roles within one's whānau, and racism. The use of an ecologically based, contextually congruent, and process focused model potentially enables research to better understand the complicated and interlinked process of change experienced by tāne.

In applying the Meihana Model to this project, it is evident that for the men involved in this particular study, there were six key components which were present in the korero in regards to the experience of change. The six components were repeated throughout 3 or more of the interviews were those of *waka-hourua*, (tāne-whānau interconnectedness), *tikanga* (Māori ways of doing and being), *whānau* (roles and place in family), *iwi katoa* (involvement with systems and services), *tinana* (physical health), and *hinengarao* (psychological wellbeing). It is also evident that each factor had both a negative and a positive aspect to it. For the most part, these negative components corresponded to the period of their life where they were using violence, with the positive

components relating to the period of their lives where they were not engaging in whānau violence. While the Meihana Model was developed specifically to assess wellness in whānau, that it was able to represent the life-course experiences of the men suggests that this model may have broader applications, which may be an area for further research. As there is a large area of overlap between the discussion above and the findings as they pertain to the Meihana Model, the areas which have been discussed above are briefly touched on below, with more attention being paid to those which have not been discussed to this point.

Waka Hourua / Whānau. Within this model, the waka-hourua is said to represent the patient and their whānau as being interconnected on their journey to wellbeing. Like a double hulled waka, one hull cannot journey without the other by their side. The findings and discussion above highlight that the process of achieving wellbeing for the tāne in this project went well beyond simply being violence free. In addition, the impact of their success had resounding implications for all members of their immediate whānau, as well as impacting on extended whānau members in some circumstances. These findings bolster the imperative in regards to working with tāne Māori to support them in this area, as they suggest that while these tāne Māori may have brought harm into their whānau, they also brought healing. Given the prevalence of whānau violence in Aotearoa, the finding that wellbeing for families can be strengthened through working with the perpetrators adds to the imperative regarding further research and focus in this area.

Tikanga. The Meihana Model places the waka-hourua at the centre of the model. Joining the two hulls of the waka, are several beams. One of these beams is that of tikanga, and place of te ao Māori in the journey of the men. As can potentially be felt throughout the introduction and literature review, the expectation of this project was that as the men spoke of change in their lives, they would also describe an increasing level of connection with the visible aspects of te ao Māori (e.g., te reo, closer ties to their Marae). This, however, was not the case. Rather, the three men who spoke of te ao Māori men described, overall, a level of engagement with tikanga which seemed more like an upside-down bell-curve. The men began life with their ties to te ao Māori being determined

primarily by their whānau. As the men became involved with gangs, alcohol, and violence, their engagement with te ao Māori decreased. However, as the men sought more positive lifestyles, with support from others in their community, their level of engagement with te ao Māori took a turn, with men slowly returning to te ao Māori. Their level of connection as they returned was at a similar level, and in similar ways, to their early years. However, this reconnection was not always simple, with men experiencing various barriers. These may have been practical barriers, such as alcohol on the marae making this an unsafe place to be, or shame at previous lifestyle, or time constraints in regards to employment demands.

The implication of this is that as these men journeyed towards a life free of violence, there was a need to actively support their reconnection back into te ao Māori. However, as has also become apparent in this project, the men's lived experiences of te ao Māori were dramatically different. In addition, the tāne in this project were at different places with their desire to re-connect to this part of their lives. This seems to suggest that the process of reconnection was for each man a deeply personal experience, which occurred at different times, through differing avenues. While literature suggests that a strong cultural identity is a protective factor for wellbeing (Durie, 2004b; T. B. Smith & Silva, 2011), this project seems to suggest that attempting to facilitate a close and strong connection to te ao Māori as a matter of course may not accurately reflect the desires of the tāne at the centre of the process. Complicating this, *Connor*, when speaking of his work supporting others in this journey, identified confusion on the part of men he supported when the courses they attended held a significantly greater connection to te ao Māori than their personal connection. Other research in this area is slightly at odds with this project, positioning greater cultural connection as being part of the successful process of change (Matamonasa-Bennett, 2015; Puchala et al., 2010). This potential difference can be accounted for by noting that this project, along with the two above, are limited in size and in this area even more so than in other aspects, reflect only the individual experiences of those in the project. Additionally, as the literature pointed out, there is a need for programs which reflect the cultural realities *of the men*. The implication of this is that there is potentially a space for

programs which are rooted and grounded in the underlying values of te ao Māori, yet are simultaneously able to be tailored to, or guided by the men in regards to the form that reconnection with te ao Māori takes.

Iwi Katoa. The final area of the Meihana Model for consideration is that of iwi katoa. This area relates to the services and systems which support the health of Māori. As with other components, the men spoke of both positive and negative interactions with service providers. Throughout their korero regarding their attitudes and life prior to their decision to change, three of the four men were very clear in their antipathy towards support services, often referring to them all as the system. In contrast, when reflecting on life after 'the change' these same men predominantly spoke of the same services with respect, framing themselves as law abiding citizens who worked with organisations such as Oranga Tamariki (child welfare services) and the Police, rather than standing opposed to them. For all four men, it was positive interactions with these services which contributed to their journey of change.

This finding suggests that the service's ability to recognise and respond to the change which had already begun in the men played an important part in facilitating the success of their change. The difficulty with this, is, as mentioned above, Māori typically experience greater levels of institutionalised racism, and increased levels of external imposition by practitioners which are more likely to be driven by negative practitioner biases (Cram et al., 2015; Keddel & Hyslop, 2019; Reid et al., 2016). This disconnect between the typical experiences institutionalised racism Māori report, and the positive experiences of the men in this project presents a challenge for service providers in Aotearoa who are coming into regular contact with individuals who may have an extensive history of criminal offending. This challenge revolves around the ability of service providers to accurately and sensitively assess and adjust responses to meet the needs of the individual as they present themselves, taking into account their previous history. While it is important to note that change for the men in this project did not come after their first judicial contact, it was the sensitivity of the

systematic processes, at a time when men were open to change, which facilitated their forward movement.

Hinengarao / Tinana. In relation to the physical wellbeing and psychological wellbeing of the men, the process of change had a dramatic effect across nearly all domains. While this has been somewhat woven into the discussion above, it is important to note the global change that living violence free, and stopping the use of substances, had on the men's overall wellbeing. However, this was not to suggest that the process of change in and of itself resolved all issues for all the men in this area. Rather, between the four tāne in this study, there were reports of ongoing difficulties with symptoms which were similar to periods of depression, and there was, for another tāne, the ongoing monitoring of lifestyle choices which is required to successfully treat alcohol addiction. However, neither of these tāne spoke of receiving mental health support for these issues beyond attendance at the weekly men's group. Given that three of the men in this study also reported witnessing or experiencing childhood events which placed them at high risk of developing post-traumatic stress disorder or experiencing ongoing trauma based difficulties, the lack of mental health supports discussed by the men suggests that this is an area that requires further research and development to successfully support individuals on their journey of change.

Chapter Seven : Culmination

Summary

Through talking with tāne Māori, this project attempted to identify the experience of change, and the factors which contributed to the success of tāne Māori who had journeyed away from violence in their whānau. This process identified that for the men in this study, change was neither initiated or supported by a single factor. Rather, change began, and continued, in a context which was shaped by non-judgemental acceptance and support provided by those with knowledge and experience in this field. In addition, men were not only receivers of support, but also gave support to others, both in the organisation they were involved in, and also within their immediate family and social circles. It also identified that the experiences of the men involved both internally driven change, such as an identity reformation, as well as externally driven change, such as becoming drug and alcohol free, as well as learning and integration of new skills.

Furthermore, this project identified that the impact of this change was substantial, not only on the men themselves, but also having a positive impact on their immediate whānau as the men's perception of what it was to be a father changed to incorporate more positive beliefs. The use of the Meihana Model as a lens through which to explore the experiences of the men also highlighted the ability of this model to capture both the positive and negative experiences within the lives of tāne Māori, accurately representing their experiences. This supports the usefulness of this model as a potential tool for ongoing research and development in this area in an effort to develop a more culturally congruent awareness of factors which contribute to success in this area.

Strengths and Limitations

As mentioned at various points throughout this project, there are several strengths and limitations which form part of this project. The first of these functions as both a limitation and a strength of the project. As described in Methods chapter, it was necessary to use two different

interviewers in the course of this study. As a result of two interviewers, despite providing the same training and pilot testing, the interviewers utilised slightly different interview styles. The outcome was that tāne Māori shared with differing levels of detail, focus and depth around specific topics, constraining data analysis at some points to account for the differing depth of information provided. However, while in some areas this limited the depth of analysis in regards to some questions, this also forms one of the strengths of this project. This strength stems from the awareness that the themes identified above appeared in the experiences of the men regardless of the different interviewer styles. This consistency of theme, in the face of inconsistent interview style adds strength to the conclusion that the themes captured in this project can be relied on as being important to the men, and have not simply arisen due to all men being asked the same questions.

The second limitation is in regards to the generalisability of this project, resulting from the small number of participants, who were all referred from the same service, suggesting a high level of crossover within their experience. This similarity between participants limits the generalisability of the findings, and it is important to note that other research (Ruwhiu et al., 2009) has identified a greater level of heterogeneity in the experiences which contributed to change, and supported change in tāne Māori. The diversity of experience reported across research projects suggests that, as others have pointed out, there is an ongoing need for further research to understand the change experiences of men with a history of family and whānau violence in an effort to develop more effective support structures for these men. It is also a reminder that the findings from this project should not be generalised to the wider community, but are reflective of experiences of men in relation to a specific service and location.

This project also has several strengths which should be highlighted. The first of the strengths pertained to a selection process which corroborated the success of the men's experiences of change. As noted above, there is a paucity of research which has been undertaken with men who have been identified as being successful in their attempts live violence free. The majority of research is conducted with little external confirmation in regards to the change men report. In contrast, the

tāne Māori involved in this study were known to a specific service, and were approached to take part in this project as a result of their known experience of change, which had been present over a period of time. This adds to the ecological validity of these findings.

A second strength of this study pertains to the close links to the community that this project has maintained throughout each stage. One of the principles underpinning Kaupapa Māori research is that research is not undertaken solely for the benefit of researchers, but is returned to the community in a manner which benefits those involved. The close ties to the community which have been maintained throughout this project, as well as drawing on participants from a single service allows the results of this project to be fed back to the service in a manner which better reflects the principles of Kaupapa Māori research. As a result, for the organisation involved there is the potential that this research may contribute to their understanding of the experiences of change of tāne Māori within their service, as thus support their process of service development.

Future Research and Conclusion

In conclusion, this project attempted to add to the very limited body of knowledge regarding the factors which contributed to the successful change of tāne Māori who chose to stop using violence in their whānau, and the impact this made on their families. Through applying a TA utilising both inductive and deductive processes, this project identified five key themes which were present throughout the experiences of the men, as well as addressing common elements which contributed to success, and themes relevant to the men's perception of themselves as fathers. Furthermore, this project explored the potential for the use of the Meihana Model as a tool for understanding the experiences of tāne Māori in this area.

The results and discussion of this project highlighted that even as there were four separate questions addressed in this project, there were consistent themes which travelled through each of these questions. One of these was the global nature of change which became apparent through this project. Take as a whole, the process of change impacted not only the men's violent behaviour, but also their self-concept, their connection to te ao Māori, the use of drugs and alcohol, increased use

of anger management skills and other positive social skills, increased use of positive parenting strategies, and more positive social relationships. The importance of people and relationship in both initiating and sustaining change was also present across all four research questions, as men were both supported by those with mana and experience, and then in turn often supported others through the process of change.

The holistic, people centred, and positively driven experience the men reported is in contrast to much of the intervention literature discussed. As noticed in the literature review, the primary focus of the research literature review focused on the effectiveness of a discrete intervention, typically provided across a short time frame, in regards to how effective it was at preventing, reducing, or stopping family violence. This contrast between the realities of tāne Māori in this study, and the reality of the research literature highlights a clear gap within the body of knowledge pertaining to this field, suggesting that there is a need for further research to better understand the complex process of change which tāne Māori, and others, experience as they work towards living violence free in their whānau. In addition, this project has highlighted that while there is a large body of work pointing to the ineffectiveness of short term group programs at preventing family violence, the experiences of the men above regarding the usefulness of programs as teaching tools suggests that the current body of research has potentially missed the contribution which these programs have to the process of change. Further research aimed at identifying the real world contribution which these programs have had to the process of change may support the more effective use of these programs in this field.

Finally, through the use of the Meihana model as a lens for analysis, this project has highlighted that there are specific cultural components to the process of change which occurred for the tāne Māori in this study. This project identified that there was a specific process of disconnection from, and reconnection to te ao Māori which occurred across all those in this study. However, beyond identifying the presence of this process, this study did not look beyond to query the impact of disconnection and reconnection, and the supports necessary to facilitate this, and the

manner in which this process interacted with the process of stopping violence. This is an area where further research is needed to better understand, and more effectively support both tāne Maori and their whānau , as they progress through the process of change towards living without violence.

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