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**Positive ‘Whānau Management’:  
Privileging the Centrality of Whānau  
and Culturally Specific Understandings  
of Child Discipline for Effective  
Psychological Practice with Māori**

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Clinical Psychology  
at Massey University, Wellington  
New Zealand.

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## ABSTRACT

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The passing of the ‘anti-smacking’ law in 2007 took the practice of child discipline to the forefront of public debate in Aotearoa, New Zealand. Questions emerged concerning effective alternative forms of discipline to physical punishment. While there is a great deal of psychological knowledge on discipline, there is a dearth of research that specifically examines Māori child-rearing and discipline practices. This is important knowledge for psychologists to have, considering their role in the prevention of child abuse and their ethical obligation to promote positive discipline strategies. As children of Māori ethnicity are currently over-represented in child abuse statistics, it is particularly important that psychologists acquire the awareness, knowledge and skills needed to work competently with Māori when addressing issues of child discipline. In spite of these negative statistics, this thesis promotes a strength-based approach to working and researching with Māori and aimed to explore the *successful* Māori child-rearing values and practices in operation today, and how these behavioural discipline strategies can be effective in psychological practice with Māori.

Adopting a ‘Māori research paradigm’, which incorporated both Māori-centred and Kaupapa Māori research principles, in-depth semi-structured interviews were employed to determine how Māori psychologists, as experts of best practice for Māori, negotiated psychological practices when addressing discipline. This was combined with a case study of a contemporary Māori whānau operating in strength with the use of a positive non-smacking approach to ‘whānau management’. Thematic analyses of the data led this thesis to conclude that privileging the centrality of whānau and culturally specific understandings of child-rearing and discipline is necessary for effective psychological practices that draw on standard behavioural discipline strategies. This thesis then addressed the ways in which these understandings are relevant to New Zealand psychologists’ ethical obligation to cultural competencies.



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## FOREWORD

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*My interest in Māori child-rearing practices stemmed from my growing awareness of my Māori heritage and my passion and interest for children and young people. Growing up in the small town of Te Teko, New Zealand, I never thought much about my cultural identity; it was just part of my life. I was quite oblivious to the fact that I was the fairest looking Māori in the Kapa Haka group or that my teacher had arranged special te reo (Māori language) extension classes for me. I was aware that being Māori came in many different forms however and my whānau later developed a story that always makes people laugh; that my older sister is called the dark chocolate, my little sister the caramilk and me, the milky bar chocolate. It wasn't until I moved from a public to a private high school in Hamilton (where continuing my Māori studies was not an option I could take), followed by being quite homesick while completing my undergraduate degree at Otago University, that I became more consciously aware of my Māori cultural identity through the absence of my connectedness with other Māori people, language and culture. From there I quickly developed a desire to help our Māori people in some way.*

*I have always had a passion and love for children. I began babysitting the local kids as a young teenager before working part-time as a nanny for many years alongside my studies (often questioning why the parents couldn't or weren't able to have their nan look after the kids in the holidays, like my parents could). In the university breaks I was drawn to work for child-focused agencies such as Child, Youth and Family Services, and Barnados. I first put my two interests together when I carried out my honours dissertation on Māori whāngai,<sup>1</sup> where I explored the positive relationships between grandparents and their whāngai mokopuna (grandchildren) in my tribal area of Ngāti Porou. I noted the gentleness of their relationship to one another, and the positive way in which they approached the discipline of their children.*

*At around the same time, the debate about the 'anti-smacking bill' had begun in New Zealand, which sought to amend section 59 of the Crimes Act, 1961 ('the Act'). Due to my own understanding of the psychological literature around learning, together with my interest in supporting children's rights, I was naturally in support of this Bill and often found myself in many heated debates! It became quite clear that there was a*

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<sup>1</sup> Where the child is given to family members to be raised.



*mindset of acceptance towards the use of physical punishment or ‘smacking’ and that common knowledge of effective alternatives was scarce or simply ignored. I was particularly interested in what alternatives Māori found helpful and effective as, although there were negative stories about Māori child abuse in the media, I knew that there were many positive stories to be told as well. Therefore, this thesis begins to tell these positive stories, and in doing so aims to demonstrate how knowledge of Māori practices of child-rearing and discipline are necessary to help inform our psychological practice. In this way, this thesis aims to provide a helpful piece of research to guide psychologists in their continuing cultural competencies in Aotearoa, New Zealand.*

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## THESIS OVERVIEW

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Discipline, an essential part of child-rearing, can have a significant impact on children's long-term personality, motivation, social behaviour and moral internalisation (Smith, Gollop, Taylor & Marshall, 2005). But knowing how to raise and discipline children appropriately and effectively is a difficult challenge for parents (Dorr, 1983). While there is a great deal of psychological knowledge on discipline to help guide parents' choice of discipline practices, there is a dearth of research that specifically examines Māori practices. Therefore, this thesis aims to explore the discipline practices of Māori in the home, and tries to demonstrate how we can utilise these understandings in our clinical practice with Māori whānau.<sup>2</sup>

Chapter One will introduce the literature on this topic by firstly exploring the concept of discipline in detail, including some current attempts to define discipline, the goals for discipline, the different types of techniques and the factors which influence parents' discipline approach. It then follows with a discussion of the theories and empirical research that contributes to our knowledge and understanding about effective discipline approaches. One aspect of discipline that has received significant attention is the controversial use of physical punishment. This chapter will therefore review the current international and local literature on the causes and consequences of physical punishment, as well as examine both parents and professionals attitudes towards its use. The key arguments surrounding the amendment to the Act will be outlined, followed by a brief look at the current attempts to encourage the use of alternatives to physical punishment in New Zealand. Chapter Two is dedicated to providing a more detailed and specific look at what is known about Māori child-rearing and discipline approaches, including the literature on both the history of Māori child-rearing and the current literature in this area. After this literature review, the rationale for this study will be outlined.

Chapter Three will describe the research methodology used in this research. It begins with an exploration of kaupapa Māori and Māori-centered research methodologies that have informed the particular methodology chosen for this research. The specific methods used in the data collection process will be outlined, including a description of the participants chosen for this study (six Māori psychologists as key

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<sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion of the term whānau, please see p. 45.

informants, and one case study of a Māori whānau) and the processes used to analyse the data in order to produce a set of themes. Interwoven through this methodology chapter are the ethical and cultural considerations made.

Chapters Four and Five will present the analysis to reveal the themes that emerged from the data. Provided in two parts, the first part is analysed with Māori at the centre, which focuses on the aspects of the whānau in which the discipline occurs, such as how whānau is understood today, the unique position of the child and of the elderly, and the important Māori child-rearing values inherent in goals of discipline. Part two of the analysis will focus more on the psychological and behavioural aspects of the participants' talk, while continuing to put Māori at the centre, such as their understanding of the term discipline, effective discipline strategies for Māori and the impact of the amendment of the Act to both Māori and in the psychologists' clinical practice. Throughout this analysis there will be a particular emphasis on how these understandings can be utilised in our clinical practice with Māori whānau. Chapter Six will conclude this research by drawing attention to how these understandings are relevant to New Zealand psychologists' ethical obligation to cultural competencies, the limitations of this thesis and to future research recommendations.

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## CHAPTER ONE: Literature Review on Discipline Practices

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### Conceptualising Discipline

The concept of discipline is difficult to define and there is yet to be a predominant definition describing exactly what discipline means (Straus & Frauchier, 2007). The term discipline originally came from the Latin root *disciplina*, which means ‘to teach’ (Charlesworth, 2008; Hyman, 1997; Kersey, 1990). Most modern definitions of discipline use terms such as teaching, guiding and nurturing to describe the concept. For example, the American Academy of Pediatrics (1998) defined discipline as “a system of teaching and nurturing that prepares children to achieve competence, self-control, self-direction, and caring for others” (p. 723). A more recent and local example is provided by Smith, Gollop, Taylor and Marshall (2005), who define discipline as “the guidance of children’s moral, emotional and physical development, enabling them to take responsibility of themselves when they are older” (p. 2). It is evident that definitions such as these also attempt to delineate the wide-ranging goals of discipline. These goals include protecting the child from danger, teaching the child values and acceptable behaviours in their society and internalising these (e.g., right from wrong, respecting and caring for others), and teaching self-discipline (e.g., obedience, control of impulses and frustrations). These are all goals which ultimately aim to prepare the child for the adult world (Caughy, Miller, Genevro, Huang & Nautiyal, 2003; Dorr, 1983; Smith et al., 2005).

To help conceptualise the term further, many researchers have attempted to describe the different *types* of discipline techniques used to achieve those goals. This is often achieved by categorising the techniques into two distinct categories. For example, distinctions are commonly made between positive (e.g., praise, rewards, modeling) and negative discipline (e.g., smacking) (Smith et al., 2005); external-control (e.g., time-out, smacking) and internal-control discipline (e.g., reasoning and problem-solving) (Caughy et al., 2003); and inductive (e.g., reasoning and explanation of consequences) and power-assertive techniques (e.g., verbal threats and physical punishment) (Charlesworth, 2008; Smith et al., 2005). Straus and Frauchier (2007) took a slightly different approach and distinguished between discipline that occurs *before* and *after* the misbehaviour. Corrective discipline was defined as “behaviour by parents in response to, and intended to correct, perceived misbehaviour by the child” (p. 4) and includes all

techniques, both positive and negative. Preventative discipline attempts to prevent unacceptable behaviour before it occurs and is understood as being the 'primary prevention' rather than the 'secondary prevention' that is provided by corrective discipline.

Parents' or caregivers' choice of discipline techniques is influenced by a range of factors related to the child (e.g., biological factors such as a child's temperament, age, gender and developmental difficulties), the parent (e.g., their own childhood history, mental health), and other contextual factors (e.g., family size, societal/cultural norms) (Smith et al., 2005). One influential factor relating to the parent is their overall parenting style, which provides the social and emotional context in which the discipline occurs. Baumrind (1967) identified three different parenting styles, distinguished by the parent's level of responsiveness (e.g., nurturance, warmth) and demandingness (e.g., disciplinary practices, control and level of expectations). Permissive parents are low in demandingness and high on responsiveness. They impose little standards or demands, are lax in their approach to discipline and let their children make their own decisions and choose their own activities as much as possible. They do not believe that they influence their children's behaviour. Authoritarian parents are high on demandingness but low on responsiveness. They impose strict and rigid rules and standards, and deviations are heavily punished. On the other hand, authoritative parents are believed to be high on both dimensions. While they set standards and strictly enforce them, they also encourage a little bit of 'give and take' and will share their reasoning for their rules while also listening to their child's objections (Desjardins, Zelenski & Coplan, 2008). The uninvolved parental style was later added to Baumrind's parenting styles. Uninvolved parents essentially reject their children and are both uncontrolling and overpermissive (Flanagan, 1996). The authoritative parenting style is believed to result in the best outcomes for children (Dorr, 1983; Lindon, 2005).

### **Effective Discipline Approaches**

So what is the most effective approach to discipline? It is generally agreed that there is no 'best' way to approach discipline (Smith et al., 2005). However, empirical research and theories can add to our understanding of what may be effective and influence parent's choice of discipline approaches. Perhaps more than others, the behavioural literature has contributed much to our knowledge about discipline. Based

on principles derived from social learning theory (Bandura, 1969), the use of positive discipline strategies are recommended wherever possible. Rewards or reinforcement are believed to be the most powerful shapers of behaviour (Hyman, 1997). This is based on the principle of operant conditioning, which assumes that behaviour is modified by its consequences. Therefore, the presentation of a pleasant event following a desirable behaviour (e.g., hugs, smiles, praise and lollies), or the removal of an aversive event is likely to increase the probability of that behaviour occurring again. Modeling desirable behaviours is also another positive discipline technique believed to be effective. This is based on the observational learning principle, which states that behaviour is learnt through watching and imitating others (Martin & Pear, 2007). In addition, ignoring minor transgressions helps to reduce the undesirable behaviour (Madsen & Stephens, 1983). From a behavioural point of view, negative discipline strategies, such as punishment, should be avoided as much as possible (Dorr, 1983). If punishment is to be used, then it must concurrently teach an alternative desirable behaviour (Martin & Pear, 2007).

Empirical studies have also added to our knowledge of effective discipline. It has been found that harsh verbal and physical discipline can lead to adverse consequences for children, such as increased aggression (McKee et al., 2007) and symptoms of anxiety and depression (Rodriguez, 2003). However, the effects and effectiveness of certain discipline approaches are believed to be mediated by a wide range of other factors, such as the age of the child and use of another discipline technique at the same time (Smith et al., 2005; Straus & Frauchier, 2007) so what may work for one may not work for another. Gershoff (2002) used this contextual approach to help explain the possible outcomes of parental use of physical punishment given the number of moderating and mediating variables. For example, the way in which parents administer physical punishment (e.g., impulsive vs. controlled), its frequency and severity, are all believed to influence child outcomes. On a larger scale, the social and cultural context in which families are embedded also effect child outcomes. It has been found that children are less likely to suffer adverse consequences of physical punishment if it is a practice that is largely accepted as the norm in their culture (McLoyd, Kaplan, Hardaway & Wood, 2007).

Emerging from these theories and research are some general guiding principles believed to be central to an effective overall discipline approach. Firstly, it is important that parents have some understanding of child development and the expectations for



children at each age level (Smith et al., 2005). For example, a 2-year-old will often get into trouble for wanting to explore and handle everything, but this is a natural step in his desire for independence (Cass, 1983). Parents should also be consistent in their approach to discipline. A mistake often made by parents is giving in to misbehaviours, which makes the behaviour harder to eliminate as parents are inadvertently rewarding the child with their attention (Martin & Pear, 2007). In addition, for any discipline technique to be effective it needs to occur in a positive, secure and structured learning environment, one which involves child-parent relationships that are characterised by love, trust and respect (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1998). Children need to be given clear rules and guidelines so that they are aware of what to expect (Smith et al., 2005).

### **Physical Punishment: Causes and Consequences**

While discipline is often used interchangeably with the term punishment, a clear distinction is made by researchers in the area who argue that the two are not synonymous (e.g., Dobbs, 2005; Holden, 2002; Maag, 1996; Rankin, 2005; Smith et al., 2005). Punishment can be understood as a much smaller subset of discipline. The emphasis with punishment is on decreasing undesirable behaviours, rather than teaching positive and desirable behaviours. A common layperson's understanding of punishment is that it involves a form of retribution (e.g., going to jail) in order to deter potential 'wrong-doers'. In psychology, the term punishment is used in a more technical sense to describe a situation where a punishment is applied immediately following the undesirable behaviour, in order to decrease this behaviour in the future. The punishment can involve the presentation of an aversive stimulus (e.g., punishment involving pain, such as a smack, or verbal reprimands and disapproval) or the removal of a pleasant or rewarding stimulus (e.g., response cost, non-exclusionary time-out) (Martin & Pear, 2007). In order for punishment to be effective, there are a number of rules or principles that need to be followed. For example, the chosen punishment must be applied *immediately* otherwise the association between the misbehaviour and the consequence will be lost. In addition, the punishment must not be over-used or the child may habituate to it and it will lose its effectiveness (Madsen & Stephens, 1983). Many professionals believe that the use of punishment is an essential and necessary part of managing children's behaviour (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1981; Stenhouse, 2008).

Most of the current literature on child discipline has focused on physical punishment, otherwise known as corporal punishment (Regalado, Sareen, Inkelas, Wisscow & Halfon, 2004), as its use is very controversial amongst parents and professionals alike. Specifically, physical punishment is “the use of physical force with the intention of causing pain, but not injury, for the purpose of correcting or controlling the child’s behaviour” (Straus & Donnelly, 2005, p. 3). The term ‘smack’ is generally used to describe physical punishment in New Zealand (Dobbs, 2005), but it can also involve slapping, hitting and grabbing (Straus, 1991). Many believe that smacking a child is a legitimate and effective means of disciplining children, while others argue that it is an infringement of children’s rights and is harmful and ineffective in changing behaviour (Wood, Hassall, Hook & Ludbrook, 2008).

In the United States, smacking is used by an overwhelming majority of parents (Rankin, 2005). By the time children are 3 or 4 years old, 94% of American parents have smacked their children (Gershoff, 2002). A study by Hunter, Jain, Sadowski and Sanhueza (2000) found that physical punishment is even more prevalent in India, particularly the rates of severe physical practices, such as hitting or beating a child with a stick or another object. In the UK, severe physical practices are less prevalent with around one in six British parents reporting that they hit their children with an implement (Leach, 1999). In a New Zealand study, Maxwell (1993) found that attitudes had changed towards the use of more severe forms of punishment compared with previous studies on child-rearing by Ritchie and Ritchie (1970). However, less severe physical punishment (such as smacking with the hand) was still approved of and was used for misbehaviour by children of all ages. This finding was consistent with a more recent research by Carswell (2001) who found that while 80% of parents agreed that smacking that left no mark was acceptable, almost everyone in the sample disagreed with the use of smacking that left a red mark or bruise.

It is evident that there is a culture of acceptance towards the use of physical punishment, particularly the use of less severe forms, in both New Zealand and other countries around the world. So what accounts for this wide acceptance, and why the continued use? One of the main reasons why parents use smacking is because they believe it to be effective, particularly because it provides immediate compliance on the part of the child. Immediate compliance after a smack also provides parents with immediate relief from their frustration or anger, if present, as well as a greater sense of empowerment and control. This increases the likelihood that they will use smacking

again (Leach, 1999). Many parents also believe it to be appropriate based on their own personal experiences. Parents learn from their own parents, and therefore many (but by no means all) hit their children because they themselves were hit as children (Elliman & Lynch, 2000). Barkin, Scheindlin, Ip, Richardson and Finch (2007) found that parent's experiences of yelling and smacking as children made them more likely to use the same approach with their own children, regardless of whether they perceived it as effective. Some parents also argue that 'I was hit as a child and it never did me any harm', without understanding that there are several other factors that mediate its effect (Leach, 1999). In addition, those who are from a particularly religious background believe that physical punishment is *the* right way to discipline a child. These attitudes are a reflection of well known verses from the Bible such as 'to spare the rod is to spoil a child' (Maxwell, 1993; Rankin, 2005).

Research has attempted to investigate these and many other factors believed to influence parental use of and attitudes towards physical punishment. Straus (1991) developed a systems model to help conceptualise the causes and consequences of physical punishment. The model outlines a number of factors believed to influence parent's use of physical punishment, including societal characteristics (e.g., legal factors) family factors (e.g., social economic status, spousal violence, and support networks) child factors (e.g., temperament, developmental difficulties) and parent factors (e.g., physically punished as child, parenting skills). Straus's (1991) model does not provide evidence that these factors are indeed involved; however it provides a theoretical model from which researchers can base their empirical investigations. From these investigations child 'risk factors' have been identified, such as being a boy, being a younger child rather than an older child, and engaging in behaviours that are believed to be out of control, disrespectful to adults or aggressive to others (Rankin, 2005). A New Zealand study by Munro (1982, as cited in Maxwell, 1993) of children's opinions on physical punishment found that behaviours that challenged adult authority (e.g., disobedience, cheekiness and swearing) were the most frequently punished. The study also found that most of the children had decided to behave towards their own future children in the same way as their parents had behaved towards them, lending support to the belief that parents learn from their own parents.

So what does the research say about the effectiveness of physical punishment? An influential study by Gershoff (2002) investigated the outcomes of physical punishment in a large scale research project involving a meta-analysis of 88 studies on

the smacking of children. This study investigated the associations between parental use of physical punishment and 11 factors, including factors that can occur in childhood (e.g., immediate compliance, moral internalisation, and quality of parent-child relationship), factors that can occur in parenthood (e.g., abuse of one's own children, abuse of one's spouse), and factors that can occur in both (e.g., mental health, aggression, criminal behaviour). Gershoff (2002) argued that because many studies tend to focus on the negative child outcomes associated with physical punishment, she included a balance of constructs that can be potentially positive (e.g., moral internalisation) and negative factors (e.g., aggression). The results of her study showed that there was only one positive association; that of physical punishment and immediate compliance. However, even this result proved ambiguous. Although the effect size was large (1.13) only three of the five studies used in the analysis showed this association. In addition, clinical samples were used in three of the five studies, therefore limiting the results to children with clinical problems rather than common problems found in the home (Smith, 1996). The Children's Commissioner (2006) argued that compliance can be achieved through other methods of discipline just as successfully.

While parents hope that their physical punishment will result in immediate compliance *and* long term compliance, the remainder of Gershoff's (2002) study found that this is not the case. She found negative results associated with all other factors that were investigated. The results of the meta-analysis found that physical punishment was associated with increased childhood aggression, delinquency and antisocial behaviour, poorer parent-child relationships and mental health problems (such as depression and anxiety), as well as an increased risk of being physically abused as a child. Negative associations in adulthood included increased aggression, criminality and antisocial behaviour, as well as an increased risk of mental health problems. Physical punishment also teaches children that the use of violence is an acceptable way to deal with conflicts (Children's Commissioner, 2006). Since Gershoff's (2002) study, there have been a limited number of studies that further examine the outcomes of physical punishment. Instead, other areas of physical punishment have been explored, such as the factors that predict the use of physical punishment (Barkin et al., 2007; Douglas, 2006; Vittup, Holden & Buck, 2006), the factors that moderate the outcomes of its use (McLoyd, Kaplan, Hardaway & Wood, 2007), children's perspectives on their parents use of physical punishment (Dobbs, 2005), and intergenerational transmission of discipline strategies (Deater-Deckard, Lansford, Dodge, Pettit & Bates, 2003).

It is important to note the limitations of studies investigating the outcomes of physical punishment. Gershoff's (2002) findings are associations only and therefore one cannot conclude that physical punishment *causes* increases in childhood aggression, or any of the other associations found. Gershoff's (2002) findings were criticised on these grounds because they were primarily based on correlation research (e.g., research that shows the relationship of two variables at a given point in time). This is one of the major difficulties encountered when conducting research in this area. It is unethical to assign children to a 'smacking' group and a 'non-smacking' group, which makes it difficult to establish a causal relationship (Smith et al., 2005). Some researchers have likened this to the 'chicken and egg' problem because an association between physical punishment and aggression can either show that physical punishment leads to aggression and anti-social behaviour or, just as likely, that children who are more aggressive and disruptive are more likely to be physically punished. Longitudinal studies are a step towards solving this problem, where measures of children's behaviour (e.g., cognitive development) and experience of physical punishment can be taken at different points in time (Leach, 1999).

Other difficulties encountered when conducting research on the relationship between physical punishment and subsequent behaviour includes problems with other confounding variables. For example, smacking is sometimes used in conjunction with verbal assaults. Therefore, it is difficult to establish whether the observed effects are the result of the smacking, the smacking with the verbal assaults, or whether it was simply the verbal assaults. In addition, there are other factors that mediate the effects of physical punishment. Gershoff (2002) acknowledged this point in her study and stated that her findings do not imply that all children who are physically punished are subject to these negative factors, and that situational factors need to be taken into account. Gershoff's (2002) findings were further criticised because some researchers believed that she used overly severe definitions of physical punishment, and therefore her findings are not representative of 'normative' or non-abusive punishment (Baumrind, Larzelere & Cowan, 2002). However, Smith et al., (2005) argues that the effects are negative regardless of the use of normative or severe punishment; they are just not *as* negative for normative punishment. In addition, the way in which physical punishment is assessed (e.g., parental report) also poses a threat to the internal validity of the studies, as it is possible that parents may under-report or even over-report the severity or frequency of their physical punishment. Ritchie and Ritchie (1981) found that the

respondents in their 1963 survey of child-rearing practices in New Zealand may have over reported their use of physical punishment to try and present themselves in the best possible light. The ideology of punishment during this time meant that parents had little guilt towards its use.

### **Should Physical Punishment be used?**

In light of the research presented, combined with an understanding of the methodological limitations, do professionals recommend the use of physical punishment? Psychologists and other professionals are divided over this issue (Gershoff, 2002). Several psychologists have argued that physical punishment is no longer an acceptable method to discipline children, particularly because more effective and acceptable methods have been developed (e.g., Baum & Kupfer, 2005). In addition, there are a number of negative effects associated with the use of physical punishment and little evidence of any positive effects. The only beneficial outcome of using physical punishment is immediate compliance, and some researchers have found results inconsistent to this (Smith et al., 2005). The British Psychological Society noted that physical punishment was an ineffective means of modifying behaviour and they recommended the use of alternative methods to encourage children to develop more socially desirable attitudes (Leach, 1999).

In contrast to the view that physical punishment should not be used on children, there are psychologists who argue that physical punishment is both effective and acceptable, but only under certain circumstances (e.g., Baumrind, Larzelere & Cowan, 2002; Martin & Pear, 2007). While Baum and Kupfer (2005) firmly oppose the use of physical punishment, they do make exceptions for its use when a child is in potential danger to himself or others (which may also be acceptable under the Act). Behavioural psychologists, Martin and Pear (2007), argue that there are some extreme cases where children (usually those with developmental difficulties) exhibit severe self-injurious behaviour that can only be decreased or eliminated with pain inducing or physical punishment. Once they have successfully decreased the behaviour then positive reinforcement is used to increase more desirable behaviour. From a behavioural perspective, it is meaningless to ask if physical punishment is effective, because if the punisher does not decrease the behaviour then the event cannot be described as a punishment procedure anyway. However, like Martin and Pear (2007), most

behavioural psychologists do not advocate the use of physical punishment, but agree that it is useful for severe behaviours. Even B.F. Skinner, who was one of the founders of behaviourism, did not advocate physical punishment, preferring the use of alternative behaviour modification methods such as positive reinforcement (Greven, 1991).

Martin and Pear's (2007) argument is applicable for those severe behaviours that require clinical attention, however it has little relevance to those typical mild childhood behaviours experienced by parents in the home (e.g., disobedience). On the other hand, Larzelere and Kuhn's (2007) 'conditional spanking' is a method which can be usefully applied to physical punishment in the home. These researchers compared physical punishment with alternative methods of discipline, in a study which attempted to address the methodological flaws present in other studies (e.g., it distinguished between mild and severe punishment and sought to find causal relationships). They conducted a meta-analysis of 26 studies on child outcomes of physical punishment, and concluded that child outcomes depend on *how* physical punishment is used. Negative outcomes result when physical punishment is used as the primary method of choice for parents, and when it is used too severely (e.g., beating or hitting the head area). From this conclusion they proposed that conditional spanking was the 'optimal' type of physical punishment, which involves two open hand smacks to the buttocks. They recommend that this only be used when other mild disciplinary techniques have proved ineffective with a defiant child. There are several other recommendations for its use (e.g., never in the first 12 months, never severely and never when the parent is out of control), which reflects the difficulty researchers have in dividing the line between physical punishment and abuse. Smith et al. (2005) argue that because of this difficulty, it is better to simply not use it at all.

### **Physical Punishment and the Law**

In 1979, Sweden became the first country to prohibit the use of physical punishment and 'other humiliating treatment' of children. Since then a number of countries have followed their precedent and there are now over 17 countries around the world that have prohibited its use, such as Finland, Denmark, Norway and Germany. Some countries have instead put legal limits on the use of physical punishment, such as how and where the child can be hit and the impact that the punishment can have on the child's body (Wood et al., 2008). For example, in Scotland the use of physical

punishment are permitted, however certain practices are prohibited such as shaking a child, hitting the child on the head or using an implement. Other factors such as the child's age, reason for punishment and duration and frequency of punishment is considered when deciding the legality of the physical punishment (Parliamentary Library, 2007). Most countries still allow parents to physically punish their children, including America, England and Australia.

New Zealand was the first Anglo-American country in the world to prohibit the use of physical punishment as a means of disciplining children. In May, 2007, Members of Parliament voted overwhelmingly in support of passing the Act which later came into effect in June that year. This controversial 'anti-smacking' or 'anti-child assault' law, led by Green Member of Parliament (MP) Sue Bradford, removed the statutory defense of using 'reasonable force' for the purposes of correcting a child. Force may still be used in certain circumstances, such as preventing a child from engaging in behaviour that could harm themselves or another person old section 59 'Domestic Discipline' of the Crimes Act, 1961, was criticised as it allowed parents prosecuted for serious assaults to plead that they had used 'reasonable force' to correct their children's behaviour (Wood et al., 2008). Using this defense, parents in the past have been acquitted of charges of assaulting their children using hosepipes and pieces of wood ("Poll shows smacking continuing", 2008). Whether the force was 'reasonable' in the circumstances to correct the child was difficult to determine in cases such as these. Therefore, the amendment of the Act sought to remove this defense. As in cases involving assaults of adults, police have the discretion not to prosecute minor complaints or complaints where prosecution would not be in the best interests of the public (Wood et al., 2008). A three month review of the new law found that 'there was no increase in the number of smacking events Police attended' which relieved claims that parents would be prosecuted and children removed from their homes (New Zealand Police, 2007, p. 1).

In addition to the removal of the 'reasonable force' defense, it was also argued that the old legislation was inconsistent with the United Nations Convention on The Rights of the Child (UNCROC), to which New Zealand became a signatory in 1989. By ratifying the Convention in 1993, New Zealand assumed an obligation to ensure that all laws and policies were in accordance with the rights as set in the Convention. The United Nations Committee of the Rights of the Child acts to monitor each signatory nation's compliance with the Convention. In their reports to the New Zealand government in 1997 and again in 2003, the committee expressed their concerns



regarding the then current legislation, which allowed physical punishment for the purposes of correction. They recommended that the legislation be amended and that public education about positive alternatives to discipline become strengthened (Smith et al., 2005). While it is beyond the scope of this research to outline all the various arguments for and against this law (cf., Smith et al., 2005), some of the arguments from the opponents of the law have said that supporting children's rights means that parents are denied theirs. They have also argued that smacking children is their parental obligation and duty (Smith et al., 2005) and that the state should not intervene in family life (Keown, 2006).

The new law was also part of an effort to stem child abuse, particularly after a United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) report in 2003 found that New Zealand had the third worst record for child deaths in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Smith et al., 2005). While the line between physical punishment and abuse is unclear, it is commonly agreed that they both fall along the same continuum, with physical punishment often being the precursor to physical abuse in extreme cases (Gershoff, 2002; Kersey, 1990; Rankin, 2005; Rodriguez, 2003; Woolley & Gregory, 2007). As Greven (1991) wrote, "death, accidental or intended, is the endpoint on the continuum of coercion, force, hitting and violence inherent in physical punishments" (p. 38). Straus (2000) also argued that the use of physical punishment is a major risk factor for child abuse and that its elimination should be the primary focus of any child abuse prevention efforts. Understanding this connection, the long term goal of the new law was to reduce the use of physical punishment and consequently the risk of child abuse, in addition to the other negative associations found in the research. The New Zealand Psychological Society commented that the "repeal of Section 59 should assist changes in parenting practices that will lead to societal changes over time, and a reduction in child deaths and injuries may become apparent after a generation or two" ("S59: NZ Psychological Society", 2007). While change will not occur immediately, it is hoped that a society will be created in New Zealand where force used for correction will be deemed an unacceptable practice in the future (Wood et al., 2008).

## **Encouraging Change**

Physical punishment is a practice that is deeply embedded in our society; one that is taken for granted and is very resistant to change (Keown, 2006; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1981). In fact, the passing of the new law is still being debated even after a Citizens Initiated Referendum was held in July, 2009. The results showed that the public were overwhelmingly against the change in the law (“Final Results for Citizen’s”, 2009). While it is evident that changing public opinion is difficult, it is still possible. This is demonstrated by other public health issues such as corporal punishment in schools and smoking in public places. But while legislative reform can act as a powerful force for positive change, high quality public education and support programmes will play a key role in encouraging this change in New Zealand society.

There are a number of parenting programmes available in New Zealand provided through both government and non-government organisations. For example, the Strategies for Kids - Information for Parents (SKIP) programme, available through the Ministry of Social Development (MSD) provides resources (e.g., pamphlets, posters) for parents with children under 5 years, funding for local initiatives that support positive parenting and they also support partnerships with non-government organisations. MSD also provides Parents as First Teachers (PAFT), a programme which has been in place for over 15 years and involves making visits to the parent’s home to provide support from birth to 3 years. Whānau Toko I Te Ora (WTITO) is a particular programme for Māori families and is delivered by the Māori Woman’s Welfare League. Other programmes around the country include programmes run by Barnados, Plunket, Presbyterian Support Services and Family Start. The Incredible Years is one of these programmes and has a strong evidence base built on cognitive, behavioural and developmental theories. A recent review of parenting programmes in New Zealand was carried out for the Families Commission (Kerslake, 2005). It was concluded that parenting programmes do work to make a positive difference, although there are a number of areas that need further research.

It is evident from the range of programmes available that there is no ‘one size fits all’ approach to educating and supporting parents to change their disciplinary practices. Each programme differs in terms of its process, content and delivery, in order to meet the different needs of families (Kerslake, 2005). Engagement and success is also determined by factors relating to the participating families. Herbert (2001) identified these as their socio-economic status, their family and other environmental structures,

and culture and ethnic status. For example, if parents are stressed with meeting financial needs, then it is harder for them to focus on the discipline needs of their children (Kerslake, 2005). Research to inform the SKIP programme in 2004 included a number of cultural considerations. They concluded that ‘Western models of parenting are not the norm for all, and parenting can also be about cultural retention’ (Martin, Kerslake-Hendricks & Gomes, p. 4). Therefore, cultural values in regards to parenting can differ for indigenous and minority groups and these can conflict with dominant cultural values. This can be a major factor in the engagement and success of minority cultures participating in mainstream parenting programmes.

In New Zealand, it has been found that Māori experiences of mainstream health services are not always supportive (Smith et al, 2005). Māori values in parenting may differ from Pākehā<sup>3</sup> and these need to be taken into account when designing parenting programmes, or when working with tangata whaiora (Māori clients in psychological practice) within a health care setting. For example, a common practice within Māoridom is the sharing of childcare responsibilities with wider whānau members and friends. Sometimes children are given to kin members to be nurtured and raised; a customary practice called whāngai that is not legally recognised as an adoption practice in New Zealand (Poananga, 2006). Herbert (2001) identified these and other Māori values in her research, including whānaungatanga (family connections), whakapapa (genealogy) and awhinatanga (support), and incorporated these values into two different culturally adapted parenting programmes. These were then compared with a standard parenting programme. The results showed that while the standard parent programme was valued, the Māori programmes were *more* valued by Māori participants.

In addition to parenting programmes, psychologists and other mental health professionals working with families can also influence change. Woolley and Gregory (2007) argued that “one of the ultimate goals for clinicians is to prevent child abuse from occurring in the first place” (p. 401). Some ways this can be achieved is through effective and appropriate screening and risk assessments, as well as increasing parent education and support (Woolley & Gregory, 2007). It has been deemed an ethical obligation for all professionals working with parents to have an understanding of effective positive discipline strategies and the ways in which to these can be respectfully offered to others (Evans, 2008; Ritchie, 2002).

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<sup>3</sup> Often used interchangeably as non-Māori, Caucasian, or New Zealanders of European descent.

## **Summary**

This chapter has focused on the current psychological literature on discipline of children in the home. It began with an exploration of the concept of discipline, providing some modern definitions that align more closely with the original meaning of the term discipline; 'to teach'. The types of discipline strategies commonly used were outlined, as well as the many factors which influence parent's choice of approach. Theories, particularly those from the behavioural field, as well as empirical research, have guided our understanding of what may be the most effective approach. Much of this research has focused on physical punishment. While studies in this area have their limitations, it can be concluded from this literature review that physical punishment is an ineffective means of correcting and modifying children's behaviours, and most professionals recommend the use of alternative strategies. This is reflected in the changes made to the Act, which removed the statutory defense of using 'reasonable force' for the purposes of correcting a child. There are a number of parenting programmes available to help support parents to use alternative forms of discipline, although more research is needed to determine their effectiveness. This chapter concluded by emphasising the important role that psychologists have in supporting and encouraging New Zealanders to use more positive discipline strategies, particularly as it is commonly agreed that physical punishment often escalates into violence and abuse of children. As will be highlighted in the following chapter, children of Māori ethnicity are over-represented in these child abuse statistics. It is thus particularly important that psychologists have the right awareness, knowledge and skills to work with this particular client group.



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## CHAPTER TWO: Māori Child-Rearing and Discipline Practices

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### Introduction: Māori Response to the Act

Emerging from the debate surrounding the Act were ideas around culture, and the role it played in the physical punishment of children. There have been a number of high profile Māori child abuse cases in New Zealand highlighted in the media, such as the homicides of children Nia Glassie, the Kahui twins and Jhia Te Tua (“Despite all the hype,” 2008). Statistics also portray a negative picture of Māori and the abuse of our children. In the year 2000 the rate of children assessed by Child Youth and Family Services (CYFs) as being abused or neglected was 12 per 1000 for Māori and 5.3 per 1000 for Non-Māori (Ministry of Social Development, 2001). Between the years 2003 and 2007, Māori children aged under 15 years died from an assault at an average annual rate of 1.7 deaths per 100,000 children, non-Māori 0.5 (Ministry of Social Development, 2010a). Woolley and Gregory (2007) have warned however that these statistics based on ethnicity should be interpreted with caution, given the number of contextual factors involved (e.g., family dynamics, socio-economic status and other environmental structures). Regardless, these negative statistics have prompted calls from the public that Māori are inherently violent. Following from this assumption is another; that Māori are more likely to use harsh physical discipline methods (Rickard, 1998; Smith, 1995).

Even though a survey at the time of the debate showed that 80% of Māori opposed the new law, the Māori Party stood firm in their support of the Act (Young, 2007). Māori political leaders, such as Tariana Turia and Peter Sharples, argued that Māori are not a violent culture. They cited missionaries’ observations and recordings that demonstrated Māori had non-violent ways of disciplining their children pre-colonisation. Tariana was quoted in the New Zealand Herald as saying “Our people did not hit their tamariki. That only came about through colonisation and through Christianity actually” (“Turia says colonisation,” 2007). Māori leaders have urged their people to look back at how their ancestors treated their children and to try and see a future where violence against children is unacceptable (Masters, 2007). Other Māori leaders and groups in the community have also supported the amendment; including Anglican minister Dr Hone Kaa, who has had firsthand experience of the impact violence can cause in Māori whānau. He has since developed a child advocacy group

called Te Kahui Mana Ririki (see [www.tangatawhenua.com](http://www.tangatawhenua.com)). Seven Northern tribes of New Zealand also supported the bill as they wanted to reduce the level of violence in their community (Collins, 2006).

## **Historical Research**

The claim that Māori had non-violent ways of disciplining children is supported by Samuel Marsden's letters and journals written between 1765 and 1838, in which he painted a very positive picture of Māori child-rearing (Marsden, 1932). He described how chiefs and fathers would take children with them to public gatherings, where the children would listen and have their questions answered. In regards to discipline, Marsden (1932) commented that "the New Zealanders do not correct their children lest they should abate their courage or subdue their violent passions. Hence the children are in no subjection to their parents" (p. 479). He further commented that "there can be no finer children than those of the New Zealanders in any part of the world. Their parents are very indulgent, and they appear always happy and playful and very active" (p. 283). This picture was very different to the child-rearing practices of the Western society at the time (Rickard, 1997). The Christian missionaries, who migrated to New Zealand, believed that physical punishment was *the* right way to get children to conform to their Christian values. Māori soon began to adopt these discipline practices through processes of acculturation, and physical punishment became more common (Mikaere, 1999; Wood et al., 2008). In contemporary society, other factors such as urbanisation, poverty and the break-down of the whānau system have been thought to have influenced the use of harsh disciplinary practices within Māori families (Smith et al., 2005).

So how has Māori child-rearing been described by contemporary researchers? Psychologists James and Jane Ritchie (1970, 1979, 1981 & 1997) have dedicated a lifetime of research to the topic of child-rearing practices in New Zealand. Due to the lack of research at the time, the Ritchie's began exploring the details of child-rearing through observation studies and interviews with mothers and fathers all over New Zealand. Their first research examined Māori child-rearing patterns in the small community of Murupara, during the 1950s. Beaglehole (1946) had previously carried out an ethnographic study of a Māori community, but the Ritchies re-examined these findings. They concluded that there were a number of 'socialising principles' inherent in the

raising of Māori children. Children were born into “a community of kinship membership, concern and care” (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1997, p. 21). They were treated with warmth and were always included in the social activities of the community. Babies especially were provided with a great amount of care and dedication from their parents. The responsibility and caring of the children was shared between members of the whānau; even the practice of discipline could be carried by those other than the biological parent. It was common for children to be adopted out into other families as part of a whāngai arrangement, either temporarily or permanently. They also observed that males played a substantially larger role in the rearing of children than that experienced in the Pākehā world. As children grew older the Ritchies observed that they were encouraged by their parents to gain greater independence and the older children would naturally take care of the younger children in their whānau. The children would spend a lot of their time in ‘play gangs’ with their cousins, siblings and friends. These peer groups provided the important socialising experiences for Māori children (as described in Ritchie & Ritchie, 1997).

These principles were also noted in other studies of Māori communities (e.g., Hohepa, 1964; Kawharu, 1975), particularly the idea of shared parenting. The Ritchies also examined how shifts to the urban life influenced child-rearing for Māori families. They noted the stress experienced by Māori mothers due to the lack of the support they were so used to back home. Māori mothers became more conscious of their child-rearing style and anxious that their Pākehā neighbours were judging them. As a result, they began to rear their children as they believed their neighbours would expect, such as being more controlled with feeding and toilet training (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1997). In regards to discipline, Ritchie and Ritchie (1997) commented that urban Māori mothers in comparison to non-Māori “were harsher in their discipline, showed a more rigid attitude towards ‘bad’ behaviour and reasoned less” (p. 48). Metge (1995) further commented that Māori parents did not often praise their children, as they did not want them to grow up to be too full of pride for fear of being accused of being whakahihi (arrogant). They also did not engage in much conversation with their children. Praising and talking was left up to other relatives to do, who played an important role in the development of the child’s language and tikanga (loosely translated as the right ways of doing things or guiding principles). As parents did not interfere, children’s behaviour was determined by their own standards and those of other whānau members.



In contrast to Ritchies studies, which examined child-rearing in whānau in the urban areas, Hohepa's (1964) research was based in the rural Māori community of Waima. He noted that while parents would deal with more serious misbehaviours, older siblings would take the responsibility of correcting minor misbehaviours, usually by reprimand or physical punishment. But this was never too severe as they would be told off by older relatives. As Māori children lived close to their aunts, uncles and grandparents, they would always have someone to look after them and discipline them when necessary, although this was perhaps, more indulgent. Therefore it is evident that the wider whānau played an important part in the rearing and discipline of children in this rural community, more so than the parents on their own in the urban areas. The main role of the parent was to provide the basic necessities and guide their physical and social skills. The values that Māori parents encouraged were respect for elders, helping around the house and caring and sharing with others (Metge, 1967).

### **Current Research on Māori Discipline Practices**

Apart from these small mentions of discipline as part of larger anthropological or educational studies of Māori communities, there has been little research conducted specifically on Māori discipline practices. Smith et al. (2005) also noted that “there is a dearth of empirical work carried out in New Zealand that specifically examines the attitudes and practices of different cultural groups towards the guidance and discipline of children” (p. 67). More recently, Amor-Ponter (2009) also recognised that “Māori mothers and childrearing/parenting is an area of study that is badly under-represented in the research literature” (p. xii). Of those studies conducted, most have involved surveys where responses according to ethnicity are analysed, For example, Carswell (2001) found that Māori believed that it was more acceptable to smack older children than Pākehā, and were less likely to smack younger children (2-5 years). However, Maxwell (1993) concluded that there is no evidence to suggest any cultural differences in the use of physical punishment. They found that Māori and Pacific Islanders did endorse the use of physical punishment more than Pākehā, but not significantly more. In addition, these studies have focused on examining physical punishment rather than the use of *other* discipline strategies. There has also been no research that has examined a possible link between cultural values and disciplinary practices (Smith et al., 2005).

The little research that has been conducted specifically on Māori discipline practices was conducted by Rickard (1997) for her Masters of Psychology. She explored the reasons behind the use of physical punishment by Māori, arguing that past research had incorrectly discussed the topic as if it occurred in a culture-free context. Rickard adopted a critical theory approach, interviewing Māori about their experiences of physical punishment. A thematic analysis of the interview data showed that, while participants initially justified their use of physical punishment as a means of teaching, there were other reasons related to its use, such as stress, frustration and anger. They also mentioned a lack of support as a result of moving into isolated urban communities as other reasons for using physical punishment. A conflicting finding was that the participants used the terms ‘cycle of abuse’ to explain their use of physical punishment, however they had not been smacked themselves as children. Furthermore, participants often referred to racist labels and negative stereotypes of themselves, such as Māori being more violent than Pākehā or that Māori are dirty. Rickard (1997) believed that it was the infiltration of these ideologies that has led Māori to believe that these are true, regardless of evidence to the contrary (e.g., participant’s accounts of non-violent parenting when they were growing up). As a result of the study, Rickard, like Māori politicians have done, urged Māori to ‘challenge the dominant ideologies’ that currently exist, as this is the only way in which Māori can move away from the use of physical punishment.

This statement by Rickard (1997) can also be extended to psychologists, as recognising and challenging these dominant ideologies or stereotypes about Māori is one way in which psychologists can develop their own cultural competencies. Being aware of one’s assumptions, judgments and biases related to different groups, as well as having the ability to know when these are negatively influencing ones’ practice, are some of the necessary competencies outlined by the New Zealand Psychologists Board (2006, as cited in Evans, Rucklidge & O’Driscoll, 2007). Indeed, recognition of cultural competencies is just part of the new emerging field of indigenous psychology. There is now a movement of indigenous knowledge in psychology that addresses issues of importance to indigenous people; such as bringing indigenous knowledge to the centre of research methodologies, professional training and to methods of engagement. For example, Smith (1999) has emphasised the need for Māori-centred research methodologies, and Morunga (2009) has recently identified strategies to improve the participation of Māori students in psychology training. Similarly in Australia, Ford

(2003) has discussed the ways in which psychological practice needs to be changed to work more effectively with Aboriginal people, and Ranzjin, McConnochie, Clark and Nolan (2007) have written extensively about the impact that psychology as ‘an agent of the dominant culture’ has had on Aboriginal people. Ranzjin et al., (2007) cite indigenous psychologists who call for psychology to prioritise and put indigenous knowledge at the centre, and they have made suggestions for ways in which indigenous content can be put into psychology training programmes.

## **Summary**

This chapter has focused on the literature in the area of Māori discipline practices of children in the home. It began by stressing the negative statistics held about Māori child abuse, which has led to the perception that Māori are harsh towards their children and are inherently violent. Māori leaders have defended these claims, citing missionaries’ diaries that show clearly the love and affection that Māori had towards both their women and their children. The chapter then examined some of these historical writings, where it can be concluded that there was indeed evidence to support the argument that Māori had non-violent ways of caring and disciplining their children. Processes such as colonisation and urbanisation have led to the break-down of the whānau and the increased use of harsh discipline practices by Māori in the home. However, there is little research that has investigated how Māori child-rearing and discipline is operating in whānau today, particularly about non-physical punishment methods. This would be important knowledge to add to the wave of indigenous knowledge that is currently being produced in psychology. This therefore leads to the rationale as set out below.

## **Rationale for this study**

From the review of the literature in Chapter One, it is evident that there is a great deal of knowledge and research on the discipline of children in the home, particularly the use of physical punishment. This knowledge is important in the light of recent changes to the law in regards to the ways in which children should be disciplined in New Zealand. However, as identified by Smith et al. (2005) and Amore-Ponter (2009), there is a dearth of research that specifically examines Māori discipline practices.

Clinicians have a pivotal role in the prevention of child abuse, and advocating for the use of positive discipline strategies is deemed an ethical obligation. As Māori are currently over-represented in the child abuse statistics, it is therefore paramount that clinicians acquire the awareness, knowledge and skills needed to work competently with Māori when addressing issues of discipline.

Given these statistics however, the aim of this research is not to perpetuate negative views and investigate what is going wrong with Māori child-rearing. Rather, the following research promotes a strength-based approach to working and researching with Māori. It provides an exploration of *successful* Māori child-rearing values and practices that have been held and developed within whānau, hapū and iwi over many generations and are still in operation today. It then addresses the ways in which we can utilise these understandings so that we can work more competently with Māori in psychological practice. Understanding the most effective means of disciplining children from a Māori perspective, and the values which Māori believe are important to pass on to younger generations, will also result in positive outcomes for Māori through the sharing of this new knowledge with other Māori families.

In order to achieve the above aims, in-depth semi-structured interviews were carried out with key informants, who provided their insider knowledge about their understanding of discipline as experts of best practice for Māori. A case study of a whānau was incorporated to provide an example of positive discipline and child-rearing in operation today, as well as add strength to the data obtained with the key informants. The results of the research are presented through both Māori-centred and psychological ‘lenses’, which brings together how psychology can understand behavioural assessment and interventions that are informed through privileging Māori principles and values, in order to enhance the wellbeing of Māori. The following chapter will describe the methodology and methods used to collect and analyse this data, which is then presented and discussed through themes.



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## CHAPTER THREE: Methodology

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### Introduction

The following chapter will describe the emergence of distinctly Māori approaches to research. These approaches were largely developed as a result of the shortcomings of previous research involving Māori, as well as a desire by Māori to create and control their own knowledge. Kaupapa Māori and Māori-centred research are two approaches that are commonly used in Māori mental health research. An analysis of the similarities and differences of these two approaches will be discussed in order to inform the methodology chosen for this study, which was based on Boulton's (2005) idea of the 'Māori research paradigm net'. The specific methods used in this research to conduct the interviews with the Māori psychologists and the case study interview will follow, along with the methods used to analyse the data. Key ethical considerations when carrying out this research will conclude this chapter.

### The Need for Māori Research Methodologies

Māori people, like many other indigenous peoples, have endured negative experiences of research in the past (Smith, 1999). It has been well documented that past research involving Māori has been carried out by mainly Pākehā researchers who have investigated the lives of Māori people using methods and analyses based on their own worldviews and research approaches (Boulton, 2005; Cram, 2001; Kingi, 2005; Powick, 2003; Smith, 1992; Stokes, 1985; Teariki, Spoonley & Tomoana, 1992; Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006). These approaches are usually characterised by scientific and positivistic methods, which are not sensitive to central aspects of Māori culture (Walker et al., 2006). As a result, Pākehā researchers have often misinterpreted the information gathered through a lack of knowledge and sensitivity to Māori culture and values (Kingi, 2006). As Cram (2001) stated "researching down about indigenous peoples all too often result in judgments being made that are based on the cultural standpoint of the researchers rather than the lived reality of the indigenous population" (p. 37).

Stokes (1985) defined Māori research as "an activity undertaken to increase knowledge of topics and issues relevant to and of concern to Māori people" (p. 3). Māori development should be one of the key outcomes of the research. However, often

research involving Māori are of topics of interest to Pākehā (Bishop, 1999; Smith, 1992) and are usually ‘illness orientated,’ (Kingi, 2005), only serving to devalue Māori or reinforce negative stereotypes (Stokes, 1985; Teariki et al., 1992). Māori have also been wrongly compared to Pākehā or norms of Western society in a deficit manner, which disregards the uniqueness of Māori people (Cram, 2001). It has been further criticised that research involving Māori has simply described what Māori already know about their society, rather than suggesting ways to encourage positive change (Cram, 1993; Boulton, 2005). Stokes (1985) provided the example of a study that determined the status of te reo Māori, but failed to provide any guidance on ways to ensure the survival of the language. As a result, outcomes of past research have left Māori with little to benefit from (Bishop, 1999; Powick, 2003).

These past experiences of research have had a significant impact on the lives of Māori people, resulting in a sense of distrust and suspicion of both Pākehā researchers and research methodologies (Bishop, 1996; Cram, 1993; Smith, 1999; Teariki et al., 1992). Some have argued that research has led to further marginalisation of the indigenous Māori, while maintaining the superiority of the Pākehā coloniser (Powick, 2003; Teariki et al., 1992). However, during the Māori renaissance beginning in the 1970s, Māori academics and researchers began questioning these past methods of research (Tolich, 2002). They critiqued the very notion of knowledge itself (e.g., who determines what legitimate knowledge is? Who decides how this knowledge is gained?) (Teariki et al., 1992). They challenged for need for Māori to have more involvement in the research process and so regain control over their own knowledge. As a result, more culturally sensitive methods of research that support a Māori worldview have begun to emerge. Kaupapa Māori and Māori-centred research methodologies are two such approaches. These approaches have slowly helped to change the attitudes of Māori towards research (Walker et al., 2006) and have significantly changed the role of Māori within health research (Kingi, 2005).

### **Kaupapa Māori Research**

Kaupapa Māori research has been described as research that is ‘by Māori, for Māori and with Māori’. While many believe that a definition is not necessary, it is generally agreed that kaupapa Māori research puts Māori at the core of the research from the inception of the idea to the dissemination of the results. Māori should also be

empowered throughout the process and reap the benefits of the outcomes (Walker et al., 2006). Cunningham (1998) discussed kaupapa Māori research as “research where Māori are significant participants, and where the research team is typically all Māori; Research where a Māori analysis is undertaken and which produces Māori knowledge; Research which primarily meets expectations and quality standards set by Māori ” (p. 51). It is possible to describe kaupapa Māori research by examining the key principles or features that underlie this particular framework as described by various writers (e.g., Bevan-Brown, 1998; Bishop, 1999; Te Momo, 2002; Walker et al., 2006). Many of the actual processes involved in the research are the same as mainstream research (e.g., formulating a research question, gathering valid and reliable data), however it is *how* these processes are approached that distinguishes a kaupapa Māori approach to other universal approaches.

Bishop (1999) believes that the most fundamental principle of a kaupapa Māori research approach is that of creating self-determination by Māori, or *tino rangatiratanga*; a right guaranteed to Māori under Article II of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Māori can achieve this in research by taking control of the entire research process. For example, Māori should collectively decide what the research will be about, how the research question will be answered, who will benefit from the research and how and when the results will be shared with others. Therefore, the aim of a kaupapa Māori approach is for Māori to set their own research agenda. However, this is very hard when the research is carried out primarily for an academic institution, and even more so for a qualification with time constraints (such as this). Bevan-Brown (1998) made some valid points when she commented that the assessment of research within academic institutions is graded using the same criteria as Pākehā research and that there are some procedures that are deemed ethical by the university ethics board, but that aren't ‘Māori friendly’ (e.g., the formal processes of information and consent forms). Therefore, in instances such as these it is Pākehā who have control of the research, and so it is not always possible to conduct Māori research from a ‘pure’ kaupapa Māori approach.

In setting this research agenda, a kaupapa Māori approach also incorporates a Māori worldview. This means viewing and organising the research in a uniquely Māori way. To begin with, Māori have a unique way of understanding and approaching knowledge. Lessons about Māori epistemology can be learnt from the well-told story of Tāne and his journey to the twelfth heaven to obtain the three kete (baskets) of knowledge. Cram (1993) states that “for Māori the purpose of knowledge is to uphold



the interests and the mana of the group; it serves the community” (p. 1). Therefore, there is no personal gain to conducting research; the only gain is for the researcher’s whānau, hapū and iwi and for the good of all Māori people. When Tāne went to obtain the kete of knowledge, he did so for *all* his people (Smith, 1992). In addition, the knowledge he obtained was hierarchical in that some of the knowledge was common while other knowledge was highly specialised. From a Māori perspective, knowledge is tapu (sacred) (Powick, 2003), and there are restrictions on how it can be used. For example, knowledge of whakapapa (genealogical information) can only be passed on to a chosen few, and is usually transmitted orally. These individuals have the responsibility of holding this knowledge for the rest of the group and have to ensure that this knowledge is used appropriately and passed down with accuracy (Bevan-Brown, 1998; Smith, 1992). Tribal knowledge too is sometimes only available to tribal members and not to the general public (Bevan-Brown, 1998). Therefore, those undertaking research with Māori must have an understanding that they do not have the right to access all knowledge (Cram, 2001; Smith, 1992; Stokes, 1985). It should be noted that, just like all cultures, there are within-Māori variations and therefore not all Māori will hold the same worldview (Stokes, 1985).

A kaupapa Māori approach also takes place within a ‘Māori framework’ (Stokes, 1985) which means incorporating Māori concepts, values and tikanga (protocols) in order to maintain a Māori world-view. For example, the concept of utu (reciprocity) means that the researcher has an obligation to give something back to the people involved in their study for their contribution. This could be in the form of taking food to the participant’s house (e.g., Poananga, 2006) or sending a card to thank them for their time. Meeting the participant at a time and place that is convenient for them, taking shoes off at the door, allowing time to talk about one’s whakapapa and establish a trusting relationship, are all simple practices based upon important Māori values such as manaaki (showing care) and whānaungatanga (maintaining relationship) (Bevan-Brown, 1998). Using te reo Māori (Māori language) where appropriate is also important as this contributes to the revitalisation of the language (Walker et al., 2006). In addition, the involvement of kaumātua (respected elders) for support, guidance and mentorship is believed to be central to a kaupapa Māori research approach as kaumātua hold special wisdom and knowledge and can ensure that these Māori protocols are adhered to (Te Momo, 2002; Walker et al., 2006).

One of the key themes to have emerged from the development of distinctly Māori approaches to research is that of providing positive outcomes for Māori (Herbert, 2001). All research involving Māori aims to conduct research in areas of need that have been identified by Māori themselves, and where the outcomes will enhance the quality of life for Māori in some way or another (e.g., increased knowledge, more effective interventions). This means moving away from the “traditional academic stance of the detached observer” (Stokes, 1985, p. 3), and involves consulting with appropriate Māori people in the community to ensure that the research is of importance. This consultation should take place as early as possible (e.g., before the research proposal has been written) to allow for any changes to the initial research idea and design. Consultation should then be continued throughout the research process and after the completion of the research (Health Research Council, 2010). Indeed one of the limitations of kaupapa Māori research, especially for those who have to adhere to timelines set by an academic institution, is that extra time is needed for consultation in the preliminary stages of the research (Boulton, 2005; Te Momo, 2002) to enable relationships to be formed within the community of interest. When it comes time to gather data, Māori research should also utilise an empowering approach, which means that there should be an equal relationship between the researcher and the participants. Therefore, it is the participant who is the ‘expert’ and not the researcher. The researcher must work together with the participant to help conceptualise their experience as *they* choose to define it. Researchers should also present the research (e.g., the information sheet) and the publications arising from the research in ways that are understandable to all Māori people (Bevan-Brown, 1998).

The question of *who* should carry out Māori research remains debatable, but it is often the view that claiming Māori ancestry is not enough to guarantee that one is suitable. Having an understanding of tikanga Māori and te reo Māori are also important, so too is the having the credibility and research skills (Bevan-Brown, 1998; Walker et al., 2006). Stokes (1985) argued that the researcher can be Māori or Pākehā, and in fact, a researcher that is comfortable in both Māori *and* Pākehā worlds (e.g., bicultural) and who is preferably bilingual, is ideal. For kaupapa Māori research in particular, it has been argued that Pākehā cannot engage in it but can only support it (Cram, 2002; Powick, 2003). But for Māori research in general there are a number of models that have been developed to allow Pākehā researchers to appropriately and successfully be involved (e.g., Bishop, 1996; Smith, 1990), as involving Pākehā ensures that partnership

Te Tiriti obligations are met. Documents such as the ‘Guidelines for Researchers on Health Research Involving Māori’ (Health Research Council, 2010) have been written to ensure that research with Māori is carried out in a culturally appropriate way and that the outcomes of the research contribute positively to Māori health. This document sets out in detail the consultation process of Māori research and emphasises the need for Māori involvement throughout the research process.

### **Māori-Centred Research**

There are several similarities between kaupapa Māori research and Māori-centred research. Both approaches involve research where Māori are significant participants and where Māori form the majority of the research team. They both aim to produce Māori knowledge through Māori analysis. In addition, many of the key principles such as empowering and benefiting Māori in the research process, employing the use of Māori concepts, values, tikanga and te reo and consulting with experts and kaumātua in the community, all equally apply to both approaches. However, one of the key differences is that, with kaupapa Māori research, the power and control over the research lies only with the Māori community involved in the research (Herbert, 2001). For example, Māori (as a collective group rather than as an individual researcher) design, plan, gather, analyse and write up the research and therefore the control stays with Māori organisations. However, Māori-centred research “does not demand of its proponents such a whole-hearted capture by the community” (Boulton, 2005, p. 79). The researcher has more control and is able to combine westernised research practices with Māori cultural practices.

While it was helpful to make distinctions between the different types of Māori research in the past, more contemporary researchers have moved beyond the necessity of such distinctions. Boulton (2005) conducted research on the Māori mental health contracting experience, adopting what she termed a “Māori research paradigm net” as part of her methodological approach, an idea which extended from the work of Denzin and Lincoln (2000). Within this net she included elements from *both* the kaupapa Māori and Māori-centred approaches, arguing that they could each “overlap and inform each other” (p. 82). Indeed, it is evident that the two overlap each other in many ways, as demonstrated by the similarities noted earlier. Boulton (2005) further argued that “the

two approaches are neither exclusive nor superior to the other, but merely parts of a greater paradigm that is Māori research” (p. 82). In this ‘net’ Boulton also recognised that her approach to the research, from the conception of the idea to the dissemination of the results, would undoubtedly be influenced by her own culture, values and belief. These personal and societal factors combine to give a researcher their own unique worldview, which ultimately affects the way in which the research is carried out. Again, this moves away from the researcher acting as the ‘detached observer’ as evident in traditional research approaches. Qualitative and quantitative elements taken from Western methods were also contained in the net, as she chose to use a combination of the two in her research.

### **Chosen Methodology**

A Māori-centred approach was the most appropriate methodology for this research because the standards and ethics were set by the university institution and not solely by Māori. In addition, this research was also supervised by mainly Pākehā members of the university. As the primary researcher I acknowledge that I am not competent in all things Māori, nor can I speak the Māori language fluently. As I grow and become more experienced and knowledgeable I might then be in a credible place to conduct research using a kaupapa Māori approach. However, for this research, an adherence to the academic requirements of my university institution was required, but this was also combined with a respect for and understanding of Māori culture, values and practices. Cultural consultation was utilised by myself, and also by my supervisors, to ensure that the research and its methodology was tika; right, honest and culturally correct. I therefore had a dual accountability (Powick, 2003) to both Māori and mainstream. But while this research did not fit strictly within a kaupapa Māori approach, it adopted Boulton’s idea of fusing the two approaches together under the one banner of a ‘Māori research paradigm’. Thus there were some elements taken from a kaupapa Māori approach in this research, including the following ethical guidelines originally posited by Smith (1999) and brought to further notice by others such as Te Momo (2002):

- 1) aroha ki to tangata (a respect for people)
- 2) kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face)
- 3) titiro, whakarongo, kōrero (look, listen, ... speak)
- 4) manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)
- 5) kia tupato (be cautious)
- 6) kua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of your people)
- 7) kua e māhaki (don't flaunt your knowledge).

These ethical principles guided my research from its conception, to ensure that Māori would have a positive experience of the research process and benefit from the outcomes. Like Te Momo (2002) experienced, these are the same ethical principles that I unconsciously followed during research I have previously carried out with Māori (Poananga, 2006), and so it seemed natural to follow these same principles for this research, but make them more explicit. For example, the principles of 'kia tupoto' and 'kua e takahia te mana o te tangata' and 'aroha ki to tangata' meant that from the beginning of this research journey I had to be cautious and approach this controversial topic with extra sensitivity, compassion and care. This involved consulting with various members of my own whānau about my idea, talking with kaumatua and others from Massey University who had experience and expertise in researching with Māori, and finally with Māori agencies working in the community. Understanding the difficulties Māori have had with research, I also sought to ensure a strength-based approach to inspire change, rather than produce a deficit model, in order to adhere to these principles. I also tried to ensure that most of my consultations with these people, and later with my participants, were face-to-face, as the principle of 'kanohi kitea' demonstrates.

The key principle of both Māori-centred and Kaupapa Māori approaches is that of empowering Māori and enhancing their quality of life. From the very outset my main aim was to benefit Māori through my research. The topic of discipline practices is very personal and sensitive, and one that is usually surrounded by negative stereotypes about Māori and the ways in which they raise their children. As mentioned previously, there have been several well publicised cases of children being abused and sometimes killed at the hands of Māori parents, spurring much public and political attention and debate. However, my research methodology sought to explore the positive aspects of Māori

child-rearing and gather knowledge that will help to inform all clinical psychologists working with Māori whānau in this area. In my research, the participants are the ones who are the ‘experts’ on my topic as I am developing in my experience training as a clinical psychologist. Therefore my role in the research is one of looking, listening and learning (‘titiro, whakarongo, kōrero’) from my participants as they are the ones with the knowledge that I would like to learn. Māori tikanga will also be employed throughout my research where I find it appropriate and comfortable. Tikanga is defined by Powick (2003) as “the rules, restrictions behaviours and practices ... the correct or appropriate way to feel or do something” (p. 15). This ensures that what I am doing is tika throughout the research process. How these above ethical principles were incorporated into the research data collection phrase will be detailed further below.

## **Methods**

The following is an outline of the methods used to carry out the interviews with both the psychologists and the case study in this research. Interweaved throughout this outline are the number of ethical and cultural considerations made. These methods were a combination of mainstream (e.g., ethical approval from university, interviews) and Māori methods (e.g., cultural consultation, whakawhānaungatanga). The chosen methodology for this research, as described previously, guided my choice of methods. For example, the primary data collection method was conducting qualitative interviews as this fits well within the principles of Māori-centred research, specifically that of empowering the research participants. It enabled a Māori perspective to be voiced on my topic within an informal and non-threatening environment, and allowed for meaning-based rather than a statistical form of data analysis. Other influences that determined the use of methods included resource and time constraints, as well as an understanding of my own skills and experiences as a researcher.

## **The Participants**

The participants in this study were six Māori, both male and female, who worked as psychologists in New Zealand, and one Māori woman who was interviewed on behalf of her whānau. The psychologists acted as key informants in this study. Key informants are used when specialised insiders knowledge is required about a particular topic of interest. Marshall (1996) stated that “key informants, as a result of their

personal skills, or position in society, are able to provide more information and a deeper insight into what is going on around them” (p. 92). These Māori psychologists were able to provide this information primarily through their work as psychologists, but also through their involvement as a member within their own whānau. They worked in a variety of clinical settings and were at different levels in their career paths. Some had carried out thesis research of their own and were able to also provide me with guidance about how to best carry out my own research. The case study of a contemporary Māori whānau was incorporated to provide an example of a whānau who is operating in strength even under stressful circumstances; adopting a positive discipline approach without the use of physical punishment. It was also used to add strength to the data already obtained from the interviews with the psychologists. Common in psychology, a case study approach is used when one wants to understand a particular phenomenon in-depth within a real-life context and it rejects the traditional notions of generalisability (Stake, 2000; Yin, 2003). In this research, the case study was utilised to understand in greater detail the unique and positive ways in which this contemporary whānau approached discipline and child-rearing, with no attempt to generalise the findings to other Māori whānau.

### **Recruitment of the Key Informants (Māori Psychologists)**

The six key informants were recruited through a variety of different means. I first made contact with the Māori psychologists through contact with a researcher in the area of Māori discipline practices. Her name was entered into the Google search engine and her email located through the website of her place of work. I initially made contact with her through email. I found this an appropriate and practical way to approach her and the informants, given time constraints and considering the contemporary use of email within professional settings. This researcher gave me the names and contact details of people believed to have an interest in my topic. I made contact with them individually in a similar manner, firstly emailing and then following with a phone call, and they all agreed to talk with me. Informants then suggest others who may be interested in my topic. Therefore, snowball sampling was used as a technique to identify further informants (Brown, 2005). Two other informants were identified through my mentors from Te Rau Puawai<sup>4</sup>, and the final informant was through a colleague I met at a thesis

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<sup>4</sup> Te Rau Puawai is a scholarship programme from Massey University for Māori students studying towards a career in mental health.

support group at the university. All informants were sent an information sheet (see Appendix A) via an email attachment so that they understood the purpose of the interview prior to us meeting.

### **Recruitment of the Case Study Whānau**

Te Kahui Mana Ririki is a Māori child advocacy organisation, which was established following a summit held in 2007 to discuss Māori child abuse. The main aims of the organisation are to advocate on behalf of Māori children and their whānau, to support and conduct research and to communicate their message through workshops, TV and radio. It was through this organisation that the whānau for the case study was recruited. The participant was a Māori woman who spoke on behalf of her whānau. In order to maintain her anonymity, she will be given the name 'Ariana' herein. Ariana was sent an information sheet (see Appendix B) and an offer to participate in the study via email.

The following is a brief description of Ariana and her whānau, who reside in an urban setting. In Ariana's home live herself, her partner, their three children and Ariana's sister. Their eldest is an 8-year-old daughter, followed by their 5-year-old daughter and 2-year-old son. They have 'strong relationships' within their whānau. Ariana's parents live only a few doors down the road. Together they all enjoy simple pleasures, such as going to the park, sharing some fish n' chips or travelling. The children can often be seen in their 'play gangs' with the local children on their bikes on the right-of-way where they live, or they can be found down the road visiting their grandparents (sometimes having art lessons with Ariana's dad). One of the major challenges for the whānau was having one of their children diagnosed with leukaemia. However, Ariana believed it made them stronger because of what they have been through and they are now a 'well-oiled unit'. All adults living in the house are employed, and so juggling between their child's illness, work and the rest of the whānau needs can also be a challenge. Ariana preferred the term 'whānau management' instead of the word discipline, which she believes has connotations of hitting and smacking. She is firmly against using physical punishment in their home or letting her children be cared for by those who use it. Ariana is proud that when her children are out with other people they are 'very well mannered' and other people are always happy to have them stay with them.



## Data Collection

Semi-structured face-to-face in-depth interviews were carried out with both the Māori psychologists and the whānau interview. All the interviews were evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk, and were therefore not reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committee. I was therefore responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. The use of semi-structured interviews is the preferred method of choice when one does not want to impose any 'pre-established categories' or ideas (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), and is the recommended means of data collection if wanting to conduct a thematic analysis of the text (Smith & Osborn, 2003). My aim was to enter each interview with my general topic of interest and a few questions to pursue, but to allow the participants to tell me about their experiences and share their views on my topic in their own way. Issues or areas that I had not considered previously would then have the opportunity to arise without any questioning on my part. Therefore, this positioned the informants as the experts who shared in the control of the interview, and I was there to listen and learn from what they had to say; 'titiro, whakarongo...kōrero' (look, listen... speak). Having the interviews face-to-face provided the appropriate context in which to establish rapport and provide a comfortable space to talk. Face-to-face interviewing also fits more comfortably within a Māori research framework as the principle of *kanohi kitea* (the seen face) demonstrates.

Interviews were carried out at a time and place convenient to the participants. I was particularly aware of the workload of Māori psychologists and I was grateful that they agreed to meet with me; 'aroha ki te tangata'. All interviews were conducted at their place of work. Some interviews involved traveling long distances of up to 5 hours return, while others were held more locally. Overall, each interview took between 1 to 2 hours to complete. This included time at the beginning and the end for both *whakawhānaungatanga* (making connections between each other) and/or informal discussions in order to get to know one another. None of the informants knew me personally (although we could often make connections through other people we both knew) so establishing a good rapport was one of my key priorities. Sharing a cup of tea/coffee or having something to eat was also part of this process as the value of *manākitanga* and *whakawhānaungatanga* demonstrates. I usually brought along a small cake or homemade baking, or we went together and I bought lunch or a coffee or gave a small *koha* (gift) at the end.

The interview proper began by handing the participant a copy of the information sheet on the university letterhead and allowing time for any questions to be answered. I then received either oral or written consent for the interview to proceed as well as permission to record the interview using a small digital recorder (see Appendix C). All seven participants agreed to have the interview recorded. Four signed a consent form to participate while the other three were happy to simply provide oral consent. Finally, no notes were taken during the interview so that I could listen attentively and keep eye contact, and thus maintain the rapport.

An interview guide was utilised for all the interviews (Appendix D and E). This helped to conceptualise the general topics that I wanted to cover before meeting with the participants and also provided some level of consistency across the psychologist interviews. The interviews began by asking general open-ended questions from the interview guide (e.g., how do you understand the term discipline?). From here the interview was shaped by what the participant wanted to talk about in relation to my topic. Some questions in the guide were not asked because they had already been answered within their discussion, while new questions were added where appropriate. Therefore, the interview guide was used with a high degree of flexibility. For the most part, my job as the interviewer was to simply listen and provide questions in relation to what they chose to discuss, or guide them into certain areas that I wanted to explore further. For the interviews with the Māori psychologists, the end of the interview was focused around a discussion of my research. It was here that informants reflected on our previous discussion and suggested areas where they believed that more research would be beneficial to both their work as psychologists and for Māori people in general. Most of these informants had either completed a thesis involving Māori or were in the process of completing one. They were therefore able to provide academic guidance and advice on various aspects of researching with Māori. At the completion of the interview I returned home to write notes in my research diary, noting for example the positives of the interview, aspects I could improve on for next time, contacts for other potential participants and any other initial ideas or thoughts. A card was then sent to each Māori psychologist within a few days of completing the interview to thank them for their valued contribution. I thought it would be more of a surprise to send a card, rather than presenting one at the completion of the interview. This allowed me to comment specifically on the interview so that it was more personal. For the whānau interview I

found it appropriate to present a koha in recognition of my appreciation for sharing her story with me on behalf of her whānau.

Transcription of the interviews was completed as soon as possible following each interview. This was completed by me only using digital transcribing equipment. A copy of the transcript was then sent in hard copy form to the participants for verification and to allow them to make any changes or additional comments. Once they were satisfied with the completed transcript they signed a transcript release form (see Appendix F) and returned both of these in the pre-paid envelope provided. All informants signed this form and only small grammatical changes were made to the transcripts. Once the transcripts were returned all identifying information was removed to ensure interviewee confidentiality. This process of returning the transcript to the informants was part of remaining accountable to those participating in the study, and also allowed for any new information to be added which would further enrich the data.

### **Thematic Analysis: Analysing the Interview Transcripts**

Thematic analysis is a widely used method of data analysis used in psychological research, particularly when wanting to explore how individuals are making sense of their personal and social worlds. Usually there is no need to have a predetermined hypothesis to the research question; rather, the aim is to simply explore in detail a broad topic of interest. It involves a two-stage interpretive process as, once the participants have made sense of their experience, the researcher then tries to make sense of the participant's experience and the *meanings* they form from it. This involves examining and organising the data for emerging themes, while acknowledging the bias and the active role of the researcher carrying out this process (Smith & Osborn, 2003). My position as an insider influenced what these themes were as I too have some psychological knowledge, however, thematic analysis allows for this. Therefore, this type of analysis fits more comfortably with a Māori-centred methodology as it rejects the dominant empiricist approach. As this analysis is very detailed and it takes a long time, smaller sample sizes are recommended to avoid being overwhelmed with the amount of data, and the participants should be recruited in a purposive manner (Smith & Osborn, 2003). As carried out in this study, the most recommended method of data collection is through semi-structured interviews.

As qualitative analysis is a personal process, there is no particular way in which themes must be identified (Smith & Osborn, 2003). For this research, the analysis began

by becoming familiar with the transcripts by reading each of them several times. The aim was to try and suspend my own presuppositions about the topic, and try to see things through my participant's eyes, deciding what 'lens' in which to view the data through (Boyatzis, 1998; Lemon & Taylor, 1998). Initial notes were then recorded alongside the text (e.g., significant or noteworthy comments, summaries of what was being said). The next stage attempted to change these initial notes into themes, which Smith and Osborn (2003) eloquently explained as "more concise phrases which aim to capture the essential quality of what was found in the text" (p. 68). The themes from the first transcript were used to orient the analysis of the next, while still allowing for new themes to emerge. The transcripts were then carefully searched for statements that supported each of the themes, ascribing page numbers and identifying information to each of the statements. Internal validation of the theme was achieved by constantly checking back to the original statements to make sure the theme was still accurate (Lemon & Taylor, 1998). The final stages of the analysis process involved looking for the connections between the themes and assigning some as super-ordinate themes, and some as sub-themes. Two tables of these themes were then constructed. The overall aim of the analysis was to produce an accurate description of the participants' understanding and experience of child discipline, and to present this through a narrative that would combine their understandings with knowledge from other literature and studies.

### **Thematic Tables of Themes**

In the following two chapters I will present an analysis and discussion of the data obtained from both the interviews with the Māori psychologists and with the case study whānau. In the process of analysing the data it emerged that, although the main topic of the interview was child discipline practices and strategies in the home, all participants talked primarily about the characteristics of the *whānau* within which discipline occurs. This began right from their knowledge of how their ancestors managed the care of their children, to how some whānau are struggling today. The Māori psychologists made it clear that it was more effective to understand the nature of the whānau and the parenting before delving into discipline issues with their clients. They were more interested in asking questions that made sense of the underlying conditions that led to their use of particular discipline practices, such as the *relationships* their tangata whaiora had (e.g., relationships in their whānau), their past parenting experiences and their cultural identity.

Therefore, the first part of the analysis in Chapter Four involved analysing the data through a set of Māori-centred ‘lenses’ and it focuses on Māori principles and notions of child-rearing that help to inform the behavioural aspects of ‘discipline’ (if indeed that is the best term to use with Māori whānau in the first place). Thus the superordinate theme became ‘Understanding the Whānau’ and its centrality to effective practice, with 9 sub-themes that describe the particular aspects of whānau that relate to Māori child-rearing. These themes are presented in Table 1 below:

**Table 1: *Table of themes for part one of the analysis***

<b>Understanding the Whānau</b>	
1.	The Changing Nature of Whānau
2.	Whānau Intervention and Collective Responsibility
3.	Shifting and Swapping
4.	Permissive and Relaxed
5.	Special role of Kaumātua and Kuia
6.	Whakawhānaungatanga and Kai
7.	Wairua
8.	Cultural Identity
9.	When Whānau Struggle

The second part of the analysis, which will be presented in Chapter Five, involved looking more through a set of psychological, behavioural and political ‘lenses’ to describe the participants’ understanding of the concept of discipline and the impact of the law, although the two types of analysis are not easily separated and Māori remained at the centre through this analysis also. There were three main themes that emerged from this analysis. Through the first theme ‘Conceptualising Discipline’ the

participants’ theoretical understanding of the concept of discipline emerges, while the second theme ‘Practicing Discipline’ brings through their ideas about how discipline is carried out and the influences to these practices. The final theme ‘Crimes Act Amendment’ allows for the participants’ views about physical punishment, the controversial law and the impact of this law on Māori and their clinical practice. These themes are presented in Table 2 below:

**Table 2: Table of themes for part two of analysis**

<b>CONCEPTUALISING DISCIPLINE</b>	<b>PRACTICING DISCIPLINE</b>	<b>CRIMES ACT AMENDMENT</b>
Public versus Professional Understandings	Factors Influencing Approach	Smacking
Values and Pro-Social Behaviours	Strategies	Conflicting Views
Control	Effective Discipline	Information Sharing and Education



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## CHAPTER FOUR: Understanding the Whānau

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*“If you have got a strong whānau then I think most good things would come from strong whānau. You know how they say it’s ‘all about whānau’? It really is all about whānau.” (MPI)*

### **The Changing Nature of Whānau**

Whānau was the central theme described in both the interviews with the Māori psychologists and the case study whānau. It is therefore important to firstly understand the meaning of the term whānau, as it is often incorrectly translated in New Zealand to simply mean ‘an extended family’. The literature makes it clear that whānau means much more than this. In a recent report on the characteristics of whānau, written by Cunningham, Stevenson and Tassell (2005), whānau was defined as, “a diffuse unit based on a common whakapapa, descent from a shared ancestor or ancestors, and within which certain responsibilities and obligations are maintained.” (p. 15).

Whānau is a social unit usually made up of around 3 to 4 generations of extended family and is in turn part of larger Māori social organisations, including the hapū, iwi and waka (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). The whakapapa or whānau *principle* means that to be a member of the whānau, you must be born into it (Mead, 2003). Some of the responsibilities and obligations of the whānau include the care of the young and the elderly, the care and maintenance of the land and other collective assets (e.g., marae) and the organisation of hui and other whānau gatherings. Core Māori values such as aroha (love), manākitanga (care for others) and whānaungatanga (family connections and relationships) are privileged, and these values form the base of its functioning. It is a collective operation which relies on co-operation, interdependence and reciprocity (McCarthy, 1997). Men, women and children are all equally valued in the group. Mikaere (1999) wrote that “the very survival of the whole was absolutely dependent upon everyone who made it up, and therefore each and every person within the group had his or her intrinsic value” (p. 36). When operating well, the whānau provides a supportive environment in which its members can feel safe and secure.

Cunningham et al. (2005) acknowledged that the term whānau has also been used more recently to describe a group of people bound by a common agenda; though they may not necessarily share the same whakapapa. This group can be described as the



‘kaupapa whānau’ or ‘pseudo-whānau’ (Rokx, 1997) and while they may not necessarily be connected by a common ancestor, they relate to each other in a similar way and the values upon which the group operates are similar to that of the whakapapa whānau. Examples of these groups include Kohanga, Kura and Wananga groups (Māori education groups), and sports, social and work groups. Parenting programmes are a good example of a place in which a kaupapa whānau can be established. These programmes provide an environment where parents can learn skills they may not have had access to within their own whakapapa-based whānau, and they also receive the care and support from other parents in the programme. This distinction between a whakapapa-based and a kaupapa-based whānau is often made in the literature in this area (e.g., Metge, 1995; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Walker, 2004) and new types of whānau are still emerging, such as the virtual whānau, statistical whānau and new whānau (Herbert, 2001; Walker, 2004).

When discussing whānau and how children are being reared and disciplined today, the participants frequently talked about how their ancestors raised their children as, for Māori, the past, the present and the future are not separate. While there is a perception held by some that Māori are inherently violent, the participants made it clear that this was not how their ancestors were towards their children:

If you look at Ranginui Walker, any of those ones, if you look anywhere in our history there was nothing. There was no history of that kind of approach or attitude towards children...it's quite sad when you see that somehow we have inherited this very British attitude that somehow hitting was some kind of discipline. (MP6)

If you look at those early missionary diaries, Samuel Marsden and Kendall and all those, they talk about how there is Māori children and they don't hit them...they made those comments: ‘My goodness, look at those children! Who sit and go to all those hui [meetings]. They never hit their children’...If you really look at those diaries I think that is powerful stuff. Because white men were not going to write about children or women...it was something glaringly obvious to them so they bothered to put it in...So I mean there's just a prominent picture of us that we all used to go around killing each other and eating each other...believe that

we were all ‘once were warriors’ and I think it’s that mindset that violence was innate, or is innate. But I would say those are people who don’t really know their culture. (MP4)

There is this whole thing around, ‘well that is how we are’. The ‘once were warriors’ kind of mentality stuff, that this is how we parent, we are a warrior people, is rubbish...we have got to move through that and know that we are a very loving and caring people. (MP3)

I believe that back in the day if you neglected your child to such an extent, or hurt them to such an extent, they used to have this type of utu [revenge process] I think that they enforced on the family, that they go down and take everything off them. They would say that you stole from us so now we are taking everything. (MP1)

These quotes demonstrate the frustration that is felt when claims are made that Māori are innately violent. This is often perpetuated in the media and with movies such as ‘Once were Warriors’ (Mikaere, 1994). This then impacts on Māori whānau who become positioned as violent, or believe that ‘this is just who we are’. As a result of these misconceived ideas about harsh Māori child-rearing practices, many of the psychologists believed that the journey of wellbeing for Māori should involve re-telling these stories and helping them make sense of the past, so that they can be proud of how their ancestors cared for their children:

When she [a noted researcher] developed her parenting programme it was very much that colonial journey and just saying that, look, these are the things that we are proud of. And there is nowhere in there where there is that kind of harsh discipline. (MP6)

Many writers have pointed to the breakdown and changing nature of the whānau as one of key factors involved in the rising use of violence and physical punishment in the home (e.g., Rickard, 1998). Colonisation, urbanisation (Mikaere, 1999; Rokx, 1997; Walker, 2004) and assimilative policies (Doolan, *n.d.*; McCarthy, 1997) are recognised as being the main factors to this breakdown. During the urbanisation

period, Māori were forced to move to urban areas in order to gain work, leaving their marae-based support behind and breaking into nuclear family units (Mikaere, 1999). One psychologist talked about her parents being part of the urbanisation period and the impact that moving to the cities had on the whānau structure. This move subsequently changed the way in which their children were cared for. Another mentioned the impact that living as part of the non-dominant culture had on the use of harsh discipline.

They all came away to the cities, and then they are looking after their families by themselves, which is a different experience of growing up around other people. (MP5)

And there is nowhere in there [history] where there is that kind of harsh discipline. And why have we [used harsh discipline]? Well we do know why. It's been part of managing to survive, you know, as a non dominant culture. (MP6)

In a discussion about how to best support whānau who are having difficulty, one psychologist postulated that perhaps it was the urban areas that were having the most difficulty:

Given that a lot of these issues are also reasonably urban, at least these high profile cases seem to be in reasonably urban areas, who knows? (MP2)

As a whānau operating today, Ariana knows the importance of ensuring that her whānau can function in both the country where she was raised, and in the city where they currently reside. The quote below suggests that she understands the differences between living as a whānau between the two different settings:

...And the importance of being able to function in an urban base and in a rural base as a whānau. (CS)

Another psychologist talked about some of the conversations she had with kaumātua about colonisation and the changing nature of whānau:

They [kaumātua] always talked about doing things as a family. So they all went to the garden, they all went to collect seafood. It wasn't a man going, or a woman going, they all went. She [kuia] believes that that has changed, and that that change in itself had been prescribed to them but that it wasn't actually theirs. (MP3)

However, although the whānau has been modified over the years, in part to meet the needs of today's economic pressures, its underlying values remain the same. McCarthy (1997) stated that the whānau "is a mode of operation that is still widely utilised, encouraged and fostered by many Māori" (p. 27). In addition, it is still one of the key places within which cultural identity is formed and nurtured. For the participants in this study, it was clear that whānau remain centrally important to their lives. The quotes below suggest that the importance and responsibility of being part of the whānau is a *value* that they have been raised with; and a *value* that they hope to teach to their own children. The following are a few examples of the ways in which whānau were discussed by the participants:

So family is first and everything else is next. So what is right is supporting the family and what is wrong is not supporting the family! Having a strong whānau is really important. (MP1)

We had lots and lots of cousins at Raglan. So I think I had a childhood where, you know, it had its moments, but we always had lots of family, lots of fun whether we were at the beach in Raglan or on holiday...You realise as you get older that it is important. Family is there forever really, even when the times are bad. (MP6)

Making sure that kids are doing the right thing...teaching the importance of family...And that they be responsible enough, sensible you know? And try to do the right thing by themselves, by their whānau and all people. (MP4)

And people come [to the Māori parenting programmes] because they know people. And they will bring their mum or their aunty and they also feel comfortable coming with other whānau members. So that is quite an important part of that. (MP6)

For Ariana, teaching the importance of whānau was also deemed to be an important value that she and her whānau wanted to teach their children, and can therefore be said to contribute to their ability to operate in strength:

Instilling in our kids the importance of whānau and the importance of having cousins and enjoying being part of the whānau, and that is unique and special in NZ; that other people don't have that. And to be proud of that and be proud of where you are from. (CS)

The meaning drawn from the participants in this study is that the strengthening of te taha whānau (family side) of Māori wellbeing should always be included as one of the key goals in models of Māori mental health. For clinicians working with Māori and their whānau, enquiring about the nature of their whānau would therefore be a positive place in which to begin assessment and would show respect for how important whānau is for the tangata whaiora. It would be important to not only ask questions about whānau, but be able to bring to the answers an understanding of the *meaning* that it has for the assessment and intervention. For example, enquiring about the values that tangata whaiora believe are important to have in the whānau can help guide the interventions that might be put in place (e.g., if manākitanga is an important value, then teaching how to carry out positive reinforcement when children demonstrate an act of caring or kindness towards another member of the whānau). This theme has revealed the participants' ideas about the changing nature of whānau and how the value and importance of whānau continues on today. Within this whānau structure are the tamariki, the children, who strengthen the whānau through their unique positioning as the link between the past, present and future, and who are thus deemed to be taonga; treasures who are highly prized.

## **Children as Taonga**

One of the main roles of the whakapapa whānau is the procreation and nurturing of children. As the following quote highlights, children have always been deemed an important and integral part of the whānau, hapū and iwi and are treated as taonga, as they have been gifted from their ancestors that have come before them. They are valued because they are one of the links in the lines of descent and they also connect the living (Mikaere, 2002). For Māori, people are the most important living resource. One of the psychologists said:

In my thesis you will see comments like babies and children were celebrated because it strengthened the whānau. We had a social base, not an economic base, so children were welcomed into our families. (MP6)

The harakeke, or flax plant, is often used to symbolise the whānau. The te rito (the centre shoot) that sustains the plant is the symbol for the child; evidence of the child's central importance to the whānau (Rokx, 1997). In turn, the child also has reciprocal rights and responsibilities as part of being a member of the whānau (Mikaere, 2002). However, some believe that the idea of children being taonga is less prominent today. As Mead (2003) wrote, "today, adults generally do not notice the mana of a child, preferring that children are seen and not heard. It was not like this in traditional society" (p. 51). Two of the psychologists also mentioned this in their interviews:

It was there in our kaumātuas' day. That kind of knowing and valuing of the baby as a unique bond between the past, the present and the future. It was there then. That's why they had karakia and all of those other special practices. (MP3)

The thing I learnt from my study around whāngai is that there are institutions within the whānau themselves, traditionally, may not be now, that have been put into place to monitor the care of young people because they are taonga to our people and they are there to contribute to our whānau...they are a living resource to us. (MP1)

Mead (2003) went on to explain that, in traditional Māori society, if the mana of the child was neglected and the child was hurt in any way, then those responsible would be severely punished. He cites examples from the observations of Best (1941, as cited in Mead, 2003, p. 249) who wrote that after a father was found to ill-treat his child he was beaten with a stick, and the muru<sup>5</sup> party asked him for payment, in the form of goods, to be handed over to them. Mistreatment of children was seen by kuia (female elders) and koroua (male elders) as the trampling of tupuna (ancestors) (Rokx, 1997; Smith, 1995). As children, woman and men were all equally valued in the whānau, mistreatment of women was also highly unacceptable. Māori women held an important role in the whānau, one of which was bearing the children for the whānau, and so it was deemed important that the women were well cared for and supported. Any assault on them was regarded as very serious and could result in the perpetrator being ignored by the community or even killed (Mikaere, 1999). One of the psychologists talked about the consequences of abuse against women:

There were harsh consequences for abuse against women...I remember hearing a story recently from a kaumātua about when a woman was raped while the men were away in the war...the particular man was taken out pig hunting and they started to prepare for the tangi [funeral process]. And that is the way they did it. There was a consequence. He turned up dead. It absolutely wasn't accepted. (MP3)

This idea that violence against women was not acceptable in traditional times was supported by Mikaere (1999), who wrote about the impact of colonisation on Māori women. For the psychologists in this study, the idea that children are taonga is still here today, and this was also the case in Ariana's whānau:

I think that our tamariki are taonga and we need to treat them as such...seeing them as taonga to be treasured; that they have been passed down from their ancestors and we have to step up and protect them and make sure they are safe. (CS)

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<sup>5</sup> Means 'plundering of goods'. If errors were committed from within the whānau then muru took place.

This quote suggests that a factor which allows this whānau to operate in strength is that they hold the *value* that children are taonga. This is a value that can be explored in our work with Māori; retelling those stories about children as treasures passed on from ancestors that have come before them. Ariana also believes that whānau members have to ‘step up and protect’ these treasures and this idea is further explained in the following section, which will look at how whānau collectively care for their children and intervene when necessary in order to protect them.

### **Whānau Intervention and Collective Responsibility**

In continuing the metaphor of the harakeke as the whānau, it is the flax leaves on either side of the te rito that symbolises the parents and the elders who surround the child with care and protection (Rokx, 1997). When there is dysfunction or conflict in the whānau, its members have the role of intervening or mediating where necessary in order to resolve the conflict (McCarthy, 1997). For the following psychologist, being the eldest mokopuna (grandchild) means that she holds a special role in her whānau, just like her mother, where she keeps an eye on the whānau and decides when to step in and intervene:

So in their whānau of 10, I think there are two who would be considered to have been abusive and we whāngai their children...It was like that collective responsibility of us, I guess, of protecting our kids. And now with my aunty, her daughter is now a mother and we have had to remove her children from her...my mum is the eldest and I am the eldest of all the mokos so we kind of hold that particular role in our family. If there is anything going on then they will always come and stay with us. It’s just always been like that. (MP3)

Ariana firmly believes in whānau members ‘stepping in’ and intervening as she explains in the three quotes that follow:

I know that I have cousins who smack or twist ears and I feel really uncomfortable and I actually step in when I see that happening, because I don’t feel that that is appropriate. (CS)



If you think that someone is under stress I think whānau have to come in and step in, step up, man up as they say...and intervening as well. If you see something that is happening, intervening and saying, “would you like me to take them for a couple of days?” Or something. You know? Taking responsibility as a whānau, for everyone in that whānau. (CS)

We as whānau have to take responsibility for all our tamariki [children] and don't rely on and blame the government or CYPs [Child, Youth and Family Services] to come in and take responsibility for our whānau. We as a whānau need to step up and say these are our tamariki, we need to make sure they are safe. (CS)

This way of intervening is an example of some of the implicit rules underlining the values of the whānau, and has only been recently recognised in child welfare policy. Whānau specific ways of intervention were recognised in 1989 in New Zealand when the child welfare and youth justice system was reformed and the Family Group Conference was developed (Tauri & Morris, 1997). This process attempted to give the whānau more power and responsibility to choose how to intervene if their children come into contact with the child welfare system (Doolan, *n.d*). Before children become involved with the child welfare system however (and indeed a practice that has been held within whānau, hapū and iwi for generations), Māori have their own decision-making practices and processes to sort out social matters. As one psychologist explained, and indeed a notion often stressed in restorative justice literature (c.f. Tauri & Morris, 1997), sometimes the punishment for those who ill-treat their children is simply the *shame* experienced if one's children need to be removed. This creates an imbalance within the whānau and this psychologist believed that shame is more of a deterrent from physical punishment than law enforcement. Whānau intervention is important because it prevents the children from being taken into the care of the government child protection system as the following two quotes illustrate. This enables greater empowerment for whānau:

In my family, those who punish their children extensively often have their children uplifted from them. Not by CYFs, but by the family

themselves. Because our family are sort of like, “well how dare you. How dare you harm what belongs to us.” Well, not belongs, but this child is ours and you are harming it. So we are going to take this child...when you sort yourself out you can come back and maybe we will let you have him...But I do think there are whānau rules and whānau sanctions that people use to keep their own family members in line...and I think whānau shame can often be more influential on your behaviour...so I do think whānau interventions are often...when they are effective they possibly work a lot better than the law. (MP1)

So none of our children have been in CYFs care. But if we hadn't have been there then they definitely would have been. (MP3)

Whānau members have the right to intervene because the Māori child is not seen as the sole responsibility of the parent; it is the entire whānau who are responsible for its care and love, and beyond that the hapu and iwi, a notion very widely known in the literature (McCarthy, 1997; Mikaere, 2002; Smith, 1995). When reflecting on the things that made contemporary Māori approaches to child-rearing unique, the most pervasive theme was that Māori have more of a collectivist approach to raising children. This extends to the discipline of the child (Walker, 2004) and, as illustrated below, can also extend to the sharing of breastfeeding:

One thing that comes to mind, just from what I have heard with clients I've worked with of course, is having a kind of collectivist approach to raising kids. Like it's not unusual for some children to relate to a whole bunch of adults in a reasonably close knit community as parents, or parent-type figures, and they just rock on over to some house and, you know. I think in some ways, at least to my knowledge, there is kind of a shared understanding as to how discipline is meted out...we might not see this in a straight-laced suburban Pākehā neighbourhood. (MP2)

There was a nice period when they [children] were growing up; they were all growing up altogether our kids, so we did the kind of swapping. In my dad's time everyone used to swap the breastfeeding. (MP5)

This collective responsibility and communal care of children is a phenomenon that appears to be unique to Māori, as explained by one of the participants in Poananga's (2006) study who said, "that others have a say in what their children do may seem like an odd notion when you are looking at the way non-Māori families are structured." (p. 27). Indeed, as argued by McCarthy (1999), this collective approach is in stark contrast to principles in the Pākehā world, which stresses the importance of individuality and protecting one's own interests. This was something also mentioned by one of the participants, when she talked about whānau living in Auckland compared to the rural areas:

And they know each other and they picked up such and such's kids down the road, that sort of thing. You wouldn't do that in Auckland. I mean we have got families who won't even let their kids go to the park up the road. That individualism that has come in, you know? Whatever I can get...I find that difficult. (MP3).

Two of the psychologists also discussed this difference:

The difference for Māori is that it is often the aunty or the nan who disciplines, whereas a non-Māori family it tends to be just the parent. It's interesting, that's the biggest, that's one of the clearest things that I could say which would be different...aunties and uncles will dish out similar discipline as the mother. (MP6)

I think that Pākehā have a philosophy that 'I own that child'. I don't know if they would appreciate it if I went "hey what are you doing?" You know what I mean? Would they let me do that to their kids? That would be to me to be a difference [between Māori and Pākehā], but I am not sure about that. (MP5)

For Māori, being a collective has many advantages when it comes to discipline. As one of the psychologists explained, collective responsibility as it operates today relieves the pressure of child-rearing, making it less likely that harsher forms of discipline are used.

They [children] are privileged to be born into a family where you have got a kind of collective bunch of mums and dads. So in some ways this is a unique situation. Whereas other families who are on their own, who have less resources, who have less privileges if you like in terms of being a collective, um, I can see how they resort to losing it. (MP5)

Having ‘a collective bunch of mums and dads’ to share the demands of the child-rearing puts less stress on the parents themselves, resulting in fewer situations where harsh discipline can be used. Without this extra support, this can leave parents more vulnerable and unable to cope:

Parenting should really be about aunties and uncles and people and that’s the issue if they are not there. It should pretty much be a shared process I think. It’s easier to work if there are other adults who can actually...who can recognise that it is time for a break or time for something else. (MP6)

He [a client] found it really difficult to keep it all on balance on his own. And I think that that is a Māori thing. Rather than just doing things by themselves he needed people to talk to. He needed people to help with suggestions. He needed involvement from other people in his family and the community. (MP1)

When it gets too much I don’t have to, there is not a situation or there are less situations where I am likely to get mad and loose the plot. (MP5)

As one of the psychologists mentioned, this collectivism is not only about care for the children, but also for the care and support for the mother:

The extended families role wasn’t just for the baby because there is always a lot of “oh it’s just for the baby”. It wasn’t actually. It was them nurturing the *mother* to support her and her mothering. (MP3).

Indeed, Rokx (1997) wrote that this collective care by the wider whānau meant that her mother could continue working even though she was a ‘solo’ parent. Given this collective *principle* it is common to have whānau members of different generations living all together in the same household or close by, as in Ariana’s case. Ariana is fortunate to have her sister living in the home with her, as well as her mother and father living down the road. Given the earlier statements highlighting the advantages of a collectivist approach to raising children, it is clear that this is a contributing factor to Ariana’s success in child-rearing and discipline.

We are all squashed in, typical Māori family. Our house is really tiny and there are lots of us living in it so we are extending it out. (CS)

When the 5-year-old has been playing up because of her chemo I will send the eldest down [to their grandparents down the road]. I can’t monitor all the time, so I will send her down so that I can deal with one-on-one. (CS)

We are all here together; we are all here to raise these children. (CS)

Co-sleeping is also a common practice for Māori (Blair, 2008; McKenna & McDade, 2005; Rokx, 1997), as sharing a bed with children not only makes it easier in the first year of the child’s life, but promotes closer bonding with children of all ages. This is something which naturally occurred in Ariana’s whānau. She described enjoying the one-on-one time it allows with her children, such as catching up with each other and time for mirimiri (massage) which strengthens the relationships in her whānau:

We are the ‘old school Māori’ lying down. My 8-year-old likes to be slept next to. The 2-year-old likes sleeping in his cot and the 5-year-old likes going with my sister. So my sister massages her and stuff and they do her little bit of homework...so my 8-year-old doesn’t like to go to sleep by herself. So we have done that since she was born with all the kids. I have lain down with them and that is just what we do. All my cousins co-sleep...the last thing at night, they like to sit and they like to talk about what has happened in the day and it is often the only one-on-

one time that I get with my 8-year-old. So she can tell me about the day properly, just her and me, and we tell stories. (CS)

As the responsibilities of Māori children are often shared, it is common for a range of trusted members to not only care, but also discipline, the children when necessary. However, in order for this to work well, there needs to be consistency between whānau members, which was the case for Ariana:

We have a very strong whānau support network. So my partner's brother and his wife sometimes look after the children. My sister does [discipline the children]. She is like the second mother. And my mother is like a second mother as well because they live two doors down. (CS)

All the whānau know that with our children, you don't hit them. They know that. (CS)

We are also careful about who we leave them with, always. We like to check out who the people are. I would never put them with someone who I knew smacked. I would never and we have never. It is just very important to us. (CS)

They do the same [discipline approach]...both the grandparents. (CS)

Given that there are many involved in the raising of Māori children, it is more helpful if all those involved in the care of the children participate in therapy or parenting programmes, particularly fathers, as one psychologist mentioned. This helps establish a level of consistency between caregivers, which is particularly helpful when children live between houses of whānau members.

So I would actually like to see the whole whānau involved in these things because I say to them, "who else is involved in the care of your kids?" To me it is about, you need the whole unit to be very similar in their style and philosophy. If the philosophy is similar then the different strategies aren't so different. (MP3)

It was about them establishing the same pattern across, between the two houses, because one of the children would run back to Dad's house and he would keep her, and nanny would get mad. So it was about establishing the same philosophy amongst the whole family. (MP1)

Whānau intervention and collective responsibility of children was one of the strongest themes to come out of the interviews, and one which appears to play a positive role in the practice of child-rearing and discipline for Māori. This was demonstrated in the case of Ariana's whānau, who has the advantage of a strong whānau support network, who lives both in the house and close-by, and who provide consistent discipline. Understanding this, it is therefore important that all members are involved in any clinical intervention with the whānau as this will empower their own decision-making processes and keep child-rearing philosophies and practices consistent. It is also important to understand the need for having kaupapa-based whānau support for those tangata whaiora who do not have close whānau and strengthening Māori to help them to make these connections, which, as demonstrated through the analysis, can have a positive impact on child-rearing and discipline for Māori. Finally, this collective principle does not only apply to nurturing the child, but also to nurturing the mother, who needs the manākitanga and awhinatanga (support) in her mothering role to support and lift up the treasured child.

### **Shifting and Swapping**

In the interviews it was found that, as a result of this collective responsibility in Māori families, it is often acceptable to send children away to stay with other members of the family. There were a number of reasons for this mentioned in the interviews with the participants, such as giving the main caregiver some respite or a desire for the child to have the opportunity to learn new skills and knowledge from other whānau members. The arrangement can be long-term, as in some whāngai arrangements, or responsibility can simply be shifted between caregivers under the same roof, or those who live next-door. As the children get older, the main caregiver may shift depending on the needs of the child (Mikaere, 2002). This was the case with one of the psychologists:

The other thing was that we swapped. I was really good with my sister's kids because they weren't mine and my kids were younger than the others. So I could do the teenage thing...So you do the shifting and the swapping. So discipline, that's what it looked like. If you sucked at it then someone else would have a go. (MP5)

As this psychologist explained, in her whānau, sometimes the children get sent away to stay with a particular family member when they have been misbehaving, or simply as an opportunity to increase their skills and knowledge about their Māori culture:

Lots of kids get sent away to live with older whānau members to learn how to do things. Some get sent away for being naughty. I know that in my family there is a particular family member who they get sent to even! And they come back good! I don't know what she does...they do tend to come back with a lot of skills and they are very clean and tidy and they know more about their Māoritanga, but they have also learnt a lot of discipline. (MP1)

This psychologist believed that practices such as sending children away are still being used today, but that they might be 'watered down' and people may not understand the rationale for why they are used (e.g., that this can also be a positive practice where children can learn more about their culture). This is complicated further by the negative connotations of having your children taken away (e.g., through whānau intervention and shame or by CYFs). Regardless, this is a practice that can clearly have a positive impact for Māori children and something that should be explored with tangata whaiora to determine whether this is available to them.

### **Permissive and Relaxed**

Overall, Māori parents were believed to have a more relaxed or 'permissive' approach to child-rearing and discipline than their Pākehā counterparts. This was believed to be evident by the fact that Māori children are often seen entertaining themselves and exploring the world without constant parental supervision, or are seen participating in what Pākehā may see as activities solely for adults, such as important



meetings and other gatherings. This was a notion also mentioned in a education article written by Smith, “(Māori) children play an active part in many of the formal as well as informal activities of life in the community” (1995, p. 10).

It seems to be that they [Māori] have more of a permissive parenting style. More about letting the kids explore or do their own thing, take the knocks and bruises that come with falling off fences and stuff, getting into the odd scrap once in awhile. Whereas I guess with Pākehā kids they are probably more rule governed, more restrained, you know, children should be seen not heard, that sort of stuff. (MP2)

We have very different ideas. I mean children can go anywhere, attend all meetings, but they have to learn to be quiet or they have to get out of the meeting or something. Whereas I know Pākehā prefer just to leave the children at home. (MP1)

The 8-year-old knows that a lot more because she is of the age where she gets taken to things you know? (CS).

I think Māori families they often...you know their kids are pretty unruly ‘cause they are allowed to play around and everything and that’s OK...like cheeky and into everything. But I think Māori people kind of value that, you know? That kid is cool because they will climb up that pole or whatever, you know, not afraid! (MP5)

The last quote highlights that Māori like cheeky and spirited children. The idea that Māori may be more relaxed with their children was consistent with Ariana’s whānau. Ariana described her whānau approach as more relaxed compared to her Pākehā friends, particularly since her daughter became unwell. She also believed that having patience and humour was particularly important in anybody’s approach to raising children:

I have got friends who are quite strict on their kids and I think, oh I don't know, but I think we are quite lax. But that is also because of what [our 5-year-old] has been through and so sometimes things just slide. (CS)

My view is that Pākehā parents are often stricter on their kids, well that is my experiences with my friends who are Pākehā...and in general they have friends or a nanny to leave them with, rather than whānau. We always leave our kids with whānau. (CS)

Patience and humour are two things that you really need. Patience so that you learn that if they are spinning out there is always a reason; they are tired, they are hungry, they are stressed out from school, stressed out at something at daycare. And humour because you just have to see the light side...you just have to get over yourselves and get stuck in! (CS)

Humour was also mentioned by one of the psychologists:

I remember one time I lost it and I started yelling at one of my kids, then they would go "you finished with that?!" So there is humour in there as well...I would say "Oh I'll smash your face!" Because it is in the context of growing up around Otara and stuff, so the language would appear violent but actually there is a humour underlying it. (MP5)

While children participating in meetings and gatherings may be seen as solely adult activities by outside observers, these are in fact places within which learning is taking place as children are able to observe the appropriate tikanga and kawa of hui and marae, simply by watching and being part of the collective. It is also part of being adaptable to whānau life. Perhaps related to this relaxed approach to child-rearing is the necessary use of humour to lighten up the sometimes grave task of discipline. This can be in the form of local humour that children can relate to and understand its meaning through growing up in that particular neighbourhood. Therefore, having a more permissive and relaxed approach to child-rearing, involving children in collective gatherings and using humour where appropriate is suggested by these participants to be positive and unique ways to discipline Māori children.

## **The Special Role of Kaumātua**

The whānau is also the place where children are initially taught and socialised into their Māori culture (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). Kaumātua (elderly men and women of standing) have a particular role in educating and passing on important cultural knowledge, such as the child's whakapapa, history and language (McCarthy, 1997). As grandparents they often take in their mokopuna (grandchildren) to nurture and raise them as whāngai children. Mokopuna raised by their grandparents are often given more personal attention and they benefit from their patience, wisdom and guidance (Metge, 1995; Poananga, 2006; Rokx, 1997). In return, the child is expected to reciprocate the privileges (Mikaere, 2002). In contemporary times, the role of the elderly is still very important as both the repositories of knowledge and as support for the child-rearing. Understanding their importance as a value to be passed on is something that Ariana stated is quite unique to Māori people:

I think that we teach our children the importance of elders as Māori, and I don't get that sense with a lot of Pākehā families...the difference and importance of kuia and koro within the whānau. (CS)

This difference and importance of kaumātua and kuia was also evident in the psychologists' talk:

Have you never gone eeling with your grandfather? You know what I mean? That's some of the responsibilities that the kaumātua or kuia would take care of...what essentially is involved in time-out? You go to those peaceful places...or sit down and do weaving with your kuia. (MP5)

She [mother] will absolutely give my kids time. She will spend time with them doing whatever they want to do. She has been a really significant person for my kids and for my nieces and nephews. (MP3)

One psychologist talked about the importance of involving kaumātua where possible when working with whānau and their children:

Kuia have the power too, you know? If you get those old ladies involved they are usually very defensive of their mokos anyway, so if they were aware of alternatives [to smacking] then I am sure a lot of those kuias would practice that. Because I know my mum is big on “don’t you hit my moko”. (MP6)

This quote suggests that kaumātua and kuia are willing learners of new strategies for disciplining their children, and can be influential in encouraging these strategies among the whānau given the respect they hold in the whānau, hapū and iwi. The clearest implication of this understanding for clinicians is the importance of giving tangata whaiora the option of involving kaumātua in clinical interventions and by making sure that they are involved in any decision-making.

### **Whakawhānaungatanga and Kai**

One of the key processes underlying the whānau is whakawhānaungatanga. The term ‘whānaunga’ means relative and ‘whānaungatanga’ is translated to mean relationships (Mead, 2003). Whakawhānaungatanga describes the process of getting to know people better, making connections and making relationships between people and the world around them stronger. This process is often used when a group come together for a hui or meet on the marae. Information such as your whakapapa (genealogy) is often shared with others, and connections are then made or re-established. In the context of the whānau, whakawhānaungatanga becomes the way in which relationships and family links are maintained between whānau members. In today’s times, this process becomes imperative as members are often dispersed across the countryside. Whakawhānaungatanga can be achieved by having whānau reunions, where those present are taught their place in their whakapapa as well as traditional songs and poems, which also helps to nurture the relationships between the members (Poananga, 2006). Technological advances have made the process of whakawhānaungatanga easier (particularly with the use of the email system), especially when families are separated geographically. However the closely related principle of kanohi kitea (a face seen) means that meeting each other face to face is the most desirable way in which to maintain those relationships and connections with one another.

Whakawhānaungatanga is believed to be one of the key values that have firmly remained despite the arrival of the Pākehā (Rokx, 1997), and was a value mentioned in the interviews with the Māori psychologists. The following quote illustrates the importance of feeling connected to others and how problems can arise when Māori try parenting in isolation without these connections and support. In this case, the psychologist explained how a Māori father became stuck on ideas to discipline his children and learnt for himself that he needed the help from those in his family and the community, before seeking help from the services of the psychologist:

I think the thing that he felt with himself, which he worked out, which he pursued, was that he needed to have networks...So he went out there and he was actively searching for them before he became involved with us.  
(MP1)

As the following psychologist explains, whakawhānaungatanga also occurs between whānau who see each other regularly, but who need to set aside the time to sit down around the dinner table and catch up on what each other are doing:

We eat, we talk, we karakia. Because that is our time of whakawhānaungatanga too, is when we eat at the table...(MP4)

McCarthy (1997) argues that, “the importance of re-establishing and nurturing whānau links as promoted in the Māori health models is especially important given that so many Māori families, in their bid to keep financially afloat, need the extra support with parenting duties” (p. 31). In these conversations around whakawhānaungatanga, kai (food) was often discussed and it became evident that kai has special meaning and significance for Māori. As one of the psychologists said:

One of the first things I talk about is food...I always try and get to them [tangata whaiora] through food! (MP4)

This psychologist uses kai as a way to successfully engage with her tangata whaiora. In this context, kai is used as a means of helping whānau establish some routines and rules in the whare (home), as she believes that the discipline of children begins with

discipline within the whare first. For example, having a set time for everyone to get up, making sure that everyone eats breakfast and making sure that the children have set responsibilities, such as helping with the dishes. These things may appear as simple tasks for most families. However, this psychologist works with tangata whaiora who are on the 'extreme end' of the spectrum. Helping them establish some 'tikanga in the home' is often where wellbeing for the whānau begins. She described tikanga as 'important values and guiding principles.' They include rules such as sitting down at the table to eat and not in the bedrooms where one sleeps, and cooking kai for everyone and not just for yourself. She continued:

[It is important] that we do eat together. Well, we got the rugby practices so one might be home later. But, you eat together. You don't have one person just cooking their own kai and just eating it. (MP4)

Another psychologist described this process in her own whānau growing up:

When I was living with my family we always ate dinner at the table together, always, every single night...so we had to talk to each other (MP1).

Indeed, for the case study whānau too, this is something in which they practice also, evidence that this is a practice that helps them to operate in strength:

We bring our kids up so that for food you say your karakia and you all sit down at the table (as much as they can!). (CS)

One psychologist, when talking about families who may be more violent and abusive in the home, also mentioned eating dinner together as a family:

...they don't sit around families at table and have dinner and stuff like that. (MP2)

Valentine (2005) highlights the significance of food for Māori in her study investigating the nutritional behaviours of Māori women. The study included an examination of

Māori cultural beliefs in relation to food. She explains that the partaking of food between the manuhiri (visitors) and tangata whenua (people of the land) is the final process on the marae that ensures the manuhiri are no longer a threat. This then allows the tangata whenua to relax. As discussed earlier, the sharing of kai also allows for the natural exchange of information and as such becomes part of the whakawhānaungatanga process, as highlighted in Ariana's talk:

There is a marae, but there's also the homestead that is the marae. A place where you will meet and you will share food, and you will kind of pass on from what is happening. (CS)

This process also applies when guests come to one's home. Providing kai to a guest is not only part of the tikanga process, but also demonstrates manākitanga (hospitality), which is an important Māori value. Valentine (2005) explained that when feeding a guest or visitor it is more important to Māori that the food is plentiful and satisfying for the guests, rather than healthy. In addition, it is respectful for the visitors to accept and eat the food, even if it is not healthy or they are not hungry. Therefore, providing kai to visitors is important to Māori who are embedded in their cultural values (Valentine, 2005). In the following quote by one of the psychologists, she talks about manākitanga as a key *value* to teach her children:

That they would know how to manaaki other people and that is why I have a big thing about food...you know if someone comes into our house I would expect my kids would offer them food and say hello properly. (MP4)

The clinical implications of these understandings about food are to involve kai where appropriate in the assessment and treatment sessions. This can be in the form of metaphors of food to describe psychological concepts (e.g., likening the conditions needed to make the kumara sweet to the conditions children need to be sweet also) using food as rewards for children, or providing tea and biscuits when the whole whānau come for a meeting with the clinician to help with the natural exchange of information, and which may also address the power imbalance in the relationship. Perhaps it would also be helpful to understand how the whānau is at home by asking

about their dinnertimes (e.g., who cooks the meals? Do you all eat together? Where do you eat?), as this may give an indication of how well the whānau is functioning. It might be that some tikanga in the home may have to be set up first before specific behavioural strategies can be put in place.

## **Wairua**

Valentine (2009) wrote that, “For Māori, wairua is considered to permeate all existence” (p. 143). Every person is believed to be born with a wairua, which begins when the eyes of the foetus are formed in the mother’s womb. It is part of the whole body of a person, can leave and return to the body at different times (e.g., while a person is dreaming) and continues to exist even when the body dies. Māori believe that wairua surrounds us, even though this is not something visible to the eyes (Mead, 2003). As the following quote demonstrates, wairua can provide guidance in times of need. In this quote that follows, wairua is feeling the presence of her ancestors in times of difficulty, such as times of struggle disciplining her children:

I have a particular mentor and I kind of see her sitting on my shoulder going, “now that’s not OK, don’t do that, talk about your feelings or go for a walk”. (MP3)

For Ariana’s whānau, they like to make sure that they all say a karakia (prayer) before they eat their food and, although it became difficult once their young girl was sick, they try to attend church when they can:

...we used to go to church all the time out at Mangere, but we haven’t since the 5-year-old has been sick. (CS)

Durie (1994) developed the Te Whare Tapa Whā (four cornerstones of health) model, which is a model of health and wellbeing based on a Māori worldview. The four cornerstones or dimensions of health include te taha hinengaro (the mind), te taha tinana (the body), te taha whānau (the family), and te taha wairua (spirituality) and these dimensions are all interconnected. Therefore, Te Whare Tapa Whā is based on a holistic



view of Māori health and so attempts to make an assessment of the whole person. It postulates that an illness is not the result of a single dimension and in order for optimal health to be achieved all the four dimensions must be in *balance* and in working order. Te taha wairua is believed to be one of the most important for Māori. In clinical practice this includes getting an understanding of the beliefs the tangata whaiora have about spirituality and religion (e.g., use of karakia, beliefs in tohunga) or getting an understanding of the things that make them feel centred and uplifted (e.g., going to the ocean, laughing with their children). Tangata whaiora are believed to feel just as comfortable talking about matters of spirituality as they are in the physical world (Pākehā Treaty Action, 1997). The following is a quote that demonstrates the importance of spirituality for Māori, positioned here as necessary ‘before’ being able to address issues of discipline. It also demonstrates that, for this psychologist, spirituality also entails the relationships we have with each other and also with the land, and as a priority to understanding cultural values:

What you are telling me is that you are interested in how we can affect hinengaro, in terms of your research. How can we get them to stop hitting their kids? How can we influence their thinking? I mean, that is one thing, but actually this question is about how we can instill these Māori spiritual values first of all...my upbringing has been about that. That there is a world of spirit and its hard and just as tangible as all the other stuff...it’s about how we are with each other in relationship to each other and the land. (MP5)

It is therefore important that children are introduced to the world of spirituality. In the quote below, this psychologist talks about sending children in her whānau to a special kuia, who has the capacity to teach her children spiritual skills:

She is in church so we think they are going to learn some spiritual skills.  
(MP1)

The theme of wairua emerged from the discussions with the participants in this study, and affirms that acknowledging the importance of te taha wairua (the spiritual aspect of a person) is essential in our work with tangata whaiora. In this particular context it

would be helpful to get a good understanding about how they see their wairua orientation interconnecting with the care of their children. What are their spiritual ideas? How can these be helpfully incorporated into the clinical intervention? Would they like to begin the sessions with a karakia or whakatauki? When a clinician is able to understand the meaning that spirituality holds for their tangata whaiora it then opens up further opportunities to understand them, as well as contribute to a positive therapeutic alliance and experience (Valentine, 2009). Pākehā Treaty Action (1997), a group who facilitate pro-Treaty education for clinical psychologists, wrote that, “unless the therapist is comfortable discussing and using the language of these (spiritual) matters, something vital may have been missed” (p. 156).

### **Cultural Identity**

It was evident by the interviews with the Māori psychologists that Māori cultural identity continues to be a critical factor in our work with tangata whaiora. Cultural identity has been described by Durie (2003) as “a hallmark of good mental health” (p. 143). A secure or positive identity has been linked to better health and wellbeing for Māori (Durie 2001; Huriwai, Robertson, Armstrong, Kingi, Huata, 2001; Ministry of Social Development, 2010b), and also to educational aspirations (Durie, 1998) and academic achievement (Bennett, 2003). Having a secure cultural identity is believed to be important because it gives individuals a feeling of security, a sense of belonging and greater self-esteem (Phinney, 1990). In a clinical sample of Māori with drug and alcohol use problems, Huriwai et al., (2001) found that many of the participants believed that identifying as Māori was an important aspect in their journey of recovery. It can therefore be said that those who are least likely to be connected with their culture are more likely to be involved in psychological services. The following quote by one of the psychologists suggests there is a link between cultural identity, wellness for Māori and subsequent care of children:

I think it is about culture. Seeing yourself as Māori. Like, I mean there are a lot of Māori people who are afraid of that, frightened of that. They feel out of their depth within a Māori setting and I think, to be honest, I think if you sort of did parenting programmes on the marae or whatever you are actually getting good parents. It's the ones that aren't going, say

like the Kahuis. They didn't even have a marae even when their kids died...I mean they were truly disconnected aye, from what it is to be Māori. (MP4)

This psychologist believes that cultural identity played a role in the well publicised child abuse case of the Kahui twins. Her belief is that the twins' parents had poor access to Māori resources such as their marae, or, that they had access to these resources but did not feel comfortable within such cultural environments. She considers that this disconnection from their Maori cultural identity may have been a factor in the poor care of the children. In addition, she argues that it is the one's who parent well who are more likely to feel comfortable within a Māori setting, such as a marae, as they are more likely to have had access and experience with cultural resources, and are therefore more secure in their Māori identity. Consequently, if parenting programmes were held on a marae then this may act as a barrier for those parents who, while they would like the support, may not be secure enough in their identity to feel comfortable on a marae. One of the other Māori psychologists discovered this when she asked for feedback on her parenting programme:

One of our feedback on the thesis was parents said we should do more of this [parenting programmes] and they said things like, just not on the marae...and it often does take a lot of courage to come onto a marae. (MP6)

That Māori can sometimes feel uncomfortable on the marae was also a finding in research by Te Hiwi (2008) on racism and Māori identity formation. For some of the participants in her study, feeling uncomfortable on the marae was a result of being 'caught between' Māori and Pākehā ancestries, and feeling rejected as a result of not being seen as 'authentically Māori'.

So what does it mean 'to be Māori?' Determining exactly what shapes a Māori cultural identity is a difficult task (Huriwai et al., 2001) and there is yet to be a single way in which it can be conceptualised or measured (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Tassell, 2004). For Durie (2001), cultural identity does not simply mean self-identifying as Māori through ethnic or tribal affiliation. It also involves having access to aspects of the 'Māori world', which involves Māori cultural resources (e.g., language, tikanga and

marae), Māori physical resources (e.g., land, fisheries and tribal estates), and Māori social resources (e.g., whānau, Māori educational resources and Māori services). Durie (2001) argues that a measure of cultural identity can be found by determining the level of access one has to these resources. For example, a person with a 'secure' identity self-identifies as being Māori and has easy access to all things Māori, whether this is language, land or cultural heritage. On the other hand, there are some who have access to Māori resources, but they do not have a desire to be Māori and they have been described as having a 'compromised' identity. Further, a person with a 'positive' identity self-identifies and wants to be involved in the Māori world, but is not fortunate enough to have as much access to these resources as others. Broughton (1993) also took the view that being of Māori descent and claiming tribal identity does not necessarily make the person a Māori. Rather, a level of cultural commitment is required. He argued that "for Māori people, cultural identity is concerned with te whānau (the family); te whenua (the land) and te reo (the language)" (p. 507). Indeed, many of the common elements described in the Māori identity literature included having an understanding of one's Māori ancestry, involvement with whānau, having access to land and marae, participation and comfortableness with marae, tikanga and cultural activities and te reo Māori (e.g., Sawicka et al., 1998; Te Hoe Nuku Roa Research Team, 1999).

However, recent research by Houkāmau (2006) has found that the characteristics of a Māori identity continually changes over time, and there are many ways in which people interpret their identity that do not always involve 'distinctively' Māori cultural characteristics as described by writers such as Durie (2001) and Broughton (1993) above. Houkāmau's study involved interviews with three generations of women, where she explored socio-historical changes in identity by listening to their life stories. She found that having knowledge of Māori culture was beneficial for some of the participants in her study as it provided them with a sense of worth. Māori values also provided them with guidelines on how to live their lives (e.g., respecting each other, knowing how to be resourceful). However, she found that while those born before 1950 described their identity using 'distinctively' Māori cultural characteristics, those born more recently spoke about other, less distinctive features, as being important to the shaping of their identity, such as understanding Māori humour, a shared enjoyment of 'Black' (e.g., hip hop) music and being part of the Māori renaissance. The following quotes illustrate how a child's upbringing can have an influence on his or her cultural identity formation. The first discusses the difference in the level of access this

psychologist had to her marae compared to her own children. The second quote also discusses the difference in exposure to ‘Māori stuff’, such as aspects of tikanga Māori (e.g., the importance of washing tea towels, used to prepare food, and other towels, used for the body, separately). These quotes both suggest that access to cultural resources can potentially change over generations, which in turn shapes one’s cultural identity:

I grew up on the marae a lot at home. Mainly on my mum’s marae, because that is where we lived but now, as an adult, probably more on my dad’s. And so my children certainly haven’t had the same level of access that I had. (MP3)

I mean, I remember talking with my niece about...because we have a bucket for tea towels and keep stuff separate and she was like: “Oh Aunty! Why do you do that aye?” You know? Even though she is a [relative] they haven’t embraced their Māori stuff or had it available to them as easily as my mum made available to us. (MP3)

Therefore, what it means to ‘see yourself as Māori’ may be interpreted differently by different individuals and by those of different generations. Houkāmau (2006) therefore chose to define Māori identity as “the person’s unique interpretation of what it means to be Māori, which reflects their own social background, relationships and circumstances” (p. 223). Te Hiwi (2008) also acknowledged that being Māori involves ‘multiple realities’. Borell (2005) too found that young Māori in South Auckland described other factors that shaped who they are as Māori, which she termed ‘experiential’ indicators. Although the youth in her study were aware of the other more ‘conventional’ indicators of Māori identity, this was not the reality for most in her study. A sense of belonging, security and pride in Māori stemmed instead from the connection they had with their local land, environment, neighbourhoods and community (e.g., the ‘Southside’ or ‘Rewa hard’).

The implications of both Borell (2005) and Houkāmau’s (2006) recent research for clinical practice is that enculturation, or encouraging Māori to engage more competently in aspects of traditional Māori culture and society, may be less important than encouraging a greater sense of belonging and pride in being a Māori person. For others however, learning about ‘Māori things’ is still very essential to their identity as

illustrated in the quote below. Therefore, it is important not to make assumptions about a Māori person due to the diverse nature of Māori people and the variation in the ways people culturally identify themselves (Davies, Elkington & Winslade, 1993). The choice of whether to include the strengthening of cultural identity in therapy is one that should ultimately be made by the tangata whaiora and their whānau.

It's that hard thing around re-claiming what it means to be Māori...we do a whole list of things that they would like to achieve [from the parenting programme] and in that there is a whole separate one about Māori things. How comfortable they feel about doing karakia, all this kind of stuff. Now where would you like to be? They always want to be right up on the end. They want to know the reo. They want to be able to conceptualise you being 'tapa whā'. They want to feel safe with some people in their families. There is a real sense of wanting that. They might not be there now but they really want that. (MP3)

As this quote illustrated, having a stronger cultural identity (e.g., learning te reo Māori, feeling comfortable doing a karakia) or 'reclaiming what it is to be Māori' was a separate goal that those in her parenting programmes wanted to achieve. Although they may have wanted to learn about aspects of their culture, they may not have had ready access to these cultural resources. She believes that strengthening parent's cultural identity will help 'support who they are', which will in turn have a positive effect on their whānau and their parenting skills:

So I guess that is what I believe; that if they have a strong cultural identity then that is going to support who they are. It is going to support their return to whakapapa and traditional tikanga and the valuing of people, of babies, young people...(MP3)

For a successful behavioural intervention therefore, it seems important to help the tangata whaiora strengthen their cultural identity *at the same time* as the behavioural intervention. This involves helping them to move from where they are now in terms of their cultural identity, to where they would like to be. The following are a couple of examples of how these Māori psychologists helped to develop key components of

identity. This can be done through establishing whakapapa links and teaching some of the positive stories about Māori women, such as how Māori women have always had mana (prestige/respect) and that their status was determined by hierarchical structures of the iwi, hapū and whānau (Conner, 2007; Mikaere, 1999). This in turn helps to develop a more positive self-concept:

One of our sessions with whakapapa, you know they had their heads down like that and we said “wasn’t that your grandfather?” You know? We start to make those connections and they start to feel a bit better...When I work with parents and we look at the stories, especially for Māori woman, down the Coast and up North...there are aspects of matrilineal kind of importance in all the tribes really...and we are not making this up, we are saying it is true. Māori led so often. (MP6)

[We should teach] stories that our mothers, that our fathers could relate to about we are a strong people, we are a family-orientated kind of people. (MP3)

Therefore, any clinical intervention with Māori should include an appropriate cultural assessment of the tangata whaiora and the consideration of the strengthening of cultural identity as *one of the key goals*, as determined by the tangata whaiora and the whānau themselves, because it is within the whānau that identity can be developed (Hirini, 1997). This in turn can help to strengthen and support the person in their role as caregivers.

### **When Whānau Struggle**

While the themes described earlier highlight the positive aspects of the whānau that help to keep it strong, a very pervasive theme emerging throughout each of the interviews was the characteristics of ‘struggling families’, as one of the participants put it; those who were unable to parent and carry out discipline appropriately or effectively because a number of these aspects were not present. These types of families make up the primary client base for two of the psychologists who were interviewed, are the types who are referred to parenting programmes, and are often the types of families

highlighted in the media for child abuse and neglect. However, as one of the psychologists described, they are part of the ‘extreme group’ (MP4) or as another described, they are a ‘subset’ (MP2) of the Māori population. Therefore, they are not ‘indicative of Māoridom’ and are ‘not as common as people like us to believe’ (MP2). As one psychologist commented, it is not that they are necessarily ‘bad’ parents; it is their *situation* that is bad.

They are people who understand what a good home environment is, but it isn’t where they are...you can’t be a ‘good’ parent when your life is chaotic...They are not really thinking what sorts of adults I want my children to be. They are just coping with their lives. (MP6)

Life or circumstances mean that they are forced to do things differently...Somewhere up the tree something did not happen for them. (MP5)

You’ve got to look at their lives and where they have come from. (MP4)

Three of the psychologists also made the comment that ‘Māori parents want the best for their kids’ but that some lack the resources (e.g., financial, personal) to do this. Several other characteristics of these struggling families were identified. One’s own experiences of being parented can influence the overall approach to discipline and parenting. While resilience and other factors (such as having other positive areas in the child’s life like school, sports, and close relationships to other family members) can buffer the effects of negative childhood experiences, it is often the case that these childhood experiences can profoundly influence the functionality of their own family:

Most of the Māori families that I work with have had quite horrible histories and trauma and stuff...I find that people I work with, parents, are very reactive, they wouldn’t have had good parenting themselves. Their experience was not good so, you know, they don’t kind of have an idea...they don’t manage well because they don’t have that experience of being parented properly. (MP3)



Probably some modeling from their own backgrounds in regards to harsh physical punishment and a whole lot of unhealthy beliefs about how children should be raised and what children should be aware of at certain points. (MP2)

I do think familial cycles; that parents who have been beaten will often beat their children. (MP1)

Other characteristics of 'struggling families' included:

Poor accommodation and gang affiliations...absolutely at the end of their tether. (MP6)

Tentatively guess things like drug and alcohol abuse, possible crime or criminal connections... (MP2)

Usually single parents, who usually have poor education, poverty, they'll have lots of kids, all different fathers, no support. And there would have been violence and they have no way of, ah, controlling their children...They are reacting...they are not so perhaps, consistent...They are the sort of people who have always been judged and, you know, got the CYFs sort of background and low self-esteem anyway and they feel helpless. (MP4)

...frozen, almost paralysed by their lack of parenting ability and support systems to try anything else. (MP3)

Psychologists have a key role in helping those whānau who struggle, and one way is to help them develop their parenting skills and relationships with their children, especially those who might, or have already had, their children removed from them by Child, Youth and Family services. This can prove to be quite difficult as one psychologist explained that they 'come and want a magic wand' (MP5). Therefore, the psychologists in this study encourage their tangata whaiora to understand that things take time, and that consistency is the key to long-term success. Part of building healthy

relationships between parents and children involves exploring their own experiences of being parented, as well as taking some perspective taking around their parent behaviours (e.g., what do you think your child might be thinking when you make him do that?). Therefore, using socratic questioning can be a helpful tool to challenging maladaptive beliefs about parenting. Indeed, if tangata whaiora are using physical punishment, it is a matter of exploring the reasons *why* and working on those issues by identifying and challenging their beliefs. One psychologist explained how sometimes her tangata whaiora have unhealthy beliefs about their role as parents such as, ‘they should listen to me because I am their parent’ (MP3), or they sometimes practice ‘parenting from the couch’ (MP3) and treat their children like their personal slaves. Another mentioned unhealthy beliefs that children ‘intentionally do these things to get at the adult and so they take adult justice on these poor young children.’ (MP2). Therefore, using cognitive behavioural skills, modified to suit Māori (Bennett, 2009) could be useful here in order to challenge some of these unhealthy parenting beliefs.

## Summary

For the participants in this research, talking about the topic of discipline was not possible unless the whānau dynamics in which the discipline was practiced was firstly understood. Whānau became one of the strongest themes to emerge from the analysis of the data and it is clear that this is unique to Māori and continues to be an important constant in their lives; a value that they hope to pass on to the next generation of children. Indeed, children remain integral to the development and strengthening of the whānau, and having a collective approach to their care has many advantages, such as reducing the chances of using harsh forms of discipline and intervening when necessary. As one psychologist put it, “if you sucked at it then somebody else would have a go”. Central to the notion of whānau are the values that underlie its operation, such as manākitanga, whakawhānaungatanga and kai, as identified by the participants in this research. Through the themes above we now have more of an understanding about what more we need to bring to our clinical practice in the context of child-rearing and discipline; that positive child-rearing practice for Māori means ensuring that all of the above is culturally intact *in addition to* having behavioral interventions that work for Māori. An exploration of these will be presented in the following chapter.

While the psychologists in this study identified the factors that are important to understand in the context of discipline, the analysis of Ariana's story affirmed that these were indeed important as part of their successful child-rearing approach. It was clear that having a strong whānau network of people who are able to share in the care of the children was central to their success. Having whānau members living in both their household and close by, who had a shared understanding about the role of physical punishment in the home, helped to ease the pressure when the 'juggle' got too difficult. Knowing how important this support was, they also extended this to other members of their whānau and intervened when necessary. It was also clear that Ariana and her whānau had a strong sense of Māori cultural identity. As described by Durie (2003), a strong cultural identity does not simply mean self-identifying as Māori through ethnic or tribal affiliation, but involves having access to aspects of the 'Māori world', such as Māori cultural, physical and social resources. Ariana's whānau have tried to maintain their connection to their marae and their 'family homestead' and they also have access to knowledge of te reo, tikanga Māori and Māori values. It could also be said that relaxing and enjoying child-rearing, with a bit of patience and humour, as well as understanding the realities of raising Māori children in New Zealand, were other positive facets to their whānau management approach. Unfortunately however, there are a number of whānau who, for a number of reasons, are struggling and cannot carry out effective discipline. The wider issues in their lives affect their ability to parent, which ultimately affects the quality of their discipline practices (if any are used at all). It is therefore important that psychologists understand and identify the factors that allow whānau to operate in strength, so that they can begin connecting whānau to these positive components of well-being that are culturally intact.

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## CHAPTER FIVE: Behavioural Interventions and the Law

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*“And this is why I think the behavioural stuff on its own doesn’t work for us as Māori. Because the behavioural talks about producing these robot responding children and you’re a robot responding parent.” (MP3)*

### **Conceptualising Discipline**

#### **Public versus Professional Understandings**

While the centrality of whānau became clear in the interviews with the participants, the usefulness and suitability of behavioural techniques to discipline children also became a central theme. Consistent with the psychological literature on discipline, the concept of discipline proved difficult for the participants to define. As one psychologist said, “who understands the term?” (MP5). It became clear in the interviews too that the psychologists understand the positive connections with the term discipline; however this is not consistent with their tangata whaiora as well as public understandings. It is very common for the word discipline to be equated with punishment, particularly physical punishment, by the general public (Straus & Fauchier, 2007). However, none of the participants defined discipline in this way. Instead, some saw the two terms as completely separate constructs, while others believed that punishment is a smaller component or just one of the many strategies involved when carrying out discipline. This was consistent with the psychological literature in this area (e.g., Dobbs, 2005; Holden, 2002; Maag, 1996; Rankin, 2005; Smith et al., 2005):

I think I see discipline as guidance actually...I don’t see it as punishment. I think some people see discipline as punishment. (MP4)

I don’t think that discipline is only physical punishment; there are other ways to discipline your children obviously. People may be more familiar with punishment than other forms, but! (MP1)

I think punishment is a subset of discipline...I don't see it as a necessary condition of discipline, but I would say that punishment is a smaller class of things than discipline. (MP2)

One psychologist believed that the understanding that discipline is not punishment was due to the knowledge she had gained through her work as a psychologist, and that this understanding contrasts to the understanding her tangata whaiora have of discipline, which has connections to retributions such as getting 'the bash' or 'a hiding' (being physically punished by another):

I think I understand it [discipline] differently now as a psychologist. Because as a kid, discipline meant you got a hiding, or something was taken off you. There was a punishment, it was punitive...I don't use discipline as a word I talk to families about because I know that they think it is 'the bash.' (MP3)

Another psychologist too talked about how her knowledge of the term discipline changed as a result of her work:

In fact, there is a good literature review done by children's issues. They said discipline comes from the word disciple, which is to follow. When I was doing the SKIP training it was then that I learnt that discipline was from disciple, I didn't know that! (MP6)

As a result of such public misunderstandings of discipline and the acquaintance of the term with punishment, discipline has developed many negative connotations. Ariana didn't like to use the term discipline in the interview, believing it has connotations of hitting and smacking. She preferred to think of discipline as 'whānau management' and liked to think of it as a two-way process whereby the *relationship* between adult and child becomes paramount to discipline success. Indeed, given the problematic understanding of discipline, the psychologists also preferred not to use the term with their tangata whaiora, using words such as 'parenting' and 'relationships':

I sort of say parenting [instead of discipline]. So, you know, how do you parent in a way that allows your children to have very clear ideas about what is acceptable and what is not...I much more try and focus on the *relationships* that they have had themselves, their parenting experiences and what kind of relationship that they want with their kids. (MP3)

One psychologist mentioned that she wouldn't think of discipline in a positive sense. However, most of the psychologists understood that discipline can also have positive connotations as the following sub-theme demonstrates.

### **Teaching Values and Pro-social Behaviour**

Participants in this study usually discussed discipline in terms of the values and pro-social behaviours they believed were important to teach children; ones that they hoped would be carried through to their adulthood years and applied to the many different social environments they encounter. This was consistent with the definition by Smith et al., (2005), which emphasised teaching and guiding children in preparation for adulthood. The values discussed were primarily those universal values and pro-social behaviours deemed important to all, such as empathy, sharing and helping others, as well as self-discipline:

We are all trying to instill what we perceive to be positive beliefs and values, the difference between right from wrong. (MP1)

...part of the discipline is actually something about learning self-control. (MP5).

Some of the kaumātua who I have had the privilege to sit with and be with, they much more talk about the fact that actually discipline to them was self-discipline. (MP3)

...to promote pro-social behaviours, interpersonal behaviours, to promote bonding with family and essentially to develop important...well it's to lay the foundations for the important social skills in order to sort

of [help] children grow up and thrive in a whole range of different social environments and so on. (MP2)

Some of the values discussed however were deemed to be particularly salient for Māori, such as whakawhānaungatanga, manākitanga, respect for elders and spiritual values. These resonate well with the value and importance of whānau and the responsibility and obligation of its members. They are also consistent with the aspects of the Te Whare Tapa Whā model (cf. Durie, 1994) which emphasises the holistic nature of the Māori worldview.

That they would know how to manāki other people...and I hope that with their own children that they will know that there are rules in the house and you sit down and you eat, and eat together and share...Those are your guiding principles [tikanga]. You know, if someone comes into our house I would expect that my kids offer them food, say hello properly...that they be respectful. (MP4)

I think the Māoriness approach was around the respect thing for your elders. But it certainly wasn't something that we talked about but it was absolutely implicitly in them. They will do things like give up their chairs for kaumātua and kuia or ask them [if they would like] a cup of tea. (MP3)

I bring them back to the rules, you know? Because they are old enough to do that. You make them think about how this impacts on everyone else. (MP5)

One psychologist talked about the frustration felt when her children forget to be respectful to elders as the quote below highlights. It also demonstrates that while Māori want to ensure that their children can cope with the Pākehā world, maintaining Māori cultural values can be just as important:

So you might, for example, get your kids to go off to varsity, get your kids to be well behaved, be law abiding, and then you get the kaumātua

come to the door and they go into their room and lock it and just sit them there and make them wait and not offer them a cup of tea, and then you feel, “oh forget you!” (MP5).

Indeed, for Ariana and her whānau, they wanted to ensure that their children would grow up feeling comfortable and confident in both Māori and Pākehā worlds. Making sure that her children learn to speak the Māori language was deemed important, but she also wanted to make sure that her children can travel the world as she also travelled to see her whānau in England, as a Māori:

For us it is important that they are Māori who can function in the kitchen [of the marae] as well as in the middle of London. That for us is really important; that they have the reo [Māori language], which I don't have that much of, my partner has got more, but which we try to do as much as possible. That they have got that instilled in them so that they feel comfortable in one place as in the other. You know? And that I think is what we as Māori need to do. To take care to make them feel confident to be both those and they are equally as important. (CS)

McCarthy (1997) reflected these same ideas in her chapter about New Right philosophies clashing with Māori when trying to raise Māori children in New Zealand. She wrote that, “the complexities of living in a society dominated by an alien culture have serious implications for Māori parents and caregivers who wish to ensure that their children are strong and proficient in their language and culture, yet equally have the skills and knowledge to cope in the Pākehā world” (p. 25). Therefore, for the Māori participants in this study, discipline involves teaching values, but ones which ensure that children can cope in the Pākehā world, while at the same time maintaining a positive Māori identity. This is consistent with the notion that western models of parenting are not the norm for all, and parenting can also be about cultural retention (Kerslake, 2005).



## **Control**

While teaching positive values and behaviours was a major part of discipline, some of the psychologists also believed that discipline had an important role in maintaining order within the household or outside in the community. Techniques of behaviour modification well-known in the literature (e.g., Martin & Pear, 2007) were described as a means of maintaining this control. While smacking is mentioned in the quote below, it is not unproblematic (Gershoff, 2002):

[Discipline involves] the things you do to control their behaviour...whether it's withholding things, smacking, whether some jobs or some sort of punishment...how you keep them in line and how you manage them...how you get them to do what you want them to do.  
(MP5)

You know, with the consequences, if they do something there is a consequence. (MP6)

Controlling children's behaviour was a short-term goal of discipline as identified by these psychologists. This can often be achieved by using behavioural techniques, such as providing consequences for misbehaviour. One psychologist believed that by controlling their behaviour, this ultimately helped you to instill the necessary values for the well-being of the child. More on the specific techniques that can be used to control behaviour will be described in the next theme on how discipline is practiced.

## **Practicing Discipline**

### **Factors Influencing Approach**

Although not directly asked to comment upon, all participants identified a range of factors that they believed influenced or informed their own personal discipline practices, or practices they had observed through their clinical work. Some of the factors identified were ones that affected parents' overall discipline approach (e.g., relaxed approach, attitude towards the use of physical punishment), while other factors were those things that influenced the particular strategy chosen for a given discipline encounter (e.g., more transitory factors, such as having a stressful day). Societal,

parental, familial and other external influences, such as the police, Pākehā neighbours and the school, were believed to inform discipline practices. For example, one psychologist briefly made the comment that when she had her children “it was on the cusp where everyone was into ‘babies have a right to...’” (MP5), suggesting that society’s greater awareness of child’s rights influenced her attitude about how she would bring up her own children. A parent’s own parents were also believed to influence their chosen discipline approach, sometimes unconsciously through their own upbringing (in either a positive or negative way) or other times more directly through being told exactly how to discipline and raise their children. For Ariana’s whānau, their choice not to smack was influenced by the fact that she was not smacked herself as a child:

I was raised in a house that I was never smacked. Yeah. And my mother was never smacked. (CS)

He said that the only experience he ever had was being thrashed, he just didn’t know any other means [to discipline his own children]. (MP1)

They [tangata whaiora] say that “I’ve become that parent that I didn’t want to become”. (MP3)

And then you have got my mum and dad who are like ‘What! Give them a hiding! They all just need a hiding!’ (MP5)

Interviewer: They are from a different generation aren’t they?

Yeah but they still informed our practices. (MP5)

For Māori families, parenting and discipline approaches are also influenced by other members of the whānau who also share in the care of the child. Whānau shame if one’s child is removed by the whānau or, by the government, is an influential factor to ensuring that children are being taken well care of:

My practices are influenced by the fact that there are a number of us involved in it. I am not solely responsible for this one and I don’t expect to have to deal with it. (MP5)

I think whānau shame can often be more influential on your behaviour because you don't want it to happen again, and you also don't want your other children taken away from you, and they often will. (MP1)

Another psychologist also believed that Māori parents often choose to use harsh discipline because they assume that this is the best way to keep their children out of trouble from the law when they leave the household. In this way, there is a connection between harsh discipline and potential deficit:

They get a bit cheeky [at school] and then they are in trouble and I think and *then* their parents don't know what to do. They don't want their kids in trouble. So then they might get a bit more - use the physical stuff. I think it's the external influences often on the parents. Because 'the better you get in trouble with me than with the police or the teacher' or whatever. I think. I do think it is external. I think a lot of it is external. (MP4)

In a similar way, though unfortunate, and indeed an experience in which Ritchie and Ritchie (1997) and Rickard (1998) observed in their studies, Ariana was conscious of her Pākehā neighbours and what they would think about their 'Māori household'. She wanted to avoid the stereotypes that Māori are sometimes given. This suggests that socio-political factors have a strong influence on child-rearing approach by Māori, even in contemporary times:

I feel kind of...because we are surrounded by only Pākehā, that they will come in and see my house as filthy or messy. I am aware that we are a Māori household and that others don't have any contact with any other Māori family. So we are what they expect every Māori family to be like. (CS)

As well as the influences from others in the wider family, community and greater society, the psychologists also identified factors that were more on an 'intra-family' or personal level. For example, the type of lifestyle that parents lead influences how much

time and effort can go into effective discipline. One psychologist explained that while her 'mother's profession was to be a mum' (MP5), her partner and herself were working and had a very busy lifestyle, which subsequently determined their approach to discipline. Three of the participants also mentioned the influence that their partner had on their resulting discipline approach, particularly the values that their partner held from their own upbringing. While some described having to negotiate how discipline would be practiced within their household, based on the values that each parent had grown up with, for others, nothing needed to be said:

So, like my husband, his mother never ever smacked him. They never even raised their voice...you don't figure out until you get there that you have these kinds of values that you have grown up with. So I was more stern with the kids, whereas he was like, play with the kids...we had to agree about the form of discipline. (MP5)

He was from a very farming family where the kids used to get smacked if they were naughty. It was very rare but it was something that would happen. (MP3)

My partner was raised differently; I'll just say that...we have never talked about smacking. It was just something that was implicit in how we parent. (CS)

Many of the psychologists also recognised how other factors in their day-to-day life influenced how they would discipline their children and its subsequent effectiveness, such as one's level of stress and other happenings in their life:

You know, the old hard day at work with the boss come home and kick the cat kind of stuff. (MP2)

No I don't think it [approach to discipline] is always successful. I think it is successful as long as we are both not tired and stressed, because we tend to sometimes change the rules if I'm tired. You know, the counting gets quicker. (MP3)

Juggling work and home, it has been really full-on. (CS)

It is clear from the above quotes that there are a number of influences shaping parents' decisions about how to discipline their children, whether they are conscious of these influences or not. These can be in the form of societal influences, such as the status of children's rights, parental and other familial influences, such as one's own upbringing and current arrangement of care with others, and external influences, such as watchful neighbours and fear of the law. The actual process and strategies chosen as a result of these influences will be discussed in the following section.

### **Strategies**

The participants in this study mentioned a number of different discipline strategies/techniques and processes throughout the interviews in their discussions about their own discipline practices, the practices of other family members or tangata whaiora they work with, or when directly asked about the strategies they believed to be the most effective for Māori. The most common strategies mentioned can be defined as psychological or behavioural strategies. Psychological techniques involve such things as love withdrawal through guilt and shame and inductive techniques, such as talking to the child about the reasons why the behaviour was unacceptable and explaining consequences (Caughy et al., 2003; Charlesworth, 2008; Martin & Pear, 2007; Smith et al., 2005). It became evident in the analysis that both Māori and non-Māori benefit from the use of strategies derived from these behavioural theories. One of the psychologists mentioned that the Māori mothers and grandmothers in her parenting programme liked the 'standard' parenting strategies, such as time out and talking things through.

I had one kuia saying...she was visiting a young mother who used time-out and the nan was saying "I never thought it would work" and she said that she sent her kids upstairs and it worked. It was lovely! In general, the mothers did like the standard sorts of strategies, like time-out and talking things through. So there was quite a good selection. I mean I think that you will find that among the Maori population very similar collection of things to non-Maori. Because I don't think there is anything particularly [different that Maori use]. (MP3).

Here are a few examples of quotes from both the psychologists and from Ariana, which suggest the prevalence for Māori of one of these ‘standard’ or behavioural strategies often called ‘time-out’:

So [discipline is] much more about...it is about I guess using thinking time, time out, whatever you want to call it. We call it thinking time. (MP3)

The 5-year-old needs ‘blat out’ time and so TV for her [is what works best]. She just zones out. (CS)

So they get put in time out in the play room, and that for the 2-year-old is really good...separation from the rest of us is usually the one we try and do... because at least it presents no danger to themselves or to us. (CS)

One psychologist then went on to discuss the time-out strategy specifically within a Māori context, where it is taken up differently to include aspects of learning and the strengthening of *relationships*.

We invented time-out what are you talking about! Have you never gone eeling with your grandfather? You know what I mean? That’s some of the responsibilities that the kaumātua or kuia would take care of...what essentially is involved in time-out? You go to those peaceful places...or sit down and do weaving with your kuia. (MP5)

As discussed earlier in Chapter Four, kaumātua hold a special role in the whānau, and so having time out with your kuia or koro fits comfortably with this Māori process and is therefore readily accepted as a positive discipline strategy. Not only does it provide some respite for the caregiver, it gives the child an opportunity to learn some important skills and knowledge from their kaumātua. In addition, having a kōrero (a talk) with children is also a readily accepted and comfortable strategy for Māori. All of the participants mentioned talking and discussing things with children as a primary discipline technique, either alone or as part of the rest of the whānau:

I talk. Talk. Sometimes if I feel that I am talking and I see them go [she rolls her eyes] like that, I say “you’re not listening to me” and they say “yes I am listening.” So talking. I think that communication is important, *really* important. Because I think if you don’t have that then you lose your kids. They are gone. But I think if you can maintain some kind of communication – even if it is arguing. Still there’s some kōrero there, you know? (MP4)

Probably in the last ten years or so, since I have been practicing clinically, we certainly do a lot more talking and discussing in the family now that the boys are older too...We do get the discussion afterwards. There is always the kind of family meeting. (MP3)

But my eldest, we tell her off and say “that’s not nice”...We go down to their level and speak slowly, particularly for the 5-year-old who has some neurological stuff happening there. We go down to her level, speak slowly, make sure they have got eye contact and we say “that is not OK. Don’t do that again.” (CS)

I tell my kids off but really it is a conversation. (MP5)

I think the best approach would be to maybe physically remove them from the road and also to inform them as to maybe the best approach for next time, look left, right, left again, that sort of stuff. (MP2)

In the final quote above, this psychologist used talking in combination with removing the child from the dangerous situation; a situation in which using ‘reasonable force’ is deemed to be legal under the new law. Shaming the child and making the child feel guilty was another technique that was mentioned by two of the psychologists. One suggested that this may be a technique used more often within Māori families. This may in part be due to the greater sense of accountability members of the whānau have towards each other, as discussed in the previous chapter:

Often what worked was guilt! Guilt was a big tool. “Oh look what you have done now?!”...And it still keeps me in line. Shame and guilt keeps me in line in wonderful ways. So I don’t know if Pākehā use that as much as Māori families...I remember my grandmother, I remember her smacking me, but she never really hurt me, and mostly it was “go over there and cry over there and feel guilty over there!” (MP1)

Shame was another way of disciplining them. (MP5)

Interviewer: How would you do that?

Depends. Actually when they got older it was easier because they got more clued in to social things. My son is 16 so he gets it differently to how he got it when he was younger. It’s more like “son, that’s called testosterone” or whatever. You can use those things to [shame them]. (MP5)

The above quote also suggests that knowledge of child development is also incorporated when deciding how to use shame with children of different ages. Behavioural techniques were also commonly discussed, such as modeling through observation and statements, as well as the use of reinforcements such as rewards through tick systems (Martin & Pear, 2007).

I had said on the dune “all those kids who listen will get a nice drink from Aunty, and all those who don’t will get nothing.” (MP1)

...reward them next time they are good, catch them when they are good, that sort of thing. (MP2)

I say if you are interested in your children and moko learning then there are ways that they learn, there are other things, like consequences, associations and modeling rather than smacking...What their children are doing right is more likely come from them [the parents]. (MP6)

When we go back for tangi or weddings or whānau meetings, they [children] *know*. And I have never sat down and said you will do this,



you will do that. But they know that when they go into that forum there are kawa, there are protocols, and that they just sit back and watch. They know where they are allowed to play on the marae and where they are not...through exposure, through that sense the marae have for them about, there is a kind of law, a kawa that is set and a tikanga that protects. So we certainly never sat down and talked about it, they follow.  
(MP3)

The final two quotes demonstrate the principle of observation and modeling within a Māori context. For Māori, meetings on the marae and attendance at hui, provides children with knowledge about kawa and tikanga for appropriate behaviour, which is learnt through watching those older than themselves, and as one of the psychologists described, the 'sense' that marae have for them. Non-physical punishment was also mentioned by two of the psychologists, such as withholding things from the child (e.g., toys, TV time) and subjecting them to jobs and chores around the house. Other strategies mentioned included distraction and keeping the children occupied, which are more pro-active ways of disciplining children and they also have other positive participatory benefits. Physical punishment was widely discussed by all psychologists; however these views and experiences will be examined in more detail under the themes that follow.

### **Effective Discipline**

For these types of strategies to be effective however, the participants readily identified a number of other factors that need to be considered. One psychologist believed that discipline for children must begin with routines and structure (e.g., tikanga) in the home first, such as setting times for meals. This allows the parent to set some responsibilities for the children and it provides more order in the home. Setting meal times is also a time to talk and discuss things as a family; a time for whakawhānaungatanga:

I try and get parents to, rather than hitting or growling or whatever, is to first put in routines. You know? And some kind of tikanga in their home... All the kids, they have got to have breakfast because it is better for them in terms of their health...it's not about money, it doesn't cost

much for breakfast...to have a set time to get up and the mum to get the kai ready, the kids can help, all must sit at the table not all walking around with their kai. (MP4)

Ariana had read up on a number of different techniques and strategies and found that some things worked and some things didn't. One technique Ariana described included the use of a token economy system, where children earn tokens (i.e. stickers) for desirable behaviour that can be exchanged for a reward after a certain number (Martin & Pear, 2007):

We have tried sticker charts, which kind of work, you know? (CS)

For Ariana, success was dependent on a number of factors, such as the age of the child, what they had done and the situation in which the misbehaviour occurred (e.g., in the car or at home). She was also aware that often her children misbehaved because they were simply tired or hungry and were just 'lashing out'. So understanding the children's behaviour in the context of their needs was important for this whānau.

Therefore, one pre-requisite for effective discipline is having an understanding of child development. This involves understanding that discipline needs to be tailored to the child's developmental level, but also to their unique personalities, temperaments and special needs. It was evident through their discussion of their own or others discipline practices that many of the psychologists recognised the importance of understanding child differences. One novel idea was having red and yellow cards for boys who liked to play sport, in order to engage the children and make the task of discipline more a two-way process. Some additional comments made in relation to child development are as follows:

With each of the kids it is slightly different because they have each got slightly different personalities. So with the older boy we can talk about it with him half an hour later. With the 17-year-old he will come up and make that contact to talk about it. With the smallest boy he needs a day because he gets very sensitive and quite wrapped up in it and I think he would developmentally be the most immature of the 3. (MP3)

So that would be how I would *like* to see discipline being carried out. But again I think it also depends on the temperament of the child, I think it depends on the child variables as well. I mean, I don't know if kids at whatever age are necessarily amenable to being informed about the world; especially kids that are sort of more naturally impulsive than adults and less inclined to rational debate about things. (MP2)

Babies aren't naughty though, are they? (MP5)

...The first child to get 50 ticks got a treat. And I said 50 ticks for anything, and that was anything you did good, is a lot for a 5-year-old... he can't even count to 25! (MP1)

The final quote above suggests that having an understanding of child development and age appropriateness is part of developing a successful behavioural modification programme (e.g., obtaining 50 ticks might be suitable for a teenager to achieve but not for a 5-year-old). Due to the importance of understanding child development, one of the psychologists ensured that teaching of this was part of her parenting programme and she also recognised that there are some cultural differences to child development. In Māoridom, accountability to the whānau also extends to children who are able to take on greater responsibilities in order to care for the very young and old. Therefore, whānau obligations and responsibilities need to be taken into account with development:

I embedded learning theory in there because that's really the key thing to it. Well its two things really, its understanding child development so you know what a 4-year-old is capable of. And I do believe there are some big cultural things there regarding responsibility [as] often in some of the bigger families, you know, young children of 10 are often in charge of looking after Nan and getting the groceries. And that's quite acceptable. (MP6)

One psychologist believed that the tuakana-teina relationship (simply explained as when the older children look after the younger ones) has changed over the years with the

reduction in the size of modern families. She cautions that this needs to be taken into account in order to fully understand the acceptable obligations and responsibilities that children of different ages should have. The quote below also highlights again the effects that the process of urbanisation has had on whānau, and the impact that this subsequently had to the nature of child-rearing for Māori:

...those tuakana-teina relationships did get a bit skewed from large families where it made sense for older kids to look after the younger ones to now having smaller families, but there is still that expectation...when you had 16 children you couldn't as a parent physically get through doing all that stuff and talking to kaumātua and kuia about this they say that they had a teenage group who would look after the little group. There was a *need* for that...the tuakana-teina thing is really around appropriate stuff for that age group...the 12-year-old is doing it because she is looking after the children because mum is at work. So there is a cost to urban life. (MP3).

Another important factor, which one psychologist firmly believed, was that parents must have a good *relationship* with their children and this ultimately involves unpacking the experiences they had of being parented themselves. She argued that one of the limitations of a behavioral theory of learning is that it does not consider how these relationship issues (often influenced by parents own experiences of being parented) affect the learning involved when carrying out behavioural strategies. This is consistent with the participants' understanding of the centrality of whānau and relationships to effective whānau management:

This is the thing where the behavioural interventions don't get. And this is why I think the behavioural stuff on its own doesn't work for us as Māori. Because the behavioural only talks about producing these 'robot responding children and you're a robot responding parent'. So if we do this consistently they will learn. Yes they will learn, but they will learn that they are doing it consistently because you're consistent. What they won't learn is that they are doing it because they respect you, and that's building your relationship with them. And so I think that's why there

does need to be kind of a psychotherapeutic part to a parenting program, because for so many of our parents it is about their own lived experiences of being parented. (MP3)

The importance of relationships in behavioural interventions has also been noted in the literature. For example, Sprinson and Berrick (2010) emphasise the importance of relationships and engagement (between the treatment team and child/parent, as well as between the parent and the child) when using behavioural interventions with high-risk children, noting too that, “when parent’s reveal the circumstances of their own lives, it is usually found that as children they also encountered very difficult challenges” (p. 3). Springson and Berrick (2010) focus on changing the ‘working model of relationships’ that the child has learnt through their past experiences with relationships, in addition to using behavioural and other forms of intervention. Similarly, Wampold (2001) reported data that claims to demonstrate the dominance of contextual factors in psychotherapy (e.g., relationships) over specific techniques, when it comes to behaviour change.

Other ‘tips’ from this group of psychologists to increase the effectiveness of discipline was to always remind children of the rules, show lots of affection (spoiling is not a bad thing) ‘be firm but kind’ (MP4), be patient and be as consistent with your approach as possible:

I think part of it is being really clear that it’s going to be the same process. (MP3)

In addition, if you are sharing the discipline role with a partner then ‘support each other in the moment’ (MP3) as you can always discuss things you didn’t approve of later with each other privately, instead of in front of the children. Therefore, it can be understood from the voices of the participants that behavioural interventions can be effective for Māori, but more so if couched within the context of other factors. These include ensuring that there is some tikanga in the home first, understanding the developmental and other specific needs of the child (including the cultural understandings of this) and understanding the centrality of *whānau and relationships* for effective behavioural interventions, or, positive whānau management.

## Crimes Amendment Act (Section 59)

### Smacking

This sub-theme will explore the participant's views regarding the use of physical punishment, most commonly described as smacking or hitting. In general it can be concluded that all of the psychologists disapproved of the use of physical punishment as the *primary* means to discipline children. While some believed that smacking was acceptable under certain circumstances, others thought it was unnecessary, full stop. The following illustrates some of the psychologist's views:

I think there is a place for physical discipline but I think it is probably lower on the list of approaches, but I don't think it should be off the list necessarily...not frequently, certainly not as a reaction to being angry, or as a demonstration of one's anger...I think that there are other approaches and I think that they should always be coupled with providing alternatives [to the unacceptable behaviour]. (MP2)

We didn't really do the smacking thing. We did smacking if it was like really serious, or if they hurt another kid...there was not really any chances if you have got a whole kind of tribe of people looking after your kids. (MP5)

I'm not one for hitting...I don't think you really need to hit. You've got to be patient. (MP4)

We talked about what was acceptable. Hitting was absolutely unacceptable. We probably talked about that, but not until we were pregnant. We had very clear rules that there was absolutely going to be no smacking under any circumstances. (MP3)

For Ariana's whānau, they had made it quite explicit that they were not going to smack their children under any circumstances and they were not going to place their children in a situation in which others might smack them. This was partly based on the fact that Ariana was raised in a 'smack-free' home:

I heard that some of the Kohanga do smack and I really didn't want that. That was, for me, really important. (CS)

We didn't realise it was something different. That other kids don't have a smack-free home. (CS)

Leach (1999) found that immediate compliance after a smack provides parents with a sense of relief from their frustration or anger and a greater sense of empowerment. In addition, physical punishment teaches children that the use of violence is an acceptable way of dealing with conflicts (Children's Commissioner, 2006). These were both factors in which influenced Ariana's choice to not smack her children:

I say to my mother, "God it must be easy to have a smack and get it over and done with!" We joke about it because we see that as an easy option. People who smack lose control and it is their issue and not the child's issue. Often they will smack for no reason, it might be built up. (CS)

You have to be role models. If you are going to hit someone and then turn around and tell them off for hitting...you can't do that. (CS)

It is evident that Ariana and her whānau made a clear decision not to smack their children, one which was explicitly based on her own upbringing, but also influenced by her understanding of the causes and consequences of physical punishment. Some of the reasons why the psychologists believed that parents may smack their children were as follows:

I think it is mainly frustration why people hit...I think it can escalate. I think when someone is hitting a child then they have lost the plot. (MP4)

Fewer personal skills and lots more stress can certainly result in violence because it is fast! It's fast, it doesn't require an extensive amount of energy; it probably helps to take your frustration out on someone smaller than you, especially if they are playing up when you don't need them

to...If I see my nieces and nephews hurting little children and I have to act swiftly then I might smack them. (MP1)

It's often about the stress in their lives...it's usually done if they are desperate. (MP6)

I've got this kind of group thing going on so of course you can avoid it. I think I would be a smacker like everyone else... (MP5)

As the above comments demonstrate, the reasons identified were mostly because of stress, frustration and a lack of support. It was also known to be fast and functional in the moment, whereas non-smacking strategies take more time and patience. Another reason why some parents smack is that they don't know any other way and it is an acceptable behaviour in the community in which they live. This psychologist talked about working with kids where physical punishment or abuse was so common in their lives that they eventually began to accept it:

If it wasn't happening to you [the children] at home, then the neighbour was doing this sort of thing and [to] their kids. Everyone knew that everyone was [physically punishing]. It was just the way of life and you had to accept it in a way. (MP2)

It was clear that the main reasons the psychologists identified for smacking were not associated with teaching children appropriate values and pro-social behaviours, but rather to gain some control in the short-term. In fact, many understood that smacking was ineffective as a means of teaching anything:

It doesn't work though, because you have to keep doing it and doing it...if you really look at it, it is their own anger and they are not teaching them. What they teach them is that, if you do that again you are going to get it, you know? You're going to get a hiding. That's what they teach them. (MP4)



I think one of the issues with smacking is that, when a parent smacks a child, they are teaching a child that when you are angry it's OK to lash out at others. (MP2)

Smacking may stop the behaviour but there is no learning in there...in my experience you are unlikely to find someone who would say "I use smacking and it works". (MP6)

Another interesting idea which emerged was that harsh discipline and parenting may have actually come out of the war, where changes in social conditions were made (Mikaere, 1999) allowing physical punishment to be more acceptable in society. Two of the psychologists mentioned this. Other ideas about how physical punishment emerged were also discussed, such as through Christianity:

Talking with kuia and stuff about their ideas that they weren't actually ever hit. So it's really foreign to them this concept of hitting and their belief that that came out of the war. When the soldiers...Māori Battalion and stuff came home and that alongside that came this whole idea of violence and abuse... I guess it worries me too that it is a real religious thing, smacking. You think about the history of New Zealand. Smacking was definitely brought in with Catholicism, and that kind of thing about...and that a lot of Māori people have embraced this kind of Christian religious kind of stuff. (MP3)

...The ones who did mention harsh discipline, several of them said that, "I think it was because my father was actually in the army." Interesting. (MP6)

On a positive note, many were very optimistic that the attitudes and behaviours of those using physical punishment have changed and will continue to change for the better, but not necessarily as a result of the new law:

Everyone did that. Everyone in our street did that whether they were Pākehā or Māori or whatever. It was acceptable. And it was acceptable

within NZ society. But I actually think that that has changed...physical punishment was acceptable but I think that that has changed over time and I think that most Māori people have changed too. I don't think that the average Māori person is using a belt to punish their children. I think that they probably smack them or whatever, but I would say that a lot use time out, or try to use time out or get into that nanny programme [on the television]. (MP4)

I do think that on the marae people tend to intervene if they see very harsh physical discipline occurring. (MP1)

This sub-theme revealed mixed views by the participants in regards to the issue of smacking children, which mirrors the mixed views by the public and other professionals described in the literature. For some, smacking was believed to be appropriate if the misdemeanor was serious, if an alternative positive behaviour was provided, and if not used in anger. For others, smacking was not an option, as was the case in Ariana's whānau. Identified reasons why people smack included frustration, stress, less parenting skills, less support or simply because it was the norm and acceptable in one's community. Finally, some pointed out that the increased use of physical punishment may have come out of the war, or be influenced by religion. Most of the psychologists recognised that there was no learning taking place when a child is smacked and that there has been a *change* over time and practices are gradually becoming less harsh among both Māori and Pākehā.

### **Conflicting Views**

There were a range of opinions by the psychologists regarding the government's decision to abolish smacking in New Zealand, with two being totally for the law, one being totally against it and the rest falling somewhere in between. The majority were able to argue both sides, noting the positives of the new law while also recognising the negatives. Tensions in how the law changes came about and managed was particularly evident. Some of the positive opinions were as follows:

Yeah I'm for it...I think it forces us to change. And I am sure that Māori people will be pulled up, same with PI's [Pacific Islanders] and same

with Pākehā. I think it is sort of the start of social engineering in a sense. It's like smoking. (MP4)

Well I was working with CYFs and I guess I could see the consequences of adults hitting kids basically. It is hard to believe that you can't hit dogs, you can't hit other adults, but you can hit kids. I was pretty clear on that. (MP6)

I know I can see the positives of having it; that children grow up and understand that they are not allowed to be hit. I'm not sure. And I guess they talk about having a referendum again. I probably will vote for it to stay because anything that gives kids more power and can be kind of seen as a way of getting parents help then I am all for it. (MP1)

Some thought that it does not address the underlying issues that lead to heavy use of physical punishment. One psychologist was particularly against the law, describing it as 'a smack against iwi':

Actually I really hate that law...I think that it is snobbery...it worries me that law is a law because it doesn't do anything to address the issues down the bottom in terms of if you wanted to impact on people's behaviours. By making a rule about it doesn't do it...that's why I hate it. (MP5)

Overall, the majority appeared to have confusing and conflicting views. While most understood and agreed with the intention and the philosophy behind the law, it was the practical effects that the psychologists were concerned about. These were mostly around people being more covert about their smacking behaviour, as well as people having the attitude that 'well if I can't smack them, then I have nothing else to use.':

I sort of tend to think that now people who are more prone to harsh physical abuse would probably be less likely to display that behaviour in front of others because now there is a definite outcome for that. (MP1)

I guess what I didn't want to see is it get forced underground where no one talked about it, but everyone did it. (MP3)

Like domestic violence for example, people are not going to advertise that they beat up their kids. (MP4)

There was also a concern about where a child would go to seek help if they were being physically punished, or whether they would even be believed. This psychologist believed that it would be more dangerous if the child was removed from the whānau in some cases:

What shall we do with that child then? Remove it off the parent? Is the solution to take the child away from them? Not if there are no relationships to look after the child safely. Then you create another problem. (MP5).

Some were also dissatisfied with the process and unnecessary hype that surrounded the amendment:

I think the intention of the law was a good one. The intention is that finally there is a rule...The other part of me is saying that I believe that there are enough of the other rules, the other statutes, to prosecute with... (MP3)

For me I thought the anti-smacking law was a little bit of overkill but in the light of things that have been going on I guess there had to be something said. However, I do not know how effective it has been. (MP1)

I was really sorry that it ended up with the 'ifs and buts' and things...so I was sorry that it did get slightly 'watered down' if you like. (MP6)

A surprising result from the interviews with the psychologists was that, although the amendment to the Act had been in force for over a year at the time of the interviews,

there was little or no impact observed by the psychologists in the workplace. When asked if the new law had any impact on their job as a psychologist or on their workplace, all simply answered 'no, not really.' In fact, some had not thought about or applied the law in any way in their place of work:

I haven't really [kept up with the debate]. I'm kind of aware of it. I don't really have a lot of interface with that legislation in this work. (MP2)

Whether the law is there or not we will still be reporting safety or risk issues to CYFs, and if more extensive, to the police. So it is not something we have had to employ really...I haven't given a great deal of thought about it which is why I think no, it's not going to impact on me because it has been around for how long now and I have not thought about it really once. (MP1)

The impact of the law on the general Māori population was also discussed, with a similar response. Amongst the debate surrounding the law, Māori were concerned that the law would unfairly target Māori. One psychologist believed that was not the case:

I don't think there will be a whole heap of Māori casualties at all, you know, because they brought in the smacking law. Because I don't believe that Māori are violent people. (MP4)

But while the law itself may not necessarily change or influence behaviour, it may not impact on Māori at all. There was the view that Māori are not going to change for law; that there are other ways of influencing behaviour without the need for law change. As one psychologist informed, when whānau intervene this can be very shameful to those involved, and can be a harder punishment than breaking the law. However, this is only the case when whānau practice whānau intervention, as some are not close and others believe it is the norm to physically punish children:

We are good at not changing for the law. We are more likely to change for education now, because the law is just an outcome. If you hit your children, you will be punished anyway...somebody is going to judge

you...and that is shaming, 'cause everyone knows it...so I do think whānau interventions are often...when they are effective they work a lot better than possibly the law. (MP1)

For the participants in this study, the law has had little impact in their work as psychologists and so too for Ariana's whānau, who have never wanted to physically punish their children in the first place. It was evident too that, while they wanted to support laws which uphold children's rights, and they understand that smacking is an ineffective behavioural intervention, there were concerns that this may force the behaviour to go underground and it does not address the underlying conditions which lead to the behaviour. This final quote also highlights the fact that law change doesn't necessarily lead to a change in peoples' attitudes and behaviours. Indeed, as this next sub-theme will illustrate, the participants in this study believed that changing behaviour is more about information sharing, education and support.

### **Information Sharing and Education**

A range of suggestions were made by this group of psychologists in regards to encouraging people, Māori in particular, to use more positive forms of discipline, as well as encourage more positive parent-child relationships. Getting out as much information as possible to the public was the general consensus; that there is no one method that will work for every individual and whānau. This information sharing was believed to be the first step in raising awareness so that a new set of norms can potentially be created. Television and other forms of media were a popular suggestion for getting positive messages across, based on the success of other social responsibility campaigns:

I think TV campaigns are good because they get into homes for a start. I notice the 'It's not OK to be violent' sort of campaign going on at the moment and I think that is actually quite good...I think by having a message out there that this isn't really normal, nor is it acceptable, and to keep pushing that message, then I think over time, and it may take a generation or two before we start to see this stuff start to die off and we think "gees, where are you from, 1950s? You still smacking your kid?!" (MP2)

Well I think media representations just of, you know, ‘hug your kid, don’t hit your kid’ you know those kinds of messages ‘hitting is not a Māori way’. (MP4)

Television I think is the best way to give information out to people. Brochures are OK. (MP6)

I see they have some really good ads at the moment, you know, ‘it’s never OK’ ads...I like ad campaigns because they touch a lot of people. (MP1)

Education was also believed to be a very important factor in encouraging this change. It was mentioned that sometimes it is just knowledge that parents need to help them along, as some simply don’t know due to the absence of appropriate role models, because they live in isolated communities with like-minded individuals or because they have not had access to these particular forms of knowledge:

A lot of it I think is around information sharing with our parents, the brain stuff, brain development stuff. When you share that with the parents and grandparents, [I’ve] done that on the marae, I’ve had woman, lots of woman cry, lots of grandparents cry, because they said “why in the hell didn’t we know this stuff?” (MP3)

But the other part was the learning theory. I did that with groups of mothers, and you could have heard a pin drop. And they would say things like, “no one has ever talked to us about things like this”... and the sad thing is that school wasn’t a very good place for them, and yet here they are ready to learn. (MP6)

I get young girls and I growl them, “Oh you’re not hungry? Just ‘cause you’re not hungry, your baby is hungry. Just ‘cause you’re not cold, the baby is cold.” It’s just about knowledge, they just don’t know. (MP4)

Kohanga Reo, kura kaupapa and marae were believed to be ideal places to teach Māori this new knowledge. They also provide a 'community of support' and a kaupapa whānau environment:

If families are involved in kohanga reo and kura kaupapa then those sorts of institutions are great mediums to teach, especially for emerging, young parents...(MP1)

I think school would be a good place, because then we will see a generational movement coming through. (MP2)

... Attaching programmes and support to schools and kura are quite good as well. Running them [parenting programmes] in there is quite a good way because it is a natural thing to go to those agencies. So I think less stigma. (MP6)

The education programme run by the Ministry of Social Development about alternatives to physical punishment was mentioned to be a good way of getting information out to people also. However, from listening to the participants it becomes clear that this information should also bring in Māori stories and knowledge about child-rearing. Two of the psychologists discussed how some of the important Māori principles, values and processes in relation to child-rearing (e.g., manākitanga, importance of children) are modeled in traditional Māori stories, such as those involving Maui (Māori demi-god). Mikaere (2002) provides good examples of how the stories of Maui elicit Māori child-rearing principles, such as the rights and responsibilities for raising children being shared, as Maui is cared for by several caregivers as he grows older. These principles can also be found in karakia, waiata (songs) and whakatauki (proverbs). As one psychologist said:

We now have a whole generation that are very removed from that, who don't have those as their own stories, and don't have them as stories told to them...it's about allowing our stories, our traditional stories, to be contemporary stories that our woman can talk about. (MP3)



Re-telling these stories helps Māori understand these important cultural values and how they can be applied to modern life. This psychologist also believed that we need to do more to support mums and make them feel good about themselves and let them know that one of their most important roles in life is their parenting.

One psychologist was even prepared to go into the home of whānau who were struggling and teach them some basic parenting skills, which she thought could be called ‘the nanny army’ (MP4). In order for this to be effective however, she believed that it was all about engagement, something which she believes agencies such as Plunket have struggled with, especially in the past. Therefore, in order for others to receive help, it needs to come from someone who they feel comfortable with:

“People who are warm, people who can manāki” (MP4).

Parenting programmes was also a feature of the discussions about ways in which to help Māori parents. Two of the psychologists had hands-on experience with parenting programmes and were able to talk about them in depth, while others had referred their tangata whaiora on to them. Parenting programmes were believed to be helpful because they provide a place for parents to learn skills to manage their children’s behaviour and ways that they can ‘make their families stronger’ (MP1); things that for whatever reasons they were unable to learn from their own whānau. They can also be taught appropriate values and behaviours to teach their own children, as they might not have their own to draw from. In addition, parenting programmes are believed to provide parents with networks to discuss Māori parenting issues. In fact, a place for supporting parents was the main advantage of parenting programmes.

One of the key things that came out of the discussions was that the success of parenting programmes was dependent on how the programme was perceived by people. Making a programme compulsory was seen to be working from a deficit approach; that ‘bad’ parents had to come to learn to be ‘good’ parents. Rather, parenting programmes should primarily be about *guiding and supporting* parents in their role in a way that doesn’t cause them to be whakamā (ashamed, embarrassed), particularly given the knowledge that some are just starting their cultural identity journey (Te Hiwi, 2008) or are in different stages in positive cultural identity development. One psychologist mentioned that some do not come because they need help, but because they want to meet and greet people. In addition to making them non-mandatory, other success factors

included making them free, encouraging the parents to bring other whānau members and continuing to offer support after the programme has been completed. Given the new knowledge that holding parenting programmes on the marae may only get the parents who are doing well participating, parenting programmes should be held at a number of places to increase the numbers of engagement.

## **Summary**

For the participants in this research, discipline in the short-term was essentially about modifying behaviour so as to maintain some day-to-day order and control within the household, and while out in the community. In the long-term, this control served as the means for teaching children acceptable cultural values, processes and pro-social behaviours; ones that their children would use as they grew and adapted within their own social environments, both in the Māori and in the Pākehā world. Although many perceive discipline to only mean punishment, this group knew that there are other important elements to discipline. However, due to the negative connotations that surround the term discipline, one psychologist prefers to explore and concentrate on the *relationships* that parents have with children, while another prefers to address parenting issues in general rather than focus on discipline specifically. It also became evident that the aims for discipline are the same regardless of culture; that maintaining control and teaching values and behaviours acceptable in society are goals that all parents aim to achieve. Where cultural difference may become evident however, is in the actual values and beliefs believed the most important to teach (e.g., respecting kaumātua, importance of whānau) the ‘different areas of right and wrong’, and the overall child-rearing approach taken to achieving these goals (e.g., more collective involvement).

When it came to practicing discipline for these participants, this meant a lot more than simply carrying out various discipline strategies, such as time-out or making sticker charts. To begin with, the choice of one’s discipline approach is ultimately influenced by a range of other factors, from the level of stress felt on the day of the discipline encounter, through to the general attitudes that society currently holds about children. Behavioural strategies were believed to have a place in the home of Māori whānau, although some fit more comfortably with Māori than others. For example, time-out with kaumātua or thinking time, having a kōrero with children, and shaming or using guilt due to the accountability whānau members have to each other. The effectiveness of these strategies however is dependent on getting the fundamentals of

parenting correct first (e.g., structure in the home, having a loving and healthy relationship with the children) as well as having an understanding about child development and its interaction with today's realities (e.g., what a tuakana should be responsible for) and other child differences (e.g., personality, temperament, interests). Consistency, patience, humour and affection were other qualities that contribute to effective discipline.

This group of psychologists presented mixed views in regards to smacking and the well-publicised decision by the New Zealand Government to abolish it completely. The only consensus was that smacking should not be used as the main form of discipline. Interestingly however, the law had been in force for over a year at the time of the interviews, but the impact observed by this group was minimal. The law has had little, if not *any* impact on their job as psychologists and they have observed no changes in the tangata whaiora that they work with. This may be because the law had not been in force long enough to observe a great change, or the change has not been coupled with effective public education. In time however, some believed that Māori people, as will the rest of New Zealand, will slowly change their attitudes and practices as these are already changing. In order to help support people to use less physical punishment, there were a number of options as described by the psychologists. Getting out as much information through media (e.g., television, posters) was deemed to be the best starting point, with education (including Māori stories and knowledge) available to those who would like to learn more. Kohanga, kura and local marae were all identified as great mediums to teach Māori, particularly because they are natural places to seek help.

For Ariana's whānau, part two of the analysis revealed that there were a number of strategies in which they used to manage their children effectively; ones which are described well in the behavioural literature and are commonly used by parents in New Zealand. These strategies did not include any physical punishment and contributed to their ability to use positive 'whānau management'. However, while specific strategies were seen to be important, it was clear that, when combined with the Maori-centred analysis from Chapter Four, this was not the primary facet to their overall approach. The analysis suggests that it is the culturally intact factors identified in Chapter Four, such as their strong whānau network and collective care of the children, their ability as a whānau to intervene when they see fit, their positive cultural identity and relaxed nature of their child-rearing, that help this whānau to achieve good outcomes they are proud of, even with the stresses they have had to encounter.

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## CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion

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### **The Research Journey: A Summary of the Findings**

*My research journey began with a desire to uncover the effective ‘discipline’ strategies that Māori whānau use as part of their child-rearing approach. I believed that this was important knowledge to have at a time when New Zealand had recently changed the law in regards to the use of physical punishment in the home. I believed that it was also important that positive stories about Māori child-rearing were given the space to be told, given the absence of Māori-centred research on this topic, and the attention that the ‘extreme group’ of Māori had been given in the media. I wanted to ensure that the research was strength-based and that Māori remained at the centre. I considered this information and knowledge to be beneficial for all Māori whānau to have, as well as psychologists and other professionals working alongside Māori in the community. I therefore set off with the provisional plan to talk with several Māori whānau about ‘discipline’ and the strategies they believed to be most effective. My decision to firstly interview experts in the area was to gain a greater understanding of how Māori psychologists negotiated psychological practices where the intervention was concerned with discipline, as well as to guide the final part of the research with the Māori whānau. However, through analysing the interviews with these experts, I realised that the data obtained was already rich in knowledge and understandings of how behavioural principles can be effective when working with whānau. These understandings were further enriched and strengthened when combined with the case study of Ariana’s whānau and their positive non-smacking approach to ‘whānau management’.*

*To begin with, I learnt that the term ‘discipline’ was not one that would be favourably used among Māori. Rather, the term had been connected to harsh forms of punishment for Māori through its increased use following processes such as colonisation and urbanisation, and so was **not** a term that the psychologists used when working with their tangata whaiora. Therefore, I chose the title of this thesis to reflect the words of Ariana: ‘whānau management’, which better encapsulates the collective approach that Māori have towards teaching and guiding their children, without the associated negative connotations. Until more education is provided to change the public’s understanding of the term discipline to fit more in line with current definitions,*

*combined with increased positive experiences with teaching and guiding children, discussing discipline in terms of parenting, relationships and 'whānau management' is required and was a key learning to take from these interviews.*

*Through the themes from the interviews there were also some clear patterns to suggest that the use of behavioural or 'standard' strategies, as understood through psychological knowledge, can work well for Māori. The use of consequences for behaviour, talking things through, modeling and observation was said to be effective and readily used. For example, time-out with kaumātua allows for respite from caregivers, learning from elders and the strengthening of whānau relationships. Having a kōrero with children to teach them such understandings as the rules of the whare, and principles of whānau (e.g., manākitanga and respect for elders), also fitted well with the participants in this study. Taking children along to hui and marae gatherings was an example of learning important cultural values and processes through observation and modeling, something that is vital to Māori wellbeing as it enables children to be embedded in their cultural practices. Finally, where whānau is the centre of positive child-rearing practices, the principle of accountability between its members means that shaming children for their unacceptable behaviour becomes important in order to achieve harmonious balance. In this shaming technique, and in all these behavioural strategies, an understanding of child development within a Māori context was also found to be important.*

*However, while psychological interventions that use behavioural strategies can work for Māori, the most important learning produced through the themes was that in order for these standard strategies to be effective and useful, they need to be firmly centred within a whānau where the values, processes and relationships within it remain culturally intact. Indeed, as other researchers in the area of discipline have discovered, the effects and effectiveness of certain discipline strategies are mediated by a wide range of other factors (e.g., Smith et al., 2005; Straus & Frauchier, 2007). In this research, it was found that the factors that contributed to the effectiveness of discipline strategies in Ariana's whānau included having a strong whānau network who shared in the care of the children, positive cultural identities, the respectful notion that children are taonga to be treasured, and the inclusion of Māori and Pākehā values and processes that help to prepare their children for both worlds. This suggests that these are some of the positive and successful factors that can contribute to effective 'whānau management' for Māori.*

*As one of the psychologists stressed, behavioural theory is limiting for Māori if it does not privilege the context within which the strategies are carried out. Therefore, by combining these culturally specific understandings of the client with behavioural strategies, this is likely to be a more effective way to achieve positive whānau management. The psychologists in this study were able to identify the ‘struggling families’ where these particular factors were not present. Therefore, understanding the meaning that these have for Māori can help the clinician connect their tangata whaiora with those positive components of well-being that are culturally intact, or that whānau can aim to develop, as they work toward positive outcomes for their families. This can be as simple as using strategies that bring the whānau together by making sure everyone eats their kai together at the table, through to exploring with them the Māori cultural values they deem to be important to teach and guide their children. These are both ways that can help to make the whānau stronger and more resilient, and which will support them in their ‘whānau management’ role. This research therefore supports a holistic approach to understanding the needs of Māori, as promoted by key Māori leaders in mental health (cf. Durie, 1994, 2001).*

*Perhaps one way in which this data can be understood is by using the poi as a metaphor. The poi can be literally translated to mean ‘ball on a cord’ and is used in dances by Māori, where it is swung rhythmically in unison with others<sup>6</sup>. Making the poi is often an activity in which children are involved in (and I have many happy memories of making and decorating these). Positive ‘whānau management’ could be likened to the poi. There are several parts to making the poi and they must all be put together well in order for the poi to be used effectively. The centre of the poi is made up of a soft filling, a symbol for positive behavioural strategies such as time-out with kaumātua, kōrero and participation on the marae. These strategies need to be contained within the outer layer of the poi however, which can be likened to aspects that strengthen the whānau, such as having a positive cultural identity, inclusion of Maori values and healthy relationships with children. The woven cord that holds everything together, which helps everything move in unison, and that ultimately controls how the poi will work, can be likened to the whānau members themselves. The individual parts of the cord are woven together, like the individuals who make up the whānau, to make it stronger so that they can share in the care of the children together.*

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<sup>6</sup> Originally used by Māori to increase flexibility, strength and co-ordination in the arms and hands for weaving and battle.

## **Limitations and Future Research Recommendations**

While this research can contribute to Māori knowledge and cultural competencies of psychologists, there are some limitations that should be acknowledged. One limitation of this study is the small sample size. However, given the small number of Māori psychologists practicing in New Zealand, this sample in fact provided a strong voice. It was also purposeful as it allowed for more meaningful and detailed data for analysis, within the prescribed scope of this research. The interviews with the key informants provided rich data to enable the examination of the similarities and differences needed to produce patterns and themes, without having an overwhelming amount of data. Indeed, qualitative researchers have warned against large sample sizes as this may lead to being “swamped with data and only producing a superficial qualitative analysis” (Smith & Eatough, 2007, p. 39). In addition, the aim was not to satisfy quantitative criteria and generalise beyond this research sample. Rather, this study provided some preliminary understandings of the relationship between Māori knowledge and psychological interventions. As this is an area in which so little research has been conducted, it is necessary that exploratory work is conducted. This then allows for the potential of subsequent studies to continue on from this research.

A recommendation for future study may be to include a greater number of interviews so that more general claims can be made over time. This could include exploring Māori child-rearing with whānau from rural areas, and interviewing kaumātua as well as other Māori professionals in the field (e.g., parenting programme co-ordinators, teachers working in kohanga). It would also be important to ensure that voices from Māori men and fathers are heard, as well as the voices from Māori children themselves. While the interviews in this research were conducted one year after the amendment to the Act, and the psychologists had not noticed any impact in their practice, it would be interesting to find out whether this has changed and whether the psychologists’ fears that the behaviour would be ‘forced underground’ were realised. While this research has presented some exploratory beginnings of the success elements of raising Māori children, it is hoped that this may encourage continued interest and research in this area, which will further benefit Māori whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing.

## **The Implication of the Findings in this Research**

While acknowledging its limitations, the findings produced through the themes in this research can firstly help to validate the child-rearing and discipline approaches that contemporary Māori whānau are currently using in New Zealand. While research with Māori has been based on a deficit and comparative approach in the past (Boulton, 2005; Cram, 2001; Kingi, 2005; Powick, 2003; Smith, 1992; Stokes, 1985; Teariki, Spoonley & Tomoana, 1992; Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006), this research has been Māori-centred and strength-based. It has firstly privileged Māori knowledge and understandings, and then combined this with psychological knowledge to produce some introductory understandings of the *success elements* of raising Māori children. In this way, this research has provided a contribution to the practice of psychology through privileging Māori knowledge of the successful child-rearing values and practices, ones that have been held for many generations and modified to suit modern realities. This knowledge has benefits for tangata whaiora yet to make the change to a smack-free home, where they can try the techniques that Ariana's whānau have employed. This research also supports current parenting programmes and psychological interventions that seek to ensure that they are culturally adapted to suit the needs of Māori.

In considering the understandings learnt by the themes in this research, how does this then contribute to our work as psychologists? Psychologists work with a diverse range of people from a variety of ethnic, cultural, political and religious backgrounds. The ability of psychologists to work effectively with clients who are different from themselves is referred to as their cultural competence (Evans & Paewai, 1999). The issue of cultural competence has been one of increasing concern for many decades, due to the growing cultural diversity trends and the awareness of the inadequacies of traditional psychotherapies in meeting the needs of racially and ethnically diverse people (Carter, 2001; Sue, 1998; Mathew & Peterman, 1998). While New Zealand is multi-cultural, prominence is given to two main cultures; that of Māori and Pākehā (Bryson & Hosken, 2005). The foundation for a bicultural partnership was laid out in 1840 with the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This document set out the obligations and responsibilities that each party was entitled to (Evans & Paewai, 1999). But since the signing of the treaty, there have been continuous breaches leading to an unbalanced and inequitable relationship between Māori and Pākehā (Nikora, 2001). Part of balancing this partnership requires a commitment by New Zealand psychologists to acquire and develop their cultural competencies, to enable them to work more



effectively and respectfully with Māori. This is particularly important in New Zealand as there are very few Māori clinical psychologists and a disproportionate number of Māori seeking mental health services (Hirini, 1997; Johnston & Read, 2000). This piece of research can help this development by adding to psychologist's awareness, knowledge and skills needed to work in a more culturally competent way with Māori whānau. It is hoped that this research will help to ensure that psychologists working with whānau are better informed in their assessment and intervention strategies in relation to Maori child-rearing and discipline.

The New Zealand's Ethic Code (Code of Ethics Review Group, 2002) endorses cultural competency in several of their principles and values (e.g., value statements 1.3. 'Relations between Māori and Non-Māori). Cultural competency is also a core competency for registration under the current Health Practitioners Competence Assurance Act 2003, and the New Zealand (NZ) Psychologists Board is required to set standards of competencies (NZ Psychologists Board, 2011a). This research can help psychologists to develop upon some of the cultural competency standards set in these documents, so that they can work within the Code of Ethics. Specifically, Chapter Four explored the nature of whānau from pre-colonisation to contemporary times, and has included some of the values, beliefs, practices and worldviews of Māori whānau, specifically within the context of raising and nurturing children. For example, the meaning and importance of whānau, kaumātua and wairua, the value of children as taonga, the nature and advantages of having a collective approach to raising children and the importance of cultural identity to well-being for Māori, all need to be prioritised in ethical psychological practice. The chapter also explored the conditions of the families that Māori psychologists working with Māori present with, identifying the factors that may be hindering their ability to parent well. This therefore contributes to the development of psychologists "knowledge of family structures, iwi, hapu...beliefs and worldviews and how they differ across identified groups..." (NZ Psychologists Board, 2011b, p. 5) as well as their "awareness and knowledge of the cultural identity, values and practices of clients, and particularly...the cultural beliefs and values situated within tikanga Maori" (NZ Psychologists Board, 2011a, p. 5).

In addition, by exploring the positive aspects of Māori child-rearing and the socio-political issues that have impacted on the break-down of the whānau, this research can also help to challenge some of the dominant ideologies that Māori are 'inherently violent', and can therefore assist psychologists in their "exploration of their own and

others' assumptions with respect to cultural differences (e.g. beliefs, practices and behaviours)” (NZ Psychologists Board, 2011a, p. 5). Finally, the knowledge gained from the themes in this research can help psychologists understand how they can modify their psychological practice, when working with Māori whānau in the context of behavioural interventions for children. For example, by including psychological practices that draw on behavioural interventions, but *privileging* the concept of whānau and culturally specific understandings of child-rearing. This enables a particular form of behavioural intervention that is meaningful to Māori, including understanding of the effects of words such as discipline, in order for it to be successful. Therefore, this research makes a significant contribution to the discipline’s aspirations to improve cultural competencies.



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## APPENDICES

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### APPENDIX A: Information sheet for Māori Psychologists

(Printed on Massey University Letterhead)

## Maori Discipline Practices in the Home

### INFORMATION SHEET

Kia ora, my name is Sara Maraea Poananga and I am planning a Doctorate thesis on Maori discipline practices. The primary goal of my research is to gain an understanding of discipline strategies that *work best* for Maori, in order to inform both clinical practice and future positive parenting programmes. You have been invited to play an important part in my research as a key informant. This means that the discussions that I have with you, and other Maori psychologists, will help inform the interviews that I will later have with Maori families. I want to make certain that the questions I ask in my research are ones that Maori in the community believe are important to answer and will result in positive outcomes for Maori.

Therefore, I invite you to share your knowledge, ideas and opinions on child discipline from a Maori perspective, including your understanding of the impact of the ‘anti-smacking’ law on Maori practice. These views can be based on your experience as a psychologist or from personal or other experiences you may have with child-rearing. You may also have some further suggestions or advice on how I should best conduct this study.

You can choose to give your oral consent to participate in the interview, or sign the consent form provided. You do not have to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw your participation from the study (within 2 weeks);
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to myself;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.
- ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

The final results of my study will be used to help me complete my Doctorate in Clinical Psychology. If you have any questions please feel free to contact me at any time on 0274585624 or email Sara.Poananga.1@uni.massey.ac.nz. Alternatively, you can contact my supervisor, Leigh Coombes, on 09 4140800 (ext 2058).

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University’s Human Ethics

Committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz).

**Thank you for considering participating as a key informant in this study.**

## APPENDIX B: Information Sheet for Case Study Whānau

(Printed on Massey University Letterhead)

# Maori Discipline Practices in the Home

## INFORMATION SHEET

Tena koe, (Name)

My name is Sara Maraea Poananga and I am of Ngati Porou and Ngai Tai descent. At present I am completing a Doctorate thesis on Maori discipline practices. The primary goal of my research is to gain an understanding of discipline strategies that *work best* for Maori, in order to inform the clinical practice of psychologists.

You have been invited to play an important part in my research as the main participant in a case study that will supplement previous research I have completed. The primary aim of this case study is to gain an insight into some of the positive and effective ways in which whānau are currently disciplining our children, without the use of physical punishment.

Therefore, I invite you to share your story and tell me about your experiences raising your children. You can choose to give your oral consent to participate in the interview, or sign a consent form that I will bring to the interview. You do not have to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw your participation from the study (within 2 weeks);
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to myself;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded;
- ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

The final results of my study will be used to help me complete my Doctorate in Clinical Psychology. If you have any questions please feel free to contact me at any time on 0274584624 or email Sara.Poananga.1@uni.massey.ac.nz. Alternatively, you can contact my supervisor, Leigh Coombes, on 09 4140800 (ext 2058).

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz).

**Thank you for considering participating in this study.**

**APPENDIX C: Consent Form**

(Printed on Massey University Letterhead)

**Māori Discipline Practices in the Home**

**CONSENT FORM**

**This consent form will be held for a period of five (5) years**

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me.  
My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I wish/do not wish to have data placed in an official archive.

I agree to participate in the study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

**Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Full Name – printed** \_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX D: Interview Guide for Māori Psychologists**

### **Discipline**

1. How do you understand the term 'discipline' when applied to children in the home?
2. Tell me about your experiences with disciplining children?
3. What do you believe are the purposes/aims of discipline from a Maori perspective?
  - Do you think non-Maori would have similar or different aims?
  - How do Maori cultural values (i.e. whānau, whangai, tikanga) influence the way Maori raise and discipline their children?
4. What discipline strategies do you believe work best for Maori families?
5. How do you think Maori families can best be educated and informed about the alternatives to smacking children for the purpose of correction?

### **Anti-Smacking Law**

1. How do you understand the Crimes (Substituted Section 59) Amendment Act 2007?
2. What is your position on the Act and on physical punishment as a means of correcting a child?
3. What impact (if any) has the amended act had on your practice as a psychologist?
4. What impact (if any) do you think the amended act is having, or will have, on the average Maori household?

*Anything you would like to add?*

*Any advice for my research?*



## **APPENDIX E: Interview Guide for Case Study Whānau**

Begin with a discussion about their children (how many, ages, who helps with the childcare, how many in her household etc).

### **Philosophy:**

- 1) How do you understand the term 'discipline'?
- 2) Tell me about your approach to bringing up your children – questions can include:
  - a) What long-term child rearing goals did you have in mind?
  - b) What ideas did you have about physical punishment and the role it would play in your whānau?
  - c) How do you think your Maori cultural values have influenced your approach?
  - d) How did you make your decision about how you would discipline your children?
  - e) What was your own parent's style of child-rearing and discipline like? How has your own experiences being parenting affected the way you have raised your own children?
  - f) What do other key people in your life say about how you should discipline your children?

### **Practice:**

- 1) Tell me about the different disciplinary techniques you have used – questions can include:
  - a) How do you like to shape and teach good behaviour?
  - b) What do you think are the most effective ways of dealing with misbehaviour?
  - c) Can you give me examples of approaches that don't work?
  - d) Do you use different strategies in different circumstances?
  - e) How do you feel about your chosen discipline practices?
  - f) What are some of the challenges you have faced so far?
  - g) Would you like to know more about alternatives to smacking?
  - h) What advice would you give other whānau today about raising and disciplining children?

**APPENDIX F: Authority for the Release of Transcripts Form**

(Printed on Massey University Letterhead)

**Māori Discipline Practices in the Home**

**AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF**

**TRANSCRIPTS**

**This consent form will be held for a period of five (5) years**

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the interview conducted with me.

I agree that the edited transcript and extracts from this may be used by the researcher, Sara Poananga, in reports and publications arising from this research.

**Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Full Name – printed** \_\_\_\_\_



