

Building taitamariki Māori capacity: reclaiming and applying Te Ao Māori principles to inform and support their intimate partner relationship well-being.

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Abstract

Violence prevention and violence within young people's intimate partner relationships does not receive the same attention within research, policy, or practice as does violence in adults' relationships. Even less attention is paid to Indigenous youth and their intimate partner relationship well-being. The development of young people's intimate partner relationship well-being, and the impacts of violence within these relationships, is a growing concern amongst Indigenous peoples. Given the youthful demographic of the Māori population (Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand), over half of whom are under 23.9 years of age, there are growing concerns that if the current prevalence rates continue, nearly two out of every three taitamariki (girls) will experience intimate partner violence in their lifetimes. What do these statistics signal for the healthy formation of their intimate partner relationships, and the future impacts on whānau (extended family) well-being, and hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) vitality? Questions such as these have led to calls for initiatives that help prevent intimate partner violence in this age group.

How information is elicited from/with or about taitamariki Māori (Māori young people) has also been a concern within the violence prevention dialogue. This study elicited taitamariki Māori views on their intimate partner relationship well-being, framed in Te Ao Māori (Māori worldview). This was investigated through qualitative research methods, situated within a framework of Kaupapa Māori methodology (Indigenous research theory) and the co-construction of Kaupapa Taitamariki Māori methods with taitamariki. This study explored methods to gather information with taitamariki Māori, which supported their cultural agency and looked to our traditional practices of knowledge acquisition, reciprocity, and exchange. Traditional wānanga (place of learning) were held with 15 taitamariki Māori participants from a Kura Kaupapa Māori total immersion secondary school in Northern Aotearoa New Zealand. Of significance within wānanga was the use of te reo Māori (Māori language) and the utilisation of same culture and gender researchers. Separately, 14 Kuia and Kaumātua (tribal leaders) gave their understandings of Te Ao Māori practices that were relevant to traditional gender role practices and the maintenance of healthy intimate partner relationships. Learnings from Kuia and Kaumātua were also gathered about cultural (pre-colonial and contemporary) concepts that could guide current-day (re)constructions of gender and sex.

These findings were brought together to investigate whether the relevance of Te Ao Māori understandings, for present-day taitamariki and their whānau, has the potential to inform violence prevention initiatives, and enhance taitamariki Māori relationship decision-making and well-being. Framed within Te Ao Māori, taitamariki voiced clarity of expected relationship behaviours while being aware of stereotypical Western gender roles and the subsequent behaviours within their own

relationships and the relationships of the previous generation. Importantly, describing 'gender roles' within Te Ao Māori constructs (mana-wāhine, mana-tāne) increased taitamariki understandings and awareness of sexually coercive behaviour and its prevention. Kuia and Kaumātua suggest that complex interaction of both historical and contemporary factors have made it difficult and/or interrupted the intergenerational transference of Te Ao Māori knowledge. The use of our traditional practices could be a possible means for promoting healthy taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationship well-being. Participants provided Te Ao Māori principles which could assist in the development of a taitamariki violence prevention framework. This study makes a unique contribution, both nationally and internationally, in the face of the scarcity of research undertaken with Indigenous youth about their intimate partner relationship well-being, and the scarcity of research carried out with an Indigenous youth lens using Indigenous well-being frameworks.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Terry Dobbs

Whakaihi - Dedication

This doctoral thesis is dedicated to my late grandfather Thomas Ngāropo Millar who in his humble and dignified way taught me so many things that has taken me a number of years to fully appreciate. To my late mother Joan Valarie Dobbs, who was the wind under my wings and many other taitamariki, and to my late father Ronald Albert Dobbs, who began this thesis journey with me. Your unconditional love and support knew no bounds. I finished that 'big report' Dad.

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Glossary of Māori Words and Terms

The translations in this glossary were sought from several sources, including the Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau (Advisory Group), online and hard copy dictionaries. It is acknowledged that translations can be dependent on the context in which words are used, therefore the words and meanings are presented specific to the context and usage as they appear within this thesis.

Āhuetanga Māori - Māori natural way, distinctive way, attribute
Aōtearoa – Land of the Long White Cloud, New Zealand
Aroha – love, concern, compassion
Arohanui – with deep affection, support
Awhi – give support
Haka - cultural dance, chanted with actions, posture dance
Hapū - sub-tribe(s) that share common ancestor; pregnant
Harikoa – joyful, happy
Haumarū – safety
Hinengaro – mental and emotional well-being
Hononga – union, connection, relationship, bond
Hui - to gather, congregate, assemble, meet
Ihi – essential life force
Ira tangata – human elements
Iwi - confederation of sub-tribes, descending from a common ancestor, occupy a specific territory
Kahupō - darkness
Kai – food
Kaihāpeī – advocate
Kaikōrero – speaker, narrator
Kanohi ki te kanohi – face to face
Kapa haka – group performing haka, waiata, poi
Karakia – incantation, spiritual stimulation
Karanga – female call onto the Marae
Kaumātua – adult male, elder, person of status
Kaupapa - topic, policy, plan, issue
Kaupapa Māori - Māori approach, topic, philosophy, ideology, strategy
Kāwai tīpuna – line of descent, lineage, ancestors
Kete – basket made of flax
Koha – gift of appreciation
Kōhanga Reo – Language Nest – Māori pre-school
Kōiwi - bones
Kōrero – speak, talk, discuss, discussion
Kōrero tuku iho - history, stories of the past, traditions, oral tradition
Ko wai ahau? – who am I?
Kuia – adult female, elder, person of status
Kupu - word
Kura – shortened form Kura Kaupapa Māori immersion school
Kura Kaupapa Māori – total immersion school
Mahara - conscious awareness
Mahi – work
Mahimahi - have sexual intercourse, have sex, make love

Mana – dignity, essence, life force, status and prestige (further descriptions in thesis)
 Mana ahua ake o taitamariki - recognising taitamariki uniqueness
 Māngai mō tō iwi - represent your people
 Mana tangata - power and status accrued through one's leadership talents, human rights, mana of people
 Mana-tāne – prestige, dignity of man (further descriptions in thesis)
 Mana-wāhine – prestige, dignity of woman (further descriptions in thesis)
 Manaaki - support, hospitality, care
 Manaakitanga - hospitality, kindness, generosity, support, care
 Manaaki tētahi ki tētahi – mutual respect
 Marae - tribal meeting grounds, often used to include the complex of buildings
 Mātauranga – knowledge, tradition, epistemology
 Mātauranga Māori – Māori knowledge
 Māia – confidence, courage
 Māori - the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand
 Māoritanga – the essence of being Māori, Māori culture, Māori practices and beliefs, way of life
 Mauri – life force, life essence, vitality
 Mauri Ora – be full of wellness
 Mihimihi – greetings and acknowledgment
 Mirimiri – healing hands, massage tenderly
 Mokopuna – grandchild
 Mōteatea – traditional/chants
 Noa – safe, unrestricted
 Ngākau - affections, heart, mind, soul
 Oneone – touching the earth
 Opumanawa – strengths
 Ora – well, healthy, be alive
 Pākehā – person of predominantly European descent
 Papatūānuku - earth mother
 Pono – true, correctly, sincere, with integrity
 Pōuritanga - depression, despondency, gloom, dejection, unhappiness, sadness
 Pōwhiri – welcome ceremony
 Pūrākau - stories, narrative
 Rahui - a device for separating people from *tapu* things
 Rangatahi – Māori young person
 Rangatira - chiefly, person of status, leaders
 Ranginui - sky father
 Reo tuatahi – the first voice
 Rohe – area, region
 Taitamariki – Māori young person
 Taitamāhine – female Māori young person
 Taitamatāne - male Māori young person
 Takahi - trample, stamp, diminish
 Tāne – Māori adult male
 Tangata whenua – people of the land, Indigenous people, Māori
 Tangi - to cry, to weep, Māori death rituals
 Tangihanga - Māori death ritual, plural of tangi
 Taonga – precious, handed down through the generations
 Taonga tuku iho – traditions, knowledge, treasures handed down by ancestors
 Tapu – sacrosanct, protected (further descriptions in thesis)
 Tauīwi – non-Māori person

Te Ao Māori - The Māori world
 Te Ao Mārama – The world of light
 Te Hurihuri – the contemporary world, the changing world
 Teina - younger sibling or person
 Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau- Advisory Group
 Te Kore – realm of potential being, the void
 Te Pō – darkness
 Te Reo Māori - Māori language
 Te reo me ōna tikanga Māori - Māori language and customary practices
 Te whare tapu o te tangata – the sacredness of the house of the people, female
 Te whare tangata – the house of humanity in reference to the female womb
 Tiaki – look after
 Tika – correct, right
 Tikanga – customary practices
 Tikanga Māori – customary Māori practices
 Tinana – physical well-being
 Tipuna, Tūpuna - ancestors, grandparents
 Tohunga – expert, skilled
 Tuakana – older sibling or person
 Tumuaiki – head, leader, principal
 Uri Whakatau – offspring, successor, kin - to cause to grow, rear, cherish, bring up, raise
 Wāhine – adult woman
 Waiata – song, chant
 Wairua – spirit, spirituality
 Wairuatanga – recognition of the spiritual dimensions
 Wana – exciting, thrilling, inspiring awe
 Wānanga – place of learning
 Wehi – being in awe of life
 Whaea – mother, aunt
 Whaikōrero – a more formal speech, oratory
 Whakaaro – thought
 Whakaihi - dedication
 Whakaiti – reduce, belittle
 Whakapapa – genealogy, descent (described further in thesis)
 Whakataukī – proverb, significant saying, formulaic saying, cryptic saying, aphorism
 Whakamā – shame, embarrassment
 Whakāwatea – closing
 Whakawhānaungatanga – process of forming and strengthening kin relationships, connections
 Whānau – extended family, many generations
 Whānau ora - whānau well-being
 Whānaungatanga – social cohesion, kinship, relationships, process of connection
 Whatukura and Māreikura - the spiritual deities representing male and female dimensions and elements of gender at an esoteric level
 Whare – home, house
 Whenua – land, placenta

Chapter One

*Tehei mauri ora
Te hei uriuri
Tihei nakonako*

*Let us breathe, let us live
Let us be Māori
Let our dreams be realised, let us flourish*

This karakia (chant) captures our tīpuna (ancestors') hopes and dreams for their descendants on their arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand - to ensure that our people thrive and flourish as Māori, now and in the future (Forster, Palmer, & Bennett, 2016, p. 330). It is my hope that this study will contribute to supporting our young people to realise their hopes and dreams now and in the future. I come to this thesis as a woman of Māori and Pākehā ancestry (whakapapa). Through my mother, our tribal links are to Ngāpuhi, the largest iwi (tribe), situated in Te Tai Tokerau (the northern region of the North Island Aotearoa/New Zealand – known as Northland), and more specifically to Te Mahurihuri and Ngati Pakau hapū (sub-tribe) in the very rural South Hokianga and to Te Rarawa iwi in the North Hokianga. Through our mother we also have ancestral links to Scotland (Mackenzie Clan) and Ireland. Through my Pākehā father we have ancestral links to England, and as the family stories tell us, through Dad's paternal grandmother to Poland. As Te Tai Tokerau was the site of the first wave of tauiwi (European, foreigner, Non-Māori) 'settlers' to Aotearoa, many Māori in the region have whakapapa (genealogy) to both Māori and tauiwi.

Both my mother and father returned home as teachers and taught in schools with predominantly Māori populations in Te Tai Tokerau in the 1960s through to the 1980s, where I and my siblings were brought up with cousins, great aunties, aunties, great uncles, uncles and maternal grandparents (whānau). I grew up with whānau that were both 'proud' of their ancestral links and passed what knowledge they had on to their children. I was taught about my 'Ngāpuhi side' by my mother and grandfather. However, my grandfather was brought up in a time of ongoing assimilation policies and racist legislation (to be discussed further). Education policies in the 1880s determined that all instruction was to be in English, this was reinforced with the 'direct methods' policies in the 1920s. Whilst the Education Regulations in 1931 categorised that corporal punishment was not to be used in schools for students' 'failure to learn', my grandfather experienced physical violence for speaking te reo Māori (Māori language) at school, like many others of his generation. Despite this, I grew up with stories of my tīpuna (ancestors) and some knowledge of tikanga Māori (customs and practices).

I also come to this thesis with work experiences within both Pākehā and Māori organisations. As a practitioner, I have worked in both the government and non-government sectors as a social worker, clinical supervisor, forensic interviewer and researcher, working in the fields of sexual abuse, child protection, violence prevention and social work education. This has exposed me to a range of 'ways of doing' along with my training as a registered social worker. My interest from both a practice and research perspective has been to ensure that all children and young people have the opportunity to be part of the debates and discussions about issues that affect them. Within research paradigms, this has meant ensuring research is carried out *with* children and young people rather than *on* them. This has sometimes entailed looking at different methods and methodologies to promote their agency and human rights, examining the ethics of informed consent, exploring child-focused theoretical frameworks and safety within these spaces from a human rights perspective. Children and young people's voices are often lacking in decisions that are being made for and about them.

I returned home to Te Tai Tokerau some 15 years ago and in this time have re-connected with, and increased my knowledge of, tikanga Māori. Prior to returning home, my research had been with mainly majority populations, using Western research paradigms, and advocating for the inclusion of children and young people's voices. However, within this research paradigm, I began to consider whether or not taitamariki Māori (Indigenous young people of Aotearoa) were being asked, were being heard and whether or not other research paradigms could be used to better include and promote taitamariki Māori voices and cultural agency. This interest has come from my awareness of the lack of research with this cohort and the possible consequences of this. From my practice, I have seen many intergenerational issues within predominantly Māori whānau in Northland, similar to other Indigenous populations internationally. Intergenerational whānau violence within Māori communities has been a concern and a challenge for communities for many years. I asked the question, how do we begin to prevent whānau violence if we are not considering or listening to taitamariki Māori views on this issue? Taitamariki are of an age when they are beginning to develop and form interpersonal relationships and intimate partner relationships. Supporting taitamariki in the development of healthy partner relationships has transformative potential to develop changes in beliefs and behaviours related to whānau violence at individual, whānau and community levels (Eruera, 2015).

Whakapapa of this study

This research has essentially been driven from an ongoing community-identified need. After returning home, I was privileged to be able to work with Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium (the Consortium). Amokura was an integrated community change initiative to promote whānau well-being and violence prevention in Tai Tokerau led by Chief Executive Officers of seven iwi (tribal) authorities for the region: Te Aupouri, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu, Whaingaroa, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Wai and Ngāti Whatua.

Amokura was an example of a multi-level approach to whānau violence prevention and provided an example of strategic leadership and practice informed by the Mauri Ora Framework (Kruger et al., 2004), a kaupapa Māori framework founded in a Māori worldview (Te Āo Māori) using Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices to address violence prevention. To ensure that Amokura activities were informed by and progressed the aspirations and priorities of their core stakeholders (i.e., whānau, hapū, iwi, community and service providers), the Consortium undertook a gap and needs analysis. Stakeholders identified, amongst other things, the need for kaupapa Māori, evidence-based research that could be utilised to improve best practice and assist in the development of strategies and initiatives for violence prevention, especially for taitamariki Māori.

Subsequently, Amokura was commissioned by the Accident Compensation Corporation to investigate taitamariki Māori and their intimate partner relationships. The result of that research project was a report, *Taitamariki Māori kōrero about intimate partner violence* (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). A full study was then carried out (Eruera, 2015) to explore the socio-cultural constructs which influence healthy intimate partner relationships for taitamariki Māori in Te Tai Tokerau, with the support of Te Rūnanga Ā Iwi O Ngāpuhi (tribal authority) and the Health Research Council of New Zealand. Data showed that taitamariki Māori are capable of engaging in research when given the opportunity and a safe environment. The data was rich in its content. Taitamariki Māori showed a high level of awareness and understanding of taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationships and well-being within their relationships. However, it was connecting this 'knowing' to their 'doing' that was problematic.

Sex and Gender – the focus of this study

Eruera and Dobbs (2010) and Eruera (2015) found that sexual activity within intimate partner relationships was an important issue within taitamariki relationships. Many of the described behaviours reflected traditional Western gender roles and expectations, and the sexual act was discussed by taitamāhine (girl) participants as often being used as a controlling tool within their relationships. In analysis of the gender-specific data, Eruera and Dobbs (2010) and Eruera (2015) concluded that the role of the sexual act and its context and gender role expectations, influences and behaviours, needed to be explored further within a prevention framework and through an Indigenous youth lens. Taitamariki responses in Eruera and Dobbs (2010) and Eruera (2015) also indicated that taitamariki learnt about relationships from the media (television, movies and social media) and more prominently from their own observations and experiences, and from whānau.

I wanted to explore how gender roles are 'learnt or de-learnt'. By asking both taitamatāne (boys) and taitamāhine (girls) about gender roles and sex, we may get a better understanding about what influences their relationship behaviour. There is a scarcity of information around taitamariki

Māori and gender roles. Other gaps of knowledge also exist around female sexuality and desire, independent of male sexuality, and what role social values and beliefs in sexuality have on taitamariki relationship behaviour.

Another highlighted gap in this field of research is the different ways that taitamariki Māori may perceive coercion (sexual), including whether or not some coercive behaviours are so embedded in today's masculine and feminine constructions that they are seen as normal and an expected feature of relationships (Moewaka-Barnes, 2010). There is a large amount of literature that discusses dominant discourses around men as active and women as passive. This suggests the importance of having an understanding of this discourse and a necessity to address these norms so that relationships can develop gender-equitable ways of relating. However, the ways that young people challenge, resist and make sense of these norms and how this influences their behaviour is the subject of very little research. Robertson and Oulton (2008) conclude that "we must find ways in which these (dominant) discourses can be subjected to critical inquiry and their implications examined" (p. 25). Taitamariki needed to be part of these discussions.

Violence prevention

Violence has its own whakapapa and has touched most whānau Māori, with Māori being disproportionately represented and impacted by whānau violence (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Eruera, 2015; Kruger et al., 2004; Ruwhiu, Ashby, Erueti, Halliday, Horne, & Paikea, 2009; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). The causes of whānau violence are acknowledged as complex and sourced from both historical and contemporary factors. The impacts of the dispossession of Māori social structures – economic and cultural – through colonisation (a form of structural violence against Māori), loss of land and language, cultural degradation and hegemonic processes (Cavino, 2016; Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Eruera, 2015; Grennell & Cram, 2008; Kruger et al., 2004; Wilson, 2016; Winihana & Smith, 2014), as well as socio-economic determinants and systemic bias, such as poverty, discrimination and racism, have contributed to this complex issue for Māori (Dobbs, 2015; Eruera, 2015). The impact of colonisation needs to be considered in order to respond effectively to intimate partner violence prevention. The impact of colonisation is not a new concept, as it has been asserted by a range of academics and experts in the field of family and whānau violence, both Māori and non-Māori, for over 40 years (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). Despite this, there is still a scarcity of research and work which includes or considers the ongoing impacts of colonisation for taitamariki within their relationships.

Historical conditions have contemporary consequences. This is highlighted by Sefa Dei (2006) who argues:

Anticolonial thought needs to be articulated because colonialism has not ended, and we see around us today various examples of colonial and neo-colonial relations produced within our schools, colleges,

universities, homes, families, workplaces and other institutional settings. It is often said that globalization is the new word for imperialism. (p. 1)

Colonisation can be better understood as the imposition of “structure not an event” (Kauanui, 2016, cited in Borrell, Moewaka-Barnes, & McCreanor, 2018, p. 26). The impact of colonisation needs to be considered in order to respond effectively to taitamariki Māori intimate partner violence prevention in today’s contemporary world – Te Hurihuri (to be discussed further).

Globally, mainstream approaches to reducing the levels of intimate partner violence in Indigenous communities have consistently been identified as being problematic (Chartrand & McKay, 2006; Cripps, 2011; Cooper & Wharewera-Mika, 2011; Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Dobbs, 2015). In Aotearoa Māori academics, health, welfare, education and justice professionals concur that models of analysis and intervention methodologies based on Western or mainstream thinking alone have been consistently ineffective for Māori (Kruger et al., 2004). I suggest that adult models of violence prevention do not readily translate adequately to young people or taitamariki Māori and this needs to be further explored. The local literature suggests that, for Māori, interventions need to be holistic, provided within a tikanga (customary) Māori framework and inclusive of the historical and current impacts of colonisation. In tackling the issue of whānau violence, we must acknowledge the “centrality of the collective” (Cooper, 2012, p. 162) and support a transformative strategy using the concepts of mana tāne (the status of men) and mana wāhine (the status of women). This will enable intimate partners to interact with “respect for the other’s uniqueness and value” (Cooper, 2012, p. 168). Engaging with taitamariki Māori I believe may begin this transformative process.

Tangata whenua (people of the land) in Aotearoa, as with other Indigenous and minority groups throughout the world, continue to progress the development of our own cultural frameworks and models of practice. These frameworks, founded on cultural values, principles and customary practices, contribute to self-determination and improved well-being. They are grounded in the notion that te reo me ōna tikanga Māori (Māori language and customs) are valid and legitimate, providing both the conceptual understandings and practices to bring about change for Māori (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010; Grennell & Cram, 2008; Kruger et al., 2004; Ruwhiu & Eruera, 2013).

Mauri Ora Framework

I wanted to look at the use of a Kaupapa Māori framework for violence prevention, the Mauri Ora Framework (Kruger et al., 2004), (to be discussed further) and research methods that could assist taitamariki voices to be heard. The Mauri Ora Framework is whānau-focused and, whilst acknowledging the individual within whānau, I wanted to explore this with and for taitamariki Māori and violence prevention. I wanted to explore what tikanga (customary practices) as whānau Māori we

have that create space to hear and value taitamariki voices, knowledge, and solutions, and ask the question, do we also silence them? If we cannot hear taitamariki we cannot support them.

Rationale for the study

What works for Indigenous youth in violence prevention is emerging. The development of young people's intimate partner relationship well-being, and the impacts of violence within these relationships, is a growing concern amongst Indigenous peoples. Given the youthful demographic of the Māori population (over half being under 23.9 years of age), there are growing concerns that, if the current prevalence rates continue, nearly two out of every three taitamāhine (girls) will experience intimate partner violence (IPV) in their lifetimes. What do these statistics signal for the healthy formation of their intimate partner relationships, and the future impacts on whānau well-being, and hapū and iwi vitality? Questions such as these have led to calls for initiatives that help prevent intimate partner violence in this age group. Therefore, research needs to focus on this cohort.

As previously mentioned, the predominant theoretical frameworks evident in the literature on violence prevention were developed primarily out of adult violence research involving Western populations. It is recognised that they do not readily translate cross-culturally nor adequately address the complex range of factors which underlie the high levels of violence found in Indigenous communities (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010; Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). Eruera and Dobbs (2010) found that a number of studies used methodologies that did not allow youth to speak from, and be appreciated for, their own perspectives. For example, surveys have used adult predetermined questions; structured questions can oversimplify and ignore important information, and hypothetical vignettes may have little to do with what actually happens in intimate partner relationships. There is also an apparent quantitative domination in this field (Fenaughty et al., 2006). These methods have tended to stifle the expression of young people's own voice and decontextualised them from their whānau, communities or institutional settings (Biddulph, 2004).

Nationally and internationally, there is a scarcity of research undertaken with Indigenous youth about their intimate partner relationship well-being, and a scarcity of research carried out with an Indigenous youth lens using indigenous youth theoretical frameworks. The purpose of this thesis was to gain knowledge and understandings of taitamariki Māori lived realities, 'loves' and their intimate partner relationship well-being *from* taitamariki Māori. This interest comes not only from my own aspirations to fulfil my role, as aunty, great aunty, cousin and step-mother, in being able to support taitamariki in my own whānau to transition into adulthood in a healthy and non-violent capacity, but also from my belief that the absence of taitamariki Māori perspectives on matters that affect their lives, such as their relationship well-being, highlights that adults may be missing a crucial perspective when seeking to understand and support their needs.

Tikanga

This study has a focus on pre-colonial concepts that can guide us and whether or not these concepts do or can influence current (re)constructions of sexuality and gender roles for taitamariki Māori. It is my hope that this study reinforces and provides a contribution to this emerging dialogue and will inform violence prevention strategies for taitamariki Māori and their whānau and communities. We have only just begun to have conversations around sex and gender roles within our communities. There is also a confidence that more tikanga-based approaches that restore cultural protective factors within whānau will progress the whānau violence prevention kaupapa. This includes support and reaffirmation of those Kaumātua, Kuia (tribal elders) and leaders who have positive roles within their whānau and communities as guardians of tikanga, leaders of whānau and models for 'tika' (correct) behaviour (Eruera, Dobbs, & Allan, 2010; Jenkins & Harte, 2011; Pihama, Jenkins, & Middleton, 2003). Māori authors suggest that Māori are more likely to look to past practices and models to help inform current contemporary approaches (Dobbs, 2015; Eruera, 2015; Jenkins & Harte, 2011; Kruger et al., 2004; Moewaka-Barnes, 2010; Pihama et al., 2003). I therefore wanted to investigate these cultural practices and principles with taitamariki Māori to see whether or not these could inform healthy behaviour within taitamariki partner relationships, which in turn may provide the base for developing taitamariki-focused prevention strategies and initiatives.

My overarching desire is to understand what supports taitamariki Māori to develop healthy intimate partner relationships, and what prevents them from doing so. For many, unhealthy intimate partner relationships are major barriers to whānau ora (well-being) (Cooper, 2012). What we do know is that, for many people, their first experience of intimate partner violence is during adolescence (13–18 years) (Breiding et al., 2014; Moewaka-Barnes, 2010; Stockl et al., 2014). This study supports and builds on the notion that to establish a strong evidence base for supporting taitamariki healthy intimate partner relationships and support prevention efforts, we need to know more about taitamariki Māori, *from* taitamariki Māori. We also need to know how taitamariki make sense of who they are in the context of multiple and often negative representations of Māori and of taitamariki Māori, which may affect the development of their healthy intimate partner relationship well-being. Taitamariki Māori are seldom heard on issues which can profoundly affect them, such as sexual coercion and intimate partner violence. Their perceptions of their own lives, relationships, feelings and experiences can provide essential input into initiatives aiming to create better conditions *with* and *for* them.

Whānau ora - well-being

Whānau ora is a complex concept that has emerged from traditional Māori ways of viewing well-being...the complexity of whānau ora lies in the delicate balance between the overall well-being of whānau members and their connection to each other, their wider communities, ancestors and the land,

and the physical, emotional and spiritual and social health...there is a need to establish whether the definitions of whānau ora used in government policy fully encompasses te Āo Māori (Māori worldview). (Kara et al., 2011, p. 100)

How we determine, measure, define and describe whānau ora and well-being (and in whose context) has relevance to this study. How these 'data' are collected, constructed, and analysed can influence education, health and social sector policies and practice. As the quote above suggests, the terms whānau ora and well-being may have differing meanings for Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations. The term 'Whānau ora' is used in many government policies in Aotearoa to mean well-being. Whilst this thesis is not attempting to claim a definition or measure taitamariki Māori relationship well-being, this section begins to position this research and highlight gaps within this field, and discusses issues of the often 'invisible' voices of Indigenous youth on their meanings of well-being and whānau ora within their own context, and furthers the rationale for this study.

Well-being constructs

Nationally and internationally, children and young people are the least prominent group in social research, with their health and well-being historically being defined and measured in adults' terms, experiences and perspectives (Ben-Arieh & Frønes, 2011; Dex & Hollingworth, 2012; Dunn, 2015; Gillett-Swan, 2013; 2014). Well-being and health are both multi-dimensional, and increasingly these concepts are being understood to be socially contingent, culturally attached and changeable over time (Crivello, Camfield, & Woodhead, 2009). This has particular relevance for Indigenous children and young people, with concepts and measures of their health and well-being being developed mainly within a dominant cultural context, and largely founded on bio-reductionist empirical frameworks (Mark & Lyons, 2010) and often with a pathogenic approach (Amerijckx & Humblet, 2014). It is suggested that measures of health and well-being developed within a dominant cultural context are a weak starting point for understanding how health and well-being are conceptualised and experienced by minority or marginalised population groups (Crivello et al., 2009).

Indigenous children and young people are both a minority and marginalised group. Importantly, these static understandings may serve as a rather limited basis for promoting health and well-being among these minorities and marginalised populations, and for addressing inequalities they experience (Priest, Thompson, Mackean, Baker, & Waters, 2017). In the last decade, children's well-being indicators and measures have tended to generally focus on children and young people's survival (Lippman, Moore, & McIntosh, 2009; Ben-Arieh, Casas, Frønes, & Korbin, 2014) and measuring problems such as poverty, teen pregnancies and educational failure (Fattore, Mason, & Watson, 2007). Children's well-being is often framed within a model of child deficits rather than a model of child strengths. As a result, researchers, policymakers, and practitioners may erroneously focus research and intervention efforts on children's deficits and discount the potential to identify and

promote children's strengths (Pollard & Lee, 2003). Beyond these indicators of children and young people's well-being and other measurable outputs to determine how children and young people are doing, there is little research that seeks the perspective of children and young people themselves—that is, research that specifically seeks their perspectives on what well-being means to them. Consulting with children and young people is widely recognised as an essential element in building understanding about their lives (Dunn, 2015). As Carrie Menkel-Meadows pointed out 30 years ago:

Each time we let in an excluded group, each time we listen to a new way of knowing, we learn more about the limits of our current way of seeing. (1987, p. 37)

Young people's perspectives

Within some disciplines, it has been recognised that children's perspectives can provide additional layers of insight not often explored by adults (to be discussed further). For example, Priest et al.'s (2017) study with Aboriginal children reported that these children identified their well-being as being made up of both positive and negative effects and that both these aspects can co-exist at any given time, adding that the children's notion of well-being was that of a process of accrual. In discussions that Fattore, Mason, and Watson (2009) had with children and young people about their well-being, they were told that well-being contained both present and future oriented aspects and well-being was largely anchored in relationships, "These processes are therefore neither outcomes in the present nor outcomes in the future, but processes that connect the two through ongoing lived experiences" (p. 72).

Within Fattore et al.'s study, it is worth noting that children reported a strong correlation between having agency and their feelings of well-being. Children's well-being is sometimes considered in terms of 'well becoming', defining the child as incomplete and undergoing preparation for adulthood (Crivello et al., 2009; Fattore et al., 2007; Jones & Sumner, 2009). There appears to be a focus in the children's well-being literature on the importance of rearing children who will be 'moral adult' members of the community; it is difficult to find reference to children's well-being in their childhood (Ben-Arieh, 2010). "Even indicators of poverty or health, which on the surface are indicators of current well-being, are discussed in a forward-looking context: the results of child poverty are diminished future prospects" (p. 135). The focus of preparing children to become 'good citizens' could suggest that during childhood they are not considered citizens. This concept is hard to reconcile from a children's rights' perspective (Ben-Arieh, 2010). Indicators of children's well-being require a framework for the understanding of well-being from children, in the here and now (Ben-Arieh, 2005, 2006, 2010; Ben-Arieh & Frønes, 2011; Tisdall, 2015). I concur with Tisdall (2015):

It would be possible for children's own priorities for well-being to be measured, if the same investment were to be given to such matters as has been given to various child development measures...value children as research participants ... and include children in determining what should be measured. (pp. 815-816)

Whilst the aim of this study is not to ‘measure’ children and young people’s ‘well-being’, the above gives some indication of how children and young people may be viewed within research (to be discussed further).

Indigenous children’s well-being

To understand me, is to understand my whakapapa, my tīpuna, my histories, and the stories I bring with me. I am a child... that emerges from rich traditions... both visible and invisible. (Rokx, 2009, p. 49)

Indigenous children and young people experience substantial inequalities in health and well-being outcomes compared to their non-Indigenous peers. In this context, research regarding Indigenous children and young people’s health and well-being has been criticised for its overemphasis on ‘physical illnesses’ rather than their ‘health’. There are limited investigations into the diverse range of dimensions and determinants that may affect their ‘health’ (Priest et al., 2017). These include the ongoing impacts of colonisation and racism, along with societal constructions of Indigenous youth and structural barriers to their well-being. Concepts of well-being have also been presumed to be universal and concentrated on the individual self (young person) rather than in the context of whānau (Cram, 2014). In trying to define and measure Indigenous youth well-being, many of the approaches have also used a deficit-based approach (making them the ‘other’) and have not explored the many strengths and assets of Indigenous children and their communities.

A deficit approach reinforces the dominant ideology of society by affirming one group as normal and comparing all others against this criterion. It focuses on measuring the disparities between the dominant group and the other group. It locates blame with the other group as opposed to exploring other influences and determinants such as the environment (Swadener & Lubeck, 1995, cited in Ware, 2009, p.13).

Coupled with a dominant deficit-based approach, there has been limited exploration based on Indigenous holistic understandings of health and well-being (Priest et al., 2017), especially *through* an Indigenous youth lens. It is recognised that children and young people’s voices from non-white and/or ethnic minority communities are often missing within research (Attree 2007; Clavering & McLaughlin, 2010; Dobbs, 2015; Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Eruera, 2015). Indigenous children are further marginalised. It is also recognised that well-being measures often ignore the worldview of Indigenous people (Cram, 2014; Kara et al., 2011; Kingsley, Townsend, Henderson-Wilson, & Bolam, 2013). A holistic worldview promoting social, physical, and spiritual connection is important to Indigenous well-being (Durie, 1994; McClintock, Tauroa, & Mellsop, 2012). In their review of the literature on child well-being, Amerijckx and Humblet (2014) argue “in favour of overriding the one-dimensional, single-level, unipolar approach to child well-being, and for further development to positive, hedonic, subjective, spiritual and collective dimension” (p. 411). Whilst not specifically talking about taitamariki Māori, Kara et al. (2011) discuss the interconnecting facets of well-being for Māori overall, which they

view as “a dimension of individual well-being or as a collective concept in which the health of individuals within the whānau each contribute to the health of the whānau” (p. 102). Within both a traditional and contemporary sense, ‘whānau ora’ has been described as the goal of good health (Durie, 2001).

Until recently, youth research in Aotearoa has been perceived as focusing on social crises and blaming youth for inadequacies and failures. However, in the last decade or so, research involving taitamariki Māori has developed methodologies that address previous limitations with an affirmative approach and employ innovative ways of privileging social and cultural practices (see Houkamau & Sibley, 2011; Kidman, 2012; Reid, Varona, Fisher, & Smith, 2016; Simmonds, Harre, & Crengle, 2014; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). Whilst not specifically asking taitamariki Māori about their intimate partner relationship well-being, these research projects have begun to move away from the dominant Western adult discourse to one that is framed *from* and *through* an Indigenous youth lens (to be discussed further).

Taitamariki Māori relationship well-being

Relationship well-being is an important part of young people’s overall well-being (Adams, 2012; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010; Gillett-Swan, 2013, 2014; Mashfield-Scott, Church, & Taylor, 2012). Current evidence would suggest that, over the long term, healthy relationships during adolescence will lead to improved well-being and healthy relationships in adulthood, support healthy parenting and break the cycle of intergenerational violence. Preventing intimate partner violence and its health and social consequences will improve the well-being of individuals, whānau, communities and the nation, returning social, health and economic benefits. As taitamariki mature and prepare to take on adult roles they manage a range of developmental changes (Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). These changes include coping with physical and sexual development, mastering more complex thinking, developing identity, and learning to relate differently to peers and adults. The development of quality relationships during this period informs the positive and healthy transition of taitamariki to adulthood. Often included within these developmental changes is the development of relationships of a more intimate nature with peers of the opposite and/or same sex, often referred to as ‘intimate partner relationships’. These relationships can sometimes be complex with many challenges, and sometimes within these intimate partner relationships violence may occur (Dobbs & Eruera, 2010; Eruera, 2015).

Colonisation gives a framework for understanding the contemporary context for Māori whānau being at risk of intimate partner violence, but it should not be an excuse for violence (Grennell & Cram, 2008). This includes taitamariki Māori. The historical impact of dispossession and the dismantling of Māori social, economic, and cultural structures through colonisation remains an important part of their day-to-day reality. “When considering taitamariki in today’s context any

exploration must take into account historical and contemporary influences on Māori well-being when looking for tangata whenua explanations and solutions to social harm” (Eruera, 2015, p. 82). Colonisation, combined with other structural dynamics, has altered many Māori values and beliefs about gender role norms and, as a result, the views and expectations of intimate partner relationships (Eruera, 2015; Jenkins & Harte, 2011).

While acknowledging the cultural construct of Māori youth within the context of their whānau, hapū and iwi, there are also youth-specific dynamics (sub-cultures) within Aotearoa that impact on taitamariki Māori through their development. It is widely accepted that adolescence is a time when change takes place in several areas of young people’s lives, including physical and sexual development, the influence of their social environments, youth sub-cultures, cultural diversity and other impacts (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). Taitamariki Māori must balance these changes as well as often diverse cultural and contemporary expectations. Many taitamariki Māori are managing overlapping identities in Aotearoa that reflect mainstream, ethnic and sub-culture allegiances (Martin, 2002). For example, taitamariki may speak English at home, attend a school which is total immersion Māori education and identify through a sub-culture with black American Hip-Hop music and culture (Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). Identifying with Hip-Hop or rap sub-cultures, Māori youth use visual language (baggy jeans, baseball caps and hoodies) as a means to ‘communicate group identity’; it also may provide an insight into other Indigenous youth lifestyles and conflicts. “Rapping is like a form of karakia – it’s fast, with all sorts of different rhythms running through it” (taitamatāne, as cited in Elliot, 2015, p. 101). Some of these narratives relating to Hip-Hop can be autobiographical and may express the complications of urbanisation, globalisation, and colonisation (Zemke-White, 2005). The human rights of taitamariki Māori, alongside other Indigenous youth, are often vulnerable as they find themselves caught between their Indigenous language, customs and values and those of the wider community. We need to find out how these factors impact on their understandings of relationship well-being.

In the *Health and Well-Being of Māori New Zealand Secondary Schools Student Report*, Crengle et al. (2013) noted that more than three quarters of taitamariki knew their iwi affiliations and there was an increasing trend for taitamariki to report more knowledge of their culture. The authors reported that 72 percent of Māori students were proud of being Māori; 58 percent stated that it was important to be recognised as Māori, with less than half (45%) saying they were satisfied with their knowledge of ‘Māori culture’, having learnt this knowledge from whānau, marae/and or school; and 46 percent reporting that they understood te reo Māori very well. These findings suggest that taitamariki Māori may be more responsive and interested in Te Ao Māori than were earlier generations. Ormond (2017, personal communication) has noted a ‘shift’ in the present generation of

taitamariki Māori in her recent study with taitamariki Māori. She talked about a previous study (2008) with taitamariki and their disconnection from their whakapapa and compared this with her recent study, where taitamariki wanted to remain on their land, had better connection with and knowledge of whakapapa and their role in looking after the environment. One participant in a recent taitamariki Māori study, about a sense of belonging and sense of place, equated the health of the land with the growth of healthy Māori identities: “We [Māori] can’t be healthy if the land is sick” (taitamatāne, as cited in Kidman, 2012, p. 197). Ormond also made comment (2017, personal communication) that social media has allowed taitamariki to gain knowledge around the Treaty of Waitangi (to be discussed further) and of Treaty claims through the media and they seem more proud of being Māori. The meaning young people ascribe to relationship well-being and whether or not distinct dimensions or characteristics can be identified within this context would contribute significantly to more meaningful supports for taitamariki.

Summary

To be able to design valid and responsive supports for taitamariki Māori, we need to work with taitamariki to find out what they need within their own lived context. How taitamariki Māori learn behaviours, respond to these behaviours and normalise them or not is important to enabling their relationship well-being. Taitamariki Māori need to be involved in research that builds evidence to underpin the development of initiatives and violence prevention strategies, and programmes. We cannot support taitamariki intimate partner well-being and whānau ora if we do not know about their relationships. Research that recognises children and young people as subjects rather than objects of research, who ‘speak’ in their own right, have their views and experiences viewed as valid and are reported as such is recommended (Dobbs, 2007a; Dobbs, 2007b; Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). There is evidence that relationship patterns established in young people persist into adulthood (ACC, 2014; Woodley, Davis, & Matzger, 2013). Improving the intimate partner relationships of today’s taitamariki Māori not only enhances their well-being now, it will have a significant impact over the life course, into safe and healthy adulthood relationships and parenting in this and future generations. This section is summarised by this whakataukī:

Mehemea mo tatou, ma tatou e hanga

If it is about us then we must be engaged in the planning (Tipene-Clarke, 2005, p. 39)

The Study

I was privileged to be awarded a Health Research Council of New Zealand Clinical Research Training Fellowship to enable me to further investigate how we can support taitamariki Māori from the ‘knowing’ to the ‘doing’. This thesis is positioned within Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi (tribal authority) and therefore grounded in Ngāpuhi context and tikanga. This research focused on taitamariki Māori

and, with their oversight, gathered their insights into intimate partner relationships well-being and influences; their relationship decisions and the supports needed. Using a Kaupapa Taitamariki Māori inquiry paradigm that privileged taitamariki voices and agency enabled a critique of societal constructions of taitamariki Māori and the structural barriers to their well-being, and to look at possible well-being 'enablers'. Particular attention was paid to Te Ao Māori principles and practices, the influences of traditional Western gender roles and sex, and taitamariki Māori ability to recognise and build healthy relationships.

Te Ao Māori principles and practices related to the instigation and maintenance of healthy relationships, including the prevention of violence, were investigated with Kuia and Kaumātua and within the local literature. This included exploring cultural concepts that could guide current-day (re)constructions of gender and sexuality.

Creating a space for taitamariki Māori voices may progress taitamariki-specific supports and prevention approaches, as suggested below:

...a whānau-centred analysis and activities to transform whānau violence must highlight and address the need for specific taitamariki approaches. These strategies will initially begin within whānau and move out into the wider community so that unique taitamariki needs are prioritised and their voices and solutions promoted to firstly strengthen their own development of healthy relationships and to contribute to wider whānau and community strategies. (Eruera, 2015, p.209)

Increasing the relevance of Te Ao Māori understandings for present-day taitamariki and their whānau may have the potential to inform violence prevention initiatives and enhance taitamariki relationship well-being. The relevance of this study to whānau, hapū and iwi can be summarised by Erai, Pitama, Allen and Pou (2007):

In recognising that youth are the key population to influence, it is essential that the specific needs of youth are recognised, in particular indigenous youth, and consideration given to young Māori within the context of their whānau, hapū and iwi, if long-term changes are to be achieved. (p. 19)

The overarching aim of this research project was to find out: ***Can traditional Māori practices inform and support the development of taitamariki Māori healthy intimate partner relationships?***

Within this research question, I also needed to investigate the following:

- *What is the impact on taitamariki Māori of being exposed to, and subsequently influenced by, traditional Western gender roles and concepts of sex, within their intimate partner relationships?*
- *What are the constructs within Te Ao Māori that support giving voice to taitamariki?*
- *How do we co-construct research methods which enhance taitamariki participation and cultural agency within research?*

Chapter Two –Te Ao Māori

The connection between the activities of ancestors and current aspirations for betterment is important as it acknowledges the historical actions taken in relation to such hopes, and emphasises the collective nature of Māori approaches to concern; that is, “It calls us to account to one another, for the collective good. (Cooper, 2008, p. 129)

There is a well-known whakataukī that helps to introduce this chapter: *Ngā hiahia tītiro ki te tīmatatanga a ka kite ai tātou te mutunga* – you must understand the beginning if you wish to see the end (Jackson, 1988). This whakataukī expresses the concept that present events do not happen within a vacuum but are contextualised within an understanding of our past (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). Understanding our past is a necessity for celebrating, challenging, and/or changing our present and for planning our future. To contextualise modern experiences and expressions of intimate partner violence and to develop possible solutions for violence prevention, we need to understand our pre-colonial history, and interrogate the effects of our colonial history on our cultural evolution (Cram & Pitama, 1998; Cooper, 2012; Eruera, 2015; Grennell, 2006; Mikaere, 2011, 2016; Tawhai, 2016; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). In this way, we can examine the complex interactions of colonialism on whenua, whakapapa and whānaungatanga; that is, on the ability of individuals, whānau and Māori more generally to thrive because of their safe and nurturing relationships with one another and with the environment (Cram, 2009; Grennell & Cram, 2008; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010).

Discussion about the traditional roles of women and men according to tikanga Māori needs to begin with our creation stories, as these creation stories provide a view into the world of our tīpuna (Mikaere, 2003). Māori culture has been an oral culture, and has been the primary medium for learning and transmitting traditional knowledge (concepts and beliefs) from one generation to the next by way of kōrero tuku iho (described as creation stories, cosmology), language, whakataukī (proverbs, sayings), whakapapa (genealogy), waiata (songs), carvings, cultural customs and traditions (tikanga). Kōrero tuku iho has helped to retain our histories, philosophies and to convey information that contributes to the well-being of our communities, as Cooper’s (2008) quote at the beginning of this chapter denotes. It is from these sources that we may be able to ascertain and gain awareness of values to assist in supporting taitamariki relationship well-being. However, there is a need for caution (Eruera, 2015).

Aspin and Hutchings (2007) suggest that the imposition of colonialist institutions, including the Christian religion, has led to an erosion in the authority of Indigenous peoples’ oral histories. The arrival of colonial settlers and missionaries meant that the transmission of historical information became heavily influenced by Christian teachings. This is supported by Mikaere (2016) who argues that solely drawing on written accounts of Māori cosmology from “available sources is fraught with

difficulties” (p. 8). Further to this, Cram and Pitama (1998), Mikaere (1995, 2011), Salmond (2017), Te Awēkotuku (2005) and Aroha Yates-Smith (1998) all suggest that drawing solely from the material of Pākehā - male and female ethnologists and anthropologists - may not be helpful, as many accounts are entrenched in Christian beliefs and colonial patriarchy. Language translation can also pose problems, which warrant caution. As far back as 1925, it was recognised that “much error already has been handed on in ethnological writings through inexact translations of Māori words” (Buck, 1925, p. 101); notably in relation to the interpretations of the te reo Māori and English understandings of the Treaty of Waitangi.

With this in mind, it is important that accounts of pre-colonial Māori society are based on Māori sources of information (Mikaere, 2005) and are understood through an Indigenous lens and analysis of the information. It is also important that the exploration of taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationship well-being begins in a Māori contextual paradigm (Eruera, 2015), as Māori worldviews place Māori knowledge, practices and customs at the centre (Jenkins & Harte, 2001; Nepe, 1991; Royal, 2002), which will ground our thinking and actions in this cultural inquiry paradigm. Drawing on the wisdom of our ancestors and on our traditions is not returning us to a mythic past. Rather, it allows us to be guided by principles and practices that can enhance our capacity for resilience and to aid whānau and communities to live in harmony (Grennell, 2006).

To assist in the investigation of whether or not traditional Māori practices (tikanga) can support the development of taitamariki Māori healthy intimate partner relationship well-being in today’s world, I began by looking to our traditional knowledge with a focus on traditional understandings of the roles of sex and gender and well-being. This is not a far distant past: the small body of existing literature concurs that, up until the early 1900s, tikanga Māori and traditional processes prevailed in dealing with intimate partner violence (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). Bearing this in mind, I explored historical influences on the ability of Māori to sustain our social, cultural ways of being. I will discuss historical factors that undermined Māori social structures and marginalised some of our traditional practices, including those related to the formation and maintenance of intimate partner relationships.

Taitamariki Māori need to be able to contextualise and understand our present within its historical context, and to be part of this examination, if we are to start to find solutions for intimate partner violence prevention with and for them. Both nationally and internationally, Indigenous authors have written about the impacts of colonisation on Indigenous traditional ways of being and the subsequent impacts on our well-being, including the consequences for Indigenous children and young people’s well-being (Blackstock, 2003, 2007, 2008, 2009; Blackstock, Trocmé, & Bennett 2004; Cram, 2012; Cram, Gulliver, Ota, & Wilson, 2015; Cooper, 2012; Cram & Grennell, 2008; Cooper &

Wharewera-Mika, 2009; Durie, 2001, 2012; Jenkins & Harte, 2011; Kruger et al., 2004; Mikaere, 2005; Pihama, 1997, 2001; Trocmé et al., 2001; Tidbury, 2009; Winihana & Smith, 2014; Yellowbird, 2013). However, there is scarce literature eliciting Indigenous children and young people perspectives, views and understandings of Indigenous traditional practices or our colonial history. Importantly, there is scarce literature on Indigenous young people's partner violence, prevention or, within that, information on their understandings or experiences of sex, sexual coercion and the role gender plays in their relationships. These omissions will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

Te Ao Māori Principles

I have drawn from the constructs within the Mauri Ora Framework (Kruger et al., 2004), a Māori violence prevention framework, to highlight traditional relationship principles within this thesis – tikanga, whakapapa, whānau, tapu, mana, wairua and mauri (to be discussed further in Chapter 3).¹ These concepts have many different layers of meaning, hence any explanations are therefore incomplete (Eketone & Walker, 2013). Whilst these principles come from traditional sources, they can be responsive and progressive to be able to provide a space to continue to serve us well today (Advisory Group, 2019, personal communication). This includes being responsive to taitamariki Māori needs in their contemporary lived realities.

Tikanga

Prior to the 1840s and the introduction of Christianity and colonial laws, Māori social, legal, political, and spiritual realms of society were self-governed by intergenerational rules, values, ideologies and customary practices, called tikanga (Taiuru, 2018). Tikanga is the term used for Māori customs and derives from the word *tika* and *nga*. The concept of tika covers a range of meanings, from right and proper, true, honest, just, personally and culturally correct, to upright, core values used to govern social, legal, spiritual and political behaviour (Gallagher, 2016), and “values, standards, norms to which Māori subscribed to for the determination of appropriate conduct within Māori society” (Durie, 1996, p. 449). *Nga* is the plural form of the definite article. Mikaere (2005) describes tikanga as the first law of the land. Tikanga originates from the spiritual realms of the Atua (the gods) and has been passed down from tīpuna (ancestors) to the present day (Mead, 2003). Kruger et al. (2004) suggest that

¹ The ‘meanings’ of these concepts have been drawn from multiple sources – Māori-led literature, drawing on current and past archival research, Indigenous authors’ analysis of writings of the first ethnologists and anthropologists, personal communications, Kahui Urangai Rangahau (Advisory Group), Kuia and Kaumātua, whānau and my personal learnings since returning home. I acknowledge – *mā te tuakana ka tōtika te teina, mā te teina ka tōtika te tuakana. It is through the older siblings that the younger ones learn the right way to do things and it is through the younger siblings that older ones learn to be tolerant* – I am the younger sibling here, therefore, these are my understandings/interpretations of these concepts, of which there are many and they are all interconnected. I also acknowledge that my understanding of te reo Māori is limited and will discuss this further in the methods chapter of this thesis.

tikanga provides a moral guide to behaviour and “it is the way we practice what we believe in as Māori” (p. 20).

The values and beliefs that are essential to Māori culture and cultural ways of being highlight the roles of tāne (men) and wāhine (women) and therefore are of high importance to this study. Tikanga has clear guidelines on how we treat one another and how the human body is regarded – an important aspect of an intimate partner relationship. Every part of a human person or *ira tangata* is treated as tapu (sacred) and comes complete with the attributes of that person. When discussing violence prevention and tikanga, Kruger et al. (2004) suggests:

...Tikanga embodies Māori values and prescribes acceptable and unacceptable behaviours from a specifically Māori value base ... The application of tikanga provides the opportunity for the restoration of order, grace and mana to whānau, hapū and iwi. (p. 20)

Although iwi, hapū and whānau can differentially shape a person’s worldview, they “exist together in an interconnected set of embedded systems” (Doherty, 2012, p. 13) and, as such, there is a wide-ranging amount of shared understanding of these beliefs and customs that exists for and amongst Māori. Even though most Māori would be oriented as strongly ‘collectivistic’, with group identity being more prominent than individualism (Fox, Neha, & Jose, 2018), the knowledge and understanding of traditional practices may vary between groups as a consequence of our colonial past. Many Māori see traditional tikanga as being still applicable and highly relevant to their daily lives. For some, it is just instinct that cannot be described (Mead, 2016). I concur with Mikaere (2011): “Tikanga must become central in our thinking if we are to reinstate it as our code for living” (p. xxiii) and I would add that taitamariki Māori understandings of tikanga need to be canvassed within their contemporary lives.

Mead (2016) points out that Te Ao Māori has been “enveloped by non-Māori concepts” that make it more difficult to sustain traditional Māori tikanga. This is especially relevant for some taitamariki Māori, as adolescence is a time when they are developing their self-concept (Ja & Jose, 2017), values and belief systems. Forming a cohesive identity may be a struggle for some taitamariki Māori with competing understandings and worldviews, both Pākehā and Māori. This will be explored further in this thesis in terms of Western and traditional concepts of gender roles and sex and taitamariki Māori understandings. Identity and ‘self-concepts’ are important elements in intimate partner relationship behaviours.

Whakapapa

Māori human knowledge is described as emanating from two sources. In the original creation story, Ranginui (Sky Parent) and Papatūānuku (Earth Parent) are locked together in a loving embrace. The children who live between them reside in a cramped world of total darkness. The darkness exists over aeons of time. The children become agitated and begin to argue, and eventually they separate Ranginui and Papatūānuku so as to be able to move freely. From this event, Te Ao Mārama (the world of light) —

the world we see today—is created. This event also saw the creation of the oceans, the rivers, the mountains, the daylight, the sun and moon, the forests, and the life that humans depend on today. (Smith, 2019, p. 8)

Whakapapa is the foundation of a Māori worldview and is central to Māori cosmology. Whakapapa is the process that records the evolution and genealogical descent of all living things; the interconnectedness of relationships between people and the environment, both spiritual and physical, as well as people to each other in an ordered process (Henare, 1988; Nicholls, 1998). Vital to the continuation of whakapapa are both the female and male elements (Pihama, 2001); therefore, whakapapa embodies the origins and nature of all relationships. The significance of whakapapa is highlighted within Te Ao Māori and supports both the importance and recognition of interconnectedness. Importantly, whakapapa is intrinsically about a sense of belonging and a birth right to be part of the collective and ultimately a tie to your identity (Kruger et al., 2004; Lawson-Te Aho & Liu, 2010; Mead, 2003). The reciprocity and obligatory nature of whakapapa means that it can be used to create productive and enduring relationships to support change. Whakapapa establishes and maintains connections and relationships and brings responsibility, reciprocity and obligation to those relationships (Kruger et al., 2004, p. 16). Notably, it was children who created the world of light – the world we see today.

For many contemporary Māori when meeting each other, the first questions often asked are “Where are you from?” (whakapapa and whenua) and “Who is your whānau?” – thus requesting information about ancestral land and whakapapa connections. Whakapapa establishes the identity of an individual and assists them to clarify themselves and their relationships with others. It enables the individual to understand their position in relation to their whānau, community and society and, as such, their roles and responsibilities (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010).

Kruger et al. (2004) consider whakapapa in terms of sets of relationships: “Whakapapa is broadly defined as the continuum of life which includes kinship and history” (p. 18). Blazer et al. (1997) support this and suggest that all relationships are defined through whakapapa and whānaungatanga (which underpins kinship obligations and rights, providing and receiving support from the kinship group as important) and, as such, individuals are linked through whakapapa to their whānau, hapū and iwi. Intimate partner violence is therefore seen as violence against the collective, and community intervention is key to both the prevention of and intervention for intimate partner violence (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010).

Many Māori scholars agree that, within traditional Māori whānau, violence within intimate partner relationships and against women and children was unacceptable and was the exception rather than the rule (Cooper, 2012; Jenkins, 1988; Johnston & Pihama, 1995; Māori Reference Group, 2009; Mead, A., 1994; Mead, H., 2016; Mikaere, 2016; Pere, 2002; Winihana & Smith, 2014).

This is not to say that violence did not occur within whānau but is discussed here to highlight that there is no historical support for the notion that traditional Māori society tolerated whānau violence. “Committing acts of violence on your own blood, kin, children, your parents or grandparents was not commonplace” (Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002, p. 8) and violence towards your wāhine was an affront to her and her whānau (Milroy, 1996). Should violence or abuse occur, it was a collective response which prevailed. Jenkins and Philip-Barbara (2002) tell us that:

Our histories speak of people acting with mana in their responses to violence and abuse - of whānau and hapū moving in to support their women. Our histories speak of the great lengths to which violators would go to restore their mana - mana they had diminished through their own actions... (p. 8)

Traditionally, whakapapa often influenced intimate partner relationships and was very important in the continued succession and protection of whānau, land and overall well-being. Whakapapa also ascribed roles for tāne and wāhine in a variety of contexts. These ascribed roles were seen as equally valued. Often the mātāmua, or eldest in the whānau, had particular roles and sometimes these roles were gender-specific in the practice of tikanga. For some iwi, the eldest male was expected to be the kaikōrero or speaker for the whānau. The important role of wāhine as te whare tapu o te tangata (child bearers) is described and this reinforced the necessity for women to be protected to ensure the continuation of whakapapa (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). The necessity to be protected, however, did not mean to be controlled. Although these concepts are located within a traditional framework, they are not historical concepts that are left in the past. They are living, evolving processes that currently enable the survival and maintenance of kaupapa Māori within the contemporary world (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). Smith (2019) comments:

Traditional evidence supports the view that Māori well-being is related and connected to meaningful engagement with the living world, through whakapapa that maintains the natural balance of all living things. This is different from the idea of whakapapa as genealogy, where the emphasis is tied to lineages from the past as opposed to families of living and connected things in the present... (p. 40)

Māori health and well-being has been described as being inherently relational (Durie, 1994; King & Robertson, 2017; Rua, 2015; Walker, 2004). Māori kupu (words) to help understand relational concepts from a Māori perspective include: *whānaungatanga* which, broadly speaking, means building and maintaining reciprocal relationships (as discussed above); *manaakitanga* describes the obligation of caring for one another, nurturing relationships and caring about how others are treated; *aroha* or love and respect are seen as essential (Mead, 2003); and *wairuatanga* is the inherent spirituality of people and the connection to all living things. These concepts “facilitate the reproduction of relationships in everyday life and bond Māori together within their social groups” (King & Robertson, 2017, p. 210). *Whakawhānaungatanga* means the act of making connections and

the formation of relationships. Pihama et al. (2003) consider this practice as integral to Māori social behaviour practised today.

By way of whakapapa, we are born into whānau which is the essence of the social unit within the Māori world. Whānau is recognised as the primary kin, social and cultural grouping for Māori and therefore an effective site for improving individual and whānau well-being outcomes. It is recognised that, while all Māori have whakapapa, some Māori do not always identify with whakapapa or kin-based whānau. It is also acknowledged that Māori are not a homogeneous group and are quite diverse, with no single or typical Māori identity (Durie, 2001). When considering the diversity in current contemporary whānau structures, many whānau do not live in their tribal areas and many are disconnected from cultural values and practices (Eruera, 2015). Even within this diversity, well-being for taitamariki Māori is seen as inextricably linked to the well-being of whānau (Māori Affairs Committee, 2013) and is an important factor when discussing the impacts of colonial settlements.

Whānau

The wellbeing of rangatahi Māori is crucially impacted on by the quality of whānau as a context for Māori youth development and the future wellbeing of the Māori population. Whānau are key sites for the intergenerational transfer of knowledge, wealth and power in Māori society and every opportunity to strengthen and build these structures will benefit Māori and the wider community. (Edwards, McCreanor, & Moewaka-Barnes, 2007, p. 13)

As discussed at the beginning of Chapter 1, taitamariki Māori are seen within the context of their whānau, hapū and iwi. The important position of children within Māori society is reflected within te reo Māori. *Tamariki* is the Māori word used for children. *Tama* is derived from Tama-te-ra, the central sun, the divine spark; *ariki* refers to senior most status, and *riki* on its own can mean smaller version. “Children are the greatest legacy the world community has” (Pere, 1991, p. 4). Cultural norms were transmitted, reproduced, and maintained through the traditional site of whānau. The Māori child’s ‘personal instruction’ was received from their tīpuna and the environment they grew up in ensured they were exposed to a lifestyle that allowed nurturing and education from their elders – often living with parents, grandparents, grand aunts and uncles (Pihama et al., 2003; Rangihau, 1975). Through these generations, children would learn folklore, traditions, legends, whakapapa, karakia and their relationship with nature (Makereti, 1938). They learnt by being exposed to and instructed on the values and practices required to be fully incorporated into the whānau (whakapapa whānau). These relationships were reciprocal relationships, intended to support the welfare of the group as a collective (Mead, 2003). Essentially, whānau was the site in which taitamariki were taught values and beliefs which formed the social controls and balances within the Māori world (Mead, 2003).

In contemporary terms, *whānau* is often used to describe connections between people that may not be based on *whakapapa* (*kaupapa whānau*). *Whānau* is being used to describe others that are living in your home, those who share common interests - work colleagues, sports groups - or those who are involved in the same school or workplace. Te Puni Kōkiri (2008) reported that *whānau* is the product of *whakapapa* and history; and that the nature of *whānau* has changed as our society has changed, such that the boundaries of *whānau* need to be self-defining. They also suggest that Māori see *whānau* as the core of Māori society and *whānau* are linked to *hapū* and *iwi* through strong *marae*; the term *marae whānau* is used to define multiple *whānau* affiliations to a *marae* (Families Commission, 2010). These references to different meanings of *whānau* show the collective nature and activities of relationship (Cooper, 2012). “The role of *whānau* is essential in that it affirms the roles and obligations that we as Māori have as a collective group” (Pihama et al., 2003, p. 41).

There are many accounts in Māori histories of *whānau* investment in and development of *taitamariki* to meet their full potential through the teaching of cultural practices that ensured their safety and well-being (Cooper & Wharewera-Mika, 2011; Jenkins & Harte, 2011). This included educating *taitamariki* about intimate partner well-being. Conversely, there is little historical evidence that pre-colonised Aotearoa Māori society tolerated violence and abuse towards children and women, as this created a threat to *whānau* collective well-being, as previously discussed (Durie, 2001; Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002; Ruwhiu, 2009).

Nepe (1991) commented that teaching and learning always acknowledged and sought to validate the absolute uniqueness of children and reinforce their position within their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. If we consider *taitamariki* as being foundational to the positive, long-term transformation and progress of Māori communities (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Erai & Allen, 2006; Eruera, 2015), we may first need to recognise that they are the key population to influence. It is essential that we find out and recognise what their specific needs are within the context of their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, if long-term changes are to be achieved. Of interest to this thesis are the traditional practices that allowed the voices of *taitamariki* to be heard within their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* (to be discussed in Chapter 3). There are accounts by early settlers that suggest that this occurred as well as those mentioned above:

...it is not uncommon to see young children of tender years sitting next to their parents in war councils, apparently listening with the greatest attention...they also ask questions in the most numerous attended assemblies of chiefs, who answer them with an air of respect, as if they were of a correct-responding age to themselves. I do not remember a request of an infant being treated with neglect, or a demand from one of them being slighted. (Joel Polack, 1830s, cited in Salmond, 2017)

The Māori-led literature indicates that as *whānau* is a cultural structure that was enabling for Māori, it is relevant that *whānau* need to be involved with *taitamariki* violence prevention strategies. We may need to consider how we involve/encourage our *taitamāhine* and *taitamatāne* within our cultural structures.

Tapu and Mana

He tapu to te wāhine, he tapu ano to te tāne.

Kia kaua tētahi e whakaiti i tētahi.

Engari kia whakanui tētahi i tētahi i runga i te mohio ma te mahi ngatahi a te wāhine me te tāne e tupu ora ai nga tamariki me te iwi hoki.

Honour the sacred potential of both women and men

The natural balance of gender differences, attributes and roles

Recognising that it is the combined and co-operative efforts of male and female that contributes to the well-being of children and their communities.

(Te Runanga Nui o Nga Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa, 2000, cited in Eruera, 2015)

A worldview acts as a central point by which values are established and therefore motivates behaviours within a culture (Marsden, 2003; Royal, 2002). By understanding a culture's worldview (Te Ao Māori, a Māori worldview) and its language intent, we can come to understand and gain insights into a culture's values and the behaviours that are valued by it. This can be a useful approach when exploring behaviours within intimate partner relationships (Eruera, 2015). The quote above identifies, from a cultural perspective, the significance of the constructs of interpersonal relationships between male and female that strengthens the importance of healthy intimate partner relationships and well-being and reinforces the complementary nature of traditional gender roles, as well as the collective responsibilities within those relationships. Highlighted in the quote above are the Te Ao Māori principles of *mana* and *tapu*. They are fundamental concepts that governed the infrastructure of traditional Māori society and are of significance when discussing intimate partner relationships.

Tapu in this context highlights the belief about the sacredness of all humankind and informs us how to behave towards each other in a respectful manner. *Tapu* acts as a corrective and coherent power within Māori society. Everyone was required to protect their own *tapu* and respect the *tapu* of others. *Mana* is inherited through a direct link to *tīpuna* and the *kāwai tīpuna* and can also be acquired or diminished by an individual throughout the course of his or her life. Because personal and particularly collective *mana* were seen as important, Māori were careful to ensure that their behaviour and actions maintained that *mana*. *Tapu* is an important element within *tikanga* (Mead, 2003):

Every individual is born with an increment of mana which is closely related to personal tapu. While an increment of mana is inherited at birth it is possible to build onto it through one's personal achievements, through good works and an ability to lift the mana of the whole group. Mana is always a social quality that requires other people to recognise one's achievements and accord respect. (p. 51)

From a contemporary youth focus, Martin (2002) describes *mana* with youth he was working with as "your 'worthiness', judged by one's culture and in the opinion of significant other people ... it is the process of being restored to the centre of one's world by gaining the respect of others" (p. 175).

Within the context of intimate partner relationship well-being, *mana* is an important concept as it influences our attitudes, behaviour and our interaction with others. Any abusive act towards another person would be a violation of that person's tapu and may takahi (trample) the tapu and mana of the other person, as well as your own - "Mana or the pursuit of mana often drives behaviours. It can serve as a motivator for violence and therefore has the potential as a means of countering violence by creating wellness as an act of mana" (Kruger et al., 2004, p. 19). The importance of *mana* and *tapu* in tāne and wāhine intimate partner relationships is reiterated by Pihama and McRoberts (2009) while making comment on the impacts on whakapapa of abusive acts:

...the tapu of tamawāhine as the cradle of humanity and that tapu should be there without question and the responsibility to protect it according to all the indicators. Protection has to be there and recognised; and no breach of tapu should be allowed... Everyone has to respect everyone and males have to realise and it's going to be a difficult one, because males in the Western world are super duper... mana tāne, tamatāne, tamawāhine but from the wāhine children come so therefore you violate a woman with violence, then you are violating the children that come out. (p. 89)

Ruwhiu (2001) suggests that mana-enhancing behaviour ensures that interactions between the spiritual, physical and natural realms are advantageous. He goes on to say both Māori and non-Māori can benefit from the understanding that every person has mana and can increase and share mana with others (cited in Hollis-English, 2012, p. 49). Mana is an important concept relevant to well-being, both individually and collectively.

Smith (2019) explains that when trauma occurs (this could include physical or sexual violence – whānau violence), it has traditionally been treated as an 'unnatural balance' and traditionally the focus has been to restore the balance over time, with crucial attention being given to the individual and collective mana, and the protection of uri whakatipu (future generations). Smith goes on to say that, if left unresolved, these events can affect future generations. In the past, if the trauma was significant enough, these would be recorded in whakapapa kōrero. Restoring balance was seen as important and considered as a resetting of the *mauri* and a resolution to the imbalance of the traumatic event (p.36).

Mauri

The word *mauri* is made up of two words: *mā* (a term used in incantations which 'signify light, energy and clarity') and *uri* (meaning progeny, regenerative or procreative power that brings forth transformation). The term *mauri*, when combined with *ora*, signifies well-being coming from within, which maintains the balance of the internal self with the external world. The *mauri* refers to the internal energy of a person, a personified object or some living thing. A popular translation for the word *mauri* includes life essence or life force. Smith (2019) comments on the importance of *mauri* in traditional times, suggesting that colonial ethnographers did not understand the relationship to *mauri*

ora and well-being but seemed interested in the mythical aspects of the narratives. The origin of *mauri* and regenerative power is referenced in traditional narratives about the origins of the world.

Protecting the mauri was paramount in traditional times. Failure to protect the mauri, and the natural cycle of internal light and energy resulted in a state of pōuritanga and ill health, and eventually death. Restoration of the mauri had to occur, through the metaphorical transition from darkness back into the world of light and the living. Where a mauri had been affected, the initial strategy employed was for the individual to retreat into a separate space or be placed into a separate space of tapu. The purpose, in part, was to protect the person or resource, but also to protect others from being affected. (Smith, 2019, p. 18)

Kruger et al. (2004) consider *mauri* as an internal value which gives people a sense of purposefulness and provides inspiration and motivation; and provides a sense of self and collective identity. It is an intangible construct which is hard to describe and is experienced at the most personal level. When a person's *mauri* is intact, people can achieve balance and a sense of connection and well-being. *Mauri* is connected with one's *mana*. Within the context of intimate partner relationships, Kruger et al. (2004) explain that:

Victims and perpetrators have a damaged mauri because for perpetrators their sense of personal power has been artificially enforced whereas the victim has had power removed through the act of violence. The restoration of mauri is about the restoration of power and control at the personal level (p. 28)

Mauri is considered an important concept to understanding well-being for Māori and has similar significance to the concept of *wairua* (Cooper, 2012).

Wairua

Wairua is not an easy construct to define and is a complex concept to describe. A regularly used description for *wairua* denotes *wai* (water) and *rua* (two), referencing the two sources within a person: the physical and the spiritual (Pere, 1994), integrating both the physical and spiritual worlds. Pohatu and Pohatu (2011) describe *wairua* as the depths of the soul, which combines the thinking and applications of earlier generations, and which recognises the 'domains' and 'understandings' beyond the realms of people. It is not about religion (Cooper, 2012; Kruger et al., 2004) and cannot always be seen in a concrete way but may be experienced as feelings. It is essentially a sense of being. Kruger et al. (2004) define *wairua* as: "spirituality expressed as awareness of *wairua* and passion for life; self-realisation" (p. 17). Kruger et al., (2004) and Durie (1998) concur that *wairua* is important to our well-being: "The *wairua* is the heartbeat, the core of Māori well-being. It has to be in balance with the tinana (physical), hinengaro (intellectual) and Ngākau (emotional) in order for the person to be well" (Kruger et al., 2004, p. 22); an absence of *wairua* can make people prone to illness and become unwell (Cooper, 2012).

Moewaka-Barnes et al. (2017) explored concrete ways of expressing *wairua* in research analysis and as a means of "giving voice" to this concept in the academy. They point out that using 'spirit' is unusual, given the tension with 'materialistic and objectivist approaches' which dominate

most research. In addition, they assert that, through settler and missionary processes, *wairua* has been maligned and understood as primitive in comparison to Christian beliefs. Māori find themselves ridiculed as superstitious in a way that a Pākehā talking about religion never is (Clifton, 2000, p. 22, cited in Moeweka-Barnes et al., 2017).

Kruger et al. (2004) explain that the products or outcomes of *wairua* may be evidenced in physical ways, such as an act of kindness, and that inherent to a knowledge of *wairua* is the understanding of the states of *tapu* and *noa*. *Wairua* is exercised through *tapu* (discussed above) and *noa*. *Tapu* may require a state of restriction and prohibition, *noa* is a common or relaxed state. A *tapu* restriction is replaced by *noa*. Durie (1998), in his analysis, relates *tapu* and *noa* to health, *noa* denoting safety, and *tapu* protection. Interestingly, early colonial settlers misinterpreted *tapu* as meaning ‘dirty’ and related this to women. Cooper (2012) cites Kruger et al. (2004) and suggests that a disconnection from *wairua* places individuals in a state of *kahupō* (darkness) or *whakamā* (shame), where there is a lack of sense of purpose in life (Eruera, 2015) and is considered “the worst state that a Māori person can be in” (Kruger et al., 2004, p. 22).

Eruera and Dobbs (2010) and Eruera (2015) noted when talking with taitamariki Māori about their healthy relationships and *wairua*, that taitamariki discussed *wairua* as good feelings inside you about yourself and respecting yourself and your partner. Taitamariki in these studies told us that “arguing”, “put downs” all affect your *wairua* – because “it hurts your feelings” and “‘cause you feel it in your spirit” (Eruera, 2015, p. 174). These participants appeared to be clear on what may damage someone’s *wairua*. All people are born with *wairua* and it is believed that a sense of *wairua* can be a protective element. The next section sets out to describe the traditional understandings of gender and the impact of colonial settlers, missionaries, and schooling.

Whatukura and Māreikura

Whatukura and *Māreikura* elements are described as the first gender elements (Eruera, 2015). The elements of *Whatukura* and *Māreikura* explore cultural constructs about relationships between *tāne* and *wāhine* and are used to describe the spiritual deities representing male and female dimensions and elements of gender at an esoteric level. *Mana tāne* and *mana wāhine* are the physical manifestation of this concept within the physical world and are important concepts when discussing intimate partner relationships (Eruera, 2015). The values and beliefs that are essential to Māori culture and cultural ways of being highlight the roles of *tāne* (men) and *wāhine* (women) and therefore are of high importance to this study.

Understanding the roles of *tāne* and *wāhine* in traditional Māori society begins with our creation stories. The creation stories describe male and female as complementary forces in the creation of the cosmos, in the landscape and in the human body (Salmond, 2017). Embedded in these

narratives are principles that provide exemplars for human behaviour, social controls, and interpersonal relationships. Mikaere (2011) summarises the values and principles within traditional Māori practices when discussing the importance of balance for the collective well-being.

Both men and women were essential parts in the collective whole, both formed part of the whakapapa that linked Māori people back to the beginning of the world ... 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 own intrinsic value. They were all a part of the collective; it was therefore a collective responsibility to see that their respective roles were valued and protected. (Mikaere, 2011, p.186)

Eruera (2015) describes the creation story of Ranginui (Sky father) and Papatūānuku (Earth mother) as being the original intimate partner relationship. When exploring gender and parenting roles within primal whakapapa creation stories, Jenkins and Harte (2011) describe the behaviours of Ranginui and Papatūānuku towards each other and for the collective benefits of their children and humankind.

As husband and wife, Ranginui and Papatūānuku were a model pair and the union was fruitful. Papatūānuku was not just a mute, passive partner... she was active, thoughtful and outspoken. The two stayed together for aeons, very happily sharing decisions. Their farewells to each other when they separated were very respectful and loving. And they grieved for each other openly, wailing and weeping even to the present day. (p. 2)

There are variations drawn from Māori interpretations of these stories and caution should be given when interpreted through other cultural paradigms (Eruera, 2015). As mentioned previously, what is significant in relation to exploring traditional Māori gender roles within these stories are the messages of the complementary roles of tāne (male) and wāhine (female) and the relationship between them. Traditionally, our understandings of gender and sexuality were fluid and in contrast to the binary patriarchal systems of the settlers. Tāne were active parents, assuming co-responsibility for raising and teaching of children. Taiuru (2018) calls this gender role ‘the nurturing warrior’. Wāhine often had leadership roles within whānau, hapū and iwi. Both tāne and wāhine could be of chiefly status. Our creation stories and our legends position women as powerful, influential, of moral character and decisive.

Of particular interest to this study is the exploration of Western gender role-norms imported into Aotearoa by colonial settlers, which positioned women as submissive to men, and placed men in positions of power and authority. This impacted on Māori social structures including the formation and maintenance of intimate partner relationships, parenting and whānau structures.

The relationship between mana wāhine and mana tāne is about complementarity [sic] and reciprocity. For example, strictly speaking, a man cannot go onto a marae without a woman, and a woman cannot go onto a marae without a man, simply because of the complimentary roles that men and women play in the ritual of encounter on our marae. Te kawa o te marae embraces and upholds both mana wāhine and mana tāne. (Rimene, Hassan, & Broughton, 1998, p. 31)

Mikaere (2016) argues that the evidence refutes the assumption that within tikanga Māori, leadership was the domain of tāne and that tāne exercised power over wāhine. She argues that the collective roles of tāne and wāhine in traditional society abound in Māori cosmology. From such histories, it is clear that Māori women occupied important leadership positions – military, spiritual and political. One of my own tīpuna Te Hoka was known for her skills in battle. Through waiata, haka and whakataukī, we also see that women played important roles in the maintenance and transmission of iwi histories and knowledge. The naming of hapū and whare tupuna after women is also significant. *The People of Many Peaks* (Department of Internal Affairs, 1991) profiles many wāhine of mana between the years of 1769 and 1869 across all iwi and supports their leadership roles, importantly to note, alongside men.

That is not to say that gender relations in pre-settlers' times were a "utopia of equality" (Simmonds, 2011, p. 14). It is not possible to definitively argue that no forms of sexism existed. However, Mikaere (2003) asserts that power (or rather mana) existed, along with hierarchy, but this was likely to be through claims of whakapapa rather than solely gender. Paterson and Wanhalla (2017) comment that because of the non-gendered nature of te reo Māori, they found difficulty in 'unlocking' archive material, making it problematic to easily determine which gender 'the voice' belonged to. They relied on gendered terms, for example, wāhine (women) and whaea, as well as colonial terms such as 'native women' or 'aboriginal women' (p. 6). Mikaere (1995) points out that this is also evidenced in Binney and Chaplin's (1986) *Nga Morehu: The Survivors. The Life Histories of Eight Māori Women*, where Kuia being interviewed (in English) used 'he' and 'she' interchangeably.

Along with this, Pere (2002) says that the importance of wāhine is embodied in language and expressed through proverbs, giving the examples of how wāhine are referred to as *whare tangata*, the house of humanity; the use of the word *whenua* to mean both land and afterbirth; and *hapū* to mean both to be pregnant and a large kinship group. *Mana tangata* is female in nature. Life itself is symbolised by women. Hence the terms like *te whare tangata* from where humankind originates (Kruger et al., 2004). Importantly:

It should be remembered too that the earth is Papatūānuku, the ancestress of all Māori, and that land is of paramount significance to Māori socially, culturally, spiritually, politically and economically. Papatūānuku also played a key role in instructing her son, tāne mahuta, where to find the human element and how to make Hine-ahu-one so that mankind could be created. (Mikaere, 2016, p. 2)

The important role of women as whare tangata is reinforced within the creation stories, which assert the significance of the sexual and reproductive functions of the female in the world's creation:

The potency of female sexuality is implicit in the womb symbolism of Te Kore and Te Pō, and in the birth of Ranginui and Papatūānuku children into Te Ao Mārama. It is explicit in accounts of the first sexual encounter between Tāne and Hineahuone... (Mikaere, 2011, p. 187)

In their discussions of gender roles and whānau violence, Kruger et al. (2004) argue that the traditional belief by Māori about the balance between male and female roles affirms that “there is nothing in the Māori world that promotes and encourages the idea of whānau violence. No one can point to an ideological belief that talks about women being lower in the social order” (p. 9).

Taitamariki Approaches

Whānau ora (well-being) models for violence prevention are based on a shared understanding of traditional Māori values and beliefs and focus on strengthening whānau well-being (Eruera, 2015). This phenomena of strengthening whānau is distinct from the more Western strategies of individual or a couple-based approach to violence intervention and prevention (Grennell, 2006) and I suggest needs to include taitamariki-focused approaches for prevention. Māori approaches to understanding and developing solutions to intimate partner violence position the analysis inside a Māori worldview and contextual paradigm, using traditional values to underpin and guide actions and behaviours (Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010; Kruger et al., 2004; Ruwhiu, 2001; Pihama & McRoberts, 2009; The Māori Reference Group for the Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families, 2013).

I am exploring taitamariki Māori healthy intimate partner relationships from within a Māori paradigm which requires us to access the knowledge and practices within Māori traditional sources of knowledge. This may assist in a transformational pursuit of the development of violence prevention strategies and solutions for today’s issues. This approach is supported by many Māori in their pursuit of understanding things that currently present us with challenges (Eruera, 2015). It also means eliciting taitamariki understandings of traditional sources of knowledge. Many of these approaches focus on adults. As discussed in Chapter 1, how do we begin to prevent intimate partner violence if we are not considering or listening to taitamariki Māori perspectives on this issue?

Colonialism Challenges

It is generally taken for granted that the story of colonisation is a “big peoples” story, it is about whole populations, or about men and women, or about groups of people. And yet one of the most important social categories in colonisation, particularly where education is concerned, was children. Children were the means through which their communities would be civilised. (Smith, 1996, p. 255)

Family

The impact on whānau Māori through the introduction of settler and Christian beliefs was immense and is discussed in this section. Pihama et al. (2003) argue that whānau and the cultural relationships that are expressed through *whānaungatanga* are central to any project preventing intimate partner violence. They go on to say that we therefore need to gain a sense of how whānau has been defined over time. The terms *whānau* and *family* are commonly used interchangeably within research and many social policy documents within Aotearoa today. Examining the different understandings of

whānau and *family* is critical in terms of any violence prevention and intervention practices, policies, and legislation (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). Kruger et al. (2004) argue that social policies do not distinguish between *whānau* and *family* and, by using these terms synonymously, indicate that they are not well understood or are viewed as the same constructs with different languages used to describe them. Other Māori-led literature warns that failing to have an understanding within a Māori worldview of the nature of *whānau* as opposed to *family* may inevitably lead to failure in the attempts at violence prevention or intervention with *whānau* (Cooper, 2012; Cram, Pihama, & Karehana, 2002; Dobbs & Durie, 2001; Eruera, 2014; Kruger et al., 2004; Mead, 2003; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Pihama, 1993; Pihama et al., 2003; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010; Walker, 2004; Wilson, 2016). As the quote below denotes, language conveys knowledge, which in turn assists in understanding lived realities.

Language conveys knowledge, and the currency of historical research in the language of the colonizer is a major problem in historical research in Aotearoa. Researchers, according to Battiste, 'cannot rely on colonial languages to define indigenous realities'... Thus, only the indigenous language in Aotearoa can fully realize the kaupapa: that is a more ethical and empowered understanding of New Zealand history beyond the colonial settler linguistic universe. (Mahuika, 2015, p. 19)

Thus, the use of language describing cultural constructs can change in cross-cultural interpretation (Families Commission, 2010). Whilst the Te Rito strategy (The New Zealand Government's Family Violence Prevention Strategy, 2001) makes mention of the specificity of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* needs, there is still a lack of distinction drawn between family violence and *whānau* within much of the local literature (Cooper, 2012). For example, *family* is commonly acknowledged as meaning immediate family or nuclear family consisting of parents and children. *Whānau* is more likely to be described as immediate family and extended family (Ngata, 1940), which would comprise many generations (as mentioned above) and is a network that extends beyond the nuclear family (Kara et al., 2011). *Whānau* is a broad kinship term that can also refer to relationships beyond these generations to the many generations it encompasses, to *hapū* and *iwi* and to a common *tīpuna*. *Whānau* is understood to have a broader meaning by many Māori and is therefore viewed within a wider framework than *family* (Durie, 2001; Kruger et al., 2004; Mead, 2003; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Pihama, 1993; Pihama et al., 2003; Walker, 2004).

Another critique of the *family* violence literature is the absence of any historical analysis of *whānau* violence for Māori and the absence of acknowledgment of the consequences of colonisation having a role in the experiences of violence for many Māori (Cram et al., 2002; Erai et al., 2007; Jenkins & Philip-Barbara, 2002; Kara et al., 2011; Kruger et al., 2004; Pihama et al., 2003). These are not new critiques as the dates of the references indicate. Any discussion of *whānau* needs to be informed by traditional legacies and in contemporary contexts (Cram & Pitama, 1998).

Cooper (2012) suggests that there is very little written on *whānau* violence definitions and that there is more literature describing what *whānau* violence is not. Legislation in Aotearoa

encompasses key definitions; however, these definitions are not currently broad enough to fully encompass the realities of whānau. The “definition of family is based upon a nuclear model ... It is clear that definitions of family violence for Māori need to be more fully debated by Māori, including analysis of the terms ‘Family Violence for Māori’ and ‘Whānau Violence’ in order to provide a clear definition that will support developments in the field” (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008, p. 34). However, The Taskforce (2004) suggest that whānau violence is:

Whānau violence can be understood as an absence or disturbance in tikanga. Tikanga is defined by this Taskforce as the process of practicing Māori values. The Taskforce believes that transgressing whakapapa [genealogy; descent] is a violent act and that Māori have the right to protect (rather than defend) their whakapapa from violence and abuse. (p.10)

I would add that there is even less information about how taitamariki Māori view, analyse (make sense of) and describe ‘whānau violence’ using their own definitions and language within their whānau, but also within their own relationships. Taitamariki Māori tell us that their intimate partner relationships are often not taken seriously by adults and, because of this, there are difficulties finding supports, should violence occur (Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010).

The impact of colonisation on whānau structure is immense and ongoing (see further Cram & Pitama, 1998, *Ko tōku whānau, ko tōku mana*) and needs to be considered in order to respond effectively to intimate partner violence and strengthened for violence prevention, including taitamariki Māori violence prevention. However, where the entrenchment of the nuclear family model was influential on the assault on Māori and other Indigenous structures and gender organisation, the assertion of the whānau can in turn contest colonial constructions of gender and mediate the impact of colonisation (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014):

Engaging in a process of de-colonisation, many colonised peoples are examining what has been stripped away and what may be useful to reclaim as the best of their culture’s traditions. Māori organisations and scholars are emphasising the traditional obligation and power of the whānau to protect all its members; women, children, and men from harm (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). Likewise, many Native American tribes and associations are creating training manuals for both Native men and women that emphasise cultural traditions of respect for women. (p. 4)

Not only was the position of Māori women dis-ordered with ongoing colonisation, this also occurred for Māori men and, I suggest, the place and roles of taitamariki within whānau, hapū and iwi. Taitamariki are our agents for change (Eruera, 2015) and therefore need to be engaged in the process of decolonisation. For that to be supported, we need to engage with taitamariki Māori. They require knowledge of our colonial past and our traditional practices. Much of the family violence literature focuses on women and children. A focus on whānau violence prevention needs to ensure that the focus is on whānau - therefore to be with both taitamāhine and taitamatāne.

Gender Roles – mana wāhine mana tāne

Gender and sexuality are intrinsic to the colonisation of indigenous peoples and the promulgation of European modernity by settlers, whether in pursuit of what Patrick Wolfe has theorised as a logic of indigenous 'elimination' ... Theories of settler colonisation will remain incomplete if they do not investigate how this political and economic formation is constituted by gendered and sexual power. (Morgensen, 2012, p. 3)

When looking at the historical influences on traditional understandings of gender and sexuality (see below for more discussion of sexuality), the Indigenous-led literature, both nationally and internationally, demonstrates that with colonisation came massive upheavals in traditional gendered understandings. In effect, colonisation brought about a re-ordering of whānau and the distortion and dis-ordering of traditional Indigenous understandings. When discussing neoliberalism and racialised gender in her book *Indigenous Identity and Resistance: Researching the Diversity of Knowledge*, Isabel Altamirano-Jimenez (2010) argues that neo-liberal understandings of power rely heavily on specific erasure of history and memory, and the privileging of Western ideals, norms and values. Historically, colonial discourse and laws defined the status of Indigenous peoples by differentiating them from white settlers, while dispossessing them of their lands. In Aotearoa, missionaries and settlers brought with them their own understandings of gender hierarchies and the subordinate role of women (Mikaere, 2011). Patriarchal assumptions underlying the common law and Christian teachings destroyed the equilibrium between male and female. Hokowhitu (2012) describes how colonisation introduced “dominant forms of invader/settler masculinity” (p. 23). Consequently, the notion of gender balance, which underpins tikanga, has been distorted.

Christianity and Victorian values also distorted and re-interpreted our kōrero tuku iho, along with the principles and practices within them. Mikaere (2011) discusses the reinterpretation of our cosmologies by Pākehā ethnographers Edelson Best (1924a, 1924b, 1925) and Percy Smith (1913-1915), who recast the powerful female figures into passive roles while inflating male significance, much like that of the *Bible* stories. This convenient paternalism coloured their perception of Māori women. Smith (1992) argues that the Māori women, within Best's and Percy Smith's stories, were instead turned into "distant and passive old crones whose presence in the 'story' was to add interest to an otherwise male adventure." In his writings Best also suggests that, within Māori myths and beliefs, the female sex is assigned an inferior position generally, and is spoken of as being connected with evil, misfortune, and death.

Unlike Western women, Māori women were not their spouse's 'chattel' or subordinate but an intrinsic part of whānau, hapū and iwi (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). With regard to partner violence, Victorian values brought to Aotearoa the 'rule of thumb'² and the notion that 'children are seen and

² The 'rule of thumb' has been said to derive from the belief that English law allowed a man to beat his wife with a stick so long as it was no thicker than his thumb.

not heard' – both of which sanctioned the use of violence within 'family' – in contradiction to traditional Māori beliefs. Colonisation 'dis-ordered' the role and status of Māori women (Mikaere, 1995) and children, with colonial structures and ideologies replacing Māori structures. Māori women's autonomy was interpreted as immorality and having a lack of discipline. Christianity reinforced these notions and set out to 'rescue' Māori women and teach them 'decorum' by defining their spaces as being at home and carrying out appropriate female activities, like the settlers' wives. Jenkins (1988) describes the conflict in values and the settlers' reaction to this:

Western civilisation when it arrived on Aotearoa's shore, did not allow its womenfolk any power at all - they were merely chattels in some cases less worthy than the men's horses. What the colonizer found was a land of noble savages narrating ... stories of the wonder of women. Their myths and beliefs had to be reshaped and retold. The missionaries were hell-bent (heaven-bent) on destroying their pagan ways. Hence, in the re-telling of our myths, by Māori male informants to Pākehā male writers who lacked the understanding and significance of Māori cultural beliefs, Māori women find their mana wāhine destroyed. (p. 161)

This undermining of mana wāhine impacted on Māori social structures. Māori women began to lose control over both their traditional roles and a place within a colonial gendered order. Many authors concur that one of the most damaging effects of colonisation was in the re-definition of whānau and this was accompanied by a re-engineering of gender roles and gender identity, consequently shifting the status of Māori women.

In keeping with the view that the norms and values of Christian and middle-class family life were the cornerstone of a civilised society, the Christian Missionary Service saw working with Ngāpuhi women (as in other areas) as a significant way in which Māori families could be transformed. This was not unique to Aotearoa and was a commonly held perception across the missionary worlds of Canada, Africa, India, and the Pacific. Tanya Fitzgerald (2003) examined the attempts to 're-make' Ngāpuhi women as useful Christian wives. The broader intent was to discipline Māori society through a 'transformation' of family life, deemed a necessity if Māori Christianity was to flourish. Women were seen as the problem but also the conduit for a conversion strategy. It was Reverend Henry Williams' view that Māori women were "far more degraded than males" and much "in need of reclamation" (p. 85). Whilst missionary families were the 'model' of Christian values (adultery and fornication were forbidden) that Māori were counselled to follow, the settlers did not always 'practise what they preached' – for example, Thomas Kendall's (prominent settler) wife committed adultery with her manservant and Thomas had an 'affair' with a chiefly Māori woman (Salmond, 2017, p. 389).

There are gaps in the literature about the impacts of colonial settlers on the position of Māori men. Hokowhitu (2007, 2012) suggests colonial accounts of Māori men positioned them as simple, inherently animalistic, aggressive, and violent by nature. Conversely, the colonial settlers at the same time reported Māori men as having 'women-like characteristics' – talking a lot, being animated, doing women's work, caring particularly for children and overemotional (p. 71) - in effect, lacking the

‘qualities’ of the colonial male and more like their female counterparts. Hokowhitu (2007) suggests that this dominant colonial discourse reduced Māori ‘masculinities’ to ‘a narrow binary’. Hokowhitu (2012) argues that the increasing desire of Māori to be able to converse with the colonial system, coupled with colonial policy of creating a divide between generations, led to the education of a few select taitamatāne in British-style boarding schools for Māori boys, which were characterised by ‘muscular’ forms of Christianity resonant of Victorian British public boys’ schools’ institutions. “In turn an elite group of Māori men was created and crucially shaped by a specific type of masculine leadership system” (Hokowhitu, 2012, p. 38).

Kruger et al. (2004) suggest that the “overlay” of patriarchal thinking on traditional cultural practices gave rise to an “imposter tikanga” and the use of “bastardised or mutated cultural constructs to justify violence” (p. 25). King and Robertson (2017) pose the questions, what was the impact on Māori men in the redefining of the whānau unit and disruption of Māori ‘masculinities’ and gender in general, by colonial activities, and what impact did these have on the emergence of intimate partner violence in contemporary times? They suggest that:

...studying the everyday relationship practices of Māori men who are not violent can provide insights into how these “traditional” cultural values and practices have been re-membered, reproduced, and adapted to fit with the shifting context of Māori positioning within modern colonial society. Such research has the potential to contribute to the development of healthy, peaceful whānau. (p. 216)

Amongst iwi, where women’s economic contributions and work were valued commensurate with men’s, violence against women was not common (Cram et al., 2002; Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Smith, 2005; Smith, 2008), as discussed previously. An increase in violence against women came with colonisation (Cram et al., 2002; Lerner, 1987; Robertson & Oulton, 2008; Smith, 2005; Smith, 2008), not only in Aotearoa but in many colonised countries. Rose (2012) suggests that “targeting the relatively high status of many Indigenous women as problematic, colonisers imposed notions of gender roles based on patriarchy and individualism which led to the devaluation of the position women held in Māori iwi and in Native American tribes” (p. 12). There is now an extensive body of work which has linked colonisation with the emergence of whānau violence within Māori communities (King & Robertson, 2017; Koziol-McLain, Rameka, Giddings, Fyfe, & Gardiner, 2007; Kruger et al., 2004; Robertson & Oulton, 2008). There is also a body of work that is emerging on intergenerational trauma and colonisation which I will discuss further in Chapter 3. Cavino (2016) emphasises that the introduction of colonial patriarchy into Aotearoa has disordered Māori understandings of gender and power, which has subsequently disrupted the communal relationships and fostered a normalised gender inequality. I finish this section with this quote, denoting the importance of maintaining our tikanga.

The challenge for Māori, women and men, is to rediscover and reassert tikanga Māori within our own whānau, and to understand that an existence where men have power and authority over women and

children is not in accordance with tikanga Māori. Such an existence stems instead from an ancient common law tradition which has been imposed upon us, a tradition with which we have no affinity and which we have every reason to reject. (Mikaere, 2016, p. 34)

Education and knowledge

Indigenous children, along with women, were regarded as a means to meet colonisers' needs. Smith (1996) makes the point that the story of colonisation is often understood to be a 'big peoples' story – as discussed above – but the most important social category in colonisation where education was concerned was children. As attested in the writings of Reverend Samuel Marsden:

The foundation must be laid in the education of the rising generation. If there were the means equal to give the children generally instruction, ignorance and superstition would soon give way to knowledge and true religion. The children possess great minds, are well behaved and teachable, and would make great improvements. (n.d., cited in Fitzgerald, 2003, p. 23)

This 'education' was done through the Native Schools system. Many authors have described the actual intent of such 'education'. Pihama et al. (2003) assert that the Native Schools system and colonial education policies were constructed with the specific purpose of assimilation and 'civilising the natives' as a vehicle for social control and land acquisition. The Native Schools system contributed to the undermining of Māori structures, as did missionary teachings, in particular with the reconstruction of gender roles and the movement of whānau to a nuclear family structure, as mentioned above. This occurred at both policy and curriculum level:

Curriculum content was constructed to achieve the domestication of Māori girls. Māori girls were expected to learn the 'appropriate' values and skills of 'civilised young ladies' and this task was linked explicably to the expectation that they would be considered more suitable and attractive to men; Māori men. The marginalisation of Māori girls and women, through Pākehā schooling, occurred systematically through the imposition of domestication and assimilation agendas. Māori girls and women were taught domestic skills which often included the making of clothing for the school, cooking, washing, ironing, embroidery and other skills deemed appropriate for girls...for Māori boys it was the knowledge of agriculture... (Pihama et al., 2003, p. 18)

There are a few accounts – albeit peripheral – of the effects on taitamariki in the early writings of colonial settlers. This may not be surprising as, in the 19th century, Western views on children and childhood were very similar to views of women – they were both the property of men and needed to be kept under control. Pākehā accounts of the Māori concepts of childhood were not sympathetic (Smith, 1996) and children were portrayed as being indulged and spoilt (Salmond, 2017). Violence against taitamariki Māori pervaded in the school setting and would result in Māori parents withdrawing their children from school. Smith (1996) comments that a second view of Māori parenting prevailed in the studies from the 1940s which suggested that older Māori children were often subjected to harsh punishment by their parents; however, she accounts for this by suggesting that a shift had occurred in how researchers viewed children and childhood and perhaps the shift reflected how Māori may have come to regard their own children. I suggest that we have seen another 'shift'

this century, for example, with iwi support for repeal of Section 59 of the Crimes Act – a section of law which essentially allowed violence towards children as a means of punishment; all seven tribes in Te Tai Tokerau contributed to its repeal. Views of children and childhood will be discussed further in Chapter 4 and again in Chapter 5.

The following excerpts from the *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, as cited in Pihama et al. (2003), reinforce that education was seen as a way to ‘deal with the native problem’.

He was one of those who believed that everything depended on education; these were in all events things much higher than proficiency in ‘the three R’s’, but for a people in the position of the Māori race it was a first condition of their progress to put them in the way of learning the language of the inhabitants and Government of the colony. (Richmond, 1867)

All that the Government could do with the Natives must be done by moral influence, nothing could be done by force, for the Māori were men who did not fear death. They could not be crushed, they could be exterminated but they could not by force be brought into subjection. (Carleton, 1867)

... asserted that the most serious impediment to progress in carrying out the work of civilisation within the schools was Māori communal ownership of property... Taylor then argued for the concepts of individual ownership to be developed within the classroom. (Taylor, 1862)

Many of the wāhine and taitamāhine came to the mission to gain knowledge about the Pākehā world, and to acquire its domestic technology and artefacts. Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins (2019) make an interesting point when discussing Māori children’s attendance at the first school in Rangihoua in Te Tai Tokerau, Northland, which challenges some of the Pākehā interpretations of events. They suggest, “those kids would not have gone to that school if there was not a Māori teacher there” (p. 114) and recommend that we need to look at the Māori actors instead of “sucking up to the Pākehā story - who are the Māori in this story and what were they doing and why are they doing it?” (p. 119). They argue that Māori were strategic about their relationships with the settlers; seeing the gains in terms of knowledge and material goods in terms of other tribes and that of their own trading relationships with Australia.

Māori saw that the Europeans with power and authority were those with books and paper. However, Cooper (2012) asserts that, whilst Māori in Te Tai Tokerau were welcoming of these trading opportunities, they soon became increasingly annoyed by the traders’ disregard of Māori social and cultural norms. In *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of New Zealand School System*, Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2001) concluded that Māori were not ‘passive recipients’ of all Pākehā policies and practices within education. Māori had clear ideas of what they wanted for their children and that was to support them in the effective survival in a fast becoming Pākehā-dominated society. However, it took its toll. New ideas on childrearing and childhood from eighteenth century Europe spread to Aotearoa with colonial settlers (May, 1997). It is suggested that colonisation caused Pākehā to construct views of Māori childhood which showed little resemblance to the realities for

Māori children and/or Māori perceptions of childhood. In bringing children to the centre in this way, Māori concepts of childhood were constantly subjected to challenge (Smith, 1996).

Colonial society created both the need and the impetus for charitable and educational services for European children; but for Māori, it brought about the loss of population, land, mana, and language... Māori families lost the resources and social structures which provided the traditional contexts for rearing the very young. (May, 1999, p. xiv)

Sex and sexuality

In the case of indigenous peoples and sexual expression, it is important to remember that colonisation has had a profound effect on how we view this aspect of our lives. Along with religion, colonisation has had a significant impact on the ways in which Māori express their sexuality within contemporary New Zealand. The imposition of a colonialist view of sexuality has meant that traditional views and understandings of Māori sexuality have become blurred, misinterpreted or lost completely. (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007, p. 421)

If we look at a general Western context, there is an active promotion of the view, by some people and institutions, that sexuality is experienced the same way by all people. This is regardless of cultural differences and diversity. While there are features that may be applicable to sexual expression around the world, it is inaccurate to say that sexual expression is the same from culture to culture (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007). Sexuality plays an intimate role in the health and well-being of all people. Understandings and expressions of sexuality underpin important epistemological, social, economic and health beliefs, attitudes and practices.

Traditionally, Māori society was based on sexual diversity and acceptance of difference (Te Awēkotuku, 1996; Mead, 2003). With the arrival of European settlers, this changed and, as time went on, led to a radical disruption (Aspin & Hutchings, 2006). Essential to this colonising influence was the imposition of the Christian religion, which in turn had a profound impact on Māori sexuality. While colonisation imposed substantial judgment against the overall sexual conduct of Māori, it also pathologised any gender or sexual fluidity that existed in traditional Māori society. In Kim McBreen's analysis of how heteropatriarchy can be seen "creeping into interpretations of tikanga and kōrero tawhito" in reference to sexuality, she notes:

We need to be clear that homophobia does not come from tikanga. It comes from the colonisers. Whakapapa is about inclusion – there needs to be a really good reason to exclude or demean someone in any way. Who they sleep with is not a good reason. (2012, p. 63)

This ongoing tension between Indigenous culture and Western religion continues to be played out in modern-day Aotearoa life. In traditional Māori society, sex and sexuality were openly discussed. Traditional waiata and karakia were explicit about sex and sexuality. Sex between men and women and same-sex relationships were celebrated also through haka and waiata. Within our carvings, sexuality was represented - these carvings could depict both male and female sexual organs and sexual acts between men and women, also between those of the same sex. In Ngāpuhi, many of these

carvings were destroyed by the early settlers. Europeans introduced Victorian morals to New Zealand, and traditional songs and stories were censored. Some of our primary sources of Māori knowledge including Māori and English terms for aspects of sexuality and gender, from the 19th century up until today, have been heavily influenced by Western ideas, Christianity and Victorian morality, which introduced negative ideas about gender and sex.

Colonial stereotypes about Māori women's sexual availability and their lack of 'morals' are well documented (Mikaere, 2011; Salmond, 2017). This feeds into a contemporary discourse about Māori teenage pregnancy (lack of morals), for example, and within intimate partner violence. Both Pouwhare's (1998) and Waetford's (2008) research with Māori taitamāhine about their first sexual experiences identified some aspects that caused concern, and a need to reclaim more positive concepts of sexuality. However, much of the research on sexuality is based upon Western forms of understanding and analysis. Le Grice and Braun (2016) argue that "colonial practices that have sought to assimilate Māori to Western ways of life, and define Māori in stereotyped and limiting ways, have deliberately sought to weaken cultural linkages and meanings" (p. 175). Importantly, they assert that mātauranga Māori remains resilient in the lives of everyday Māori in Aotearoa (Le Grice & Braun, 2018), while informing contemporary Indigenous sexual psychologies. They argue also that sexuality education offers an opportunity – as a site of intervention and praxis – to be able to legitimate Māori concepts and meanings of sex and sexuality, subverting colonised assumptions. One example of this is Te Whāriki Takapou (2017), which is a Māori sexual and reproductive health promotion and research organisation. They suggest:

Christianity, Victorian morality and Western medicine introduced negative ideas about sexuality and gender. Sexual activities became inexplicably linked to risk and shame, all of which differs markedly from the knowledge and understandings expressed by pre-colonial Māori communities. As a result, many of the early accounts of Māori sexuality and sexual and gender identities were changed or sanitised – covered up beneath 'polite' Victorian phrases, or altered so that diverse, tribally specific accounts of an event were merged into one generic story. (Te Whāriki Takapou website, accessed online 8th Feb, 2018)

Within contemporary Māori society, kaupapa Māori research has an important role to play in helping to rectify these historical anomalies (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007). This is also supported by Māori writers who suggest that pre-colonial tikanga, concepts and values may assist to understand the present and challenge our colonial past (Moewaka-Barnes, 2010). Whilst the Māori Sexuality Project (2005) did not specifically speak to taitamariki Māori, they reported that some participants' understanding of their sexuality resulted from their understanding of their place in the world and this was dependent largely on acknowledging their ancestral past. They commented that this understanding may have been influenced more by their cultural context than by Western descriptors and paradigms (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007). Conversely, the Project suggested that Māori society is diverse and therefore

participants encompassed a wide range of moral views related to sex and sexuality, with some holding highly conservative views and others highly liberal views. Aspin and Hutchings (2007) suggest that:

For indigenous peoples to thrive and flourish in the twenty-first century, it is vital that they have free and ready access to the truth about their past. Revealing the truth about our sexual past is fundamental to developing a full understanding of where we have come from as well as our place in the world today. A key component of that knowledge is an understanding of how colonial influences have been an integral component in distorting the truth about sexuality. By providing people with access to knowledge about their past, researchers into sexuality have a major role to play in responding to the narrow views that continue to be disseminated by colonising agents. (p. 425)

Contemporary taitamariki Māori are often influenced by our societal silence, embarrassment and condemnation around sex and sexuality. They also receive conflicting and often negative messages about Māori in relation to sexuality, gender, violence and identity (Moewaka-Barnes, 2010). There is a lack of knowledge on how taitamariki Māori understand and make sense of the messages they receive around gender, sex and relationships.

When discussing taitamariki Māori, Moewaka-Barnes (2010) suggests that we should not make suppositions about the resiliency of taitamariki Māori. This approach assumes that particular forms of culture will strengthen their ability to deal with adversity. “We know little of what young Māori mean by or think of as healthy relationships and what enables them to resist pressure and coercion, both as victims and perpetrators” (p. 92). Dobbs and Eruera (2010) and Eruera (2015) would concur. This thesis will further explore *with* taitamariki Māori what the ‘enablers’ and ‘dis-ablers’ are in the promotion of their healthy intimate partner relationships. As discussed previously, there is a large amount of literature that discusses dominant discourses around men as active and women as passive. The ways that taitamariki Māori challenge, resist and/or make sense of these traditional and settler norms, and how this influences their behaviour, is the subject of very little research.

Examining *māreikura* and *whatukura* understandings with taitamariki Māori, with a focus on the transmission of traditional concepts and expressions of Māori gender roles, could help transform these understandings to have relevance to taitamariki within today’s society. The outcome of this may support taitamariki to develop cultural gender norms that challenge traditional Western patriarchal norms - Eruera (2015) suggests that the balance and expression of gender roles is important to the maintenance of most, if not all, of our cultural practices.

Summary

In Aotearoa, as with many Indigenous peoples, the arrival of colonialism brought patriarchal ideologies that conflicted with Māori beliefs and practices (Eketone & Walker, 2013; King et al., 2012; Mikaere, 1999). It also brought legislative systems which stripped Māori of their land, culture, language, identity, access to natural resources and their traditional way of life (King et al., 2012). With settlement, came an inherent move to individualism and away from the collective of our ways of

being. This disrupted our social structures especially those of ‘relativeness’ which enhanced protective factors for relationship well-being. Nikora (2007) submits that with colonisation came a dominant ideology of individualism and, like the land, Māori culture needed to be conquered and ‘civilised’. Land titles were individualised and whānau was redefined. Taonui (2010) reminds us that between 1840 and 2000, Māori lost 96% or 63.4 million acres of their land. Kōrero tuku iho shows the relationship to the land and our connection with it. Land was and is still not viewed as a commodity; rather, it is a source of identity, belonging and continuity to be shared between the dead, the living and the unborn. Being direct descendants of Papatūānuku, we see ourselves as not only of the land, but as the land. This relationship with the land permeates all aspects of Māori being and living (Reid et al., 2016). The loss of land brought intergenerational material poverty, displacement and trauma and has ongoing consequences (Gracey & King, 2009; King et al., 2009). Smith (2019) states that:

The impact of colonisation redefined Māori wellbeing through the loss of land, loss of traditional economic and socio-political systems, and the introduction of Christianity and the English judicial system. Concepts of well-being transformed with the subordination of whakapapa kōrero philosophies. Colonial interpretations of traditional Māori knowledge were influenced by European mythologies and Christian values, which emphasised patriarchal interpretations. Traditional narratives were rendered into English. (p. 44)

However, “despite our struggles, or because of them, we staunchly defend our well-proven customs and traditions” (Glavish, 2018, p. 71). Ta Te Ao Māori provides an overview of the traditional perspectives on intimate partner relationships, grounded in a Māori worldview.

This chapter has provided a foundation from which to understand and discuss some of the key cultural principles intrinsic to healthy relationships - wairua, tapu, mana, mauri, whakapapa, whānau, tikanga and whenua, but more significantly the rationale about why they are critical in a cultural approach to promoting healthy relationships. Many of the traditional principles and practices described in this section are still transmitted to our contemporary understandings of Māori well-being. These concepts and others that have not been mentioned here have been used to develop Māori whānau violence prevention frameworks. There is a gap in the literature and lack of studies with taitamariki Māori about their understandings of the aforementioned traditional principles and practices (as well as others not described) or how they are applied within their contemporary lives.

Within traditional Māori culture, taitamariki were viewed as valued members of the collective constructs of whānau, hapū and iwi and embody the vision and aspirations of tribal elders for the survival of whakapapa (Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2014). They are foundational to the positive, long-term transformation and progress of Māori communities, as well as to the future of Aotearoa society (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Erai & Allen, 2006; Eruera, 2015). The importance of taitamariki Māori having and maintaining healthy intimate partner relationships can ensure the continuation of

whakapapa and vision and hopes of 'ora' - Māori well-being for the next generation. However, they need to be asked and heard within whānau, hapū and iwi on what supports they need for this to occur. This chapter concludes with these challenges from Pihama, Cameron, and Te Nana (2019). The next chapter canvasses taitamariki contemporary lives - Te Ao Hurihuri.

Colonial ideologies and practices of gender, race and class that have been imported to Aōtearoa have impacted significantly in the undermining of Māori structures, beliefs and ways of living ... Healing must take place on both individual and collective levels to prevent intergenerational transmission of trauma ... Kaupapa Māori approaches to trauma and healing must be defined, controlled and undertaken by Māori for Māori. (p. 1)

Chapter Three – Te Ao Hurihuri

Māori youth are members of at least three distinct groups. As Māori, they are an essential part of Māori communities. As indigenous peoples, they share a common existence as peoples with a history of colonisation, and also a determination to preserve and develop their ancestral territories and ethnic identity in accordance with their own cultural practices, social institutions ... As youth, they share common characteristics and experiences with other young people. Membership in each group influences Māori youth experiences and development in different ways. (Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010, p. 18)

Adult violence prevention studies promote multi-level approaches (Grennell & Cram, 2008) by strengthening individuals' knowledge and skills, as well as promoting community ownership and strategies (Robertson & Oulton, 2008). Historical and socio-cultural analyses, Indigenous researchers contend, need to be included, along with the ongoing impacts of historical trauma (Borrell et al., 2018; Brave Heart & Daw, 2012; Gone, 2013; Hoffart & Jones, 2018; Pihama et al., 2019) and structural violence (Kirmayer et al., 2014), to effectively address violence prevention and solutions for Indigenous peoples (Dobbs, 2015; Eruera, 2015; Grennell & Cram, 2008). Pihama et al. (2019) and other local authors argue that guidance for well-being and tika behaviours within intimate partner relationships for Māori can be found within our tikanga, te reo and mātauranga Māori. Within these approaches, however, taitamariki Māori approaches need to be explored and be included. We have little knowledge of what will work for taitamariki Māori in the here and now. This thesis seeks to begin to explore this.

This thesis comes from the kaupapa that taitamariki Māori are capable of finding solutions to their own 'needs' as they are the subjective experts on their own lives. However, little is known about taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationship well-being, despite our knowledge that most people experience relationship violence for the first time in their youth. From a preventative kaupapa, attention to taitamariki relationship well-being during these formative years is crucial, as are violence prevention strategies developed *with* youth and *through* a youth-focused lens (Obreja, 2019).

Young people's intimate partner relationship well-being is an important part of young people's overall well-being (Adams, 2012; Gillett-Swan, 2013, 2014; Helm et al., 2015; Mashfield-Scott et al., 2012). There is evidence of an association between young people's unhealthy intimate partner relationships and poor mental health, including depression, posttraumatic stress disorder, and suicide (Dobbs, 2014; Penney & Dobbs, 2014; Wasserman et al., 2015). Taitamatāne (boys) and taitamāhine (girls) have told us (Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010) that the consequences of unhealthy intimate partner relationships include: "self-harm, hanging or strangling yourself", "overdosing on drugs and alcohol", "loss of self-esteem", "affects your mental state", "you get paranoid, suicidal", "stay away from your whānau and friends", and "making you feel not right in the head" (Eruera, 2015, pp. 187-188). Conversely, in a healthy relationship, they described "feeling good, special and wanted, happy",

“you’re outgoing and feel confident”, “being accepted for who you are” (Eruera, 2015, p. 165). Having healthy intimate partner relationships can promote constructive outcomes for young people, including a sense of belonging among peers, strengthening of their social status, enhancing their feelings of self-worth, supporting a positive identity, and the development of resolution skills (Haglund, Belknap, & Garcia, 2012).

There is a strong impetus for researchers to work with taitamariki to gain their insight into what supports taitamariki Māori to develop healthy intimate partner relationships. However, the literature on taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationships is limited. Therefore, the literature in this chapter has a broad focus. This chapter looks generally at the inclusion of the voices of children and young people in research before considering the implications of research for taitamariki Māori. Research with taitamariki is described, including a small but important cluster of research with taitamariki about being in intimate partner relationships.

Prevalence and measurement

Most of the national and international literature on intimate partner relationship well-being and youth comes from predominantly Western modalities using quantitative methods. The focus of the literature tends to be on intimate partner violence and on measuring the prevalence, frequency and types of violence within these relationships. Violence is described in the literature as including physical, sexual, psychological, and emotional forms of violence (Beres, 2017). However, literature on coercive behaviours within young people’s relationships is scarce and can be difficult to quantify. The gaps highlighted in the literature on prevalence find that many studies did not ask young people to define both what a healthy and unhealthy relationship consisted of and used adult researchers’ definitions of violence. These adult definitions were not consistent across studies, which is an issue when trying to determine prevalence, with some authors suggesting that definition consistency is a problem shared by all violence research (Jackson, 2002; Vagi et al., 2013). Other authors have suggested the often used phrase, ‘dating violence’, is a vague term and, due to such ambiguity, prevalence rates fluctuate widely, depending on the definitional criteria, sample and methodologies adopted for research (Lewis & Fremouw, 2001 – to be discussed further below). Some studies also omitted to define whether it was only heterosexual relationships being examined or whether same-sex questions were explicitly used. Many studies have relied on measures that (a) are deficit-based, (b) from a predominantly Western adult theoretical paradigm, (c) created for adults and white, middle-class university students, then adapted for young people, (d) measure only the high end of the violence spectrum, (e) do not address prevention, (f) have failed to include gender as a variable, and (g) are generally limited to measuring behaviours without capturing the context within which the violence has occurred.

How 'young people' are defined within the literature is also problematic. Age groups vary amongst studies and samples are not always disaggregated by age (using terms like early, mid, or late adolescent), with some studies including 'young people' up to the age of 25-years-old. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCROC) defines children and young people as being aged from birth to 18 years of age. This thesis uses this definition. Another issue highlighted in the literature pertains to how violence is measured. Many studies measure only perpetration of physical violence, by asking respondents whether or how often they used specific, physically violent acts against a partner; although Beres (2017) suggests that psychological and emotional violence are the most commonly used forms of violence. Several scales are used throughout the literature, with the most commonly used and adapted for young people being the Conflict Tactics Scale 2 (CTS-2; Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996), Safe Dates Scale (Foshee et al., 1996) and the Conflict in Adolescent Dating Relationship Inventory CADRI (Wolfe et al., 2001). Smith et al. (2015) examined 26 measures and found only nine that were developed specifically for use with young people, with the majority adapted from adult measures, and none specifically for Indigenous youth. It was unclear whether or not young people were involved in the development or the adaption of any of these measures. This does raise concerns about the validity of these scales.

The literature also raises concerns about the use of violence 'acts' scales, as they do not adequately correspond to the complexity of violence perpetration (Foshee et al., 2007). 'Acts' do not capture the ontological status of the violence, including the context in which it is developed, interpretations of the contexts, their consequences, and meanings attached to them. Dobbs and Barbarich (2018) concur, suggesting that explanation from taitamariki, when asked in focus groups, as to what constitutes partner violence is that "it depends"; that is, it is not necessarily explicit to an 'act' and can vary depending on context, frequency and whether the behaviour can be 'talked about' and managed, or not. Taitamariki also described 'acts' (that they did not see as violence), when their boyfriends or girlfriends were just 'playing around', that could score in an act scale. Conversely, while Jouriles et al. (2009) and Johnson et al. (2005) suggest that 80 percent of young people reported that some of the physical 'acts' were their partners' 'playing around', they reported that often young people were unable to distinguish between the notions of playing, harassment and abuse. Smith et al. (2015) suggest that any 'measurements' of young people's relationships need to keep 'in sync' with young people's lives.

Understandings of intimate partner relationships

Adult and generational understandings and meanings of what constitutes an intimate partner relationship may vary from those of present-day taitamariki and need to be considered when researching this topic. In the literature, different terms are used to describe young people's intimate

partner relationship violence, for example ‘teen dating violence’, ‘teen dating abuse’, ‘adolescent abuse’ and ‘adolescent relationship violence and abuse’. The term *intimate partner* is also used; however, these terms and descriptions come from an adult Eurocentric academic history and would not be used by taitamariki Māori and the general youth population (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). Instead, taitamariki use terms such as ‘hanging out’, ‘hooked up’, ‘going out’, ‘being sprung’ and ‘being friends with privileges’, with these terms possibly varying by region, gender, age and ethnicity (Eruera, 2015). The majority of Eruera’s (2015) taitamariki participants reported that, within research, it was better to use ‘girlfriend’ and ‘boyfriend’ to describe relationships, as young people will understand these terms – whereas they may not understand ‘intimate partner’ relationships. ‘Partner’ was described as a term taitamariki would be more likely to use ‘when you are older’ (Eruera, 2015). For this group of taitamariki, having a sexual relationship or sexual intimacy appeared to be the point of difference between a girlfriend or boyfriend and an opposite gender friend or ‘mate’. Intimate partner relationships for taitamariki may consist of a ‘one-night stand’, kissing, holding hands, just talking; consist purely through text messages, or other social media artefacts; or be about spending lots of time together and/or having a long-term sexual relationship (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010).

Taitamariki Māori are exposed to and can be influenced by traditional Western gender norms and structural gender inequities which exist in today’s world (Beres, 2017; Gavey, 2012; Ruwhiu et al., 2009; Towns & Scott, 2008). For example, such norms are where boys are encouraged and expected to be dominant (masculine) in their relationships – this includes sexual desires and behaviours associated with these desires - and girls are expected to be submissive and passive (feminine) – including their sexual desires. Social media tends to reflect the social norms of the time – pornography also reflects these norms.

In this thesis, I have used the terms *healthy* and *unhealthy* relationships with taitamariki Māori (which moves away from a solely deficit positioning) to reflect the complexity of taitamariki relationships and to include other influences on relationship well-being from taitamariki perspective, for example whakapapa, whānau, mana and tapu. Importantly, healthy, and unhealthy relationships are terms understood by taitamariki Māori (Dobbs & Barbarich, 2018; Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010).

Intergenerational Understandings

... what is often overlooked is that children in the first instance were being colonised through schooling.... Freire and others who have argued that if colonisation was a process that had psychological as well as social consequences, then those consequences were carried by children. (Smith, 1996, p. 257)

The literature is scarce on intergenerational understandings and meanings of what constitutes an intimate partner relationship. In this thesis, intergenerational understandings are explored with Kuia and Kaumātua and discussed by taitamariki (see Chapters 6 and 7). The intergenerational transmission

of cultural values is also discussed. Eruera (2015) outlines the changes within three generations of her whānau and suggests that intergenerational understandings of intimate partner relationships and the intention, responsibility and activity that ensue are diverse and reflect what was occurring for Māori within specific time periods and within a history of ethno-cultural context.

...my grandparents hononga occurred through a 'tomo' (intimate partner relationship arranged by the elders), my parents' generation talk about girls meeting boys at the local dance or similar social gatherings under strict supervision, while their mokopuna are now meeting and maintaining relationships through the use of social media such as text, snapchat and Instagram. (p. 10)

Le Grice and Braun (2018) argue that mātauranga Māori can inform and offer innovative approaches to decolonising intimate partner relationships, suggesting that further research with taitamariki Māori and their whānau could support and help to initiate and sustain supports for them by 'opening up' much needed conversations between generations.

There are many challenges for taitamariki as they are exposed to many different pressures, norms, influences and experiences in their relationships (Beres, 2017). These will be discussed further below. Jackson et al. (2000) contend that, for some, this period is marked by exaggerated Western gender roles and the belief in mythical notions of romance. However, there is scarce literature with taitamariki on this topic specifically. Taitamariki are not a homogenous group and therefore an understanding of the complex range of experiences and influences taitamariki may be exposed to is important and reinforces the need to facilitate their own views, context, language, and definitions of their relationships.

Taitamariki Voice

Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) will be a strong and empowering feature of the Strategy. New Zealand is the only place where tamariki and rangatahi Māori are tangata whenua and government must meet their needs. This means transforming systems, policies and services to work better for Māori, supporting Māori to deliver solutions for Māori and empowering local communities to make the changes that work best for them. (New Zealand Child Well-Being Strategy, 2019)

As the quote above denotes, taitamariki Māori are tangata whenua and must too be a part of transforming and finding solutions to improve their well-being. Māori make up 15 percent of the population in Aotearoa. Of that percentage, 26 percent are under the age of 15 (Statistics New Zealand, 2017). If we are to support taitamariki Māori having healthy, violence-free, intimate partner relationships, we need to at least have some idea about what constitutes a violence-free relationship. This necessitates asking taitamariki Māori what a violence-free relationship looks like to them. There is a lack of literature and knowledge in this area. It must be noted at the time of planning this thesis, there was no published literature on what constitutes a healthy relationship and no consensus on how to define a healthy relationship. If we look at the recent children's well-being literature, we see recognition of the importance of eliciting young people's definitions (Dunn, 2015; Priest et al., 2017),

as the emphasis within the conceptualisation and measurement of well-being has mostly involved adults. Children's and young people's own perspectives and experiences of well-being are still lacking (Ben-Arieh, 2014), including their experiences of intimate partner relationship well-being. Statham and Chase (2010) emphasise how important assessing well-being from children's own perspective is, as it has been shown that it differs from that of adults in both their definitions and priorities. For example, adults and children both included family, home and friends in their conceptualisation of children's well-being but children emphasised a positive sense of self, agency and feelings of security, while adults tended to prioritise safety and economic well-being. Adult points of view regarding taitamariki healthy intimate partner relationship well-being may differ from those of taitamariki. Eliciting the point of view of the youngest generations is important to understand our societies, particularly those aspects of social life involving or affecting them. Within the context of this thesis and that of taitamariki Māori well-being, Clark et al. (2010) suggest that new models of sexual health are required for Māori youth that do not separate sexual health from other aspects of well-being.

Aōtearoa Literature

Beres (2017) carried out a literature review of the Aōtearoa and international literature on adolescent intimate partner violence, and reported that, compared with other New Zealanders, adolescents between the ages of 15 and 19 years have the highest rates of intimate partner violence according to the New Zealand Crime and Safety Survey (Ministry of Justice, 2014). In Aōtearoa, the Youth 2000 Survey Series reports (2007, 2013) collected data on exposure to violence from secondary school students but did not specifically ask students about their relationship to the person using the violence. The Youth 2012 (Clark et al., 2015) study reported 29 percent of students aged 12 to 18 years told of being hit or harmed by another person in the previous year – it did not specify by whom. In addition, 15 percent (20% of females, 9% of males) reported having experienced unwanted sexual behaviour in the previous year. Also reported was that 21 percent of women who stayed in Women's Refuges were aged 15-19 years (Women's Refuge Annual 2016 Report). It was not clear whether 15 to 19-year olds were in the Refuge because of their mother's experience of intimate partner violence (and therefore in the Refuge with their mother) or because of violence within their own intimate partner relationship. Nevertheless, these figures give us some idea of levels of violence within our society where children and young people are concerned.

I highlight ethics of care (tikanga) with children and young people here. A focus in this thesis is how information is collected from/with or about children and young people. From my social worker perspective, as I am sure through other disciplines, collecting data requires some ethics of care considerations. Asking young people about acts of violence (physical, sexual and physiological) against them needs to be carefully considered, especially should there not be clear, safe, accessible supports

in place. My professional Code of Conduct determines that any disclosures of alleged abuse are mandated to be reported to Oranga Tamariki (the statutory child protection government agency). Processes for disclosure of harm and researchers' obligations to ensure participants' safety need to be discussed within the consent process. Clear explanations as to why adults are asking these questions and informing young people as to what will happen to these data are important to the processes seeking informed consent to participate. Should young people tell an adult of their abuse by 'answering the survey question', it may well be difficult for young people to action their own safety, should these processes not be explicit and actively supported (to be discussed further in Chapter 4). This next section discusses literature on how research is carried out with taitamariki and children and young people and gives further rationale for the use of Kaupapa Māori research methods within this study.

Qualitative Studies

There are few national and international qualitative studies of young people's intimate partner relationship well-being (Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010; Helm et al., 2015; Righi, Bogen, Kuo, & Orchowski, 2019), even though this research approach can result in much-needed information about the context in which violence may occur and what may prevent violence (Eruera, 2015). A number of obstacles may explain the lack of studies carried out with young people about their intimate partner relationships (including taitamariki Māori). These include adults viewing young people's sexualised behaviour as experimental; a mistaken view that peer abuse is less harmful than abuse by adults; low reporting levels; adult prohibitions about discussing intimate relationships; adults not taking young people's relationships seriously (Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010); and researchers viewing young people as unable to engage in research which is considered sensitive (Powell & Smith, 2009), due to their perceived lack of maturity and cognitive function. Lansdown (1994) believes, "We do not have a culture of listening to children" (p. 38) and Atwool (2000) highlights that, "When children are exposed to risk and trauma their voices are frequently not heard" (p. 57). The literature review not only highlighted the scarcity of research, it also questioned the suitability of methods and methodologies used when researching with children and young people (Ben-Arieh & Frønes, 2011; Crivello et al., 2009; Lippman, Moore, & McIntosh, 2009) and, even more so, the scarcity of literature with Indigenous children and young people through an Indigenous youth lens. Punch (2016) suggests that much research carried out on/with or about Indigenous populations are by non-Indigenous researchers using mainstream Western worldviews. Knowledge about Indigenous youth's intimate partner relationships tends to come from Western modalities using quantitative methods (i.e., surveys, questionnaires, as discussed above). It is essential to gather additional qualitative information that relates to the context of their intimate partner relationship behaviours and within a cultural

worldview. Research methods which allow for a contextual cultural worldview and promote taitamariki voices and cultural agency are also essential.

Recognising that Indigenous peoples have long critiqued the harmful effects of Eurocentric research processes upon Indigenous cultures and communities (Kwaymullina, 2016), Kaupapa Māori research frameworks have been developed in Aotearoa over many years. They are grounded in Māori philosophy and knowledge, and use methodologies which reflect customary practices, values and beliefs (Eruera, 2015). There is a range of well-known Kaupapa Māori conceptual frameworks that aim to maintain and promote 'ora' or well-being while addressing transgressions and violations of abuse. These include: Dynamics of Whanaungatanga (Pere, 1994; Tate, 1993), Te Wheke (Pere, 1991), Mauri Ora (Kruger et al., 2004), Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985) and others. These frameworks correspond to the ontological status of violence as understood within a Māori and Indigenous paradigm, that is cognisant of the historical and current impact and Indigenous understanding of ongoing colonialism. Exploring Kaupapa taitamariki Māori methodologies and methods will be advantageous.

To understand taitamariki Māori experiences and realities, "research with Māori youth needs to recognise diversity, and privilege Māori youth cultural and social practices. It is also important that a safe space is created for the participants to ensure that Māori youth can express themselves comfortably in their own unique way" (Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010, p. 22). Using Kaupapa Māori research methodologies will further assist in better understanding taitamariki Māori strengths and needs within today's world.

Negotiating Relationships

In this section, I examine what we know about Indigenous young people's relationships from local and international Indigenous literature. Understanding the experiences of the development of young people's relationships has had little coverage in the literature, that is, how do young people get to 'hook up', 'go out' or become a 'friend with privileges' or become boyfriend and girlfriend? Helm, Baker, Berlin, and Kimura's (2015) study of youth in Hawaii (whilst self-identifying as Hawaiian these youth were of Samoan and Filipino descent) looked at their descriptions of 'dating' (both healthy and unhealthy) and explored youth ideas of when and how to initiate a relationship; what happens then, and the challenges of getting out of a relationship. Their aim was to see whether or not there were any 'stages' (or transitions to another stage) to a relationship when young people were more vulnerable to experiencing violence. They named the four stages as 1) getting in; 2) being in; 3) staying in; and 4) getting out. These 'stages' became apparent with the initial analysis (then further analysis through axial and selective coding) of the participants' descriptions of how they *defined* 'dating' and *descriptions* of what it was like to be in a relationship. They reported that the differences between how participants described 'dating relationships' reflected these 4 distinct stages and that "there

seemed to be a shift from being in a healthy relationship to staying in an unhealthy one” (p. 6). The findings suggest that the *getting in* part of a relationship appeared to reflect youth concepts of romance and the importance placed on being in a relationship (also reported in Eruera, 2015 and Smith, 2019).

Gender differences were reported within the *getting in* stage; concerningly, they found that some of the behaviours of *getting in* could be termed ‘aggressive’ and that these behaviours carried on into the *being in* stage of a relationship. Social media was used by many of the participants to ‘drop hints’ when initiating a relationship. *Being in* a relationship was discussed in terms of what youth do in a relationship, importance of being exclusive or not and the importance of trust and respect – in essence, defining what the rules are within the relationship, which were reported to be imposed by self, peers and societal norms. *Sexual activity* was seen as a complication to these expectations and for some it was an expected part of *being in* a relationship. The narratives of *being in* and *staying in* were different from *getting in* and participants tended to describe unhealthy relationship behaviours, causes and consequences of unhealthy relationships and the rationale for staying in the unhealthy relationship. Helm et al. (2015) noted that some of the youth suggested that whilst they “argued all the time”, this appeared to be a normalised part of a relationship.

Alcohol, substance use and *cheating* were reported in terms of causes of unhealthy relationships and violence (this was also reported in Dobbs & Eruera, 2010 and Eruera, 2015). Interestingly, some youth suggested that others stayed in bad relationships due to “love is blind”, not knowing how to let go or waiting for behaviours to change. Having had sex was reported to make it more difficult to leave the relationship as it was an “intimate tie” (p. 11). Within this study *getting out* was discussed the least and was seen as being a very challenging period for those who wanted to get out. *Cultural stereotypes* emerged from this study when participants discussed some of their relationship experiences, for example Filipino girls are “hypersexualised” and can be referred to as “hoochie mamas” and Samoan youth are “violent”. Conversely, some aspects of participants’ culture were reported to be protective. Helm et al. (2015) reported that these cultural stereotypes were not explored fully. The implications of this study may assist with prevention work and raise awareness of the tensions and anxieties youth have within their relationships and may assist them to navigate these. More research within this ‘stage’ framework could be valuable to violence prevention.

Negotiating and managing controlling behaviours has been recently highlighted within the local literature (Towns & Scott, 2008). Eruera and Dobbs (2010) and Eruera (2015) reported from their studies with taitamariki Māori that a number of taitamāhine (girls) described boyfriends’ controlling behaviours including being overprotective and limiting their movements. It was a concern that controlling behaviours were a consistent theme throughout all the taitamāhine groups and

throughout most of the kōrero, for example, “Say if they took your car keys away from you and you can’t go anywhere”, “Like you’re constantly on lockdown, they might not let you go and see your whānau, they might just want you all to themselves”, “You won’t be allowed to talk to your friends” and “You won’t be allowed to go to parties with your mates...no one, you just isolate, you shut yourself off”. Taitamatāne (boys) also discussed taitamatāne controlling behaviours and psychological violence using “blackmail”, and the use of cyber bullying to control their girlfriend: “Like controlling what they do, where they go, who they see”, “Using blackmail and bribes to get what they want” and “Stalking, standover, bullying and even cyber bullying” (Eruera, 2015, pp. 180, 182-190). Taitamatāne also discussed that these behaviours were not acceptable. Baker and Helm (2011) found in their study that monitoring and controlling behaviours were the “most prevalent and insidious” (p. 95) and suggested that it was essential to gather qualitative information about the context of intimate partner violence and gender differences. They concluded that the extent of social media use by youth, and adults’ conceptions of the perpetration of intimate partner violence, need to be expanded to include monitoring and controlling behaviours. They specifically referenced the links between the objectification and the subjugation of young women in media representations, as well as the treatment of young women as possessions in relationships.

Taitamariki Māori Intimate Partner Relationships

In Aotearoa, very little research has been carried out with taitamariki Māori specifically, using a Kaupapa Māori paradigm. Taitamāhine (girls) and taitamatāne (boys) intimate partner relationship well-being still remains understudied. The national literature reveals only two studies, Eruera and Dobbs (2010) and Eruera (2015), that have elicited taitamariki Māori perspectives on their intimate partner relationship well-being, and violence prevention, within their own context, using an Indigenous paradigm and Indigenous researchers. The former was a pilot study with taitamariki Māori (aged between 13 and 18 years) at a Northland Kura Kaupapa Māori total immersion school. The pilot study co-constructed with taitamariki the interview questions and methods for the full study. Eruera (2015) reported the findings of the full study with a further 81 taitamariki Māori about their understandings of healthy and unhealthy relationships, intimate partner violence, its context and consequences and what supports were needed. From a Kaupapa Māori approach, Eruera (2015) used the Mauri Ora well-being framework with cultural imperatives/principles, and used qualitative methods (focus groups, brainstorming and writing). Eruera (2015) suggests that using this methodology and methods responded to the ‘mana ahua ake o taitamariki’ by being youth centred and directed. Gendered focus groups were used as well as same gender Indigenous facilitators.

Taitamariki were able to articulate their understandings of a healthy and unhealthy relationship in their own context. There were strong themes across all the taitamāhine group as to

what a healthy relationship looked like to them – this included, having *good wairua* together, trust, good communication, respect, feeling comfortable and happy with each other, both being equal, not trying to control what you do, not being forced to do things you don't want to do (sex, drugs, alcohol) and showing love or intimacy. *Communication* was described as, "You kind of understand each other and talk to each other". *Respect* was described as, "sort of respect them for who they are". *Trust* was described as, "Like if you say you go out with someone and you hang out with his best friend then he won't like say that there's something going on between you". Taitamatāne said it was good to show affection, "You gotta show her you love her, give her gifts", "Be sweet if she's out with her mates", "Don't stalk her". Equally, both taitamatāne and taitamāhine were able to articulate what an unhealthy relationship was comprised of and gave examples of sexual, physical and emotional violence, coercive and controlling behaviours. This group of taitamariki also described jealousy, alcohol and drugs as possible causes of violent behaviours as well as a lack of ability to *control anger*, *poor conflict resolution skills* and *the learnt violent behaviour* from "what they saw at home" – showing an understanding of the nature of intergenerational violence. Adams and Williams (2014) reported similar understandings for the causes of violence from their study with Mexican youth. *Sexual activity* within partner relationships was identified as important to taitamariki (Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). Many of the described behaviours within taitamariki relationships reflected traditional Western-gender roles and expectations. The sexual act was reported as being often used as a controlling tool and there was confusion for some taitamariki around consent and coercion to have sex. These issues are discussed further below.

Taitamariki also reported both positive and negative impacts *whānau* had on their relationships. For example, having a boyfriend or girlfriend that your parents approved of was important to relationship well-being, as was doing things with your boyfriend's or girlfriend's *whānau*. Comments within this study also showed that if, historically, *whānau* did not get along, this could cause problems and that a source of conflict may also arise if "your *whānau* didn't have a job...you may not be the same...but they won't like you cause they might think you are the same" (taitamatāne, Dobbs & Eruera, 2013, p. 33). Both taitamatāne and taitamāhine said being disrespectful to their boyfriend's or girlfriend's *whānau* was being rude (trampling on the *whānau* mana) and an element of an unhealthy relationship. *Whānau* members were also described as where taitamariki would go for help and advice on their relationships. Older same-gender cousins, Aunties and Nannies were mentioned the most. Taitamariki indicated that this was due to their relationship experience and confidence in that they would not be judged. School counsellors or other professionals were mentioned the least for help-seeking behaviours. The role of *whānau* within taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationships may not have been explored in a Western research study.

The data from these two studies (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010; Eruera, 2015) show that taitamariki Māori are capable of engaging in research when given the opportunity and a safe environment. These taitamariki showed a high level of awareness and understanding of young people's relationships. Having taitamariki Māori working *with* the researchers ensured that the researchers were able to ascertain taitamariki Māori definitions of words used to describe their intimate partner relationships, placed some context around what a relationship was, what a healthy relationship looked like, where young people learnt about relationships, and their understanding of violence, its context and consequences. The researchers were also able to ask taitamariki Māori about prevention and intervention strategies from their perspective and, importantly, start to look at methods that would assist their voices to be heard on issues that will affect them and their whānau, hapū and iwi, and what may be needed within prevention programmes and strategies.

One of the recommendations for further research came from the full study (Eruera, 2015) which was about understandings of māreikura and whatukura (Māori gender roles/elements), with the focus on the transmission of traditional concepts and expressions of Māori gender roles, specifically looking at transforming these understandings to have relevance to taitamariki within today's society.

Gender and violence

...the issue of gender and violence is one that needs much more careful analysis. It is recommended that there be a specific research focus on the relationship between gender and violence with particular emphasis on how women's use of violence is different to men's in terms of purpose, nature, context and effect. The use of multiple methodologies... will considerably enhance the research data on gender and violence. (Jackson, 1999, p. 244)

There is a gap in the literature on taitamariki Māori and other youth on the reporting of violence from a gendered perspective within their own context. While we know that partner violence can start in people's youth, there are few studies that report findings of this violence by gender (Foshee et al., 2007). For example, the literature is inconsistent in terms of 'who' is more 'violent' - males or females - as are the methods for coming to these conclusions and for what purposes. Rather than focusing on prevalence of behaviours, finding out the context in which genders were violent may be more helpful. Eruera (2015) asked taitamariki who was more violent and whether taitamāhine and taitamatāne use the same types of violence. The discussions would suggest that, for this group, they thought taitamatāne are more sexually and physically abusive and that taitamāhine more verbally abusive. Taitamatāne suggested that "taitamāhine withdrew sex and this was a type of sexual violence" (Eruera, 2015, p. 193). Concerningly, in over half of the taitamāhine groups, they blamed themselves for the violence, as they had verbally provoked their boyfriends. Some taitamatāne appeared to be justifying the violence; however, not all did so. Eruera (2015) concluded that there were some marked

gender differences in the taitamariki Māori responses around gendered violence and suggested that it would be advantageous to do more analysis on this issue. In this next section, I examine societal attitudes and Western gender-role stereotypes which may influence taitamariki behaviours within their relationships.

Sex and Gender

We know all violence is preventable. But preventing gender-based violence requires changing enduring norms and beliefs about the nature of gender and men's and women's roles within relationships and society. Gender equality education and teaching of ethical citizenship is a fresh direction that can redress entrenched patterns of sexism and gender inequality. (Farvid, 2019)

It is accepted that sex and gender are not the same thing. Sex within the literature often refers to the biological status, and gender refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for boys and men or girls and women. These influence the ways that people act, interact, and feel about themselves. While aspects of biological sex are similar across different cultures, aspects of gender may differ (Farvid, 2019). Within this thesis, when I refer to sex, I am referring to sexual acts and behaviours.

The literature suggests that many young people experience unwanted sex (both male and female; Indigenous and non-Indigenous) and find it difficult to successfully communicate and negotiate the complexities of these situations (Carmody, 2015). Many relationship beliefs and behaviours are developed during adolescence and are reinforced by predominantly Western constructions of gender (Le Grice & Braun, 2017). There are a number of articles discussing the sexuality of young women and girls, their sexual desire, pleasure and sexual empowerment through a feminist lens (see Gavey, 2012; Lamb & Peterson, 2012). Importantly, much of the literature presents a theoretical argument with little empirical evidence (Lamb & Peterson, 2012). In addition, young people's opinions on these subjects are typically absent.

From an Indigenous perspective, Māori sexual subjectivity, gender roles, well-being and health occur within a historical, social, and cultural context. This context is informed by both Indigenous and Western knowledge and colonising influences and interventions. This is important when looking at taitamāhine and taitamatāne and their intimate partner relationship well-being and how they may manage these influences. Green (2011) identified the discursive context within which the state's framing of Māori and their sexual health have been deficit-based, always as 'too much' or 'not enough'. In contrast, Pākehā sexual health is taken for granted, "not over-represented, and not unwanted or unintended" (p. 65). Historical representations of Māori as savages and tales of women's promiscuous behaviour continue to inform colonising deficits for Māori (Le Grice & Braun, 2018). This has impacts on taitamariki Māori and the development of behaviours within their relationships. Le Grice (2014) suggests that negative constructions of Māori and sexuality are similar to those of 'people

of colour' in the United States. I could find no literature on Native Americans and sexuality. For taitamariki Māori, Le Grice and Braun (2018) suggest that sexuality may be understood,

...though specific accounts of mātauranga Māori, including understanding that sexuality is a taonga...it also includes the ways in which we negotiate how we understand the inherent dignity of tapu and our reproductive bodies and respect the dignity and tapu of those we engage within sexual relationships much like we do with our friendships, relationships and attachments to the natural environment. (Le Grice & Braun, 2018, p. 183)

They also add that, in their study, participants recalled playful banter with their 'nannies' about sexuality, which align with contemporary research, within mātauranga Māori, that sexuality is discussed with humour and often in te reo Māori (Le Grice & Braun, 2016).

Consent, Coercion and Decision-Making

...the controversy surrounding what constitutes consent stems from the varying definitions of consent across legal, social, and research contexts. Three conceptualizations of consent emerge in the literature: consent as internal "willingness," consent as explicit agreement, and consent as "inferred" willingness. (Muehlenhard et al., 2016)

Looking at some of the Western literature may help to understand the influences that may impact on taitamariki Māori and their decision-making processes. Despite the popular opinion that young people 'work on impulse', Albert and Steinberg (2011) argue that young people are as capable as adults in making rational decisions. When looking at Western societal influences on gender roles and sex, Gagnon and Simon (1973) used a "theory of sexual scripts" to help understand the Western socialised gender roles within sexual consent. They suggested that from these "sexual scripts", sexual initiation was posited by men as "initiators" of sexual activities while women had control over the extent of the sexual acts in their role as "gatekeepers". Blunt-Vinti, Jozkowski, & Hunt (2019) suggest that these sexual scripts can negatively impact on women's overall sexual satisfaction. Studies involving university students and the issues of consent suggested that women may comply with sexual activity to avoid conflict (Conroy, Krishnakumar, & Leone, 2015) and that gender stereotypes can normalise female subservience and indifference in sexual activity which can result in lower rates of reported non-consensual sex (Hust, Rodgers, & Bayly, 2017) and lack of understanding of consensual sex. Some taitamariki in Eruera (2015) described not wanting to have sex with their boyfriends but 'consented' because non-compliance meant their boyfriend would go and sleep with another girl.

Righi et al. (2019) examined the perceptions of predominantly United States based Hispanic youth between the ages of 14 and 18 years on sexual consent. They selected qualitative methods to allow in-depth exploration of young people's experiences and "interpretations for surprising results" (p. 5). The participants were asked the following questions: How do adolescents define consent? How do adolescents convey consent to a partner? If two adolescents have engaged in sexual activity once before, what are the expectations for future sexual encounters?

The findings showed that most participants defined consent as verbally saying yes to sexual activity; however, further definitions were not so clear:

In the participants' definition of consent, responsibility is placed on both partners to verbally express consent and respect the partner's explicit decisions regarding consent in return. It is important to note that although participants' definition of consent clearly followed a verbal standard of affirmative consent, participants did not describe what types of activities partners in a sexual encounter were consenting to, or whether the partners needed to consent to the same activities. Participants also did not define consent as an ongoing process during a sexual encounter. (Righi et al., 2019, p. 11)

Though participants' definitions of sexual consent were verbal, the *descriptions* of how consent was conveyed was found to rely on both verbal and non-verbal indications – especially when consent was declined. Descriptions from boys on non-verbal consent included “If she doesn’t say no”, “you get a hunch” and a “vibe” that it’s okay to be intimate. Participants did not indicate whether specific physical non-verbal cues signalled different levels of sexual interest or consent to more intimate sexual acts. Both boys and girls indicated that a girl’s silence can be interpreted as an indication of both consent and sexual enjoyment.

Signals of sexual refusal were reported as being communicated verbally with the word *No*, with one of the boys saying: “If you want to do more, just make sure you’re in the right position. If she says no you gotta respect it, that’s when rape comes up” (Boy, Righi et al., 2019, p. 14). Male participants were reported to believe that saying no was easy for girls. Girls, however, said they would be more likely to use non-verbal physical cues like physically moving away, pushing the person away or using facial expressions to indicate non-consent. The issue of ongoing consent for sexual activity was also canvassed. The findings report that both boys and girls perceived that once consent was gained (whether verbally or non-verbally) for sexual activities, subsequent consent was not necessary – this included for ‘hook ups’, casual sex, through to long-term relationships.

When looking at the findings through a Western gendered lens, the authors suggested that whilst the participants did not name gender norms in their descriptions of consent, there were distinct gender differences in their responses of the perceived norms of consent within heterosexual ‘couples’. Summarising the findings, the authors concluded that Western consent norms place large responsibilities onto girls to make sexual decisions in sexual activity within heterosexual relationships. Consideration may need to be given to the potential harm that could occur if young people are taught that legitimate consent is limited to verbal affirmation or refusal (Jozkowski, 2015); that is, learning that sexual refusal is only communicated via the word “no”, boys may ignore many of the non-verbal signs that girls report using when trying to express sexual refusal. Boys’ reliance on girls verbally signalling non-consent suggests that this places responsibility for sexual violence prevention on girls; this theory is also discussed by Jozkowski et al. (2017). Beres & Farvid (2010) suggests that young people’s ability to interpret subtle non-verbal cues as sexual consent means that they can also

recognise non-verbal cues of refusal. Importantly, Righi et al. (2019) recommended that it is important to establish healthy, gender-equitable behaviours in early adolescents and that:

As violence prevention efforts are necessary early in the life course, it is essential that researchers and practitioners not only engage youth in discussions of the definition of consent but also ensure that conversations include discussion of how consent is actually conveyed in the context of a sexual partnership. (Righi et al., 2019, p. 21)

There is a growing interest in young people's decision-making processes (Blair et al., 2015; Michels et al., 2005), and a growing interest in decision-making within their sexual relationships. I was interested to explore taitamariki decision-making within their intimate partner relationships, especially around decisions to engage in a relationship and to engage in having sex and/or a sexual relationship. Within this topic, I also wanted to explore the possible constructs that allowed some taitamariki to say 'no' to sex while others find this difficult - in effect, the behaviours around consent and non-consent and how these are initiated and understood. I also wanted to explore whether or not constructs within Te Ao Māori could support taitamariki Māori in their decision-making processes, and how the role of gender and/or their understanding of the role of gender within relationships influenced these decisions or not, keeping in mind that our taitamariki are part of a Western-dominated society and are therefore influenced by its norms. The impact of colonisation on Māori relationship practices has been discussed in Chapter 2. These findings have been part of the impetus for this thesis to explore constructs of pre-colonised relationship practices with taitamariki Māori in the here and now.

Violence Prevention

It is acknowledged within the literature that relationship health education is important in reducing harm and for violence prevention with young people (Carmody, 2015; Foshee, 2014; Le Grice & Braun, 2018). How this education is carried out is discussed in this section by examining some of the programmes available in Aotearoa schools and current evaluations of these programmes. Within Aotearoa secondary schools, the teaching of relationship health is compulsory in the Health Curriculum. In its 2018 Report, the Ministry of Education reported that just under half of schools experienced difficulties in the effective implementation of the sexual education part of the curriculum for the following reasons:

- absent, or inadequate, community consultation
- lack of assessment and evaluation in sexuality education
- lack of teacher comfort and confidence
- low prioritisation of sexuality education among other competing priorities
- school policies not widely understood and implemented.

These barriers were reiterated by a group of young people who surveyed their peers about their opinions on the teaching of sex education in their school. The Ministry of Education found that the

current Sexuality Education framework does not adequately account for, or respond to, the needs of Māori students, along with Pacifica and International students with strong cultural and religious beliefs, those with additional learning needs and those students with sex/gender/sexuality diversity. This was also echoed from a community perspective (Ministry of Education, 2018) and reflected in an evaluation of the Mates & Dates Programme (see below).

Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) has developed a programme called Mates & Dates which was delivered by trained facilitators to 23 percent of secondary schools in 2017 (87 of 368 eligible secondary schools) (Moir, 2017). The kaupapa of this programme is described as follows: “Mates & Dates does not replicate any single programme but was designed for the New Zealand context based on the knowledge of the international research evidence and *conversations* with New Zealand adolescents, parents, teachers and others” (Duncan & Kingi, 2015, p. 4) (emphasis added). The objectives were to provide students with tools to establish and maintain healthy relationships; change social norms relating to respect and consent in relationships; teach ethical bystander behaviour; and to provide young people with help-seeking skills. The first evaluation – of the initial 8 pilot sites - notes that, whilst best practice was met within a mainstream paradigm, there were recommendations made to improve the ability of the programme to better meet best practice for specific groups namely Māori, Pacific peoples, gay, lesbian, bi-sexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI+), and young people with disabilities. Whilst acknowledging that there are challenges in designing and implementing any programme into a mainstream school which can meet all the needs of children and young people, the evaluation suggested that engagement with some groups is especially important, as they believed these groups were at higher risk of sexual victimisation (Duncan & Kingi, 2015).

Other challenges noted in the evaluation, and of interest to this thesis, was the consent process used with young people to participate in the programme, which “proved to be challenging and onerous” (Duncan & Kingi, 2015, p. 3), as parental consent was required³ - the opt-in approach by parents for students to participate in the programme was utilised. The evaluation reported that an opt-out approach may have improved participation rates. The programme also faced challenges working in the school environment as far as time constraints and other scheduled activities, variable effectiveness of school staff support and variable engagement with parents and communities. This may suggest that schools may not be the best site for these programmes.

Of interest in the improvements suggested by Duncan and Kingi (2015) were supporting schools to develop formalised procedures or protocols to handle disclosures of alleged abuse. There

³ See Barbarich, 2019 for taitamariki Māori views on their ability and desire to be able to make their own decisions on whether or not to consent to participate in research. To be discussed further in Chapter 4.

is an established multi-disciplinary protocol with health, education and welfare organisations in the reporting of disclosures of alleged child abuse. As a social worker and a researcher, there are ethics of care when working with young people – having procedures in place for young people should they disclose abuse is paramount to ethical engagement and the consent process, as previously discussed.

The key findings were as follows:

- *Overall students and facilitators were generally positive about the programme; teachers were supportive of the concept of Mates and Dates but had concerns over the effectiveness of the pilot delivery model.*
- *Course materials were rated highly by students across all age, ethnicity, and gender groups. However, teachers raised concerns over the cultural appropriateness and relevancy of some resources*
- *Facilitators and teachers supported the use of role plays in principle, but felt some subjects covered were not appropriate for role-playing, and one role play activity in particular was considered unsafe. Concerns were also expressed regarding the emphasis on written materials - particularly for junior students*
- *The variable effectiveness of facilitators in managing classroom behaviour impacted on engagement with programme content. This skill set was seen to be a critical factor for the successful delivery of the programme. Teachers in some schools would have also welcomed more collaboration with facilitators*
- *Concerns were raised over the timing, length and appropriateness of the evaluation survey. Facilitators felt that having the evaluation survey so close to programme commencement interrupted programme delivery and was unsafe due to the inclusion of a question on sexual victimisation. (Duncan & Kingi, 2015, p. 5)*

It is important to note within the key findings that students were generally positive about the programme. It also highlights the differences perhaps of students' views and that of the adults involved in the programme. ACC (2018) is now in the process of addressing some of the evaluation concerns, and has reported that 62 percent of students rated the programme as good or excellent and that the programme had increased their understanding of sexual activities, how to cope with pressure to have sex and learnt more about how to treat a boyfriend or girlfriend.

Internationally, other programmes (Safe Dates) reported within the literature recommend school and community-based programmes as being effective in lowering victimisation and perpetration rates of violence, including sexual violence; however, they caution about the ability for these programmes to be transferred internationally (Foshee, 2014). Sex and Ethics (2013), an Australian-based programme (used and evaluated within Aotearoa), is reported as being designed for community groups and adaptable to different cultures. The framework comprises four steps, 1) care for myself, 2) be aware of my desires, wants and possible impacts on the other person, 3) negotiate and ask, and 4) reflect. The evaluation of Sex and Ethics by Carmody, Ovenden, and Hoffmann (2011) reported that, from the qualitative data, participants indicated an increased knowledge of sexual violence, and a large percentage of participants reported utilising the skills they had gained from the

programme. The age range for the programme evaluated was from 16 -25 years of age and comprised of 6 percent who identified as Māori.

Whilst the literature argues for programmes that are either built on research evidence and international evidence in their development, the research evidence on supporting taitamariki Māori is lacking. The ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to sexuality education and violence prevention, or the current tend to treat Māori needs as an ‘add-on’, overlooks Indigenous knowledge and practices (Le Grice & Braun, 2017). Whilst not necessarily about or with taitamariki Māori, a number of Indigenous frameworks and programmes are used by non-statutory service providers; however, due to minimal investments in evaluation processes, many have not been researched or evaluated (Calma, 2008).

Kaupapa Māori and Violence Prevention

A number of authors concur that Indigenous populations, including Māori, experience high levels of intergenerational trauma as a result of colonisation (Blackstock, 2007, 2009; Blackstock et al., 2004; Cram, 2012, 2014; Cram & Grennell, 2008; Cram et al., 2015; Kruger et al., 2004; Robertson & Oulton, 2008; Sullivan & Charles, 2010; Tidbury, 2009; Trocmé et al., 2001; Trocmé et al., 2004; UNICEF, 2013). The literature exploring individual and collective impacts of intergenerational trauma is growing, as are the methods to address such trauma (for further discussions see Cooper & Wharewera-Mika, 2011; Wirihana & Smith, 2014; Ullrich, 2019). I suggest that the ongoing impacts of colonisation have also affected the intergenerational transmission of the messages within Te Āo Māori on relationship practices. Pihama et al. (2003) and Blazer et al. (1997) presented a strong argument, after conducting a literature review and research respectively, that violence prevention and intervention for Māori needs to be holistic, provided within a tikanga Māori framework and including an analysis of both historical and current impacts of colonisation to place within a contemporary context for Māori. It also requires assisting taitamariki Māori and their whānau to reclaim their cultural constructs for relationship well-being as a strategy for violence prevention. Loss of connection to wider whānau, hapū, iwi, tūpuna (ancestors), and Atua (deities, gods) contributed to a loss of mātauranga Māori and tikanga (Wilson, 2016). The cultural values and practices that ensured respectful relationships and the safety of whānau members and the whānau as a whole have become lost for many whānau (Wilson, 2016) – instead being replaced by imposter tikanga (Kruger et al., 2004).

The Mauri Ora Framework (Kruger et al., 2004) has been used as a guide to prevention, transformation from violence and the pursuit of well-being. Whilst not specific to taitamariki Māori, the Mauri Ora Framework was developed as a framework for addressing whānau violence and has been considered within this study, so is discussed next.

Mauri Ora Framework

... coming from a Māori conceptual framework makes spaces for new ways of looking at and seeking understandings of some of the research issues we confront...In other words understanding Māori knowledge is not just about getting access to more co-operative Māori. It is about enhancing our understandings and strengthening our knowledge base in ways which will help us and others. (Smith, L. 2015, p. 50)

The Mauri Ora Framework (Kruger et al., 2004) (the framework) is a multi-level approach to whānau violence prevention. The framework is founded on cultural constructs and requires the inclusion of historical perspectives which are necessary to accurately understand the current context in work with Māori (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). The framework's goal or vision has been identified as the well-being (mauri ora) of whānau, hapū, and iwi and, within that, individual Māori. The framework in its descriptions of Te Ao Māori identifies six cultural constructs or imperatives (whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri and mana), which can be applied as practice principles when working towards Mauri Ora or collective (including individual) wellness or well-being. In that respect, it can also accommodate consideration for taitamariki-specific approaches and needs inside of whānau (Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). For this study, the Mauri Ora Framework highlighted the potential of *mana ahua ake taitamariki* (recognising taitamariki uniqueness, agency, capacities and potential within the life cycle), as individuals within the context of their whānau, hapū and iwi, and the importance of the complementary nature of māreikura (female) and whatakura (male) dimensions (Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2014).

The processes used to achieve and sustain well-being may be diverse. This is reflected in the framework's practice models, but the kaupapa is unified at the philosophical level. The three fundamental tasks to be carried out when analysing and approaching violence (for which this framework was developed), and when responding to those that use violence and/or prevention of violence, are to: 1. *Dispel the illusion* (at the collective and individual levels) that whānau violence is normal, acceptable and culturally valid; 2. *Remove opportunities* for whānau violence to be practised through education for the liberation and empowerment of whānau, hapū and iwi, the act is moving from a state of whānau violence to a state of whānau well-being; and 3. *Teach transformative practices* based on Māori cultural practice imperatives that transform violent behaviours and provide alternatives to violence.

The transformative process for empowerment and self-realisation relies on demystifying illusions held by the perpetrator, victims and their whānau. This involves a process of displacement through education and the replacement of violence with alternatives. Te reo Māori, tikanga and āhuatanga Māori (Māori natural way) are all conduits for transformation from whānau violence to whānau well-being. The Mauri Ora Imperatives of whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri and mana ensure that cultural constructs from Te Ao Māori underpin the implementation of whānau violence

prevention strategies within the realities of today's society (Kruger et al., 2004). This framework has been piloted, is used extensively within agencies and assists in the setting of government and non-government organisations' joint programme for addressing family violence (E Tu Whānau Strategic Plan, 2013-2018, Māori Reference Group). This next section looks at taitamariki Māori approaches.

Taitamariki-focused prevention

Te Puāwai Tapu (2013) and Tō Tātou Hokakatanga (2006) have both used Kaupapa Māori approaches to promote sexual relationship health programmes for taitamariki Māori. A more recent programme, Te Whariki Takapou, is endeavouring to assist the reclamation of traditional relationship practices with taitamariki for transformation – reclaiming mātauranga Māori. Whilst not eliciting data from taitamariki about their intimate partner well-being, Te Whariki Takapou was launched in 2018 as an online resource, in both te reo Māori and English. The collection of resources, *Te Aitanga a Tiki: Māori dimensions of sexuality*, provide resources for schools, kura, communities, and health promoters on Māori approaches to sexuality education for taitamariki Māori. The resource uses pūrākau (stories), waiata and mōteatea (traditional chants) which focus on healthy intimate partner relationships, contraception and *kia takaroa i te pā kūwhā me te piringa ai* (delaying sexual activity and sexual relationships until you feel ready). The resources are framed from within mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and identify three characteristics: 1) Positively expresses Māori understanding of sexual and reproductive health; 2) Reflects Māori and iwi-specific worldviews; and 3) Affirms Māori knowledge as growing from historical and contemporary Māori interactions with the world (Te Whariki.org.nz, 2016, accessed 17 October, 2019).

The resources use well known traditional stories, for example that of Rongomaiwāhine⁴, to facilitate conversations about taitamāhine ability to initiate consensual sex without shame, and to reinforce that the pleasures of sex are celebrated, and that sexual activity is openly talked about within Te Ao Māori. This traditional story also opens up conversations that reinforce that Māori societal views of women's sexuality within Te Ao Māori are positive; and to contrast this to the negative, colonising views today – including sometimes within our own communities – on taitamāhine sexuality and the gendered 'slut-shaming' that can transpire. The underlying kaupapa for this particular section of the resource is to promote the message that taitamariki can exercise their mana to initiate and enjoy sexual activities.

⁴ A woman of great mana, prestige and beauty, Rongomaiwāhine was said to have attracted many admirers. Rongomaiwāhine heard the gossip about Kahungunu and Hinepūariari that due to the large size of Kahungunu's ure (penis) and the relatively small size of Hinepūariari's tara (vagina), they experienced discomfort during sexual intercourse. Rongomaiwāhine challenged Kahungunu that if the 'shallow pool' of Hinepūariari was inadequate, he would not be disappointed by her own 'deep pool' and should dive in – if he dared! Kahungunu could not resist and took up the challenge. The relationship that developed between Rongomaiwāhine and Kahungunu was based on their strong, mutual sexual attraction, and is now legendary. (Whaanga, 2017)

Using another pūrākau of Puhiwāhine⁵ facilitates discussions about the right to initiate, enjoy or decline sex, and to have enjoyable non-sexual relationships. It also raises awareness for taitamariki Māori that more long-term sexual partnerships were often chosen or created by whānau to maintain links to other iwi or hapū (whakapapa). Discussions are also facilitated to equate the consequences of peer pressure and social media on young people today to have sex, the messaging for taitamariki being that it is okay not to have sex if you are not ready – exercising your mana to delay having sex (Green, et al., 2016).

Te Whariki Takapou have developed National Guidelines for Sexual and Reproductive Health Promotion with Māori (2016) as a response to requests from both ‘mainstream’ and Māori sexual and reproductive health organisations. “The aim of the Guidelines is to assist sexual and reproductive health promoters to undertake effective, Māori community-responsive health promotion as this is interpreted in its broadest sense. The Guidelines will assist promoters to engage Māori communities and individuals in meaningful dialogue, which is the basis for effective sexual and reproductive health promotion with Māori” (Green et al., 2016, p. 2). Whilst acknowledging that other kaupapa Māori models of health could be used, the Guidelines used the Pōwhiri model (McClintock, Mellsop, Moeke-Maxwell, & Merry, 2010) and are based on traditional pōwhiri processes of engagement, relationship-building and transformation, as discussed by Mead (2003). The model incorporates traditional Māori cultural values, beliefs and protocols that, when correctly implemented, facilitate respectful and mana-enhancing relationships between health promoters and Māori communities (see Green et al., 2016). This programme has not been evaluated at the time of writing this thesis.

Influences on lived realities

At the heart of the issue is a profound misunderstanding or ignorance of the place of the child in Māori society and its relationship with whānau [Māori families], hapu [sub-tribe], iwi [tribe] structures. (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Development of Social Welfare, 1988, p. 7)

Within Aotearoa, institutionalised racism (bias) was identified some 30 years ago (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Development of Social Welfare, 1998). There is growing literature examining the effects of racism on Indigenous children and young people’s well-being. Racism can stifle taitamariki Māori potential for well-being and vitality – harming their ihi, wehi and

⁵ Puhiwāhine was renowned for her skills as a composer of waiata and a poet. She was admired and desired by many. In two instances, the desire was mutual and Puhiwāhine had sexual encounters. Both encounters were intense but were cut short, as neither of them were approved by her whānau and hapū. Puhiwāhine composed ‘He waiata ki ana whaiaipo’, (1886) in which she recalls the names of several chiefs, young and old, some of whom she enjoyed sexual encounters with in her youth, and others whom she admired and whose company she had enjoyed but whose sexual advances she had declined. It was composed in response to good-natured teasing from several of her friends about the many sexual attractions and sexual encounters she had had as a young woman. It is characteristic of waiata whaiaipo that the composer speaks of her love for several men, addressing each in turn and sometimes taking herself on an imaginary journey (Jones, 1961, cited in Green et al., 2016).

wana (Moewaka-Barnes, 2010). Racism sits within the effects of the ongoing colonisation discourse. Racism occurs in and reinforces these views and needs to be considered within the context of taitamariki relationships and within the communities in which they reside. Further, it may also affect taitamariki feeling of self, their identity, confidence, and agency, as discussed below. Children themselves have raised issues of racism as substantial concerns impacting their health and well-being (Priest et al., 2017), which should serve as a reminder that children do indeed understand and are aware of experiences of discrimination (Brown & Bigler, 2005), and that we need to counter colour-blind approaches (Apfelbaum, Norton, & Sommers, 2012) that avoid and silence discussion of such issues with them (Priest et al., 2017).

The overwhelming conclusion to be drawn from this research is that indigenous children in urban areas need on-going recognition of both their agency and resilience in the face of adversity, within a wider context of historical and contemporary racialisation and racism. (Priest et al., 2017, p. 1)

The *Education Matters to Me Project*, by the Office of the Children's Commissioner and the New Zealand Secondary Teachers Association (2018), engaged with 1,678 children and young people, of which 362 were Māori. Taitamariki Māori were recruited (online as well as kanohi ki te kanohi, face-to-face) from primary, intermediate and secondary schools, alternative education centres, kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, learning support units and teen parent units, as well as home-schooled students. The aim of the project was to find out what children and young people required to have a successful experience in education. Children and young people spend a lot of their time at school and are influenced by their interactions within the school setting and school community. The report acknowledged that, while many of the concerns children voiced were shared by all children, there were issues that taitamariki Māori experienced differently from those that are non-Māori (Office of the Children's Commissioner, OCC, 2018), which need to be considered. They also acknowledged that there is no one Māori tamariki voice, perspective or experience and that the experiences of people who whakapapa Māori are informed by their own lives, their connections to culture and their whānau, hapū, iwi, rohe and community they have grown up in. They grouped taitamariki Māori responses into 5 findings.

Finding 1: Tōku reo, toku ohooho

To understand me, understand my world and te reo Māori

Finding 2: Tūhuratia te ao i te rangimārie

I want to feel comfortable and safe to explore my culture

Finding 3: He kaikiri Māori, he whakaparahako ētahi o te kura

People at school are racist towards me and judge me because I'm Māori

Finding 4: Whakatūngia te tangata, ka tū hoki te whānau

Supporting my whānau is important for my achievement

Finding 5: He oranga ngākau te hākari kai
Kai helps me feel comfortable and connected (p. 7)

Expanding some of these findings, the OCC report (2018) suggested that not being understood in the context of your own culture may be a significant barrier to a sense of belonging, school engagement and achievements. Except in kura kaupapa settings, taitamariki do not see themselves or their culture being reflected back to them in their school. Whilst this student did not speak te reo Māori, the point is made: “If they can’t understand me how I can understand them?” (Student in alternative education, Māori, p. 9). This is also an important point for research with taitamariki Māori. Those students who were fluent in te reo Māori and felt connected to their cultural identity advocated for all people to be able to understand and talk te reo Māori. Some taitamariki and some from kura kaupapa schools reported being treated as outsiders when speaking te reo Māori in public and at mainstream schools. Taitamariki were also aware of cultural ‘tokenism’: “I was asked to do a haka for some visitors to school because the principal wanted to give a cultural experience. But it was annoying because that’s like the only time he cares about Māori culture.” (Student in secondary school, Māori, p. 10). Taitamariki said they valued the use of whānaungatanga and tikanga in their interaction at school and gave examples of feeling like you are treated like whānau and you feel comfortable, welcoming you every morning and pronouncing your name properly. Learning was reported to be easier when students had a trusting relationship.

Being seen as a homogenous group within mainstream schools was reported as being problematic for some taitamariki. Some reported that it felt disempowering when they are expected to speak on behalf of their culture when they do not feel connected to it or have the cultural knowledge or identity. This makes them feel “not Māori enough” and they feel whakamā and embarrassed. Tamariki reported that they sometimes felt pressured by teachers, as they were expected to know tikanga and other aspects of their culture or te reo Māori because their teacher saw them as Māori and therefore as experts on all things ‘Māori’ - “We are expected to know our language, to know songs and the haka but we aren’t given the opportunity to actually learn it. It just makes me feel bad.” (Student in alternative education, Māori, p. 12).

Many taitamariki reported their experiences of racism at school and felt that they were treated unequally because of their culture; reporting that teachers’ expectations of them were low as they were Māori. For example: “Because we’re Māori and the teacher thinks we’re dumb, don’t wanna pay as much attention to you and focus more on the white people” (Secondary school student, Māori, p. 13). Taitamariki also commented on their experiences of ‘racial stereotyping’ from teachers which made them feel judged. They also said that this impacted on their relationship with the teacher which was not conducive to learning. Taitamariki had some comments to make on how these issues could

be addressed. They were clear that fair treatment, being included and being respected would improve their experiences and learning at school: “Treat everyone as equals and don't jump to conclusions because of race” (Secondary school student, Māori/Pacific/European, p. 14) and “The racist bastards that call us brown kids pieces of poo and baa baa blacksheeps - schools need to get this stuff improved” (Primary school student, Māori/NZ European/Pacific People, p. 14). Conversely, taitamariki reported that they noticed when teachers are supportive and have ‘faith in them’ and when they were supported through ‘hard times’, it was transformative for some taitamariki.

The importance of whānau was mentioned by many taitamariki in terms of their motivation for learning as they recognised that this would assist in supporting their whānau and recognised that many in their whānau had not done well at school. These aspirations can be a motivator; however, some reported it was a struggle sometimes. Taitamariki in the teen parents unit reported that their children were the motivation behind trying to achieve and that most reported the supportive environment of these kura assisted them. Kai (food) was mentioned in a couple of different ways. Firstly, kai may need to be provided to students by the school to ensure they had adequate food which promoted learning and participation in school. There was shame involved in asking for “free” lunches and the processes within schools to deliver free lunches created lots of whakamā (shame, shyness) and many went without because of these processes. Secondly, kai at school created a sense of collectivity, pride and belonging and was seen as an integral part of tikanga for some.

Aspects of culture and identity and educational achievement are discussed in Tama – Te - Rā Ariki (Office of the Children’s Commissioner, March 2018) which concluded: “Cultural identity and connection are fundamental to well-being. We heard from tamariki and rangatahi that when they have a clear understanding of their culture as part of who they are, this enhances their connectedness to family and community. We also heard that when they are not culturally connected, mana is diminished, and something is missing for them” (p. 6). They also reported that taitamariki expressed a desire for te reo Māori to be compulsory in all schools. From the taitamariki perspective, this would create better understandings between Māori and tauwiwi; help taitamariki feel ‘more Māori’ and reduce difference: “If everyone knew te reo then there would be more unity.” (Māori young person in youth programme for 11 to 14-year olds, p. 4); “If you know your culture then it makes you stronger” (Māori young person in youth programme for 11 to 14-year olds, p. 4).

Moewaka-Barnes (2010) suggests that there are complexities around the suggestion that ‘secure cultural identity’ is a prerequisite to well-being, especially for taitamariki Māori, and suggests that there are many Māori identities. She suggests that:

We might know or feel that these relationships make sense, the evidence, nationally and internationally, that certain forms of “traditional” connections and activities are correlated to a range of positive outcomes is inconsistent. The complexity of the issues does not, however, stop a strong belief that what

young people need are particular forms of cultural connections to promote their health and their secure cultural identity. (p. 28)

She cautions that we should not make judgements and develop perceptions of real or authentic Māori which promotes a Māori “one-size-fits-all” as we acknowledge diversity and history. From her study with urban taitamariki Māori, Borrell (2005) suggests that they aspired to have greater cultural connections, however they reported barriers to achieve these. She also reminds us of the strengths and diversity which exist in this population. Borrell cautions that we should not create a divide of those taitamariki who are ‘culturally connected’ and those who have not had the opportunity.

Establishing a ‘secure’ Māori identity based solely on particular criteria of Māori culture (te rēo Māori, tikanga, marae, etc...) continues to be problematic for some Māori. Those who are not seen as connected in this way are often defined by what they are seen as lacking, hence terms such as disconnected, distance, detached and disassociated. (p. 8)

Rata (2012) discusses the challenges for taitamariki identity (recognising that there are many negative stereotypes) and how this may be internally negotiated. Challenges to identity can be based on appearance, cultural competency, and feelings of connectiveness, which can be marked by feelings of inadequacy, uncertainty, and unfamiliarity for some. Rata gives an example of identity negotiation by illustrating the contrast between a Māori setting (kura) and a Western setting (mainstream school), explaining that, “in Māori settings, membership of the Māori social category is often seen as whakapapa based, and therefore pre-determined. Whereas in Western settings, the Māori social category is often seen as an ethnic group that one must self-identify with, in order to be a member” (p. 103). Discussions between Rata’s study participants suggested that within kura, “you’ve got no choice, you’re Māori” (P1, Rata, 2012, p. 103). We need to take into consideration that taitamariki have a challenging position within today’s society and those supporting their development must assist them with ‘mana-enhancing’ processes that enable them to reach their full potential, acknowledging that taitamariki are influenced by their wider environment. However, we have an obligation to provide access and connections to our culture.

Inclusion of Taitamariki Māori

Nationally, while mainstream studies may include a Māori sample, the research is often based on Western, individualistic world views. It is from this view, that I suggest that we need to add an expression of concern as to how ‘adultist’ this dominant Western framework is; that is, children and young people have ‘data’ collected and reported *on them* which may have little relevance *to them*, in ways they may not understand or on aspects of their lives which may not represent their lives adequately. This is an important aspect when investigating the literature about taitamariki Māori position in today’s society. The quote below is relevant to them.

In a circular process, the more the story of the data are told from a non-Indigenous standpoint, the more evidence there is to embed that worldview as 'the truth'. The result goes beyond mere differences in terms of statistical stories and interpretations. Statistical categorisations play an important part in cementing a symbolic ethnic and racial order, and the ways in which indigenous identities are framed has particular consequences for how such hierarchies are maintained. (Kutukai & Walter, 2015, p. 322)

Within the violence prevention field, Kaupapa Māori research is based on an understanding of the dynamics of whānau violence from inside a Māori conceptual and experiential base. What is needed is research that is based on an understanding from a taitamariki Māori perspective and context. Kruger et al. (2004) argue that, "The questions and the way in which information is collected, analysed and reported is designed to validate a Western conceptualisation of violence. This offers limited if any useful information about how to prevent whānau violence. It does not clarify violence in cultural, philosophical, political, historical, social or any other terms for Māori" (pp. 9-10) or from a taitamariki perspective in the here and now. The Mauri Ora Framework (Kruger et al., 2004) provides a clear framework for non-violence and well-being which provides cultural constructs for prevention and transformation through education. Though there are more studies being carried out with young people about their intimate partner relationships, they may not capture taitamariki Māori lived realities or experiences, nor may they engage in methodologies that allow/promote taitamariki Māori to reclaim their cultural identity and ways of knowing and the solutions within (Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). Exploring Indigenous young people's perspectives within the context of disadvantage and inequalities experienced by Indigenous populations assists to focus research agendas on their experiences and aspirations and privileges their standpoint (Priest et al., 2017).

The establishment of the methodology and methods for this research begins with involving taitamariki Māori in defining their understanding(s) and influences on their relationship health and well-being (whānau ora) which requires a different approach from that employed by the majority of previous research on this topic, as pointed out in this literature review. This research places taitamariki Māori both taitamāhine and taitamatāne centrally and attempted to understand, with their oversight, their perspectives, or using Fattore et al.'s (2007) terminology, their standpoints, on their intimate partner relationships and well-being and influences. "Attempting to understand children's well-being from where they stand, starts from engaging with children as social actors and is driven by their experiences and opinions" (Fattore et al., 2007, p. 6).

Summary

To be able to design valid and responsive supports for taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationship well-being, we need to work with taitamariki to find out what they need. How taitamariki Māori learn behaviours, respond to these behaviours, and normalise them or not is important to supporting their well-being and developing violence prevention strategies, programmes and initiatives. We cannot

support taitamariki intimate partner well-being if we do not know about their relationships. Data therefore need to originate from an 'authentic' taitamariki Māori voice. Taitamariki Māori are seldom heard on issues which can profoundly affect them, such as sexual coercion and intimate partner violence (Moewaka-Barnes, 2010). As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, how we determine, measure, define and describe taitamariki Māori has relevance to this study. How these 'data' are collected, constructed, and analysed is important and can influence education, health, law and social sector policies and practice. It also impacts on how society view taitamariki Māori. Whilst we have statistics around taitamariki Māori, we do not have the stories behind these statistics. We need to have a more complete picture. In the next chapter, I discuss researching with taitamariki Māori in the attempt to ensure that we procure their authentic voices.

Chapter Four – Tika Tangata

Children are not here merely or first of all to become adults, though, of course, we all expect and hope that they will become adults. However, this expectation and hope had, in lore and science, gained so much attention and conveyed so much significance that it was more or less forgotten that children also have a life while they are children. (Qvortrup, 2009, p. 5)

This chapter explores the different views of children and childhood,⁶ different theoretical frameworks when researching with children, and ethical and human rights perspectives. I also suggest some considerations within research approaches. Considerations of ethical research with children is embedded within a particular understanding of children and childhood (Powell et al., 2012) and is of high importance to this thesis.

Views of children and childhood

How society and cultures view children and childhood, both publicly and privately, impacts on how children are listened to, supported, protected, and provided for—or not. These societal views on children co-exist within research paradigms and academia and can impact on *how* and *what* information is elicited about children, from *whom* and for what *purposes*. Different beliefs about children – what is in their best interest, how they should behave, and what should be expected of them – have an enormous effect on their value and position in society, and influences social policies, parenting styles, professional practices and institutional arrangements for children’s education, health, care and welfare (Smith, 2013). What is often missing is children’s views of their childhoods and views about issues that affect them (Gillett-Swan & Sargeant, 2018). Children are not often asked about children’s lives. However, even when they are asked, care has to be taken to create a context where children can express authentic, unconstrained views, that are not contaminated or otherwise influenced by the elicitation process (Ben-Arieh & Frønes, 2011; Biggeri & Libanora, 2011; Domínguez-Serrano, Moral-Espín, & Muñoz, 2019; Spyrou, 2011). This has specific relevance when exploring Indigenous children’s views. Research does not always view children in a way that appreciates what they are in the here and now (children with ongoing lives, needs and desires), but rather focuses on what they will become (Amerijckx & Humblet, 2014; Dex & Hollingworth, 2012; Melton, 2014). The current lives, needs, and desires of children are often seen as causes for alarm by adults, as social problems that are threatening, that need to be resolved. As a result, children can be pushed to the margins of the social structure by adults who focus instead on the potential threat of children to present and future societies (Corsaro, 2005). For many Indigenous children, they can become the ‘othered other’:

⁶ For the purpose of this chapter and to reflect the age of the participants (13-18 years of age), I have used the term children and childhood in this chapter for ease of reading. The terms children/taitamariki/young people refer to those under the age of 18 years of age as defined in the United Nations Convention for the Rights of the Child.

Indeed, throughout the myriad of discourses by which the history of social life is established, known and experienced, children are frequently excluded from being 'present' as persons with standpoints – their distance from us, established as it is through difference, turns them into 'liminal' figures, representations of the 'limit condition' of humanity, they are the 'absent referent', the archetypal 'Other'. (Henrick, 2009, p. 99)

Influences of the State

Developmental psychology firmly colonised childhood in a pact with medicine, education and government agencies. (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998, p. 17)

Economic, social, and political landscapes can be influential on how children and childhood are perceived and treated. May (2000) contends that Helen Key's (1900) influential book *Century of the Child* depicted 'failures in childrearing' and promoted state investment and intervention in the health, welfare and education of children. May (2000) has described the 20th century as the 'century of the child' (Key, 1900), as a time that saw the ideas on childhood move from experimental, to be universals for all children under the umbrella of the state. These ideas were "expressions of new doctrines of political liberalism, capitalism and the ideals of the bourgeois family" (May, 2000, p. 120). With an emphasis placed on child survival, new ideas about childrearing and education and the separation of children from the adult world via specialised institutions, such as nurseries, schools, and orphanages, emerged (May, 1997). During the 20th century, these ideas had transformed into universal provisions for children, coinciding (but not accidentally) with the "intricate mapping of childhood by a new industry of child professionals" (May, 2000, p. 120), rendering children the objects of intense scrutiny, surveillance, and intervention (Dobbs, 2006). This is supported by Prout and James (1997):

'The century of the child' can be characterised as such precisely because of the massive corpus of knowledge built up by psychologists and other social scientists through the systematic study of children. If the concept of childhood as a distinct stage in the human life cycle crystallised in the nineteenth century western thought, the twentieth century has seen the theoretical space elaborated and filled out with detailed empirical findings which have structured our thinking about childhood. (p. 9)

May (2000) used McDonald's (1978, cited in May, 2000) four constructs to illustrate 'the mapping of the landscape' to European childhood. These ideas about childhood emerged in 18th century Europe and spread to Aotearoa with colonisation.

- Pre 1900s – the *child as a chattel* for whom the state has no interest or rights of intervention;
- Post 1900s – the *child as social capital* for whom state investment in health and education was intended to create a useful adult citizen and prevent social disorder;
- Post 1945 – the *child as a psychological being* whose mental health required support and understanding by parents and institutions. The outcome was to be a more sane society;
- Post 1970s – the *child as a citizen* who had rights derived from a fairer society. (May, 2000 p.119)

This structuring of childhood, however, did not reflect Māori views on children. For Māori, 'our thinking about childhood' is that the child is firmly placed within whānau, hapū and iwi structures

(Cram, 2015). The ‘century of the Māori child’ was far different from that of the Pākehā child and has been discussed in part in Chapter 2. Through colonisation, Pākehā constructed views of Māori childhood, which carried small semblance with the realities of Māori childhood or Māori perceptions of childhood. The colonial child and the Māori child were far apart. May (2000) gives some examples of how Māori children were portrayed:

- Nineteenth century portrayal of the Māori children and their mothers, both, at times, in ‘traditional dress’ and/or Māori mother and child attired in Victorian clothing – portraying successful colonisation and assimilation.
- Twentieth century Māori children being portrayed on postcards as *little urchins*, bathing in hot pools, jumping for pennies and performing the haka.
- Early years of the ‘century of child’ Māori children were only visible in mortality statistics, at the same time increasing interest was made on Pākehā children survival with the work of Sir Truby King. However, at the same time Maui Pomare was advocating for ‘saving Māori babies’ – “save the babies to save the nation”.
- Images of the young Māori children in ‘Native Schools’ – showing order, regimentation and cleanliness.
- New proximity of Māori and Pākehā children brought common measures and success or failure, with a focus on the Māori child as a problem and a failure.
- The 1960s - the ‘problem’ was perceived in terms of cultural and economic disadvantage – the Māori child needed to ‘catch-up to Pākehā’ children. (May, 2000, p. 122-123)

How professionals viewed children and childhood within this ‘industry of child professionals’, as mentioned above, was highlighted by Dobbs (2015) in a literature review into the over-representation of Indigenous children in the welfare system. Dobbs (2015) suggests that, for Māori taitamariki and their whānau, child welfare policies and practices were based on colonial and racial bias. Relying heavily on individual professionals’ decision-making, they were based on perceptions of ‘risk’, which were in turn based on culture, class, and gender bias. While Aotearoa did not institute specific policies of forced removal of Māori children from whānau, historical atrocities were committed and have had generational impacts (Libesman, 2013). These historical conditions have contemporary consequences.

New Zealand did not forcibly remove children from their families to non-Māori families and boarding schools, creating ‘lost generations’ – as was the case in Australia and North America. However, from the 1940s to the 1980s a considerable number of Māori children lost connection with their families through closed adoption, often to non-Māori families, or through being placed in children’s homes or being made wards of the state. In 1988 a report on the Department of Social Welfare, responsible for child welfare, was highly critical of the way the agency operated in its dealings with Māori. Institutional racism was identified as a major problem with the agency imposing a strongly European cultural perspective on its Māori clients. (Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, 1988, cited in Blaiklock, Kiro, Belgrave, Low, Davenport, & Hassall, 2002, p. 17)

Since the beginning of colonisation in the 1800s practice discourses, including interventions with families and children, social policies and decision-making practices concerning the welfare and care of children have been framed in terms of Western constructs of children and childhood (Munford & Saunders, 2011).

Whilst societal views of children may have been changing in the 1970's and 1980's (seeing children 'as a citizen' and an increasing interest in children's rights and the ideals of a 'fairer society' for children) the economic, and social reforms in Aotearoa were at odds with this belief. In the mid 1980's Aotearoa had amongst the most sweeping economic and social reforms in scope and scale of any industrialised democracy (Dalziel, 2002; Dobbs, 2015) within the OCED. Aotearoa's extensive programme of deregulation and privatisation emphasised the role of market forces and markedly reduced both the welfare state and the direct role of the state in the economy, with dramatic impacts on children. Whilst these reforms eased off in the mid 1990's, the structural changes they introduced were impacting on Māori taitamariki and their whānau.

The reforms have not led to an overall improvement in the well-being of children. There has been widening inequality between ethnic and income groups which has left many Māori and Pacific children, and children from one parent and poorer families, relatively worse off. The New Zealand experience illustrates the vulnerability of children during periods of social upheaval and change and the importance of having effective mechanisms to monitor, protect and promote the interests of children. (Blaiklock et al., 2002, p. 2)

While Māori desires for justice and economic and social aspirations have changed little over 100 years, since the 1970s Māori have struggled for and have achieved a great deal of progress, having increased influence over government policies leading to funding of Māori health, education and welfare initiatives (Eketone & Walker, 2013). Calls were made to address the need for greater Māori involvement within health, education and social science research (Bishop, 1994; Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Durie, 1998) and the development of Kaupapa Māori approaches (Cram, 2001; Cram & Pitama, 1998; Smith, 1990; Smith, 1999; Te Awakotuku, 1991, Tuhiwai-Smith, 1996).

The phrase 'by Māori' assumes that a Māori researcher is more likely to possess the skills and knowledge to perform the research and interpret the results from a cultural context. This phrase also reinforced calls for Māori autonomy and self-determination, a continual theme of cultural affirmation. (Forster, 2015, p. 50)

The late 1980s also saw the *Puao-te-ata-tu Report* (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 1988), which was instrumental in beginning to change the social service environment and some aspects of practice, and validated the use of tikanga in social services (Hollis, 2006, 2012). Following this was the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act (1989) that moved away from the oppressive 1974 Act and gave a legal and policy framework to change traditional professional powerbase models (Connolly, 1999). The Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act and the Public Finance Act were both passed into law in 1989. The Mason Report (1992) commented on the impact of government fiscal policies on the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act, and warned against a system that attempted to quantify social response in dollar terms (Mason, Kirby, & Wary, 1992). This era also gave emphasis to the devolution – by the state – of the responsibilities for children onto families, at the very time the support and resources available to them were shrinking (Smith & Taylor, 2000). The view

that children were entirely the private responsibility of their parents, coupled with the diminution of state responsibility, made children and whānau increasingly vulnerable to the insecurities and inequalities produced by the full force of the market. This impacted on taitamariki Māori, whānau hapū and iwi, and made it difficult for some whānau to maintain some of the traditional roles within these structures.

...such official emphasis on the family as the provider of a private welfare system presumes that all individuals may call upon family support, and that all families have equal financial capacity to provide it. (Baldock & Cass, 1990, p. 19)

A subsequent report by Judge Brown also reinforced the dis-ease of such views by saying that the view that “the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act was seen as a cost-saving measure can be ascertained by the fact that, in spite of an increase in annual numbers of abuse notifications, annual budget levels for Child Protection spending decreased” (Brown, 2000, p. 19). These reforms illustrate the vulnerability of all children through periods of social upheaval.

For many taitamariki and their whānau, this time also saw the developing of mechanisms to monitor, protect and promote the interests of children (Blaklock et al., 2002) within a Western children’s needs discourse. However, Stainton-Rogers (2009) cautions that the ‘children’s needs’ discourse in global terms involves cultural imperialism and the imposition of Western liberal values.

While the ‘children’s needs’ discourse is undoubtedly well-intentioned, motivated by a desire to improve children’s welfare and make sure that state policies and welfare services take their wellbeing seriously, it has another (almost certainly unintended) consequence. By positioning children and young people as ‘in need’, it sets up an expectation that we (the adult world) should view children in terms of their needs and seek to meet them. It demands, in effect, that we must provide ‘solutions’ to the ‘problems’ that are posed by the needs of children and young people. What this does, in effect, is turn children and young people themselves into ‘problems’ that need to be ‘solved’. (Stainton-Rogers, 2009, p. 124)

An ongoing consequence of this is that taitamariki Māori are often framed/defined within this ‘problem’, deficit-based way, which is grounded in discrimination and negative stereotypes (Wilson et al., 2019) and can result in youth being victimised, in particular Māori (Families Commission, 2011). Berryman et al. (2017) contend, within the educational system, that often adults talk about taitamariki Māori in negative terms, highlighting underachievement and poor social outcomes rather than looking at the systems within education that may perpetuate this. This ‘problematized’ and ‘pathologised’ construction within Western societies is inherent in a Western medical paradigm (Smith, 2013). Using this paradigm has been discussed for over almost sixty years. In 1961, the Hunn Report pointed out that research on Māori was demographic and used to compare Māori with non-Māori populations, rather than looking at the disparities that embed these ‘deficits’ without having a structural analysis. This included taitamariki Māori.

Research is needed that examines the strengths and assets Indigenous people possess and utilise in their daily lives (Priest et al., 2017; Wilson, Coates et al., 2019). That includes taitamariki

Māori. In the context of contemporary Western childhoods, assumptions about all children's needs are based on common assumptions and can reflect value-laden judgements about children (Stainton-Rogers, 2011). This is relevant for Indigenous children especially as the focus on children's needs remains a powerful rhetorical device for constructing versions of childhood (Woodhead, 2009). Social policies and accountability attempt to make positive interventions in people's lives and place particular attention to collecting, analysing and using information. Data are used to judge whether standards have been met (Tisdall, 2018) – but whose standards – adults'/children's, Western/Indigenous? The inclusion of Indigenous theorisation of data and its collection methods may serve taitamariki Māori and their whānau more effectively. Within research, how we view children and young people will determine how we carry out research with them and how we listen to what they tell us and whether we action what they say.

Taitamariki – Agents of Change

What opportunities were being lost by those such as myself applying an adult-centric, developmental lens to rangatahi⁷ and their initiatives? A quick look into the ages of some of our past leaders, Whina Cooper, Apirana Ngata and Hone Heke Ngapua when first embarking upon political work, highlighted how our ancestors had valued and utilised rangatahi as a powerful force for change. I had to ask myself: When had my views of rangatahi become colonised? (Tawhai, 2016, p. 87)

The above quote highlights our own possible construction of our taitamariki which is worth considering. Tawhai (2016) writes that adult-led discussions about taitamariki Māori are generally about *rangatira o āpōpō* (leaders of tomorrow) coupled with the many challenges they face, which require adult support and intervention to help taitamariki overcome them. She also suggests that less is acknowledged on how taitamariki are leading today and have a role as decolonising educators in the here and now. Kidman (2018) would concur when discussing 'social memories' of colonial history, counter-memory and youth activism. Kidman highlights the ability and desire of taitamariki Māori to know their history and to challenge how these histories are constructed. For example, taitamariki Māori school students presented a petition to the New Zealand government calling for recognition of the land wars between 1845 and 1872 and for greater attention to these events in the school curriculum. This petition and subsequent publicity and support led to the Education Minister announcing that New Zealand history will be taught in all schools and kura by 2022 (New Zealand Herald, 19th September 2019). One of the student petitioners, Bell (2015, cited in Kidman, 2018) discusses the rationale:

...many of us started to feel a sense of urgency and that we personally had to do something to get these wars properly remembered ... Now it is up to us rangatahi [young people] to educate ourselves. We believe this begins with a day of remembrance each year. Maybe teachers, families, TV and radio programmes will start to discuss the idea. The tragedy 150 years ago will always be with us, but what we are doing now is a starting point for a historically conscious future. (p. 4)

⁷ Young person

Our power and privilege as adults need to facilitate space and access for taitamariki Māori to voice their views, concerns and to challenge adult views and assumptions on their lives. This requires us to view them as capable autonomous agents. Within whānau, hapū and iwi context we may need to explore what tikanga (practices) we have, as whānau Māori, that create space to hear and value taitamariki voices, knowledge and solutions and ask the question, do we also silence them? As this 11-year-old tells us, “Kids should be asked about stuff that’s got to do with them. They can tell you stuff you’d never think of ‘cos you’re not a kid” (Moore, Noble-Carr, & McArthur, 2015, p. 2). Taitamariki intimate partner well-being requires understandings from taitamariki Māori as they have knowledge, experience, and insights into their own lives – and into society – that adults do not have. Listening to their views, taking them seriously and acting upon them is beneficial not only for them, but for adults and society as a whole.

Theoretical concepts

... a rejection of the essentialism endemic in traditional theorizing, in favour of recognizing the multiple ways childhood is socially constructed and reconstructed in relation to time and place, age, gender, ethnicity etc... also represents a critique of the way children’s lives are regulated in modern societies, an emphasis on recognizing children as social actors, and empowering their participatory rights in all areas of social life, including child research (Woodhead, 2009, pp. x-xi).

Concepts of children and childhood have moved away from the biological essentialism – that is, that the physical growth of children to full maturity is mirrored by sequences of intellectual, psychological, social, and moral development. Piagetian theory claimed that children grow through a fixed sequence of cognitive development from infancy to adulthood (Lloyd-Smith & Tarr, 2000; Piaget, 1926, 1929), thus assuming a “universality of childhood” (James & Prout, 2015, p. 12). In combination with basic concepts within child psychology, such as socialisation, these theories have resulted in children being seen as developing people whom adults must train for membership of the adult world (Mayall, 2000). This Western traditional approach to child development marginalises, discourages, and inhibits children’s participation and voice (Dobbs, 2005). Western views describing children as “human becoming’s” rather than as “human beings” (Qvortrup, 1994, p. 4) have been challenged. Lee (2009) argues:

As long as children were seen ... as irrational, or as ignorant of the nature of the society in which they live, then the things they do and say can be interpreted as reflections of their limitations rather than as expressions of their own intentions, desires or opinions. (p. 44)

It is easy to silence and ignore children when we interpret their views and feelings as manifestations of their unformed ignorance, due to their status as not-yet-competent, immature, etc. As ‘human-beings’, children are not pathological, incomplete, or incompetent (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998).

I wanted to investigate the influences of how theoretical frameworks are developed around views of children and childhood via research, including Indigenous children. Stainton-Rogers (2009) suggests that the dominant discourse established by developmental psychology has influenced many generations of teachers, social workers, health care professionals and other professions towards viewing children primarily in terms of their pathway towards adulthood rather than viewing their lives in the here and now, as discussed above. The emergence of a new sociology of childhood which began in the 1990s, saw a 'pushback' from viewing children and childhood from a solely developmental psychology lens and a solely children's needs discourse. Up until the 1990s, much of the data collected about children and young people were gained from parents (usually mothers), family, teachers, and other professionals (Eruea & Dobbs, 2010). Adults had established themselves as the "understanders, interpreters and translators of children's behaviours" (Waksler, 1994, p. 62). The view of children as incompetent resulted in adults taking the role of understanders and interpreters. Also noted in the literature is that most research informing developmental psychology has been based on research conducted in Western cultures, mainly in North America and Europe, despite these areas having only 12 percent of the world's population. Accordingly, there is a large gap in knowledge about the childhoods of most of the world's children (Smith, 2013), with an even larger gap about Indigenous children.

Freeman (2012) argues that children should not be the subjects of social structural determinants and suggests that:

The discord which exists between children's own experiences of being a child and the institutional form which childhood takes is paralleled by a mismatch between the different understandings of childhood, and what so often finds its way into laws, institutions, policies, and practices in relation to children, as well as within research paradigms. To imagine that childhood is the same for all children and to have 'idealised' notions of childhood may be unrealistic. There is a diversity of children's experiences rather than a single universal phenomenon of 'childhood'. (p. 40)

Matthews (2007) supports this and points out that seeing all children through the lens of Western socialisation homogenises children and does not consider that children experience childhood differently depending on many factors, which necessitates identification. "Any account that claims to describe children must therefore deal with the question, 'Which children and under what circumstances?'" (p. 327). For Māori, Durie (2003) points out, "You don't say, how do I adapt this approach to Māori? Rather, you start from the premise, what's important to Māori and build round it." I suggest, do not say how do I adapt this approach to taitamariki Māori but start from the premise what's important to taitamariki and build around it. The first step, however, is understanding and finding out from taitamariki.

The importance of involving children in research has been well-documented since the 1990s (Graham & Powell, 2014) with many journals and articles presenting this view – most from a Western

theoretical discourse. Listening to children is both beneficial to adults and children and assists in the development of more accurate and informed viewpoints, while giving adults an idea of the reality of childhood (Ben-Arieh, 2014; Berryman, Eley et al., 2017; Dunn, 2015; Powell et al., 2012). However, it is how this is done with taitamariki Māori which is of interest within this study.

Māori values and attitudes towards knowledge are found in the cosmological narrative ngā kete e toru or the three baskets of knowledge. This narrative describes Tanenuiarangi (a higher being in Māori cosmological thought) and the pursuit of knowledge and teaches that the process of research is just as important as the information generated. (S.P. Smith, 1913, cited in Forster, 2015, p. 49)

Children as producers of knowledge

If one is to represent the viewpoint of the child, it seems reasonable to argue that data ought to originate from the child at the cultural and developmental level of the child rather than from an adult report. (Sorenson, 1993, p. 4)

In this section I explore the Western literature on researching children's lives within the Childhood Studies paradigm. This has relevance in part to this thesis as the study of childhood, coupled with UNCROC, has been the fundamental basis for promoting children's participation in research (including taitamariki Māori) and for including a rights-based kaupapa. Interestingly, Alderson (2012) points out that while UNCROC enshrines some key rights for children, it does not specifically mention research in its application. Children have traditionally been at the bottom of the hierarchy of formal knowledge production and their knowledge has been excluded or marginalised within academia (Domínguez-Serrano et al., 2019; MacArthur & McKenzie, 2013; Mason & Watson, 2014; Smith, 2011).

The key tenets of Childhood Studies, as discussed above, place emphasis on children with 'here and now' status; childhood is seen as a social construction and children as social actors. Childhood Studies promotes and privileges children's voice, has a focus on the ethics of research with children, and children's rights. This paradigm conceptualises children "as agentic with the strength and capabilities to shape their childhoods" (Horgan, 2017, p. 246). Children are seen as competent research participants and their views deserve to be taken seriously. Children within this paradigm are considered active rather than passive research participants; they are the subjects of research rather than objects. Researchers who investigate children's experiences, knowledge and perspectives carry out research *with* children instead of *on* them (Christensen & James, 2008). The literature also argues that children have a right to decide about the nature and extent of their participation in research (to be discussed further). A newer discourse is that of children co-designing/co-constructing with researchers the research design, and/or researchers engaging with children as researchers of children (Horgan, 2017; Hunleth, 2011) and taking part in data analysis. Within this newer discourse has been the engagement of youth advisory groups to advise adults on the research language, design, and methods (Dennehy et al., 2019; Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). Tisdall (2015) suggests that:

Co-production too recognises the value of building capacity in information-seeking and information analysis. Co-production, though, more explicitly addresses hierarchies of knowledge. Children and young people are recognised as having skills and expertise, as being creators of knowledge, alongside professionals and other adults. It is co-productions (re)claiming of children and young people's expertise and knowledge that distinguishes itself from vulnerability and social accountability. (p. 69)

However, recently some authors have suggested that after two decades of establishing children's lives as a topic worthy of study, the study of childhood has reached a point where it may require more analysis (Punch, 2016) and that there are some concerns about the theoretical debates of studying children and how this has been integrated within policy and practice as well as within mainstream academia (Alanen, 2012; Alderson, 2016; Spyrou, 2011, 2019; Tisdall & Punch, 2012). There is also an increasing un-ease at the ongoing lack of incorporating Indigenous constructions of childhoods into its theory and practice (Punch, 2016; Tisdall & Punch, 2012).

The study of children has become more multidisciplinary, including a range of disciplines but not all; it is however still dominated by the sociology of childhood, the anthropology of childhood and children's geographies (Tisdall & Punch, 2012). The literature does suggest that most research carried out on/with or about children is situated within health and education fields within universities. Prout (2019) contends that this distinct field (Childhood Studies) is however:

...still struggling to find a place in a framework of university disciplines... some research centres around the world have been created, and degree courses in childhood studies are taught in different university departments: education, sociology, social studies, social work among them. But separate departments or schools of Childhood Studies are very rare. (p. 131)

This is an interesting point as most research about/with or on children comes from within academia. The exclusion of such departments or schools from within universities results in the continuation of researching all children from traditional Western paradigms – this is apparent within some of the methods used to elicit data especially within children's well-being discourse. In her article discussing Māori-centric indicators for Māori children's well-being, Cram (2019) suggests research could be situated outside universities for secure funding requirements, but more importantly for relevance to a better understanding of well-being within the taitamariki Māori discourse. In recent decades there has been a greater emergence of Māori-centred and Kaupapa Māori research. These approaches are based on Māori values and processes, and on what is important to Māori. Many come from institutions outside universities or in partnership with iwi and university-based research centres that specialise in Kaupapa Māori research. This has meant that within some research projects both Western research methodologies and Kaupapa Māori or Māori-centred research have been utilised. Forster (2015) suggests that:

'Building bridges' across research paradigms has therefore involved recognizing the impact of historical research on Māori people. It is also about acknowledging the criticisms of past research and ensuring that by incorporating the strengths of Māori knowledge and practice into research design these issues can be addressed... (p. 49)

As adults can be seen as powerful figures in the lives of children and are often perceived by them as omnipotent and omnipresent (Garbarino & Stott, 1992) so too can Western discourses be seen when researching Indigenous lives. Cooper (2012) argues that Māori knowledge has been cast by Western science into an epistemic wilderness, and Māori are regarded as producers of culture rather than knowledge. Taitamariki Māori are also producers of knowledge and therefore eliciting knowledge from them can only be done when this is the view held.

Children's rights, participation and well-being

Our results showed clear cross-national differences between children's knowledge and perceptions of their rights and their reports on participation. Also, children's participation in different contexts in their lives showed an association with their subjective well-being; a weaker association was found between children's knowledge and perceptions of their rights. These results indicate that children's right to participation and, to some degree, their knowledge and thinking about their rights is an indicator of their well-being. (Kosher & Ben-Arieh, 2017, p. 256)

Whilst I am not intending to define children's well-being here or children's rights, it is important to note that the children discussed in the quote above suggest that their participation in aspects of their lives may enhance their well-being.

There is some contention within the Western literature that children's rights and children's well-being are arguably being casually paired together, and there are disputes as to whether or not they differ conceptually, methodologically and politically (Lundy, 2014; Tisdall, 2015). Conversely, other authors contend that children's rights and children's well-being are "so intertwined that their pairing has become a mantra in the literature on childhood" (Lloyd & Emerson, 2017, p. 591) and they discuss the relationship between well-being and participation rights in 'rights-based' measures of children's participation within research. The pairing of well-being and rights is not surprising as both are important parts of state policies and academic discourse since the ratification of UNCROC. The concept of 'well-being' has become popular in many countries, and is an addition to 'health', with 'well-being' becoming a feature in the language of public health and health promotion (Morrow & Mayall, 2009). However, research on the well-being of Māori children has been sparse outside official statistics (often deficit-based) and Māori-driven surveys tend to focus on the capabilities of adults and whānau rather than children. Consequently, Cram (2019) suggests that many authors have identified that research with taitamariki Māori is needed.

Within the Western literature there is also contention around whether or not children's rights and human rights equate to be the same concept. Quennerstedt et al. (2018) and Grover (2004) contend that children's rights are identical to human rights and that children's rights need to be placed within a human rights theoretical framework. Freeman (2009) asserts that, "To recognize that children's rights are human rights is also to recognise that children are humans, that they are not

animals or pieces of property” (p. 385). My view is that by separating children’s rights and human rights we further ‘other’ them, for what rights do other humans have that children should not have? The quote below by Tisdall and Punch (2012) is relevant to this study as I investigate research paradigms with taitamariki Māori.

... popularisation of childhood studies and the UNCRC may have gained increasing cross-national attention, criticisms continue about the applicability of Minority World conceptualisations and priorities to the Majority World (Hart 2006). As with human rights in general, notions of children and young people’s agency and rights have been accused of continuing colonial imperialism and of introducing ideas antithetical to certain cultures and traditions. (p. 250)

From an Indigenous perspective, the use of the terms Majority World (previously known as the third world) and Minority World (previously known as the first world) or the terms Global South and Global North within the literature are concerning. I am reminded of Sefi Dei’s (2006) argument that “globalization is the new word for imperialism” (p. 1). Punch (2016) contends that this dichotomy (these terms) encourage the ‘over-homogenising’ of different parts and people of the world. She also points out that, generally, research in Majority Worlds is carried out by Minority World academics. Whilst these discussions come from literature critiquing childhood studies and speak to research carried out within Majority Worlds like Africa, Asia and the like, they have relevance for research carried out within Aotearoa. There are disputes within ethics committees and academia about the merits of ‘insider’ researchers as opposed to ‘outsider’ researchers (to be discussed further but see also Kiro, 2000; Punch, 2016). I concur with Kesby et al. (2006) who contend that when discussing Majority World children (I interpret this here as Indigenous children), “there is a need to conceptualise other childhoods as they *are* and not in terms of what they *are not*” (p. 186). Within Aotearoa this also has relevance as Cram (2019) suggests that much of the data collected about Māori are by and for governments and Māori may have little input into the control of the data, or how Māori are represented within the data ‘outcomes’. However, Cram also points out that an exception was in the 2013 inaugural Māori Social Survey, Te Kupenga, which took a strengths-based approach to enquiring after Māori social, cultural, and economic well-being (Kukutai & Walter, 2015). This approach may have benefits for endeavouring to look at taitamariki Māori lives.

Tisdall and Punch (2012) argue that Western conceptualisations of children and their rights reinforce an individualistic point of view of children, which misses the embedded notions of reciprocity, responsibilities and relationships that are found in many cultures. As discussed in Chapter 1, “the well-being of tamariki Māori is inextricable from the well-being of their whānau [and] acknowledging the importance of collective identity for a Māori child is a first step in realising the potential of a whānau-centred approach to their well-being” (Māori Select Committee, 2013, p. 5). Eruera (2015) and Tawhai (2016) suggest that there is a need to reclaim our cultural understandings to understand taitamariki Māori within the contexts of whānau. Kidman (2018) concurs and suggests

that tensions and questions arise when exploring how members of tribal communities and researchers think about children's 'participatory voice' in research, and about partnerships and inclusive processes with young people and the communities from which they live. De Bruin and Mane (2016) suggests that:

As indigenous people continue to make space for representations of their own voice, as they forge ways in which to be rid of colonising impediments which have silenced, barred and coerced them, the future possibilities of 'researching the indigenous' from an outsiders perspective will fade. (p. 771)

Whilst this section has focused on primarily Western literature on researching children within a rights-based paradigm, it does assist in placing research that involves taitamariki Māori into context. In Aotearoa very little research has been carried out with taitamariki Māori specifically, using a Kaupapa Māori paradigm; therefore, most information about taitamariki Māori is collected within a Western discourse. However, in the last decade or so, more local researchers are involving taitamariki Māori through methodologies that include an affirmative approach and employ ways of privileging our social and cultural practices (see Houkamau & Sibley, 2011; Kidman, 2012; Lee-Morgan, 2016; Reid et al., 2016; Simmonds et al., 2014; Tawhai, 2016; Ware & Walsh-Tapiata, 2010). Like other Indigenous research, some of these projects have focused on improving whānau ora; youth as decolonisation agents; exploring with youth the importance of their connections to the land and historical sites; and the impacts of racism on youth and cultural identity. These research projects have begun to move away from the dominant Western child needs discourse to one that is framed from and through a mana-enhancing Indigenous youth lens. This thesis adds to this body of knowledge.

Participatory Turn

... recent research...suggests that this ideological shift on views of childhood has led to, what Palaologou (2014) terms, a seemingly 'irresistible' spread of the participation of children and a social epidemic of children's voices in research resulting in narrow, mono-layered approaches and an oversimplified view of the child and listening. (Dunn, 2015, p. 39)

Despite increasing adult awareness of the importance of inclusion of children's voices within research, the reality is that the inclusion of children's voices is still limited in practice (Ben-Arieh, 2005; Dunn, 2015; Fattore et al., 2007; Horgan, 2017; Palaogou, 2014). How 'data' are collected, constructed, and analysed is important and can influence education, health, law and social sector policies and practice as previously discussed. Considerable literature now exists on children's participation in research, arguing for greater involvement of children and young people in decisions that affect them via research. Many government organisations and institutions regularly collect information relating to children and to their lives. However, there is a need to consider what counts as children and young people's participation and voices, or at least be cautious. Tisdall and Punch (2012) suggest that there is now a 'mantra' of valuing children's voices – they use the term 'chicken soup' – and contend more attention needs to be placed on building children's understanding and building their capacity to

competently be involved within the research processes to elicit children's 'true voice'. There is, however, sparse literature on building adult capacity to carry out this research.

Whilst there are still conflicting views of children's competency and autonomy, there is also a tension within the views of children's vulnerabilities and the need to ensure children are protected from harm. The tension between participation and protection and the use of the 'best interest' principle as a protective mechanism is also problematic. This can lead to children being treated as passive objects rather than active moral agents in their own right and may further silence them (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). Children have inherent vulnerabilities and structural vulnerabilities and there is a tendency to place emphasis on their biological and psychological vulnerability in developing law, policy, and practice (Lansdown, 1994) but also within research paradigms. There is an inadequate focus on the extent to which children's lack of civil status creates that vulnerability. There is a commonly held assumption that adults know what is best for children (Dobbs, 2005). This creates an attitude that adults make decisions in the 'best interests of children', often without them. Melton (1987) argues there are inherent risks in adopting the 'the best interest of children' principle (Article 3 of UNCROC) without making children partners in the decision-making process. Adults can be driven by their own political, social and religious views, albeit with noble intentions, and can end up promoting their own rather than children's interests (Dobbs, 2005). This can be an issue when discussing the best methods for investigating 'sensitive topics' with young people such as their intimate partner relationships. How research is carried out can increase children's vulnerability. The 'best interest' discourse can be vague and can either help or hinder children's participation. Some authors suggest that it may cloak prejudices and can be a reflection of 'dominant meanings' (Thery, 1989). Another aspect of the 'best interest' principle is that its meaning may differ within different cultures.

Children are vulnerable within the research sphere; however, it is adults that can, albeit unwittingly, make children vulnerable there. The key issue is not the child's competence or vulnerability, but the adults' ability to provide a trusting, supportive and reciprocal relationship within which the child's voice and participation can be facilitated (Smith, Taylor, & Tapp, 2002) in a way that respects and upholds their mana and the mana of the research project. Researchers need to be cautious and take into account the power relationships between children and adults. This caution begins by giving careful consideration to how child participants are accessed/recruited, how consent is obtained, how children are included or excluded because of this process and whether some social groups are excluded because they do not align with the context and nature of Western education. For example, for taitamariki Māori who attend Kura Kaupapa schools where English is not taught formally until Year 9, may face exacerbated "issues of powerlessness and voicelessness, as adults make choices

about who should and should not participate in research” (Fox, 2013, p. 988). Importantly, consideration must be given to how children are given the option not to participate.

Lange and Mierendorff (2009) contend that there is a need to emphasise the importance of conceptualising participation not simply as a set of methods, but as a philosophical commitment by researchers which embraces honesty and inclusivity. It also means reflecting on researchers’ views of children which impact on the ethics of care when researching children’s lives. Ethics of care are not to be confused with children’s competency or vulnerability but help to place the focus on the institutions and adults who are doing the research. Therefore, when defining research which elicits children’s ‘voice’, institutions and researchers need to make an analysis of power relationships that surround the production of that voice (Kidman, 2018). As Arnot and Reay (2007, p. 316) put it, “Voices cannot change power relations, but that shifts in power can change voices”.

Agency, participation, and voice

We are on consultation overload! We have had three government departments come in the last month to talk with our taitamariki! They get hoha, (annoyed) they don’t understand the questions...or why they are being asked the questions...they get some kai...no they don’t get any feedback. We can’t say no as we get funded by these departments. It’s because we are a Māori youth organisation and they seem to be the target at the moment. (Personal communication, Youth Worker, 2019)

When discussing children’s agency, Abebe (2019) and Durham (2011) argue that there is a need to go beyond the recognition that children have agency and to ask and explore what kind of agency they have, how they obtain and exercise it, how context shapes it, and how their agency relates to others’ agency. Looking at children’s agency outside the Western competency-based models, which only expand neoliberal ideology of independent agency (Aitken, 2018), can locate children’s agency within the ‘intergenerational order’ that moves away from a developmental, ‘human becoming’ view of children’s and young people’s competencies. Some authors suggest that there are distinctive differences in meaning between the much-used terms ‘social actors’ (when referring to children’s agency) and ‘agency’ (Mayall, 2003; Panelli et al., 2007). Abebe (2019) suggests:

...the actor is someone who does something whereas the agent is someone who does something in relation with other people and, in doing so, makes things happen. This distinction implies that actor is about performativity (i.e., accomplishment) whereas agent is about relationality, including intergenerational relationships within which processes of social and cultural reproduction are embedded. (p. 6)

Viewing children then as agents means viewing them as *doers* and *thinkers* (Ansell & Blerk, 2007) and that they exist not independently but interdependently with others. They also live their everyday life in the context of social structures, relationships, and institutions. This means that agency needs to be understood against the backdrop of wider fields of generational power. An intergenerational approach engages with how social structure produces agency, and vice versa, acting

as a bridging concept between social structure and individual action made evident in social interaction (Luscher, 2002, p. 587). Children can take part in the reproduction of social structures and social order, but they can also be part of reshaping them.

Within the research context we therefore need to keep the above concepts in mind. There are generally three types of research involving children: research *on* children, *with* children and *by* children. Despite the theoretical move away from research on children, there is still a lot of research carried out *on* children which raises many ethical concerns. These concerns come especially from children's involvement in clinical, non-therapeutic, biomedical and psychological studies including randomised controlled trials (Clavering & McLaughlin, 2010). These concerns are in the context of the risk of harm to children and the lack of assurances of the benefit to be gained by children from the research project (Powell et al., 2012; ERIC, 2014) along with issues of consent, which will be discussed further. Surveys are also a form of gathering large sets of data about children and are used frequently within Aotearoa. Adult well-being measures are often modified for children, or child-specific measures are developed by adults then administered through surveys (Tisdall, 2015) which have their own risks in terms of ethical consent, safety, and ethics of care.

Alanen (2003) suggests that there is a place for measurement and statistics as large-scale statistical surveys are important in capturing the diversity of childhood and of children's daily life experiences. However, these data may describe the parameters of children's experiences but not the subjective content. Subjectivity is not seen as a failing needing to be eliminated, but as an essential element to understanding how participants interpret and understand their experiences (Dobbs, 2006). Standardised questionnaires can assist in accessing meaning and content, but in many ways the use of such tools conflicts with the goal of arriving at an understanding of how children themselves construe and negotiate their worlds (Qvortrup et al., 2009). The purpose of collecting data needs to be considered before adopting the method. The basic principles of ethics of care need to be considered within any methods of data collection.

There are disputes in the literature over which are the appropriate and best research methods that reveal children and young people's true voices (Dex & Hollingworth, 2012). Some commentators and researchers argue that even when children or young people themselves participate in research, survey data, as mentioned, do not always succeed in revealing their voices as distinct from the voices of adults (Ben-Arieh, 2005; Tisdall, 2015). The questions asked of children, how they are asked, and the options given for children to answer, may not always enable children to express those views, rather eliciting responses to adult-framed questions and views. Whilst not discussing taitamariki specifically, Kruger et al. (2004) argue that how questions are asked and within what context are important when researching with Māori.

Like other local authors, Kidman (2018) contends that there may be a general consensus that it is desirable to include young people's voices in research, but the practice is frequently inadequately understood and highly contested. Discussing research within the education sector, Kidman (2018) reports "that the inclusion of student voice can serve progressive ends while others contend that it can be either neutralised or manipulated to support neoliberal agendas" (p. 55). Other authors discuss methods of eliciting children's voices and argue that, whilst concepts of participatory research carried out with children and young people are often claimed to be collaborative, they can sometimes be poorly theorised, and the practice can appear as tokenism, or that inflated knowledge claims, embedded in particular voice discourses, reify the experiences of some groups at the expense of others (Fox, 2013; Kidman, 2018; Malone & Hartung, 2010), as the quote at the beginning of this section indicates.

In the light of these debates, some commentators have also argued that the notion of developing research partnerships with young people in research contexts is a more transformative approach to the problems of education than simply eliciting their voices (Dunn, 2015; Thomson & Gunter 2006, cited in Kidman, 2018, p. 58). Gillett-Swan and Sargeant (2019) argue that developing adults' confidence in children's capacity, autonomy and agency to participate in voice-inclusive initiatives is needed.

My motivation to explore researching children comes from a desire to promote children's human rights as well as from a social justice perspective – that is, considering how taitamariki Māori are being asked, are being heard and whether or not other research paradigms could be used to better include and promote taitamariki Māori voices and agency. This interest has come not only from my awareness of the lack of research with this cohort and the possible consequences of this, but also from an unease about how the plethora of so-called information about children is being obtained. Have adult views of children and childhood shifted that far or is it just theoretical rhetoric? Equally, I have an interest in the omission of information available about some aspects of children's lives – namely, their intimate partner relationships. A shift needs to occur from the emphasis on children as subjects, on child-related outcomes, and on child variables, to an emphasis on children as competent and capable persons (Greene & Hill, 2015), in the here are now, and on their lives as children.

Researching with children - Theory to Practice

Recognising the perspectives that block or enable authentic voice-inclusive practice within the principles of capacity, autonomy, power and agency is critical to a futures view of pedagogical development. Enacting voice-inclusive practice requires a voice-inclusive consciousness. (Gillett-Swan & Sargeant, 2019, p. 416)

While there is a significant body of literature relating to progressing children's participation rights generally, there is little published about children's participation rights in research specifically.

Participation within research has many interpretations (Dominquez et al., 2018; Graeme et al., 2014; Greene & Hill, 2015; Hunleth, 2011; Powell & Smith, 2009; Smith et al., 2002) across the literature and across studies. These discussions focus around its meaning (related to how children participate) (Alanen, 2012; Dobbs, 2005; Eruera & Dobbs; Horgan, 2017; Kidman & O'Malley, 2020; Punch, 2016; Punch & Tisdall, 2012), around the importance and/or benefits of such participation and its social and political application (Alanen, 2019; Ben-Arieh & Frønes, 2011; Dunn, 2015) but more importantly, its implications for children (Kidman, 2018; De Bruin & Mane, 2016). Some writers, for instance distinguish between seeking children's views (which some people prefer to call '*consultation*') and directly involving them in decision-making (Morrow, 2011) via research. Others view consultation as participation. Alderson (2012) suggests that although *consultation* can be worthwhile, it carries the risk of being 'tokenism' and "from its most negative form serves to legitimise local, government or school policy" (Horgan, 2017, p. 247).

Alternatively, Wyness (2013) suggests relocating children's participation within a framework of intergenerational dialogue. Children can be either seen as being at the centre of intergenerational social change or can be seen at the centre of the reproduction of what are the present conditions (Biggeri et al., 2006), which will be discussed further. How we frame research with children then is important. Within the literature on children's participation, Horgan (2017) highlights the question on who decides who can participate? Spyrou (2011) and Hunleth (2011) both contend that, whilst ethics committees, parents, teachers and adult stakeholders may be well intentioned and being 'protective' of vulnerable children, it can also be a means to determine research processes and outcomes which can inevitably exclude some children from research, as discussed previously. Conversely, as the quote at the beginning of this section indicates, there can be targeted 'overload' of 'research/consultation' for other groups which then become the 'representative of' voice of all taitamariki Māori. A preference for true participation and voice may then be when "children are actively involved in all stages of the research process, identifying research questions, deciding on methods and collecting data and analysing, interpreting, reporting and disseminating the research findings" (Spyrou, 2011, p. 155). This discourse regards children as 'insider' researchers who offer new perspectives on childhoods. I concur that:

Children observe with different eyes, ask different questions – they sometimes ask questions that adults do not even think of – have different concerns and immediate access to a peer culture where adults are outsiders. The research agendas children prioritize, the research questions they frame and the way in which they collect data are also quintessentially different from adults. (Kellett, 2010a, p. 105)

It is not my intention to criticise research and practice that is promoting children's participation and promoting children being included in research which affects them but to highlight some of the complexities in this discourse and to highlight that some of these complexities may lie in

adults' concepts of children and childhood. Punch (2002) suggests that there is a need for researchers to use reflexivity to manage the disparities between them and children participants, which will encourage researcher awareness of assumptions about childhood and the influences these may have on the research process and the implementation of the research methods.

Ethics of Care – Tikanga within research

... enable children to be heard without exploiting them, protect children without silencing and excluding them, and pursue rigorous inquiry without distressing them. (Alderson & Morrow, 2004, p. 12)

Without carrying out research ethically, the authentic voices of children will not be heard. Within this thesis I use the term ethics⁸ of care (tikanga) when researching with children. This term is more easily understood from a mana-enhancing (human rights) framework. That is, every action within the research process needs to enhance the mana of those who are participating (within both quantitative and qualitative research). Bell (2008) has identified commonly held values within the human rights discourse and international treaties: respect for human dignity; informed consent; autonomy; equity; privacy and confidentiality; freedom of expression; access to information; and justice. Within Te Ao Māori, the constructs of whakapapa, whānaungatanga, manaakitanga, aroha, wairuatanga, whakawhānaungatanga and mana can guide research processes with taitamariki Māori. There appear to be no ethical standards in the literature pertaining specifically to researching with taitamariki Māori, a gap which may need to be addressed by Māori to support future research with taitamariki Māori.

There are some general key principles in the literature which are accepted and underpin ethical research with children and with Māori (not specific to taitamariki Māori). These principles are found within the International Research Charter for Research Involving Children – ERIC (Graham, Powell, Taylor, Anderson, & Fitzgerald, 2013) and Te Ara Tika: Guideline for Māori Research Ethics (Hudson et al., 2010) which I will expand on in Chapter 5. Whilst acknowledging that ethics committees raise awareness of ethical issues such as consent and protection of participants, some authors suggest that there is less attention paid to the application in practice (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Graham & Fitzgerald, 2010). Powell et al. (2012) concur with Graham and Fitzgerald (2010), in their discussions on ethical research, that the “notion of ‘ethics’ is a complex construct, imbued with particular values and beliefs that influence how we approach research” (p. 134). Ethics in research are about principles of right and wrong (what is tika/what is not), conduct and/or a set of moral principles and rules of conduct, with ethical questions “woven through every aspect of research, shaping the methods and the findings” (Alderson & Morrow, 2011, p. 5). Within Aotearoa, Powell and Smith’s (2006) review of academic and professional ethics documentation concluded that there was little consideration given

⁸ Ethics of care (tikanga) conceptually differs from that of the role of an Ethics Committee to sanction a research project.

to children in ethical codes (ethics of care) of conduct, and that any reference to this lacked specificity and consistency. They also caution that 'gaining ethics approval' (from a formal ethics committee) is not an end in and of itself, but only one step in the overall process of engaging in ethical research. It may be time to update these findings to see if there is more attention to children in current ethics codes. With an increased recognition that children are competent research participants, there has been an increased growth of research involving children.

Researching with children and young people

Recognition of children's voice is a key aspect of progressing children's citizenship, with an increasing acknowledgment of children's right to express their views. (Alderson & Morrow, 2011)

Within the sparse tikanga of care literature, few studies focus on topics of the engagement and recruitment of children as participants for research. There are some articles on rapport building with children (Gollop, 2000; Mooney, 2012). Literature on 'how to' obtain consent to participate is also scarce within the literature, apart from Barbarich (2019) who elicited taitamariki Māori views on research consent processes. Available research pertains mainly to the inclusion and exclusion of particular groups and who decides who participates. 'Engagement' and 'recruitment' of participants here refer to the practice of first contact with participants and should be seen as part of the consent process (to be discussed in Chapter 5). The practice of a positive engagement approach supports children's knowledge and ability to make a decision to participate in research. This may require an understanding of the participants' communities and be seen as a practice of building trust, connection and rapport. Within Te Ao Māori, the use of whakawhāngatanga within engagement and recruitment is seen as a process of establishing connections and obligations to one another. "Māori values of whānaungatanga, aroha and manaakitanga which are about fostering relationships, a genuine care and love for people and treating others as you would like to be treated" (Mooney, 2012).

Children are not often asked for their views so to assist their decision-making to participate, potential participants must be clear about who the researcher is, why they are wanting to do the research, why they are asking this particular group or individual child, what is going to happen to the information given and who is going to see it and why. Eruera and Dobbs (2010) suggest that there is also an obligation to ensure that the data collected are a true reflection of what children have said and consideration is needed as to how this may be achieved. One suggestion is to either have children assist with the data analysis (Kellett, 2010a; Tisdall, 2015) and/or ensure that findings are fed back to participants, and they are given the opportunity to correct or add to the findings. Whilst this process may not be feasible for large surveys or questionnaires with children, consideration on feeding back the findings would be respectful to participants. Adult research participants are often given these

opportunities. Children are interested in what other children think and say and like to know that they have been helpful to other children (personal communication, youth member Advisory Group, 2018).

Carrying out research with children to gain their perspective is considered different from interviewing children for clinical, therapeutic or legal purposes. Within the forensic interviewing field, Kenniston and Walker (2013) and Saywitz and Camparo (2013) provide information on questioning children and young people who are victims of or witnesses to crimes from a linguistic and narrative perspective respectively. As a former forensic interviewer myself, these skills and knowledge on how children and young people disclose information has been useful in my research with children. The ethical issues of children's rights to withdraw, confidentiality, and the informed consent process are also critical (Alderson, 2012; ERIC, 2014). According to Hughes and Baker (1990):

When children feel respected, accepted, and safe in the interview, they respond more freely and honestly. The child's relationship with the interviewer is the most important determinant of the child's communicative competence and openness. (p. 56)

Researchers require skills in 'talking' with children in the child's own language and having insight about child culture in order to enable children to speak of their experiences. As adults it is very easy to silence children. The way we look, our body language and our verbal language may contribute, even when conversations may be of a supportive nature, for example: Child: "My Mum doesn't like me", Researcher: "Oh, I'm sure she does". From exchanges like this, children could perceive that the researcher is telling the child that s/he is not being believed or that his/her opinion is wrong (Dobbs, 2005). Children very quickly ascertain when adults are not 'tuned' into them and they are not being understood. Children are also very aware when adults are 'pretending' to be interested in them. Children from an early age experience adults asking them questions to which the adult already knows the answer. Children learn that much of this questioning is 'test' questioning ('I know the answer, but let's see if you know') to which there are right or wrong answers (Dobbs, 2005). Hence, in order to produce the required response, much of the children's effort can consist of working out what is in the adult's mind (Brooker, 2001) and respond accordingly. Most children and young people are not accustomed to being encouraged to articulate their opinions in an open and honest way; they consider their opinions to be unimportant to anyone but themselves, a view often confirmed by adults around them in their everyday lives (Butler & Williamson, 1994).

Researcher training considerations

There is a gap in the literature on researcher training related to ethics of care when engaging with children and young people, which may reflect the gaps in practice. Whilst acknowledging that guides may not cover all aspects of what may happen in research situations, more discussion on critical reflective practice may increase skills and extend researchers' knowledge. Kellett (2010b) acknowledges that promoting child-led research requires comprehensive training programmes that

may not be readily available. Training researchers on how to respond appropriately and ethically should they suspect a child participant is experiencing (or the perpetrator of) maltreatment is crucial and needs to be considered throughout the research processes and through the ethics approval process, ensuring appropriate processes are in place should children and young people make disclosures. More importantly, we need to be tika (open and honest) with children and young people about these processes (to be discussed further in Chapter 5). I suggest this is one of the most needed issues to be addressed by ethics committees and researchers at large. While researching, the researcher's role is not that of a social worker or therapist; however, ethical research must ensure that children and young people are supported by systems within the research process. As children are generally not asked about their opinions there is no certainty as to what they may tell the researchers. These issues have been discussed for some time and need to be explored further. Protecting children from harm, and any possible adverse consequences of participation in research, is a genuine concern (Butler & Williamson, 1994).

Consent to participate considerations

It is important to ensure that children have understood what they are being asked to participate in. I suggest that asking children to verbalise their understanding is an avenue to obtain this. Ensuring that children know what they are participating in is relevant to both quantitative and qualitative research. Whilst often surveys and questionnaires are carried out electronically and in the school setting, these tikanga practices are still valid. Creating a safe space for children to opt out of participating is also important in any setting. Extra care may need to be taken in the school setting as there is generally a power hierarchy between those that are seen as 'teachers' and pupils. True success in the consent to participate process may be evident when children *do not* consent to participate. I concur with Powell et al. (2012) and Graham, Powell and Taylor (2015) that children, including those who are very young (Dobbs, 2005; Dobbs, Taylor, & Smith, 2006), are able to make informed decisions when provided with appropriate information to be able to give informed consent.

Ethic Committees considerations

...some researchers argue that current guidelines and protocols within universities and institutions are problematic, as they evolved from medical, rather than social sciences perspectives, and tend not to be child-centric. (Skelton, 2008, p. 52)

Engagement with children and young people by adult researchers requires researchers to use reflexivity to counter assumptions of childhood (this includes assumptions about Indigenous childhoods), and to assist with engaging with children as an adult researcher, along with reflecting on the possible influences of academic paradigms and their own personal experiences (Powell et al., 2012). Whilst there is an ever-increasing acknowledgement that children and young people have the

capacity to participate in research, it appears that there is still a nervousness in relation to ethics committees and children's involvement in research processes (Graham & Fitzgerald, 2010). Some ethics committees for example require children's *assent* to participate in research not their *consent*. Alderson and Morrow (2011) suggest that *assent* can be used to mislead and cover up children's refusal to consent and comes from a medical discourse (to be discussed in Chapter 5). There is a need to have ethical processes which take into account relations of power and awareness that adult systems cannot always work in the best interests of children (Morrow, 2008). Charbot (2012) and other authors argue that some ethical guidelines do not indicate theoretical understandings of young people's competency or agency or consider them as social actors within the research process. A rights-based research approach would see collaborating with young people not only to support them to express their views but also in forming those views (Dennehy et al., 2019).

Within the literature there have been some recommendations made which may improve the capacity of ethics committees when research with children is being considered, as reported in Powell et al. (2012, p. 47).

- The inclusion of children, young people and parents on ethics committees and/or involved in screening research projects (Carter, 2009; Coyne, 2010). Although Carter (2009) cautions care would be needed to ensure that children's roles were not tokenistic, and that the heterogeneity of children was represented.
- Developing specialist research ethics committees, specifically for consultation regarding research with children and young people (Powell & Smith, 2006; Stalker et al., 2004)
- Co-opting individuals who have expertise in the area of research with children onto ethics committees (Coyne, 2010)
- Ensuring ethics committee members are required to update themselves regarding current understanding of children and their levels of competence (Campbell, 2008; Coyne, 2010)
- Using independent agencies to review research proposals (Gilbertson & Barber, 2002)
- University ethics committees redesigning their systems of approval to ensure that: supervisors have an understanding of the risks involved and will monitor student researchers effectively; student researchers have adequate experience and/or training for working with children's issues; and children participating in research are fully informed (Campbell, 2008). These issues align with those that are argued to be fundamental to ethical requirements in a wider than university context: that children should always be required to give consent, information should always be provided to them, and researchers should have sufficient knowledge to reflexively consider children's responses as the research process unfolds (Powell & Smith, 2006).

From my own experiences when seeking ethics committee approval for researching with taitamariki Māori, there are further requirements to those above to be able to assess Indigenous-focused and Indigenous-led research. Tauri (2014) suggests that members often “lack adequate disciplinary, epistemological and methodological expertise in Indigenous research/issues, resulting in an over- reliance on tick-the-box approaches that ensure the hegemony of institutionally acceptable protocols” (p. 138). Having an adjunct or separate body to guide ethics committees with issues would be useful. Anecdotally, evaluating proposals for research with taitamariki Māori, local ethics committees require ‘assent’ from children rather than ‘consent’ and question the risks, objectivity and bias of researchers with ‘insider’ status. Greene (2014) defines insider research as the study of ‘one’s own cultural, social group or society’. Smith (2015) and Sumida, Huaman and Mataira (2019) comment that the lack of literature, research and guidance on ‘insider’ researchers may reflect that Māori are usually seen as ‘the researched’ rather than ‘the researchers’. Smith (2015) further comments that ‘being Māori’ or being ‘Ngati Porou’ does not make you an ‘insider researcher’ – there are a number of other dynamics that are considered - the different relationships and connectiveness, whānau position, age, gender and the different positions which bind us. Kiro (2000) suggests that Māori research methodology (like feminist research) validates insider knowledge as more accurate, as only an insider can understand the nuances of the social phenomenon affecting research participants. Māori research sees Māori culture as the nucleus of Māori perceptions of their lives and seeks to reflect this in the research (Kiro, 2000). Chavez (2008) offers this rationale: “Insiders are able to understand the cognitive, emotional, and/or psychological precepts of participants as well as possess a more profound knowledge of the historical and practical happenings of the field” (p. 481). The majority of research approved by ethics committees about Pākehā is by Pākehā – the issue of 'insider researcher is seldom raised.

Taitamariki Māori in Dobbs and Eruera’s (2010) pilot study reported that having shared whakapapa and tikanga with the researchers assisted them in giving consent or not (six taitamariki chose not to consent) and to talk freely - “We knew whaea so it was easy to talk” and “Being with people we knew so all good talking” (p. 39). Kiro (2000) argues that:

We know each other in ways in which the wider New Zealand community, and international community, do not, and are therefore in a stronger position to both exploit and be influenced by these relationships. As such we act as insiders, often gaining access to Māori participants because of this insider status. Such a status raises questions about boundaries for the researcher and research participants...being an insider means they trust the researcher enough...but they also expect that the researcher will act in their interests...(p. 29)

This expectation is not taken lightly. Skelton (2008) questions whether ethical frameworks developed in Western universities can be valid for research in other cultures, and notes “ethical research guidelines could be yet another Western construct that creates a global discourse of ‘our

way' is the 'right way' to do things" (p. 29). There is a call for the development of Indigenous ethics processes which will enhance the 'decolonisation' of the research project which "proffers a (re) centring of Indigenous worldviews into research methodologies based on subjectivity (perspective or voice), insider knowledge (authenticity), reciprocity (giving back) and the non-exploitative design of research that benefits the community and not the researcher" (Coram, 2011, p. 41).

Finally, another aspect within research processes to consider from an Indigenous paradigm is how children and young are positioned within their cultures. For example, within Te Āo Māori, taitamariki are seen within their whānau, hapū and iwi. This can sometimes result in having to look at ways to balance the tensions on how to promote their individual agency inside of their role within the collective. The impacts of colonisation and influence of Western societal views about parenting and children have resulted in changes to whānau collective dynamics. This often means parents and adults do not always create space for taitamariki contribution to the whānau collective process. It is suggested that involving whānau in research is preferred, however this needs to be balanced with ensuring taitamariki are heard within the collective whānau. Adults can seem to be powerful agents in the lives of taitamariki. However, promoting intergenerational conversations is essential for change.

Summary

This study emerged from concerns about the scarcity of research with taitamariki Māori about their experiences of intimate partner relationship well-being and the scarcity of research carried out through an Indigenous youth lens. It is acknowledged that work may be undertaken at 'grass roots' within our communities but is not necessarily canvassed by academic research or literature. Research with this cohort will assist in building a theoretical understanding of taitamariki intimate partner well-being that can inform the development of effective supports and violence prevention strategies. Taitamariki perceptions of their own lives, relationships, feelings, and experiences can provide essential input into initiatives aiming to create better conditions with and for them. To assist in answering the research question: *Can traditional Māori practices inform and support the development of taitamariki Māori healthy intimate partner relationships?*, this study used a Kaupapa Māori framework which privileged taitamariki Māori voice and cultural agency. This study further drew on mātauranga Māori by asking Kuia and Kaumātua about their understandings of Te Āo Māori values and practices related to the instigation and maintenance of healthy relationships including violence prevention. These findings are brought together to see if the relevance of Te Āo Māori understandings for present-day taitamariki and their whānau have the potential to inform and support prevention initiatives and enhance taitamariki Māori relationship well-being. The considerations discussed in this chapter have assisted me in determining the methodology and methods discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Five - Methods

The ihi, the wehi, the wana encapsulate the beliefs [Māori] have about children . . . Ihi is a vital psychic choice, or a personal essence. Wehi is the awe, respect or wonder in children which they should never lose. Wana is the thrill, exhilaration, and excitement which describes the child's love of life. (Jenkins & Harte, 2011, p. 29)

The time when researchers had sole control of the research agenda has passed and the expectation now is that research with Māori should be in response to Māori interests, priorities and aspirations (Cram, 2017). Taitamariki Māori interests, priorities and aspirations are central to this study. By using a taitamariki Kaupapa Māori paradigm this research has shifted away from a Western, adult, individualist, deficit approach to violence prevention, to an Indigenous, mana-enhancing framework that forefronts the authentic voice and promotes the agency of taitamariki Māori. The establishment of the methodology and methods for this research begins with involving taitamariki Māori and places taitamariki Māori centrally, and attempts to understand how best to include them, whilst supporting their capacity to sustain their *ihi*, their *wehi*, and their *wana*.

This study has been positioned within my own tribal authority of Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi and therefore is grounded within Ngāpuhi tikanga. The impetus for this study has come from a predominantly community driven and defined Māori health need - reducing and preventing whānau violence; a need for Kaupapa Māori evidence-based knowledge, which can be applied in assisting and supporting taitamariki Māori in the formation of their healthy intimate partner relationships; and to assist in the development of programmes, strategies and initiatives for violence prevention. Hence, it was important to not only involve taitamariki, but also their whānau, hapū and iwi in this project.

This chapter looks broadly at Kaupapa Māori research and asks what a Kaupapa Māori paradigm that is fully inclusive of the voices of taitamariki might look like. This chapter describes the methodological frameworks for this study which informed the approaches taken and the rationale for selecting them. This study is firmly located within a Kaupapa Māori research framework and utilises qualitative research approaches. The methods will then be presented, describing the specific processes and procedures used in this study.

Methodology

Kaupapa Māori health research promotes a structural analysis of Māori health disparities that moves the discourse away from victim-blaming and personal deficits to more fully understanding people's lives and the systemic determinants of their health and wellness. Describing this work as occurring within a Kaupapa Māori inquiry paradigm enables the exploration of its axiological (i.e., ethical), ontological (i.e., theory about the nature of reality), epistemological (i.e., theory of knowledge), and methodological (i.e., theory about how to find out things) assumptions. (Cram, 2017, p. 1)

Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori research, both related theory and methods, grew from an intensifying need amongst Māori for self-determination over land, culture, and language, and self-determination in regard to the creation and legitimisation of knowledge about Māori (Cooper, 2012; Groves, 2002). For many Māori, their experience of Western research left them feeling suspicion and contempt for it (Kiro, 2000; Smith, 1999; Walsh-Tapiata, 1997; Webster et al., 2002) and historically, Māori have been subject to Western constructions of knowledge that have had detrimental effects on us (Walker, 1996; Pihama, 1994; Webster et al., 2007). Traditionally, research has been 'on Māori' (this includes taitamariki Māori), using methods which prioritise dominant Western discourses, values and purpose and were considered not suitable for Māori (Bishop, 1996; Cooper, 2012; Cram, 2001; L.T. Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori theory promotes resistance to the enforced hegemonic research processes and promotes collective resilience to changing these processes by way of locating the political and cultural agenda within a Māori worldview (Berryman et al., 2017). Kaupapa Māori research aligns with other Indigenous frameworks or theories as noted by Pipi et al. (2004):

Kaupapa Māori is an emancipatory theory that has grown up alongside the theories of other groups who have sought a better deal from mainstream society; for example, feminist, African-American and worldwide indigenous theories. At a high level, these theories have commonalities and similar concerns, including the displacement of oppressive knowledges and a social change agenda. At a local level, Kaupapa Māori addresses Māori concerns in our own land. Kaupapa Māori research operates out of this philosophical base and is guided by practices that reflect a Māori "code of conduct". (p. 141)

In this study I wanted to give voice to the construction of taitamariki knowledge (worldview) in a way which was mana-enhancing and resisted the often-hegemonic deficit theorising by which taitamariki Māori can be researched and viewed. Within Kaupapa Māori research the idea of expert researcher, non-expert participant, is turned on its head, with the researcher being the non-expert and the one who has come to 'look, listen and learn' (Smith, 1999). This study endeavoured to encapsulate this kaupapa. Taitamariki Māori are the subjective experts on their own lives.

Kaupapa Māori differentiates itself from other research in that it is grounded in Māori philosophy and knowledge and uses methodologies which reflect customary practices, values, and beliefs (Eruera, 2005). G. H. Smith (1997) promoted Kaupapa Māori as a theory of change that needed to be described in cultural and theoretical terms and aligned Kaupapa Māori with critical theory. He saw Kaupapa Māori theory as having three significant components: as a 'conscientization' that critiqued and deconstructed the hegemony of the dominant culture and the associated privilege that came with that; a focus on resistance to the dominant Western structures that created and maintained 'oppression, exploitation, manipulation and containment'; and the need to reflect on the world in order to change it (Hetherington et al., 2013). There are many definitions used of 'Kaupapa Māori'. The most commonly used definition of Kaupapa Māori is by G. H. Smith (1990):

Related to being Māori, is connected to Māori philosophy and principles, takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori and the importance of Māori language and culture, and is concerned with the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being. (G. H. Smith, 1990, p. 1)

Linda Smith (2012) suggests that: “Kaupapa Māori has its roots in two intellectual influences – the validity and legitimacy of Māori language, knowledge and culture, as well as critical social theory. And this critical tradition demands we pay attention to structural analysis and to everyday practice, both of which inform the other” (Smith, 2012, p. 12). The emancipatory intent of Kaupapa Māori theory can then be viewed as a decolonisation process (Pihama, 2001). It is not only about theorising for the reconstruction of a Māori world, it is directly related to the practical development of sustainable interventions for whānau Māori (Moyle, 2014). It is important to consistently re-assert Kaupapa Māori as being part of the context of Māori communities that consider Māori understandings as the heart of the process of research and analysis (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 2006).

In the last thirty years, ‘Kaupapa Māori’ has received more attention within academic institutions which has brought its meaning to the wider global Indigenous studies paradigm. Cram (2012) suggests that this has contributed to ‘theory formation’ and has maintained a strong focus on developing practices within the education, health, and social service fields. Eketone (2008) suggests that the importance of Māori understanding and knowledge-building should not be located solely within Māori academia or the institutions they sit in. Māori knowledge-building should also come from those voices within all communities where the way of living is ‘intrinsic’ and ‘everyday’ (Dobbs, 2015). Therefore, it is important to hear the voices of taitamariki Māori within the context of this theory – to hear their everyday experiences. Many of the Kaupapa Māori frameworks that have been developed within Aotearoa have not been specific to taitamariki Māori. The next section discusses the ethical practice carried out within this study.

Axiology – Ethical practice

Consultation with Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi

The research methods for this project were guided by a Kaupapa Māori research paradigm. Consultation with Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi was required. I have whakapapa connections to Ngāpuhi, live within the Ngāpuhi geographical boundaries, and have active relationships with my own whānau, hapū and iwi. I have also pre-existing professional research relationships through two studies I have been involved with, which were located within and undertaken with the permission of Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi. To date, Ngāpuhi has demonstrated tribal leadership and commitment to this topic for taitamariki and whānau members who whakapapa or have hononga connections to Ngāpuhi. They have also expressed their kaitiakitanga obligation for all who live within the Ngāpuhi boundaries. Their support for this research Kaupapa is ongoing. Engagement protocols developed by the researcher with iwi ensured continued information and participation of Ngāpuhi tribal members

throughout the study. At the governance level, updates were given to the Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi Board to ensure their active oversight. Their ongoing support will assist in the collaborative dissemination of results to communities within the rohe (tribal boundaries).

Establishment of Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau

Indigenous peoples have for a number of years developed protocols/guidelines stating their expectations of research wanting to be carried out *with* them. These guidelines are specific to ensuring that research is not carried out *on* them. In North America the Mi'kmaq tribe have developed research principles and protocols known as the Mi'kmaq Ethics Watch and, more recently, the Indigenous Research Protection Act has been established. This Act is offered to assist tribal leaders and attorneys when Native American tribes' desires are to protect themselves and their people by taking control of research conducted on their Reservation. The Act is intended to foster cooperation and set the stage for research that the tribe sees as beneficial (for further information, see Harder et al., 2012). In Australia there is a national health and medical research council who have provided guidelines for research with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (Kwaymullina, 2016). These documents reinforce the right to self-determination, identity, intellectual and cultural property rights, maintenance of traditions, languages and religious practices, and the protection of human rights for Indigenous people. Within the Aotearoa context, Māori have been proactive in developing protocols – Te Ara Tika Guidelines⁹ for Māori Research Ethics is supported by global Indigenous agreements, such as the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by the United Nations and, importantly for this project, is cognisant of the UNCROC and the Treaty of Waitangi.¹⁰ Whilst the Office of the Children's Commissioner in Aotearoa provides practical advice (OCC.org.NZlistening 2kids/) and tools for child-centred research, as does the International Ethical Research Involving Children Project (Graeme et al., 2013), there may be a need to develop research guidelines specific to Indigenous children and young people, as none exist.

Within the context of this study, accountability and oversight of the project was sought through the formation of and meetings with an advisory group to ensure that this research project and knowledge transmission was tika (ethical), safe and robust as a Kaupapa Māori project. This advisory group, Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau, was established in 2018 and is made up of Māori experts

⁹ This document outlines a framework for addressing Māori ethical issues within the context of decision-making by ethics committee members. It draws on a foundation of tikanga Māori (Māori protocols and practices) and is useful for researchers, ethics committee members and those who engage in consultation or advice about Māori ethical issues from a local, regional, national or international perspective (Te Ara Tika Guidelines, 2002, p. 1). The te reo title is Āhuetanga ū ki te tika me te pono mō te Rangahau Māori, which translates to the conditions or aspects that keep people or one true, honest, and ethical (Atatoa-Carr et al., 2012).

¹⁰ The Treaty of Waitangi principles of partnership, participation and protection provide a framework for identifying Māori ethical issues in terms of rights, roles and responsibilities of researchers and Māori communities; the contribution that research makes towards providing useful and relevant outcomes; and addressing inequalities. All research in New Zealand is of interest to Māori, and research which includes Māori is of paramount importance to Māori. In a research context, to ignore the reality of inter-cultural difference is to live with outdated notions of scientific investigation (cited in Te Ara Tika Guidelines, 2010, p. 1). It is also likely to hamper the conduct of research, and limit the capacity of research to improve human development (National Health and Medical Research Council, 2003, p. 24).

(both tāne and wāhine) in their fields of Kaupapa Māori research, te reo me ōna tikanga o Ngāpuhi, whānau violence prevention and taitamariki Māori engagement processes. I wanted to make sure that I also had included within this advisory group young people (22 and 23 years of age respectively) who could give a young person's view on research practices. Both these tāne were fluent speakers of te reo Māori and had been involved within the youth violence prevention and youth suicide prevention sectors.

Initial contact with the advisory group consisted of kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face discussions), phone discussions and emails about the study, an invitation to be on the advisory group and a copy of a guiding principles protocol document which was developed to ensure there was a consistent orientation of expectations for the study (see Appendix A). In all, six experts are participating on this advisory board. Ongoing contact has been carried out through the study by the same means as initial contact. It must be noted that many of our experts are extremely busy and are often called on by many others and I am very grateful for their time and knowledge and manaaki within this study, which is ongoing. This next section now focuses on the development of a taitamariki Māori kaupapa within the study.

Taitamariki Māori Kaupapa

The literature reviewed within this thesis has highlighted the scarcity of Indigenous youth frameworks and the scarcity of studies with taitamariki Māori about their intimate partner relationship well-being framed within Te Ao Māori. It also revealed some unease in the way in which research involving children and young people (including taitamariki Māori) is framed and carried out, raising further concerns within the Indigenous intimate partner relationship well-being discourse. A key concern for me was the issue of how information about taitamariki Māori, including their understandings and their experiences, is gathered, and then represented. This suggests that other research paradigms needed to be explored to elicit taitamariki Māori authentic voices within this discourse. Smith, Maxwell, Puke, and Temara (2016) explain that the emergence of an academic discourse called Indigenous knowledge internationally, and mātauranga Māori in Aotearoa, raises some discussions and challenges about 'research methodologies' used across disciplines. They caution that this knowledge should not become institutionalised. Nor should it move away from the Indigenous communities and their context from which it came, as previously discussed. Smith et al. (2016) argue that the call to 'decolonise' research methodologies comes from an ongoing approach at not only reconnecting Māori knowledge with contemporary approaches but as a strategy for critiquing of the ways ingenuity can be reduced and simplified to binary and oppositional categories, that do not recognise or legitimate the complexity and diversity of what it means to be Indigenous in the 21st century (Hokowhitu, 2010,

cited in Smith et al., 2016, p. 142). In terms of this research, I concur with Sumida Huaman and Mataira (2019) who argue that research through 'peoplehood', that is founded in Indigenous connections to place, cultural practices and social justice, is required. This includes research with Indigenous children and young people.

Indigenous research is never without obligation, responsibility, or accountability and is at its heart, a political, cultural, and spiritual endeavor of Indigenous self-determination and liberation from coloniality. (Sumida Huaman & Mataira, 2019, p. 282)

A Kaupapa Māori research epistemology is mātauranga Māori – Māori knowledge - and its tasks are to explore mātauranga hauora – knowledge of wellness - and to critique other knowledge systems which may challenge and/or undermine this knowledge (Cram, 2017, p. 9). In this project I set out to enquire about taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationship well-being, their understandings of gender roles and sex within Te Ao Māori, in essence, exploring with taitamariki Māori mātauranga Māori and intimate partner relationships.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999) argued for the improvement of research and ethical practice within Indigenous communities, which required an understanding of Māori ethics and acknowledged Māori world views and tikanga. Smith also argued that from an Indigenous perspective, 'ethical codes of conduct' (ethics of care), "serve partly the same purpose as the protocols which govern our relationships with each other and with the environment" (p. 125). Concepts such as *aroha ki te tangata* (to show respect for people), *kanohi ki te kanohi* (to present yourself to the people face to face), *manaaki ki te tangata* (to share and host people, to be generous) and *kia mahaki* (to not flaunt your knowledge) are more culturally accurate phrases which, according to Smith, better articulate and express the ways Māori understand issues of respect, empowerment, responsibility and cultural sensitivity (Mahuika, 2015, p. 8).

This research project concurs with some of the Childhood Studies discourse that endorses a need for knowledge into the unique culture of children and young people, and a need to understand their insights into their world – to make meaning. This research process needed to ensure that Indigenous knowledge (and, in this case, taitamariki Māori knowledge) was sought; therefore, an Indigenous methodology was used as a legitimate system of knowledge to achieve Indigenous understandings of who we are and our ways of being (Smith et al., 2016). This study comes from a position that taitamariki Māori knowledge is legitimate knowledge and that they may hold different knowledge than adults.

Within the local literature there is also a recognition that there is a need to reclaim our cultural understandings of taitamariki Māori (Tawhai, 2016), and our understandings of them within research processes, that is, as agents of change (Berryman, SooHoo, & Nevin, 2013; Eruera, 2015) and conduits of decolonisation processes (Kidman, 2018). I concur with Berryman et al. (2013):

Our rangatahi (young people) became the agents of change, despite all the factors that worked against them, including their youth, their race, and the conditions of oppression under which they operated. Part of our narrative as researchers has been how we, with the best of intentions, perpetuate the status quo when we sit as the lone authority on what is best for students. However, when we draw on the knowledge and experiences of our young people, and honour the self-determination and activism that they bring, the very change we are seeking begins to emerge. (p. 491)

The research method developed in this study is what Graham and Fitzgerald (2010) term ‘the principle of participation’. This standpoint concurs with Gillett-Swan and Sargeant (2018) who argue that:

The purely scientific approach to research with children will never be methodologically satisfying nor ethical if we seek to suppress children’s desire to comment on our processes. Not only does real-time commentary by child participants provide valuable feedback for future projects, design adjustments are able to directly benefit the current study participants, an effect rarely achieved in normal research processes. (Gillett-Swan & Sargeant, 2018, p. 1)

If we want to find out about taitamariki Māori and about how to research with taitamariki Māori, we need to ask them. Therefore, the research methods developed in this study have come from recommendations from taitamariki Māori and have evolved through the research process. As the quote above suggests, using a taitamariki Kaupapa Māori inquiry allowed for the research to capture taitamariki lived realities, ensured, and helped guide, tika (ethical) research and the development of a theory of knowledge about taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationship well-being. The design of this study highlights a ‘theory about how best to find things out from taitamariki Māori’.

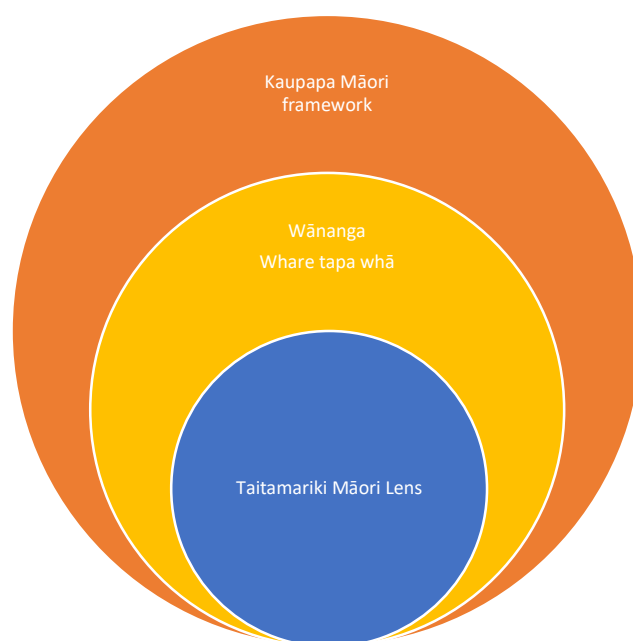


Figure 1. Theoretical Framework

Figure 1 outlines the theoretical framework developed in this study. Ensuring that the emphasis was placed on listening to taitamariki Māori views provided an avenue to develop a better

understanding of their lives and best ways to engage in research with them. There is a need to foster an environment that allows taitamariki to have the opportunities to participate in discussions that affect their lives, including within the research process. This entails developing methods with taitamariki Māori that facilitate effective communication and strengthen their ability to participate fully in the research. This was achieved in this study through using traditional learning practices (wānanga) and a Māori well-being framework – Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985). This study highlights taitamariki Māori knowledge within their contemporary lives. Of importance to this thesis is the view that “Kaupapa Māori research has been used as a methodological strategy, wherein research is conceived, developed, and carried out by Māori, and the end outcome is to benefit Māori” (Walker et al., 2006, p. 331).

Indigenous peoples have long critiqued the harmful effects of Eurocentric research processes upon Indigenous cultures and communities (Kwaymullina, 2016) and this includes research with/on and about Indigenous youth. Respectful and ethical research requires respectful engagement and recognition of free, prior and informed consent. Tangata whenua in Aotearoa, as with other Indigenous and minority groups throughout the world, continue to progress the development of their own cultural frameworks and models of practice (Dobbs, 2015) which ensure these processes. This study helps to progress the development of research approaches with taitamariki Māori which are grounded in the notion that te reo me ōna tikanga Māori are valid and legitimate with the conceptual understandings and practices to bring about change for Māori. This next section describes the approaches that were used within this study.

Taitamariki Māori Methods

A number of arguments have been presented on the benefits of involving children in research. These include pedagogical benefits (what children themselves learn from the experience), political potential (the potential for children to change policy) and epistemological benefits (the potential for children to produce improved understandings and therefore better research)...(Gillett-Swan & Sargeant, 2018, p. 1)

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research methods continue to be popular when researching with children and young people, especially when projects are investigating complex issues or phenomena (Ponterotto, 2010) and where the phenomenon under study has not previously been well understood or defined, or where there is little known research (Cooper, 2012; Morrow, 2007), as in this study. Many approaches to qualitative research are subsequently located within theoretical frameworks that challenge the tradition of *positivist* research, which is based on the attitude that research is a scientific process that is primarily objective and values-free, through which human realities can be observed, measured, and made sense of (L. T. Smith, 1999, cited in Cooper, 2012, p. 49). I support these challenges as the

positivist approach does not consider the complexities of human society, nor the roles that values, power and control play in the creation and legitimisation of knowledge (Bishop, 1996; Cram, 2001, 2006; Mahuika, 2008; G. H. Smith, 2003; L. T. Smith, 1999, 2006). These critiques are relevant to research with Māori and especially taitamariki Māori. The literature which discusses the compatibility of different methods with the goals of Kaupapa Māori research (for example, surveys or other quantitative tools versus qualitative approaches) would suggest that within the framework of Kaupapa Māori research, qualitative approaches are preferred (Jones, Ingham, Davies, & Cram, 2010; Moewaka-Barnes, 2000). Walker et al. (2006) suggest for Māori that it could be because this may “fit more comfortably within a Māori way of doing” (p. 336). Morrow (2007) observes that while quantitative methods can enable the researcher to acquire a broad understanding of a phenomenon, a qualitative approach probes into the multifaceted nature of the human experience. Research located within a Māori worldview can be carried out through a variety of approaches. This next section describes these approaches.

Wānanga

...offer opportunities for rangatahi to define what hauora (well-being) means for them, to have the opportunity to be researchers and play a central role in the research process, to work alongside pakeke (adults) to write and deliver findings to various forums, and to offer a contribution to youth Hauora and youth development that directly impacts on the lives of rangatahi Māori. (Webster et al., 2002, p. 179)

As previously discussed, how information is elicited from/with or about taitamariki Māori has been a concern and is one of the issues focused on in this study. It was therefore important to the study to explore a kaupapa Māori method to carry out the gathering of information with taitamariki Māori, which supported their cultural agency. I therefore looked to our traditional practices of knowledge acquisition, reciprocity, and exchange. An important concept relevant to knowledge and knowing is wānanga, with many narratives around this term. We have used this process since the beginning of light. Our creation stories tell us Rangiātea was considered the first whare wānanga (house of learning), situated in the 12th heaven where the baskets of knowledge were suspended. Tāne received these baskets of knowledge by way of a gift from Io (supreme being). Royal (2005) suggests in this narrative that wānanga is referred to almost as an object and gives this example: “Nā ka mea a Whiro ki ngā tuākana, ‘Ka haere ahau ki te tiki i te wānanga i te Toi- o-ngā-rangi...’ Whiro said to the elder siblings, ‘I shall go to fetch the wānanga at the highest heaven’” (p. 12). As a metaphor, wānanga helps to describe the feeling that learning in such a way evokes - one of equity, shared visions and ako, where both teaching and learning occurs (Kia Eke Panuku, 2014), enabling the creative mind or *mahara* (conscious awareness) to emerge (Royal, 2005). The general purpose and outcome of the activity called *wānanga* is the creation of new ideas, new knowledge, new understandings, and

knowledge sharing. Whilst the sense of ‘finding’ or ‘seeking’ is not made explicit in the term wānanga, it is nevertheless implied and well understood throughout the community of Māori language users. Wānanga is a space where culturally responsive and relational pedagogy is apparent and occurring (Royal, 2011). As a culturally determined space, wānanga ensures the use of te reo me ōna tikanga practices as a normal process. Smith (2019) asserts, wānanga disrupt and decolonise traditional Western methods by positioning the collective production of knowledge as central, including knowledge translation. Wānanga also shares some of the commonalities with other youth-focused research - the application of tikanga Māori, recognition of Māori youth diversity, of Māori identity and being mana-enhancing (Borrell, 2005; Erai & Allen, 2006; Keelan, 2002; Webster et al., 2002).

Understanding the social world of the taitamariki Māori entails their active participation in the research process. Research *with taitamariki* requires a process that not only allows living their stories in an experimental context, but also telling their stories as they talk to their own selves and explain themselves to others. I wanted participants to view themselves as the experts and to recognise their power to create change. The goal was also to raise awareness amongst participants on relationship well-being; wānanga allowed knowledge sharing and transference. Research with taitamariki Māori, as with other children and young people, I believe needs to be beneficial to them and for them. Thus, wānanga was especially useful when working with taitamariki who historically have limited power and influence and it breaks down the power hierarchy that is so prevalent in more mainstream research. Therefore, wānanga was selected as a method within this study, as it is a concept known and understood by the researchers and the research participants. Wānanga created a space where the *research method* was these taitamariki Māori *normal* and where they could participate safely and fully within their own cultural understandings and environment. The practices associated with wānanga, such as karakia and whakawhānaungatanga (the acts of establishing relationships/connecting), ensured that all voices contributed.

Te Whare Tapa Whā

Continuing using taitamariki cultural understandings within wānanga, Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985), a Māori model of well-being, was utilised. Te Whare Tapa Whā is an Indigenous well-being framework and consists of a four-sided health construct, that symbolically is represented as a *whare tapa whā* (four-sided cultural/customary meeting house). Each side represents an important element of Māori health, and it is considered that each dimension is necessary to ensure strength and symmetry. The four dimensions are *taha wairua* (spiritual side), *taha hinengaro* (emotional side - thoughts and feelings), *taha tinana* (physical side), *taha whānau* (whānau, social). Together, all four are necessary and when in balance, represent ‘best health’. Each taha (side) is also intertwined with the other. Accordingly, if any one of these components is deficient this will negatively impact on a

person's well-being (Durie & Kingi, 1997). This framework has been used within most social service jurisdictions with both Māori and non-Māori. It is also used as a central component of most Aotearoa New Zealand secondary schools' health curricula. Researchers applied these domains to intimate partner well-being to elicit with taitamariki their own perspectives of healthy and unhealthy intimate partner well-being, providing a cultural framework to engage taitamariki in discussions about their intimate partner relationship well-being.

Cooper (2012) suggests that, irrespective of the methods used to answer the research questions, applying Linda Smith's (1999) guidelines for engaging with Māori in research are useful to ensure that the research is carried out ethically. These considerations are relevant to research carried out with taitamariki Māori and were utilised within this study. The following table content is cited in Cooper (2012, p. 47) and is sourced from L.T. Smith (1999, p. 120). The English text is a commentary which is discussed in Cram (2001) and Pipi et al. (2004).

Foundations for this study

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Aroha ki te tangata | a respect for people; allowing people to define their space and meet on their terms |
| Kanohi kitea kanohi | the seen face: that is, understanding the importance of presenting yourself to people face to face |
| Titiro, whakarongo, ... kōrero | look, listen, develop understanding, and then talk |
| Manaaki ki te tangata | share and host people; be generous; take a collaborative approach and aspire to reciprocity |
| Kia tupato | be cautious; be politically astute and culturally safe; be reflexive about your insider/outsider status |
| Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata | do not trample over the mana of people; engage fully and meaningfully when discussing ideas, informing people, and disseminating results |
| Kia māhaki | be humble in your approach and attitude; do not flaunt your knowledge; also share your knowledge and use your qualifications to benefit the community |

Underpinning these foundations is the concept of whānaungatanga and whakawhānaungatanga - relationships and relationship building is a core component of whānau, hapū and iwi interactions and are at the core of this study. Kaupapa Māori research values these connections and is grounded in the constructs of reciprocity, mutuality and exchange and the mutual benefits that are gained by active participation (Hall, 2015; Pohatu, 2013; Tate, 2012).

The Study

...the importance of researchers learning from children throughout the research process is frequently argued from an ethical and methodological perspective however such learnings are usually contextualised to ensure either 'clean' focused data or 'safe research practices'... being open to listening to children within and beyond the structure of the particular study, researchers can achieve more than a defensible design and tight data set. (Gillett-Swan & Sargeant, 2018, p. 1)

The approach taken in this research enhanced and promoted a tuakana/teina relationship between researcher and participants and between participants to answer the research question: *Can traditional Māori concepts inform and support the development of taitamariki Māori healthy intimate partner relationships?* Taitamariki Māori were asked about their understandings of sex and gender roles within taitamariki intimate partner relationships and about their understandings of these within Te Ao Māori. Kuia and Kaumātua were asked about their understandings of Te Ao Māori values and practices and about cultural concepts of gender and sex. These findings were brought together to ascertain the relevance of Te Ao Māori understandings for present-day taitamariki and their whānau and to explore Te Ao Māori's potential to inform violence prevention initiatives and enhance taitamariki Māori relationship decision-making and well-being. The next section discusses the phases of the research.

Phases of the Study

The study was developed in two phases. The first phase saw the development and piloting of the interview questions and methods for the study; this piloting was conducted with Group One taitamariki ("Pilot Group") ($n = 6$). Kuia and Kaumatua were also recruited during this phase ($n = 14$). During phase two, the Group Two taitamariki participants were recruited ($n = 15$), along with three research assistants, and data were collected from the Group Two taitamariki and Kuia and Kaumātua. The processes by which this was done are described in this section.

Phase One

Recruitment of Kuia and Kaumātua

Kaupapa Māori research is about a collective approach which draws from the knowledge, wisdom and expertise of the communities being researched. Thus, this study drew on mātauranga Māori from Kuia and Kaumātua (tribal leaders) who have positive roles within their whānau and communities. Two wānanga were held with seven Kuia and seven Kaumātua aged between 65 and 85 years old, recruited through the Ngāpuhi Runanga, to gather understandings of Te Ao Māori (Māori worldview) practices that they felt were relevant to traditional gender roles, practices and the maintenance of healthy intimate partner relationships, including the prevention of violence. Learnings from Kuia and Kaumātua were gathered about cultural (pre-colonial and contemporary) concepts that could guide current-day (re)constructions of gender and sexuality. This included cultural concepts of gender and sex within intimate partner relationships. Engaging with our Kuia and Kaumātua as well as our taitamariki may allow us to better understand how to support the intergenerational transmission of the messages within our traditional practices that can inform the development of taitamariki Māori healthy intimate partner relationships, and act as a possible guide for violence prevention.

I was guided by Kuia and Kaumātua as to how they wanted to meet with me. Their preference was to wānanga as a mixed gender group, as they saw this as ‘the way it should be done’. We met at the Runanga offices for wānanga twice. The first wānanga enabled whakawhānaungatanga to take place, the study Kaupapa was discussed, and consent was obtained (see Appendix B & C) as well as a general kōrero around the subject of taitamariki and their intimate partner relationships. The second wānanga comprised of further data collection using Whare Tapa Whā, brainstorming and written same-gender group activities, using the interview guide from Group Two (see below) and the methods co-constructed with taitamariki.

Taitamariki Group One (Pilot) hui

The purpose of this phase was to ensure that the questions asked and the methods of enquiry for this project were co-constructed with taitamariki Māori for taitamariki Māori – in effect, to pilot the research method and interview questions. This phase involved convening a hui with a group of interested taitamariki – Group One. The outcome of this phase helped to design the methods and interview questions for the next phase with another larger group of taitamariki Māori – Group Two.

It is acknowledged that often children’s participation in research is controlled by adults and that as adults we can make adult assumptions about what is significant to and for children. We can also make assumptions as to the ‘best’ methods to use with children in research and how and what language (words) should be used to elicit information from children. I wanted to ascertain whether the questions I asked taitamariki Māori about their relationships, gender roles and sex would be understood by taitamariki or not and, if not, what other words I could use. I also wanted their opinion on what methods would be best for safely sharing their knowledge and experience. The purpose of Kaupapa Māori research is to cause social change, which means that the research question, methods, data collection and analysis, as well as the dissemination of results, need to be focused on usefulness towards change. By resisting policies and practices that marginalise and trivialise Māori epistemology and pedagogy, Kaupapa Māori research praxis enables Māori researchers and communities to define their own research questions and exercise ownership and responsibility for the authenticity of the entire research process (Berryman, Glyn, & Woller, 2017). I wanted to ensure that this was also reflected within this research with taitamariki Māori.

Group One participants were recruited through a local youth organisation. This organisation had discussed with me their desire to have some evidence-based research to support taitamariki who utilised their service and their healthy relationships. After discussing the study with the organisation, permission was sought from the youth group to carry out research. Information regarding the study was e-mailed to the organisation along with an ‘information flyer’ (see Appendix D) for taitamariki who used this youth organisation. I wanted to ensure that taitamariki had information about the study

prior to the hui, and to give them some time to reflect so they could give considered responses. With the ongoing recognition of the importance of seeking young people’s perspectives on issues that affect their lives, we need to consider how we build their capacity to participate as full partners within the research process. Because of young people’s position (power differentials) in society, they are often asked to complete tasks that they have had little time to consider.

One of their youth workers and one of the research assistants (to be discussed further in this chapter) assisted with the recruitment process. The criteria were that participants had the verbal skills to engage in a hui. Six taitamariki (3 taitamatāne and 3 taitamāhine, aged between 13 and 16) agreed to participate in the Group One hui.

Development of Group One questions

My initial interview guide was discussed with the youth organisation worker and the youth members of the Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau and was changed slightly to become “what they (taitamariki) will understand better” (personal communication, Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau youth member). The changes to the Interview Guide ensured that participants did not feel they had to be in a relationship to participate in the hui and that it was gender neutral (Table 1 and Appendix E for Taitamariki Group One Interview Guide).

Table 1. Proposed Group One Taitamariki Hui Interview Guide

| How do I ask other taitamariki these questions? (Words to use) |
|---|
| 1. Taitamariki views on the role of sex in taitamariki intimate partner relationships |
| 2. Taitamariki views on gender differences or similarities within taitamariki intimate partner relationships? |
| 3. How do I ask taitamariki about their understandings about ‘gender roles’ and how could we ask about this subject? |
| 4. What may have influenced taitamariki views on sex and gender roles? |
| 5. What information and supports do taitamariki need to help them know about sex and gender in a healthy intimate partner relationship? |
| 6. What knowledge do you think taitamariki have of Te Ao Māori in relation to healthy partner relationships? |

Hui Procedure

The hui was convened at the youth organisation’s premises and was an hour and a half duration. The hui began with karakia and whakawhānaungatanga (introduction of myself and the kaupapa of the study). Participants were given information sheets about the study. I asked whether or not participants wanted me to read the information sheets to them – which was agreed upon. I was mindful that some of the participants may have had reading difficulties. To ensure that participants understood the information sheet about the study (see Appendix F) and what they were therefore consenting to (see Appendix G), I asked them to verbalise back to me what they believed they had

agreed to. This process is recommended within research with all children and young people (Dobbs, 2016). Considerations as to what other adults may have told participants about the nature of the research are advantageous and can be elicited as part of the engagement process by asking “What have they been told about what we are going to be doing today?” This allows taitamariki to better make informed decisions and have informed knowledge before consenting to participate in any research. Two additional taitamariki were interested in the study; however, after the consent process, chose not to participate.

The purpose of the hui was to elicit taitamariki suggestions on how best to talk with other taitamariki about sex and gender in taitamariki intimate partner relationships (methods), knowledge of Te Ao Māori, and what *kupu* (words) to use. Taitamariki were given my ideas of the questions I wanted to ask and gave feedback on their appropriateness. This was in terms of understanding the question and how best to ask the questions. Options for feedback included writing on post-it notes or speaking (with audio-recording) or both. The suggestions for using alternative words and wānanga methods were highlighted during the hui. Inevitably, taitamariki gave answers to the questions which gave me some insights into their own views on sex and gender in taitamariki relationships. At the conclusion of the hui, kai was shared with participants and each received a \$30 gift voucher. The hui ended with karakia.

After the tāne research assistant and I had completed a descriptive analysis of Group One’s kōrero, transcripts and post-its, taitamariki from Group One received a summary (after the hui) and were invited to correct any misunderstandings evident in our analysis, to ensure that we had heard what they were saying correctly. The descriptive results of this hui were of significance to the next phase of the study. Taitamariki provided valuable information about how best to talk with other taitamariki about sex and gender in taitamariki relationships (methods), knowledge of Te Ao Māori, and what kupu (words) to use.

This information led me to re-thinking how I should ask Group Two participants about sex and gender and concepts of Te Ao Māori and the research setting. These are summarised below and will be further discussed in the results chapter. This group of taitamariki highlighted:

1. The use of the term *intimate* - suggesting that instead use *relationship*, as this was better understood by taitamariki.
2. The use of the words *views*, *roles*, *sex* and *gender roles* - these were difficult to understand and needed to be reframed and reworded.
3. *Gender roles* – two participants suggested that “in wharekura gender roles is a big word and means a lot” (taitamāhine, 16 years old) and gave examples of how this may better be conveyed and explained to other taitamariki. Some suggested that ‘gender roles’ could be

explained by the example of Marae kawa (protocol) - the karanga (calling onto the Marae) is the role of wāhine and initial whaikōrero is the role of the tāne.

- a. The phrase *role of sex* also brought some confusion. Taitamariki said that using this could be confused with gender, and/or whether this was about being *gay* or *straight*. Others were confused when gender was spoken about and were not sure whether *gender* meant *sex* in relationships.
 - b. The use of the terms *mana-wāhine* and *mana-tāne* were discussed with some of this group and the research assistant in te reo Māori when discussing understandings of gender roles.
4. This group of taitamariki reinforced the use of separate taitamāhine and taitamatāne discussions, same-gender researchers and that wānanga “would be okay for Kura kids” (taitamāhine, 14 years old) or hui as it was a natural way of talking for taitamariki.
 5. Te Ao Māori was not understood by most of this group.

Based on Group One taitamariki feedback and consultation with Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau, methods for the Group Two wānanga were specified. This included revising the wānanga interview schedule. In addition, during the hui, we noted some taitamariki Māori may have little knowledge of traditional concepts (Te Ao Māori). The exception was taitamariki that attended Wharekura – total immersion schools. Consequently, Group Two participants were recruited from a Wharekura and research assistants fluent in te reo Māori were engaged to participate in the wānanga, to better facilitate taitamariki Māori voice in the understanding of their relationship well-being framed within Te Ao Māori. Taitamariki also suggested same-gender facilitators and gender-specific wānanga would assist them in feeling comfortable in discussing the study topics; thus, taitamatāne and taitamāhine wānanga were convened. Group One highlighted the importance of involving young people in research processes.

Phase Two: Taitamariki Wānanga

The method used in these wānanga was tailored with taitamariki in the study Phase One pilot hui. Two wānanga were held – one with taitamatāne and one with taitamāhine. I begin this section by describing the research setting then discuss the rationale for its choice.

Research Setting for Group Two

This research was carried out within a Wharekura within the Ngāpuhi rohe. A Wharekura is a Kaupapa Māori total immersion secondary school (Kura), where the philosophy and practice reflect Māori cultural values with the aim of revitalising Māori language, knowledge, and culture, created by Māori

to express Māori aspirations, values and principles to teach children from Years 9 to Years 15 (12 to 18 years) (Tocker, 2015).

In the 1970s Māori language and culture were not taught at secondary schools and there was a realisation that the Māori language could die out (Tocker, 2017). The establishment of Kura was a response to the possible inevitability of the loss of Māori language and culture under the monolingual and monocultural education system which dominated at this time, and the unescapable ideologies for many that Māori language and culture would take second place (Tocker, 2017). Māori communities and educators began to establish initiatives to revitalise the language and culture, establishing the first Kōhanga reo (a pre-school learning environment in which the Māori language, traditions and values are at the centre of all learning) in 1982 (Hōhepa, 1993). Subsequent to this as graduates of kōhanga reo continued to require Māori-medium learning, the first Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori language school) was established in 1985 (for full history of the establishment, see Tocker, 2015).

The choice of this research setting evolved after coming to the realisation from the pilot (Youth Group) that I needed to be researching with taitamariki Māori who had knowledge and understanding of Māori language and culture to assist in answering the research question. Having participants from a Wharekura ensured that the participants had knowledge of Te Ao Māori (see Te Aho Matua: An Explanation in English Pursuant to Section 155a of The Education Act 1989 for philosophical base; and Tocker, 2015), including the distinctiveness of both tāne and wāhine and their co-operative roles in cultural practice. As Eruera (2015) suggests, the balance and expression of gender roles is important to the maintenance of most, if not all, our cultural practices. Therefore, participants from within the Wharekura had knowledge of the topic under study to fully participate in this study. Importantly, within the violence prevention discourse, there is a scarcity of knowledge about this cohort and their intimate partner relationship well-being.

A wharekura was selected in the Ngāpuhi rohe that I whakapapa to. I have had an ongoing professional relationship with the wharekura over many years as a researcher in the field of taitamariki relationship health and many of the taitamariki know me and the work I have been doing. Smith (2008) discusses the importance of meaningful engagement and “the ability to enter pre-existing relationships, to build, maintain and nurture relationships and strengthen connectivity as an important research skill” (p. 11). For Māori, this reinforces the principles of whakapapa and tikanga. Eruera and Dobbs (2010) found that having ‘insider’ researchers, who share whakapapa and tikanga, assisted taitamariki to feel safe in the research process, given the sensitivity of the topic.

Initial contact was made with the Kura verbally about the study and was followed up with a formal request along with an information sheet about the study (see Appendix H) and a consent form (see Appendix I). This information sheet was addressed as a whānau information sheet as the Kura

operates within traditional whānau-centred concepts. Having a legal Board of Trustees, I had hui with the Principal who then discussed the study with the Board of Trustees as well as with whānau within the Kura. Again, having whakapapa connections and existing relationships supported this engagement and agreement. Carrying out research within this Kura meant that I adhered to tikanga processes within the Kura. The use of te reo Māori was therefore important as was attending powhiri where the Kaupapa of the study was discussed with all students, teachers, and some whānau prior to the wānanga.

Language

Kaupapa Māori theory encourages the use and understanding of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori, as previously discussed. Pihama (2001) describes te reo me ōna tikanga as a central element of Kaupapa Māori theory. She says that the positioning of te reo me ōna tikanga as central in Kaupapa Māori theory is not simply a theoretical statement, but it is a part of the lived realities of many Māori people (p. 115). As noted in earlier chapters, te reo Māori is considered a crucial kaitiaki (carer) of Māori thinking and how it fashions and energises behaviour. Te reo Māori initiates entry-points to deeper readings of Māori positions for, 'Man cannot tune in so to speak when he is incapable of responding to the vibrations of the language' (Sorrenson, 1986). These 'vibrations' emphasise the dynamic inter-relationships between the language, thinking, behaviour and lived reality of Māori, crucial elements for cultural reproduction (Pohatu, 2003). Nepe (1991) argued that Māori language is "a living medium of communication, a vital strand in the transmission of Kaupapa Māori knowledge" (p. 55). Te reo Māori was central to engaging with this group of taitamariki Māori and was important within this study and for the kōrero that they shared on the study topic.

Recognising proficiency in te reo Māori was necessary to adequately converse with taitamariki within the Kura. Part of my personal journey within this study has been my heightened awareness of the need to develop further my te reo Māori. My understanding of te reo Māori is increasing, however I felt that my te reo Māori ability was at a level that I could not adequately converse with taitamariki within the Kura or support taitamariki to express concepts within Te Ao Māori fully due to my lack of te reo. I also needed to ensure that we were hearing the true voice of taitamariki Māori – not voice that was accommodating an adult with lack of language. These factors led me to engage fluent te reo Māori research assistants. This also allowed for taitamariki to have choices as to how they answered and participated within the wānanga. The use of te reo Māori within wānanga allowed a richer, deeper kōrero. The use of te reo Māori acknowledges respect and cultural identity and actively promotes tikanga practices in all activities. It has been articulated on many occasions that the window to a culture is through its language (Ruwhiu & Eruera, 2013). For taitamariki Māori this window needs to be supported to be kept open and not closed within research practices.

Recruitment and Training of research assistants

In addition to having research assistants with te reo Māori, it was important for the research assistants to have specific knowledge and skills to work with taitamariki Māori on sensitive issues to ensure a safe cultural and youth-centred process. Recruiting research assistants with te reo Māori, as discussed above, was also important. It was also important that the research assistants shared whakapapa and tikanga to assist taitamariki to feel safe in the research process, given the potential sensitivity to the topic. Three research assistants were engaged in this study. Two tāne researchers were recruited (aged 22 and 23) and further trained to carry out the taitamatāne wānanga. The third research assistant is a member of Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau (Advisory Group) and is regarded as an expert in her knowledge of working with taitamariki Māori, Kaupapa Māori and violence prevention; she is a fluent te reo Māori speaker and a registered social worker. All three research assistants were involved in finalising the research question guide and assisted in data analysis. Importantly, the research assistants saw taitamariki as having their own agency and viewed them as social actors in their own right and their perspectives on, and participation in the social world are validated.

Recruitment of Taitamariki Māori participants – Group Two

The criteria for taitamariki wānanga participants from the Kura was that they identify themselves as Māori, had the verbal skills to participate in the wānanga and had no known or alleged history of abuse. Recruitment began with the Kura sending information I had given them to potential participants about the study, and about what would be asked of them.

Eight taitamāhine (aged between 14 and 17) and seven taitamatāne (aged between 15 and 17) were recruited from the Wharekura. Some quantitative data were elicited from the taitamariki in Group Two – this was to develop a better understanding of this group of taitamariki. Only two of the participants had not attended a kōhanga Reo, with the remaining participants having attended kōhanga at their present Kura. Considering years spent at kōhanga to present day, the range of years for these participants attending a total immersion school ranged from between one and 11 years. Te reo Māori was reported to be spoken at ‘a lot’ in six whare; spoken ‘sometimes’ in another six whare and ‘no’ te reo Māori was spoken in two whare. Seven participants lived in multigenerational whare with one participant living with his girlfriend’s whānau. Taitamariki participants were speakers of both te reo Māori and English and were all known to each other. Both English and te reo Māori were used in wānanga which reflects taitamariki lived experiences (see Table 2 below).

Table 2. Group Two - Taitamariki Information

| Age | Who lives in your whare? | Te reo Māori spoken in whare? | Attendance at Kura | Attended Kōhanga Reo |
|--------------------|---|---|-------------------------|----------------------|
| Taitamāhine | | | | |
| 17 | Parents/mātua Younger Sister/Teina | Yes/Āe | I am a first year taura | Yes/Āe |
| 17 | Mum, Dad, Three Brothers, One Sister | Yes, but not as much | 5 years | Yes |
| 16 | Mum, Dad, Sister, Brother | Sometimes | 11 years | Yes |
| 15 | Nan, Koro, Sister | No | 4 years | Yes |
| 15 | Mum, Brother, Two Sisters | Sometimes | 5 years | Yes |
| 15 | Mum, Dad, Brother | Yes, all the time | 4 years | Yes |
| 15 | Mum, Dad, Brother, Five Sisters | Sometimes my mum speaks Māori and my siblings | Since Year One | Yes |
| 14 | Not answered | Depends | 3 years | Yes |
| Taitamatāne | | | | |
| 17 | Mum, Brother, Sister | No | 3 years | No |
| 16 | Girlfriend and her whānau | Yes | 2 years 6 months | Yes |
| 16 | Cousin, Aunty, Dad, 2 brothers | Āe | 7 years | Yes |
| 16 | 3 people | No | 4 years | No |
| 16 | All the family | Yes | 11 years | Yes |
| 15 | Mum, 2 Brothers, 2 Sisters | Āe | 4 years | Yes |
| 15 | Mum, Dad, little bro, little cuzzy's (cousin) | A bit | 11 years | Yes |

Procedure for Taitamariki Wānanga

In keeping with tikanga, karakia began and finished each wānanga. Whakawhānaungatanga and mihimihi were carried out in te reo Māori. Leading with tikanga processes facilitated Te Ao Māori connections, respectful behaviours and reciprocal obligations to occur.

Two wānanga were held over the study period – one with taitamatāne (2-hour duration) and one with taitamāhine (1 hour and a half duration). The two tāne research assistants facilitated the taitamatāne wānanga (I elicited consent for this from participants first) and I assisted the wāhine research assistant with the taitamāhine wānanga (see Appendix J and Appendix K for taitamariki information and consent information respectively).

The following is the guide that was used for both the taitamāhine and taitamatāne wānanga, other subsequent questions were asked to clarify and extend participants' kōrero. This guide also allowed for taitamariki to discuss aspects that we may not have thought of and ensured they led the discussions.

1. To establish taitamariki definitions of an intimate partner, as opposed to adult definitions, we asked, What is the difference between a mate and a boyfriend or girlfriend? (We also ensured that same-sex relationships were relevant.)

2. To open up our conversations about ‘being with a boy or girl’, participants were asked to consider, using the Whare Tapa Whā framework - in a healthy relationship how would you describe how your hinengaro, tinana, wairua, and whānau would look/feel/be, and in an unhealthy relationship. Individuals’ answers were written on Post-it notes and placed on the whiteboard using the headings below. This enabled group discussion and debates and the explaining of each other’s rationale. All discussions were audio-taped.

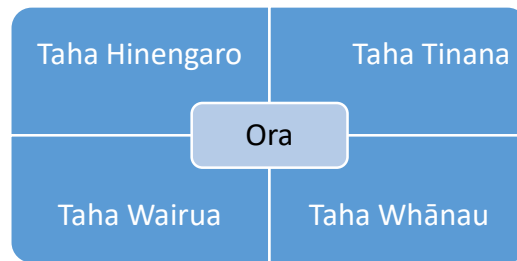


Figure 2. Enquiry instrument adapted from Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1998) drawn on the whiteboard for taitamariki to discuss.

3. To assist us in feeling comfortable talking about sex and sexual behaviours when we are with a boy or a girl, the next exercise is a brainstorm of all the words we use to describe sex – written on the whiteboard.
4. Going back to Whare Tapa Whā, when sex is happening or about to happen, how would we be feeling if it was okay or if it was not okay? In terms of your hinengaro, tinana, wairua and whānau.
5. We are interested in what mana-wahine (mana-tāne) means to you and how this might relate when you are with a boy or a girl. What understandings of mana-wahine (mana-tāne) informs us (what is okay, what is not okay) when we are with a boy or a girl? Cultural expectations?
6. What from Te Ao Māori really matters/is important or would matter to you in a relationship and how come¹¹?

Ethics and Informed consent

Ethics is about values, and ethical behaviour reflects values held by people at large. For Māori ethics is about ‘tikanga’ for tikanga reflects our values, our beliefs and the way we view the world. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1994)

This next section highlights further ethical considerations that were taken within this study. The ethics of research with children and young people differs from that of adults while still involving informed consent, confidentiality, and protection (Graham et al., 2013). In order to be able to consent one must

¹¹ This guide was presented to taitamariki in te reo Māori and English. Most taitamariki replied in both te reo Māori and in English.

understand what it is one is consenting to (Dobbs, 2005). An approach which provides information in a form that allows young people to fully comprehend what the research entails is important (as discussed in Phase One above). The consent process with taitamariki was a continual process throughout the entire research project. Time was spent explaining the kaupapa of the study, an explanation of what we wanted to talk about, why we wanted to talk about this subject, why we wanted to talk with this group of taitamariki and what would happen to the information given to us. Participants were told that their Kura had agreed to their participation; however, they were under no obligation to participate and there would be no consequences for them or their Kura if they did not want to participate. Gaining whānau (Kura) *and* taitamariki consent is advantageous, as whānau involvement at this level supports children's consent to participate and has the potential to raise awareness and understanding within whānau on the subject in question.

Participants were given the opportunity to ask questions and opt out of taking part before the wānanga began. We were aware that it may be difficult for taitamariki to say to an adult that they do not want to participate. Also, we were aware that peer pressure could also make this difficult. All care was given to assist taitamariki to feel comfortable about saying no. Children and young people's positioning in society means that they are rarely able to decide one hundred percent for themselves whether they participate in research or not (Graham et al., 2013). Taitamariki were told, however, that they did not have to answer all the questions if they did not wish to, and that there were no right or wrong answers – the wānanga was not a test. Taitamariki were also told that they did not necessarily have to discuss what they personally think (or about themselves) but could talk about what they believed taitamariki Māori generally think about the questions asked. All children and young people were to make their own decisions about whether to participate, and that they themselves could identify which issues (questions) are sensitive to them during the research process.

Confidentiality and safety

Ethical (tika) research practice requires transparency and honesty when working with taitamariki and their whānau. My professional Code of Conduct obligations, as a registered social worker, determines that I report any suspected harm to Aotearoa statutory child protection agency Oranga Tamariki (Ministry for Children). Section 16 of the Children's and Young People's Well-being Act 1989 provides protection for any person reporting suspected harm in good faith to Oranga Tamariki. Also, Principle 11 of the Privacy Act 1993 allows information to third parties on the grounds of safety of children. Within tikanga practices, researchers I believe are required to be clear in their roles within these processes and there is an ethics of care when working with taitamariki. Within this study, safety processes were agreed to prior to the taitamariki wānanga with the Kura should a disclosure of harm occur.

I was aware that there is potential for taitamariki to disclose harm in wānanga, given the nature of the topic. Taitamariki were told that everything they said in the wānanga would be kept 'private' except if I felt they were not safe. Discussions about participant safety and the researcher's ethical obligations took place with participants (see taitamariki Information and Consent Forms). The information sheet and the consent form clarify the process should taitamariki disclose harm or potential harm. In consenting to participate in the research, taitamariki have agreed to this process (as has Kura). It is important to make sure that participants have an understanding of this aspect of consent. There is a gap in the literature and training for researchers around this topic, as previously discussed in Chapter 4. However, as a registered social worker, I felt I was able to respond to any disclosure of potential harm from participants supported by the Kura.

Ethics Approval

Ethics approval was granted from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (Reference number 18/58). Approval was also gained from the Te Kāhui Urangi Rangahau (Advisory group) prior to the commencement of this study. The Health Research Council of New Zealand – the funder of this study – also approved of this study.

Data Collection

All participant kōrero was taped and transcribed and checked for accuracy by me. I engaged an experienced Ngāpuhi transcriber who was fluent in te reo Māori and had experience in transcribing te reo Māori and with transcribing youth-focused transcripts. The transcriber had previously worked within a violence prevention organisation. I also utilised the te reo Māori expert on the Te Kāhui Urangi Rangahau to check for further te reo Māori translation accuracy and interpretations.

Data Analysis

'e pakihi hakinga a kai. 'A plain, if properly searched, will reveal its food' – 'or seek in the right places or starve'... this is a good analogue for a research methodology: the researcher needs to know what to look for, where to look and how to recognise what is found. (Williams, 2010, p. 107)

The data analysis utilised a thematic approach. A thematic analysis can be a method which works both to reflect reality, and to unpick or unravel the surface of reality (Braun & Clarke, 2012) and can be used across a range of theoretical perspectives (Clarke & Braun, 2017) resulting in diverse approaches to it (Bryman, 2016). Therefore, the underlying assumptions need to be made explicit by the researcher (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2017). Kaupapa Māori methodology guides this study process and is the main theoretical lens. Thematic analysis is a tool for "identifying, analysing

and interpreting patterns of meaning ('themes')" (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p. 297), within and across the data, supporting both "inductive (data-driven) and deductive (theory-driven) analyses, and to capture both manifest (explicit) and latent (underlying) meaning" (p. 298). Inductive approaches can be data-driven when developing themes and deductive approaches can be driven by interests in existing theoretical assumptions and knowledge held by the researcher (Cooper, 2012). However, Braun and Clarke (2006) explain that approaches to data analysis are not always that clear; even with inductive approaches it can be difficult for researchers to entirely "free themselves of their theoretical and epistemological commitments" (p. 84). King (2017) suggests that the interpretive analysis of the researchers is pivotal to thematic analysis and can be influenced either deductively where, the researcher comes to the data with ideas from the literature and codes the analysis accordingly. Or inductively where the codes and analysis come from within the data and is closely aligned to it. Inductive thematic analysis assumes a knowable world, "is experiential in its orientation and essentialist in its theoretical framework" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.59), and seeks to give voice to the experiences of the participants interviewed and meanings from the data (King, 2017). The researcher needs to take notice of how participants construct and make meaning of their worlds, also taking consideration of the "ideas and assumptions that inform the data gathered" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 59). A Kaupapa Māori approach to the use and analysis of data suggests ensuring the voices of research participants are heard, as well as there being an expectation to reflect on, interpret and theorise the data (Bryman, 2016). According to Cram (n.d.), there is a middle ground that enables the researcher to do both:

...guide readers about how to understand and interpret participants' talk. In this way you are offering your interpretation, not THE interpretation, and you are also offering your participants the opportunity to see what you have made of what they have said in a way that isn't a re-working of their own words.
(cited in King, 2017, p. 77)

Findings are constructed then from both what researchers are willing to pay attention to and interpret what they have been told (Marker, 2008). I have taken both a reflexive and interpretive approach in the analysis of data since the interpretive approach assists in making sense of the participants' responses and a reflexive approach takes into consideration the role both the researchers and participants played in the data creation and analysis processes. The literature suggests that using these approaches are appropriate in studies when knowledge creation is affected by political, social, historical and cultural context within which it is situated (Cram, 2006; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Robertson & Masters-Awatere, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999) as in this study.

The interpretation of the data was influenced by the participants and research assistants as well as the researcher; and the data collection methods were also influenced by the participants, hence the necessity for taking a reflexive stance. This approach allowed the goals and objective of the

research to match what the researcher wants to know (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and to support “the needs of, and be of benefit to, the community being researched (match what the community wants to know). Attention to these factors is also of significant interest to Kaupapa Māori research” (Cooper, 2012, p. 50).

Analysis Process

I used a thematic analysis process recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006) to identify themes within the data whilst being attentive of the imperative of Kaupapa Māori theory. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest six stages as follows: Familiarising yourself with the data; Generating initial codes; Searching for themes; Reviewing themes; Defining and naming themes; and Producing the report. The objective was to identify themes which would assist in answering the research question. The main source of the data (taitamariki Māori and Kuia and Kaumātua) in this study originated from the transcripts of the recordings; written material from participants and my written reflections of the wānanga; debriefing notes with the research assistants; and non-verbal communication observations of participants within the wānanga. Observations of *how* things were said (Morgan & Hoffman, 2018) were also noted.

The initial analysis involved multiple readings of the transcripts, initially undertaken by me using a long table and cutting and pasting, sorting, and re-sorting data through comparing and contrasting the data (Morgan, 2012). Initial codes, themes and subthemes were generated by using side notes on the long table. In my first review of the themes I was aware that I was using both English and Māori kupu (words and phrases) as reflected in the transcripts. These themes and subthemes were then collapsed and/or expanded on with research assistants and members of the Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau (Advisory Group). They were provided with my initial codes, my constructed themes or ‘working themes’ and subthemes and the transcripts. This was an important stage of the thematic analysis. Whilst the transcripts were in both te reo Māori and English I was aware that there needed to be an interrogation of the data to ensure a contextualised and nuanced understanding of the te reo Māori and the tikanga concepts being used. As previously mentioned, my understanding of te reo Māori is increasing; however, I wanted to make sure that understandings within this study were not lost or unrecognised due to the depth of my knowledge.

We then reviewed the working themes, and subthemes, and, having reached a consensus, we were able to define and name the themes. Whilst there were common patterns within themes arising from the Kuia and Kaumātua data and the taitamariki data, it was decided to report these separately.

A youth perspective is not only important in the co-construction of the research but also in the interpretation of the data and can produce more nuanced understanding of the issues under investigation (Lundy & McEvoy, 2012), as evidenced in the Group One pilot taitamariki group response

to my initial interview guide. Whilst factors external to the research limited participants to assist in the analysis (at the time of writing¹²), the research assistants gave important insight to the analysis.

Summary

Given that there is scarce research in the area of taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationship well-being framed in Te Ao Māori, this study can be described as exploratory. The methods used in this study are distinctive. Firstly, the study used the principle of participation throughout the research process. Utilising Kaupapa Māori principles, taitamariki Māori co-constructed and trialled the methods of engagement and language used. This ensured that the methods were relevant for taitamariki participation and could create a safe cultural environment for that participation. Positioning the research within a wharekura whilst having the Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi and Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau support assisted to maintain a Kaupapa Māori research design and ensured that Ngāpuhi tikanga was observed. It also opened opportunities for these communities to further raise awareness of supporting taitamariki in their relationships and the prevention of violence. This positioning also ensured that participants had the knowledge to participate in the study. Secondly, taitamariki could relate to these Kaupapa Māori frameworks and therefore felt comfortable in discussing their views and ideas about their intimate partner relationship well-being, their decision-making, and understandings of gender roles and sex framed in Te Ao Māori/Kaupapa Māori worldview and Ora principles of well-being.

This research also prioritised exploring specific methodologies and methods which ensure taitamariki-focused participation, an area where there are currently gaps in the literature and research projects. Thirdly, using same-gender, same-culture researchers (as recommended by taitamariki) has been unique. The training and engagement of two (tāne) research assistants has contributed to building Ngāpuhi iwi research capabilities and capacity. Lastly, engaging with our Kuia and Kaumātua as well as our taitamariki may allow us to better understand how to support the intergenerational transmission of our traditional practices that can inform the development of taitamariki Māori healthy intimate partner relationships, and act as a possible guide for violence prevention.

¹² The further inclusion of taitamariki has been organised through the Kura as part of the dissemination process (see Chapter 8).

Chapter Six – Taitamariki Kōrero

Ko taku reo taku ohooho, ko taku reo taku mapihi mauria - my language is my awakening, my language is the window to my soul. (unknown)

This chapter reports the results from two wānanga held with eight taitamāhine aged between 14 and 17, and seven taitamatāne aged between 15 and 17. Taitamariki kōrero is reported under the questions asked and to highlight the themes that were subsequently developed. I have discussed taitamatāne and taitamāhine insights separately and summarised these together. The discussions within these wānanga provided many pages of information. In reporting, I have not used participant identifiers; however, I have indicated when there are different speakers. We have been selective in using taitamariki quotes and have chosen examples that are representative of the themes. Within both wānanga, taitamariki guided the kōrero, with the 'interview guide' used to facilitate discussions as evidenced in the scope of topics discussed. The nature of wānanga allowed taitamariki to kōrero freely about what was important to them.

The themes are illustrated through taitamariki discussions. In the process of 'writing' the insights from the wānanga, it became apparent that it was necessary to ensure, as much as possible, that adult-centred interpretations were minimised. My aim was to allow taitamariki to be understood from their own perspective, within the analysis of the context and, importantly, meanings to taitamariki kupu (words). It is my intention to place the reader within the wānanga to better do this. Some criticism of 'talking' with children and young people in a group situation has suggested that often within these groups there can be 'dominant talkers', resulting in some members of the group not participating and, subsequently, the analysis of the information presented may only hear the voice of these 'dominant talkers'. However, using wānanga engagement processes which are 'normal' for taitamariki in the wharekura environment, meant all taitamariki actively participated sharing their views and expressed their opinions with serious thought. Taitamariki felt comfortable within the wānanga to be able to articulate their points of view and rationale for this view. In the following sections I report the findings.

Theme One: The scope of an intimate partner relationship

'Intimate partner relationship' is a term used in much of the adult family violence literature. We wanted to explore taitamariki definitions of an intimate partner relationship as opposed to adults' definitions. To do this we asked taitamariki what was the difference between a friend (mate) and an intimate partner? The language used to describe their relationships was also of interest. Therefore, we also asked what words they would use when describing an intimate partner. Questions were framed to enable taitamariki to discuss same-sex intimate partner relationships. However, taitamariki

did not discuss same-sex relationships, therefore the discussions are restricted to opposite-sex intimate relationships.

Unsurprisingly, the term *intimate partner relationship* was not a phrase taitamariki said they used, preferring instead *relationships*, and *boyfriend* or *girlfriend* when describing an intimate partner – some taitamatāne referred to a girlfriend as a ‘missus’ or a ‘mīdi’.

Sexual activity was a point of difference within **taitamāhine** descriptions of their intimate partner relationships and their relationships with opposite-sex friends (mates). Taitamāhine agreed that sexual intimacy occurred between a boyfriend and girlfriend and not between mates (female and male friends). While this may suggest that sexual intimacy is understood as a characteristic of an intimate partner relationship, sexual intimacy was also discussed in terms of a “one-night stand”. As a taitamāhine explained, that “you might not be in an actual relationship, just a one-night stand kind of thing, you might have sex”. However, a ‘one night-stand’ would not happen with a mate, as “having sex with your mate[male] would be awkward”.

Similarly, an intimate partner relationship for **taitamatāne** was a relationship that involved sexual and physical intimacy. A taitamatāne said, “Sex and like kiss, you wouldn’t go kiss your girl mates, you’d just say mōrena or something, but if it’s a girlfriend you’ll give her like a hug or something,” and a second taitamatāne said, “Just extra with a girlfriend, which is that physical sex stuff.” However, two further taitamatāne suggested that in a relationship there was a difference in behaviour shown due to this intimacy. There was a difference between the way taitamatāne talked to their girlfriends and their mates (girl). This appeared to involve more intimate intent of the conversation. For example, “You’d go, ‘Hey, how are you sis?’ blah blah blah and you go to your missus, you’re like, ‘Hey babe, how are you doing?’, you tell them how cute they are.”

Taitamatāne also deliberated about the difference between spending time with a mate (girl) and spending time with a girlfriend. For example, “You just hang out with your mate (girl)”, and “you doing closer things with the missus, talk different.” The kōrero on spending time together with a girlfriend led to discussions about taitamatāne feelings of being seen with their girlfriend in public and showing physical affection in public. There were differing opinions on this from taitamatāne, and may reflect management of peer pressure, or personal feelings of agency, “If it makes you feel comfortable, well do it” and another suggesting that showing public signs of physical affection was not something he would do, “I wouldn’t hold hands, not in public, only if you were at the movies or something”.

While in a relationship with a missus/girlfriend, taitamatāne highlighted the possible tensions this may create with their male friends. Having good communication with their male friends was important to managing both relationships. Reconciling the tensions was challenging for some. Good communication with your girlfriend about wanting to spend time with your male friends and the

importance of making compromises was important. A taitamatāne suggested that, “I think you gotta balance it aye”, with another suggesting that having good communication with your girlfriend could assist in time management and reducing ‘tensions’, and gave an example of how this could be achieved, “Like sit her down and talk to her about it together [wanting to spend time with male friends]”.

Taitamariki discussed their understanding of the difference between an intimate relationship and other relationships through youthful language, with the majority explaining that they used the terms *relationship*, *girlfriend*, or *boyfriend*, and for taitamatāne, some used the term *missus* or *midi*. There was consensus within both groups that the point of difference between someone you were in a relationship with and that with an opposite-gender friend was sexual intimacy. Whilst taitamatāne discussed managing relationships with mates and girlfriends, taitamāhine did not discuss this.

Theme Two: Construction of a healthy relationship

To assist in understanding taitamatāne and taitamāhine concepts of a healthy relationship we used Te Whare Tapa Whā framework, referencing the four domains – Tinana, Hinengaro, Wairua and Whānau. Taitamāhine were asked ka tino pai te hono ki tō tāne – how would you ensure there is a really good connection with your male partner, what would that be like within each of the above domains? Taitamatāne were asked how a positive healthy relationship would make you feel, within each of the above domains.

Healthy relationship in the tinana domain

Taitamāhine described **tinana** as directly related with the physical side of an intimate partner relationship. This included the physical health of themselves and their boyfriends and being respectful towards one another; for example, “respect each other” and “respect each other’s bodies”. Being able to communicate about your physical needs was important to taitamāhine in a healthy relationship, one taitamāhine said, “You have to do that (communicate) about what they want and what you like, it’s the only way they know”. “Being affectionate towards each other” and manaaki (supporting) of each other were also seen as important, “Manaakitanga ki te taha hauora through manaaki tinana” - to show support and care for one’s health through physical support and respect and “tiaki” – to look after.

Within this kōrero about tinana there was much discussion and explanation regarding where some of the participants’ statements should be placed within the Whare Tapa Whā domains. This may be due to the nature of this holistic view of well-being, that is, each of the four domains are intertwined with the other. For example, taitamāhine kōrero about “respect each other and each other’s bodies”, had further kōrero about respecting the tapu of both men and women, “He tapu tā te tāne, he tapu tā te wāhine”. Most taitamāhine agreed this was an important aspect of a healthy

relationship in all domains - physically, spiritually, emotionally and that of whānau. The outcome from this discussion was a consensus that *respect* should be placed in “*the middle*” of Whare Tapa Whā domains.

Equally, taitamāhine talked about, “Feeling that you are in control of what’s happening” and agreed that also needed to be put “in the middle”. In this instance, taitamāhine indicated it was important to be physically in control of what was happening for themselves in a relationship – having some agency and feeling *confident* to exercise it. Whilst taitamāhine discussed sex within this domain it was not the focus of their discussions.

Taitamatāne overwhelmingly within the kōrero about a healthy physical relationship (**tinana**) focused on the importance of sexual or potential sexual pleasure with their girlfriend. Management of taitamatāne sexual desires and the physical evidence of this (erect penis) was discussed – “You get a stiffy and you just gotta get up and walk away”. It was difficult to determine whether or not taitamatāne acted upon their sexual desires or not within this conversation. Some taitamatāne described the emotional responses to being physical with their girlfriend, “Yeah suppose it can be cool and intimate too”, “you can feel chilled and relaxed around them”, and the excitement of anticipation of seeing their girlfriends, “Yeah you’re just waiting for your midi to come around”.

Whilst both taitamatāne and taitamāhine had obvious comprehension of tinana within a healthy relationship, taitamatāne were far more focused on the physical sexual nature of relationships than was reported by taitamāhine. Taitamāhine did talk about the importance of showing physical affection. Their focus tended to be on the importance of mutual physical respect and support within a relationship and on how tapu both taitamatāne and taitamāhine bodies are. Having feelings of being in control of the physical part of their relationships was also a focus. However, taitamāhine also discussed aspects of them feeling in control within a relationship which had relevance to other aspects of a healthy relationship in terms of their hinengaro and wairua, with some adding whānau.

Healthy relationship in the hinengaro domain

Taitamāhine described healthy **hinengaro** as feeling happy, having positive emotions, having good communication, feeling enthusiastic about their relationship, and having feelings of mutual affection. Taitamāhine also used te reo Māori kupu (words), in their descriptions, for example, “harikoa” (happiness, joyful, cheerful), “arohanui” (with deep affection, much love) and “ngākau nui” (with a generous heart). Taitamāhine commented that if your hinengaro was “not good” this could affect your overall health and energy for life, for example, one taitamāhine said, “Not good for your mauri” and another said, “Feeling out of control is not good for your head”. The term control in this context appeared to refer to taitamāhine internalised control, rather than the often-understood reference to being controlled by other’s actions. Having feelings of control was described as an emotional strength

for taitamāhine within their relationships. One taitamāhine suggested that “sticking to what you believe in your head and not being changed” showed this strength, whilst another said, “Have a good mindset, that’s good, strengths in your emotions”. This could also be in reference to being able to withstand potential coercive behaviours from a boyfriend. Through the discussions on hinengaro, taitamāhine reinforced *control* being placed *in the middle* of Whare Tapa Whā domains. Feeling physically safe within a relationship, taitamāhine suggested, supported their emotional well-being, and they suggested if this were absent, it would affect other aspects of their relationship well-being as evidenced by, “What about feeling safe? Cause you have to feel safe with your partner and for your wairua and your hinengaro and your physical being” and “Feeling safe should go in the middle, like it’s for tinana as well, like all of them”. Taitamāhine were able to highlight the connections of all domains within Te Whare Tapa Whā framework. Taitamāhine suggestions to add to the Whare Tapa Whā framework for healthy relationships is shown below:

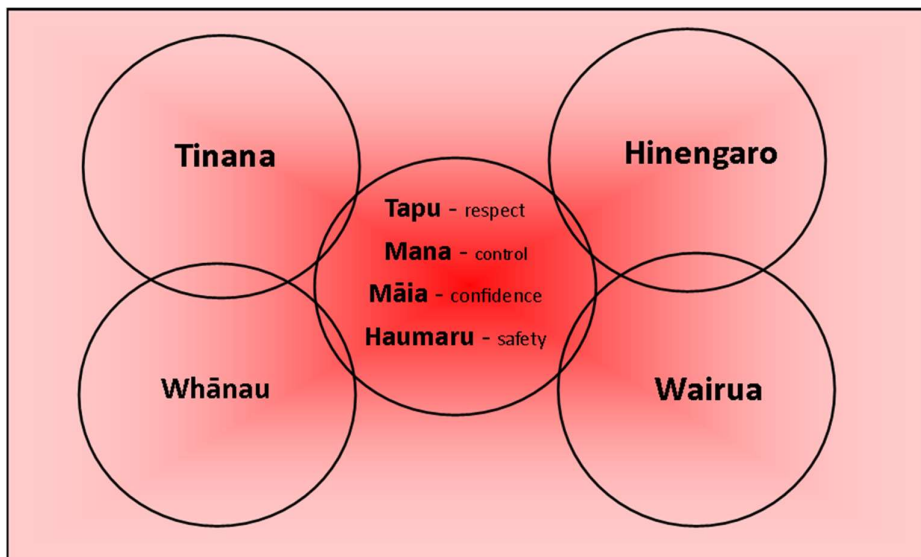


Figure 3. Taitamāhine adaptation Whare Tapa Whā framework

Taitamāhine also discussed when “negative” emotions occur in a relationship. One taitamāhine suggested that perhaps this was a natural part of relationships and that these events can provide a platform to show your emotional strength and provide learning as described here, “Sometimes you have negative feelings too, that’s normal, can’t be all good all the time, and it gives you learning for next time”.

Taitamatāne also understood that **hinengaro** meant emotional well-being in a healthy relationship evidenced in the following phrases: “When you’re with them you don’t have to stress”, “Your head’s good, your mind’s good”, “Like you, like connect easier, not bullshit tense”, “Feel safe chilled relaxed”, “Comfortable in yourself”, “Not shy” and “You can be honest”. They mentioned

feeling not only comfortable and connected with their girlfriends in a healthy relationship but comfortable within themselves as well. Interestingly, taitamatāne also mentioned feeling “safe” within their relationships, emphasising that in a healthy relationship they could be themselves and could be honest, open and free from stress. Not feeling “shy” was mentioned a number of times. References to honesty, not being shy and safety show how the taitamatāne are aware, and can indicate a response if experiencing an unhealthy hinengaro.

The aspects which need to be present in a healthy relationship to provide emotional well-being were described by taitamariki as having feelings of being happy, connected, good communication, honest and being open. Feeling cared about and having mutual respect were important facets for taitamāhine. Being able to be yourself was mentioned by most of the taitamatāne as an attribute to good hinengaro. Both taitamatāne and taitamāhine mentioned the need to feel safe. When this was explored further, it appeared that feeling safe meant several things – safe to be themselves, safe because you were connected and safe because you felt in control. Taitamāhine discussed how not feeling safe could affect their hinengaro as well as their mauri. Taitamatāne did not mention control within their discussion.

Healthy relationship in the wairua domain

Taitamāhine described **wairua** in a healthy relationship as feeling “Harikoa” (joyful), “Your wairua would be happy”, “Wairua would be strong; you would be respecting each other’s wairua”, “Your boyfriend matches your energy, understands your wairua”, “Kaha” (strength) and “It’s a deeper connection”. Whilst wairua can be a difficult word to define, taitamāhine described wairua in terms of a healthy relationship as having mutual feelings of deep connection, understanding of each other, a connecting energy, and as procuring mutual supportive strength to a relationship. Having good wairua together was seen as a strength not only for yourself but for a healthy relationship. Respecting both your own and your partner’s wairua was also seen as important to a healthy relationship.

Taitamatāne descriptions of **wairua** focused on the physical feeling that this connection brought them, for example, “In a healthy relationship your wairua would feel, it’ll be like calm”, “It’s pretty much, like a warm feeling” and “It’s like butterflies, you get excited feeling”. While one taitamatāne acknowledged that these feelings may be overwhelming for some, “Some people get shy when they feel like this connect”, another taitamatāne focused on the connection, “You are constantly thinking about each other, connecting”.

Healthy relationship in the whānau domain

Taitamāhine discussed their perceptions of whānau contributions to what they saw as a healthy relationship. This topic generated a lot of conversation within the wānanga and covered different aspects of the importance of having whānau support within taitamāhine relationships. Having support

and acceptance from both your and your boyfriend's whānau was deemed an important aspect of a healthy relationship for taitamāhine, "Your whānau should support you, show manaaki and arohanui; and when his whānau likes you, then it's sweet, much better all-round". Another taitamāhine said, "the relationship is better when we can be happy in your whānau and your boyfriend's whānau". Taitamāhine discussed the importance of having whānau support for their relationships also in terms of seeking advice about their relationships if required. Importantly, taitamāhine believed that whānau were less likely to be judgemental of their relationships, as described here, "They [whānau] don't judge you, you always got someone who knows what you should do". Taitamāhine also made conscious decisions on who in the whānau they would talk to, based on how receptive they were. The importance of whānau communicating their support was highlighted, as shown here, "You're more likely to talk with your whānau if you know they will support you". Taitamāhine recognised that not all whānau may be supportive and therefore may not be available for support, "Not all whānau are like that, some you can't talk to." One participant suggested that fathers were more approachable than mothers and why.

"I talk to my Dad, my Mum's too strict and yells, dads think about relationships differently than mums, don't want us getting into trouble I suppose, dad's more like relaxed."

This led to others in the wānanga discussing other whānau members and their influences on their relationships, for example, "I have an overprotective uncle", "I have an overprotective brother" and "I just go to talk to my aunty, she is cool and has good advice and doesn't growl". The kōrero indicated that most whānau were involved in these taitamariki relationships. On reflection, a question on whānau support or knowledge of taitamāhine should they have a one-night stand may have been advantageous.

Taitamatāne also discussed the importance and influence **whānau** had on their relationships with many stories being told of their own personal experiences with their own whānau and their girlfriend's whānau. Being respectful of your girlfriend's whānau was highlighted as being important to a healthy relationship: "Like you get comfortable and they [her whānau] get comfortable with you, if you walk in and you're like be respectful, have a smile and everything, I reckon that will get you like the ok" and "Yeah I think first impressions is like a big thing, like you don't want to go in there and like staunch everyone out".

One taitamatāne suggested that whilst whānau support is important, it can create extra pressure on a relationship and gave the following example. This quote also supports what taitamariki are reporting about whānau involvement in their relationships.

"I remember my missus whānau like a month and a half ago, like it was all good as, I knew her Dad, he plays gat for our haka team and her like mum, she does haka as well but, I know her whānau, but, we were going out to this party and then like before we left her mum... she was

like 'Oh yea bring NAME in here' and like we sat down at the table and the Uber had got there, but we're still talking at the table and they were like 'Oh yea do you love our girl?', and they were saying stuff like that and I was sitting at the table, fuck I just wanna end this kōrero. They were all good about it though in the end, but it was just pretty awkward thing, I was just sitting there with like her Uncles, her Aunties, her Mum and Dad at the table, like she[girlfriend] wasn't even in there, she was in the shower, it was just me on my own".

Taitamatāne also discussed experiences with their whānau over wanting 'to sleep' with their girlfriends in their whānau where (home). The importance of their girlfriends feeling comfortable in these situations was highlighted by one taitamatāne – "Make sure she is comfortable being there". They gave their opinions on the appropriateness of being allowed 'to sleep' with their girlfriends, which might reflect the importance of being seen as having some independence and agency within the whānau, as stated here:

"I reckon if you're from the year 11 up, and you're bringing your missus over you can't be doing the 'Oh babe you have to sleep on the couch and I have to sleep in here' and like fah get use to that stuff".

Discussing the different perspectives within their whānau on this matter, one taitamatāne suggested that "My dad's pretty chilled about it", whilst another described the tensions with his mother:

"My mother tried to tell me like that we had to like split 'Oh yea I don't know how to feel about you sleeping in the same room' but I just told her in the room 'Eh Mum if you tried to make a scene, I'm gonna ring up Dad and ask him for the car and I'm outta here Mum, I don't even care' and she's just like 'You do what you want' and she just end up staying in the room. She said hello and stuff I was like, I would rather that then make out like 'Oh you have to go sleep in the lounge, cos ain't having that'".

Conversely, other taitamatāne talked about developing trust with their whānau and their girlfriend's whānau through good communication and respect, when discussing being allowed to be alone with their girlfriends in their respective where. One taitamatāne highlighted, "That's the big thing getting trust from your parents, communication, letting them know what's happening, you know building that trust first, probably manage most situations". Some noted the rules being different in their girlfriend's where to their own, "The door is open; you're allowed in the room but you gotta keep the door open, I tried to close it a little bit then it was 'Hey' [mother saying this]. I go, 'It was an accident!'"

Taitamatāne also discussed that whānau support can assist them in having healthy relationships and talked about who in their whānau they would go to and why. Nannies [grandmothers] were seen as the whānau member most taitamatāne would go to should they need relationship support or advice, "The wisdom aye, they got those vibrant sentences and you're like that's how I needed it to be said to understand". Other reasons for seeking nannies' support was because of the mana they held in the whānau and because they were seen as being non-judgemental,

and significantly, conveyed important relationship messages in a manner that taitamatāne could relate to and understand. Nannies were also appreciated for their honesty, “They [nannies] don’t hesitate to give you an arse whipping too”, “If you’re in the wrong they’ll [nanny] be straight up “ and “Like she’ll yell at you and it’s like yeah I’ll take it all in, I’ll learn off my mistakes”. In turn, it was more likely that taitamatāne would be honest with their conversations with their Nanny. Not being honest was deemed as being disrespectful, “Being honest, like no-one would like disrespect their Nan”.

It was overwhelmingly evident from both taitamāhine and taitamatāne that it was important for whānau to know about, accept, have a good connection with and trust their boyfriend’s/girlfriend’s whānau. It was clear that having whānau support with their relationships was an important aspect of a healthy relationship. Descriptions implied that having whānau support could assist with further learnings about relationships and could be perceived as a protective or safety factor, although taitamariki used other descriptions. Many of the taitamariki “knew” their boyfriend’s/girlfriend’s whānau due to living in a small rural community. This was perceived as both a positive and negative aspect. Both taitamatāne and taitamāhine acknowledged that not all whānau are supportive; however, they also acknowledged that within whānau they could always find someone that would support them. For taitamatāne, engaging in an openly sexual relationship with their girlfriends appeared to be negotiated with whānau in different ways and could be a source of whānau tension.

Unhealthy relationships

Within the kōrero of what constitutes a healthy relationship, **taitamātāne** also described what an unhealthy relationship may look and feel like. There was an acknowledgement from the majority of taitamatāne that relationships go through good times and bad times, so there can be elements of unhealthy as well as healthy from time to time – “no relationship is perfect all the time”. From the kōrero, I believe taitamatāne were discussing relationships rather than ‘one-night stands’. Physical violence and its effects on relationships and individuals was discussed, however, taitamatāne overwhelmingly agreed that physical violence was unhealthy and not okay. Lack of your trust, jealousy, and lack of honesty were more relevant to this group of taitamatāne, “Worrying about, like if she says she’s going out with her mates and those hinengaro things you’re like, what if she sees a dude at the party and like that’s unhealthy” and “I reckon it’s just that trust aye between the boy and the girl”. Taitamatāne also talked about infidelities with reference to themselves, “Cheating on her, that’s a real unhealthy” and “Something real unhealthy is like you don’t want to be with your midi anymore, yeah, nah you don’t want to be with your midi anymore and what not, that’s unhealthy, you cheating on her then, better to tell her”. They acknowledged that Instagram and other forms of digital technology made infidelities more apparent as evidence of “being with someone else” could not be argued.

However, the consensus was that it was better to be honest. Being honest was described as not always easy to achieve as the consequences were unknown.

The issue of consequences for behaviours was discussed further by one taitamatāne, indicating that taitamatāne know what behaviours are needed in a healthy relationship - he depicted an appreciation of good communication, clear expectations and having to be accountable for one's own actions in a healthy relationship:

“My [girlfriend]... she told me ages ago, I remember when we first started she was like ‘I will tell you this now, I’ll never tell you what to do, or try and control you ‘cause from your actions, your behaviour, that I will see how much you care for me anyway’, so like if you decide to do stuff that you already know you’re in the wrong, and that sort of thing, then you don’t really care. She’s pretty cool like that I reckon”

It is interesting to note that **taitamāhine** discussed aspects of an unhealthy relationship when the kōrero was about their understandings of sex and consent and of mana-wāhine, which will be discussed further in this chapter.

Theme Three: Sex and sexual behaviour

To assist taitamariki to feel comfortable talking with us about sex and sexual behaviours within taitamariki relationships, we brainstormed all the kupu (words) that might be used to describe sex. This was suggested to us by a youth member of the Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau (Advisory Group) prior to the wānanga as a way of ‘breaking the ice around the subject’. Taitamariki appeared comfortable within this exercise, which generated a lot of laughter. There was a wide range of terms reported by taitamatāne and taitamāhine both in te reo Māori and in English.

Talking about sex

Taitamāhine reported that there were kupu used for a ‘one night stand’ - *swang, slay, smash, hook-ups, tap and gap*, and other words used to describe sex within a relationship - *mirirmiri, mahimahi, oneone*. Interestingly, kupu Māori was used to describe sex within a relationship. Within this kōrero taitamāhine considered the consequences of being in a relationship and your boyfriend having a *slay* with another girl. This led to further kōrero about the importance of sexual *commitment* (exclusivity) to each other in a healthy relationship. When taitamāhine were asked what kupu they thought taitamatāne used to describe sex, they unanimously said that “those words right there” (pointing to the words associated with a one-night stand). Whilst taitamāhine knew these words were used, they said they would be unlikely to use them, “I don’t think we would use those though, we actually think twice about it”, and “It’s weird like for girls to like say those words”. When asked “How come?”, the reply was, “I think we just feel like it’s disrespectful”. Another taitamāhine explained that “girls were more private, respectful of talking about their bodies” adding that “like the boys are just so confident”. How these kupu were spoken was also explained by another taitamāhine, “I think boys just find it easy

because they say it in like a more sarcastic way so it's kinda like they joke about it but we take it more seriously". This taitamāhine suggested that whilst "boys say it for the fun of it", they also may find using humour easier when discussing sex; another said, "I think it's just the way that they find it easy to say it, it's easier for them, they trying to be funny all the time". As discussed previously, a theme throughout the taitamāhine wānanga about how tapu of their bodies (respect for their bodies), even the way the body was talked about, was significant.

Taitamatāne tended to use very similar words to taitamāhine, both in te reo Māori and English, as discussed above. Within the discussion on what kupu they used to describe sex, taitamatāne spoke at length about joking with their male mates after they had had sex using these words (swang, slay, smash, hook-ups, tap and gap), as noted by the taitamāhine participants. This would indicate that these sexual encounters were more than likely one-night stands. Taitamatāne may 'joke' about these matters and experiences as a way to ease the conversation and invoke reliability between each other and allow them to share about intimate experiences while not getting 'too serious'.

Fears of getting caught having sex were also discussed and the possible consequences of this: "Yeah when you get caught it's like you like wānanga, it's just like you are in mad shit, they'll expose you, you have to say it, I fucked up". It appeared for this taitamatāne "getting caught" having sex would result in a whānau wānanga where they would be called to account. Sexual behaviours across generations were also discussed by taitamatāne. All agreed that their sexual behaviour was *better* than former generations with a taitamatāne saying,

"Some of the old tauira [students] are pretty bad, like some of them like NAME, he even told me that back in the days, he reckons they used to get drunk here they used to have sex like up in the top part of the gym, compared to like other reanga [generation] like we're the good boys".

This would suggest that there had been some generational discussions with some of these taitamatāne around sexual behaviour. Taitamatāne were reflective of their sexual encounters and discussed some of their choices of sexual partners. Behaviour and 'types of girls' were also talked about. Some perceived differences emerged between 'city girls' and those from home (rural). Of significance in their kōrero was the perception that 'city girls' were more likely to engage in a 'tap and gap' than girls from home and there would be less likelihood of any expected ongoing relationship: "In the city, yeah if she's a city girl, like you know that you're gonna get a slam, tap and gap aye, like at home there's like drop the whakapapa back on you", with 'city girls' creating a feeling of freedom and autonomy in the sexual encounter. Another taitamatāne commented on the preference of having a relationship with 'city girls' by saying, "That's why I feel sorry for the bros who start falling for chicks in the same town and I'm like you think that there's mean chicks in Whangarei, just imagine what

there is in like Palmerston North or places we've seen on the weather [Aotearoa weather map shown on television]".

Taitamatāne also some discussed girls' appearances and the culture of potential girlfriends or one-night stands. However, there was awareness from some of the taitamatāne that skin colour was not necessarily indicative of one's culture, as evidenced here, "There's just like a dream girl, my dream girl blonde, blue eyes and shit there is girls like that [in the city], up here [home area] is like, nah nothing" and "I'm white and I'm Māori, so they can be white and Māori". One taitamatāne was adamant that he was going to steer clear of Pākehā girls; however, he did not voice his rationale for this decision (to be discussed further within this chapter).

Taitamatāne that were in a relationship spoke of being "happy with the missus" but some expressed feelings of uncertainty and apprehensions about being in a relationship at their age as this could be restrictive – both socially and sexually. For example, "I'm happy that I'm with my missus now, but I wish I could like, not sure because I still got a life", "You gotta live life first, you don't have to be with the same girl all the time" and, "I don't want to end up like the bro...they were together since like 16, now the bro's like 22, 24..., eh you've either cheated or had no fun, like you've been with the same chick, unless you fully love her but that just boring as". They gave thought to other relationships that they knew of and were able to give thought to their own relationship situations now, and into the future. One taitamatāne was clear he did not want to be in a relationship and gave his rationale for this, "I kind of have like a whore, [someone to have sex with] not bad like that though, but you don't have to settle down, you can like interact with other girls".

The same questions were asked of both taitamatāne and taitamāhine, however asking about sex elicited quite different responses. Taitamāhine discussed being respectful of the use of kupu when talking about sex whilst acknowledging that taitamatāne may use these terms because it was easier for them. When reading the written words *swang*, *slays*, *smash* and further on in this chapter *pump* without listening to the tone of the voice and its context may give the impression that these words have an aggressive meaning. However, if we look at words other generations may have used to describe sex, for example, *fuck*, *bonk*, *root* and many others, we may see that there is not much difference. This highlights the need to place taitamariki within the context of their own generation and not ours. These words were spoken in a matter-of-fact way, much like we may have when we were their age. For taitamatāne there appeared to be the perception that girls that did not come from home would be easier to have sex with. Discussions around commitment to girlfriends and culture of girlfriends predominated taitamatāne discussion, as did sex. Past generations' behaviour was a theme throughout the wānanga with taitamatāne and will be discussed further.

Theme Four: Sex and consent

Sex within taitamariki relationships is reported to be important, as evidenced above. To open up the discussions further about sex, in both wānanga, we again used the Whare Tapa Whā framework and asked taitamariki (within a healthy relationship), “If you are with a boy or girl and were about to have sex or had had sex, how would your tinana, hinengaro, wairua and whānau be feeling?” This section outlines taitamāhine and taitamatāne understandings of sex and consent within their relationships.

Taitamāhine

Within the **taitamāhine** wānanga the immediate responses were predominated by their insights into consent within a sexual encounter. Taitamāhine expressed: “You should be comfortable before doing it with them”, “don’t be pressured”, and “you have to give consent”. Feeling comfortable, ready and being confident also impacted on managing consent. However, there was still some apprehension by some taitamāhine in knowing when “you were ready”, until experiencing sex. This uncertainty was discussed several times within this kōrero, for example - “You think the outcome would be cool and stuff, but you don’t know” and “You have to be like confident that you want to do it, but when you get in there, and do it and you might think oh what have I done”. This highlighted that even if you make the decision to consent to sex, the outcome can be unexpected.

For taitamāhine, having good communication with your boyfriend so that having sex was a mutual decision was an important understanding of consent, “Discuss it. If you don’t want it you just say no, and if you do then you just say yes, and yes we do like sex”. Part of this process was making a conscious decision yourself to participate in sex as suggested here, “Like when you feel comfortable, you have to talk then, so he knows you’re ready to do it”; conversely, “Instead of just letting him decide for you like you decide for yourself”. Feeling confident to give consent or not give consent was mentioned many times within this kōrero. Further probing questions about what are the things that make you feel confident, most taitamāhine said, “Knowing the person”, which made it easier to communicate. Consent and confidence were also talked about in both one-night stands and in relationships. Being in a long-term relationship was an aspect of feeling more confident to be able to say no or yes to sex. Subsequent questions about giving sexual consent within a relationship revealed that each time you had sex that consent was required. One taitamāhine was clear that it “doesn’t matter like in a relationship or a one-night stand you like want to be respected aye and treated right”, therefore consent was required.

When asked how come some taitamāhine can say no to sex and others may find this difficult, most reported again that being *confident within themselves* supported their ability to either say yes or no to sex, “For some girls they are really confident, they don’t feel pressure they just say nay, they just tell them and don’t care” and another suggested that taitamāhine had agency over this decision,

“You just don’t want to, because you’ve thought about it, so it’s no or you have thought about it and it’s yes”. Body image, being shy, and fear were also factors that inhibited taitamāhine confidence to manage consent. Being aware or not of coercive behaviours also contributed. Whilst not using the word *coercive*, taitamāhine said that sometimes they felt pressured into having sex: “For some girls are more confident, of their body, but some they might not be confident of the way they look, and they might feel pressured to say yes and they’re scared so they just say yes” and “You might feel shy so you can’t say no”.

Having sex for fear of your boyfriend leaving you was also raised, “Yeah cause maybe you’re scared that if you say no that they would just leave you”. This was discussed further within the wānanga with the researchers. This knowledge sharing allowed some of the taitamāhine to gain awareness of coercive behaviours and consent. Some had good understanding and shared that saying yes for fear of your boyfriend leaving you was not an act of consent, as reiterated by this taitamāhine, “That’s not really consent, you should want to do it for your own reasons too”. The nature of the relationship was also talked about and whether it was really a relationship if there were fears of infidelity. Concerningly, one taitamāhine said that, “If you say no, they’ll probably just make you do it anyway”. Another taitamāhine shared her thoughts on this immediately and said, “Then that’s like forced, that’s like you’re forced to do it, or you’re scared, that’s like nah, not good”. Peer perception of taitamāhine that did or did not have sex was seen as confusing for some of these taitamāhine, with one taitamāhine suggesting that peers can, “see you as easy or the opposite”. Having sex whilst drunk was discussed and was seen by all taitamāhine as not being okay and peers would view this in a negative light. However, one taitamāhine suggested that alcohol may be used to alleviate fears of having sex - “If you are scared, like people like get drunk”.

Further discussions on *tinana* and sex led to taitamāhine saying that fears of getting pregnant may stop them from having sex. Two taitamāhine suggested that fears of physical pain in sexual intercourse could also prevent taitamāhine from engaging in sex and suggested that communicating this pain was important should it occur, “But it might be sore, and then you say stop”. Other aspects to assisting taitamāhine in their decision-making to consent to sex were also deliberated. Having good *wairua* was deemed important when engaging in consensual sex - “I feel like your wairua should be good, oh like if you give consent and you feel like it’s like alright to do it with that person, your wairua should feel good afterwards like, you should feel good”. Conversely, one taitamāhine said if you were forced to have sex your wairua would “be dying”.

Aspects of the effects on *hinengaro* were explained by taitamāhine in terms of fears and expectations in engaging in sex - “If things were bad, like being pressured and forced to do it [have sex], then your hinengaro wouldn’t be good”. Interestingly, none of the taitamāhine described non-

consenting sex as rape, raising considerations in terms of taitamariki use and/or understanding of this word. Having uncertainty and lack of confidence about whether to engage in sex for some taitamāhine evoked some inner conflicts and led to kōrero about deciding to have sex then finding the experience was not as expected. For example, not feeling connected to the person was emotionally disappointing. The possible outcome of this is described here: “Your hinengaro would change from being confident, you’ll then probably be more insecure about yourself”. Taitamāhine described the complexities of deciding to engage in sex, “it could be a mix of emotions”.

Some taitamāhine described being able to share with their *whānau* about being sexually active. However, a caveat to this was that this required feeling confident in your decisions of engaging in sex and being strong enough to manage what opinions whānau may have, as suggested here, “And you have to make sure you know what like you’re gonna say, and that you’re ready for the answers from them”. It was clear that taitamāhine were talking about all members of their whānau including aunts, uncles, brothers, and cousins. Parents were mentioned as well, with debates as to who was easier to talk with, mothers or fathers. Some taitamāhine, however, indicated difficulties in talking with their whānau, with fears of disappointing their whānau being the biggest obstacle, “I reckon like when you talk to older whānau about like this kind of stuff you’re scared about how they’re going to react to it, if they’re gonna be disappointed or not and then like if they are, what do you do?”

From this kōrero the age of your partner was also discussed with the majority of taitamāhine having knowledge of “the legal age for sex” and questioning the appropriateness of much older tāne “going out” with a young taitamāhine. However, there was an argument from one taitamāhine that, “if they [taitamāhine] are like over the legal age then I reckon you’re responsible, like an adult”, hence having some agency.

Taitamatāne

Taitamatāne described how their *tinana* would feel before, during and after sex. Before sex taitamatāne said they would “feel pumped” and “excited”. One taitamatāne said he did not know as he was “still a virgin”. Two taitamatāne talked about taha tinana in terms of their bodies feeling sore during sex - “I reckon yeah like sometimes during it you can be like uncomfortable so you’re gonna have to tell her to like switch or whatever, oh this is pretty uncomfortable aye but you don’t want to say that”. Sexual positions were also discussed, with some taitamatāne expressing concerns about their lack of knowledge of the female anatomy. Feelings after sex included “feeling tired”, “relaxed” and “ready for a moe [sleep]”. One taitamatāne mentioned that hygiene was important, and that pregnancy needed to be taken into account and was part of taitamatāne responsibility – “You got to be safe like even if she wants to you gotta check them for pepi [baby] action”.

When asked how their *hinengaro* may feel most described being “hesitant” and “cautious” because “like you are always thinking about protection and shit, consequences” as described above. Others described feeling exhilarated especially if the person they had sex with was seen as being “mean” (popular/cool/good person) as evidenced here: “I reckon sometimes like when you do it like with a mean as girl, you just feel like you’re on top of the world, like why you are doing it fuck I’m the man, how did I even end up here”. Further conversations and debate about the first time taitamatāne had sex (both positive and negative) and their perceived expectations ‘to perform’ came from this *kōrero*. Some discussed having sex in terms of a ‘rite of passage’; others in more intimate terms or ambivalence, “So, it’s probably a relief feeling aye, I’ve cracked it” and “Yes man you are focusing for the special person” or “You know how some people say when you lose it [virginity], you wanna lose it to a special person, that’s how I used to think but now I’m at the point where I’m like fah sex is sex no matter who you do it with, probably is special to do it first with a special”.

Lack of communication with a sexual partner appeared to impact on some taitamatāne enjoyment of sex as suggested here, “Cause it started good and ended bad, I didn’t know what to do, I didn’t say, she didn’t know what to do either”. Having a good ‘connection’ was also a prerequisite for more enjoyable sex. There was some anxiety expressed by taitamatāne about how their sexual performance may be perceived by their sexual partners. Their sexual prowess and reputation raised anxiety for some. Initiating sex with someone that taitamatāne really liked was highlighted.

“When I first seen her at haka’s I was like yeah, really like her , awkward, how am I gonna ask her, she’s on as [very appealing], and I just used to think that yeah when I pump her, she’s gonna be the meanest pump I’ve had, but it was like pretty awkward at the start, yeah like I was keen”

“Yea the first chick I did it with, she was like low key sort of [nice person], she was like alright, but I was like fuck I can’t do it with like this mean as chick that’s from like Whangarei, that knows heaps of people, because if I kick it [don’t perform] and she’s mean as, she’s gonna go around and tell people”

“Liked her she was like virgin and like I thought it was gonna be like bad as, but like after yep it wasn’t that bad, she was meaner than I thought, felt good being together, she liked me too”.

When asked how their *wairua* would be feeling, one taitamatāne said that in a healthy relationship having sex made him have “feelings of connection”. Others used the term spiritual connection and one taitamatāne talked about having learnt about *wairua* and *mana* which influenced his actions and understandings within sexual relationships.

“Like if you thinking spiritual, it’s like mana, say if you’re like at a hearty kapa haka wānanga and they told you all about this mana, wairua stuff, and you go home and then like you’re gonna slay her, you’ll still be thinking like all that mana. I’m just like getting some of her mana and she’s got mine and you’re getting connected”

Kōrero about sex and consent and wairua saw taitamatāne discussing male sexual stereotypes, that is, focusing on the sexual act rather than the wairua connections that can exist. These stereotypes were discussed in terms of how sex was portrayed within music and pornography which may conflict with their own understandings and added pressure to sexual performance:

“I reckon that rappers these days, that just puts a big stereotype across to people that you have to be like mean every time, you have to like last this long, too bad about what’s the wairua connection and the girl”

Taitamatāne talked about *whānau* involvement within their sexual relationships in two ways. Firstly, it was discussed in terms of how *whānau* became aware that they were sexually active. Whilst it was evident not all taitamatāne told their *whānau* they were engaging in sex directly, some were confused by their *whānau* reactions to finding out indirectly:

“There’s the thing, if they find a packet of condoms, they should be relieved, not happy but they should at least go, ‘Oh at least he knows what he’s doing’. Not just going around chucking it at everyone, at least he knows the difference between like safe sex and not”

One taitamatāne considered why some *whānau* may respond negatively as it may go against religious beliefs - “Yeah like there’s like backgrounds of people like Mormon, you can’t like interact with a certain age until you’re married”. Mothers appeared to feature consistently within this kōrero. One taitamatāne also showed consideration for taitamāhine to procure safe sex - “I reckon girls get it harder than just the boys, I reckon you just slip on like a condom, but they like get injections, pills like”. This was agreed by most of the group.

Secondly, taitamatāne talked about *whānau* and sex centred around the tāne members of *whānau*. Whilst not using these terms, taitamatāne showed insight into intergenerational differences, aspects of Western masculine stereotypes which were at times in conflict with their own Te Ao Māori beliefs. Their comments also reinforced taitamatāne desire for agency within their decision-making. I have used the conversation taitamatāne had to illustrate some of the tensions for taitamatāne and intergenerational differences. Interestingly, taitamatāne had an analysis of the differences in Te Ao Māori knowledge between the generations. This conversation was had between six of the taitamatāne and is reported sequentially.

“Where I’m from like, they [Uncles] think like if you don’t have a pump, you’re not the Man, I was sort of pressured into doing it [having sex]”

“It’s like your Uncles be like ‘Boy you had a root yet?’ That’s just not right anymore”

“Yeah, see that’s that whole stereotype thing, maybe then but not now”

“Yeah that’s pressure it’s a real thing, my Uncles are like ‘Boy you had sex, you smack back a girl yet?’. I say ‘Nah’, then he goes ‘You’re useless eh’. I say, ‘It’s like do you want grandchildren yet bro, it’s like are you gonna look after the kid nah’. It’s like fuck up then, I control what I wanna do, if I wanna do shit I’ll do it, if I don’t want to it’s my choice”

"They [Uncles] went to the other type schools [not Kura] back then, the world is different now, maybe that's their learnings, and they didn't get taught the tikanga. Like we love them, but they can be dicks"

"I'll open up to my Nan any day and my Papa he's a clown. I'll say that, like we're close. But I'll never like open up to him, he used to tell me stories about cheating on my Nan, at work, I don't know if it was acceptable back then, or they just got over it"

"Nah that sucks, that's not respectful man, like no respect there, I wouldn't open up to that"

To place the following kōrero into some context, taitamatāne were asked when it comes to consent to have sex how does that happen, how do taitamāhine give consent and how do you know consent hasn't been given? There was a general understanding that gaining consent was important, albeit in a relationship or a one-night stand, and both situations required gaining consent each time sex was initiated. Feeling comfortable, patience and having good communication were recommended by taitamatāne for a healthy sexual relationship. Perceptions of non-verbal non-consent and recommendations as to how you could ensure verbal consent are as follows:

"I remember, one time I had to go like, to reach in and she did the grab your wrist and I knew straight away oh, that's when you stop"

"If you ask you can say to her, 'You can reply with a no, you can say no if you want, but can we have like a smash?', and you like go, 'Oh nah, yeah all good then'. Yeah like you say to them [Girl] you don't have to say yes all the time', that's consent"

"If you know that sometimes she's gonna say no, and she knows that you are all goods with her saying no, she's gonna feel comfortable saying no, she's not gonna feel pressured to say yes"

"It's like oh she's just probably not ready, like don't want to at the moment but eventually she'll like come through and say yep I'm ready, it's nothing but patience, it's a cool thing to have patience"

Awareness of taitamāhine sexual desires and initiating sex was apparent, as evidenced below:

"Sometimes my missus she just jumps on me"

"But it's weird when they do the grab you, after you've rolled over like grab you again and you're like, 'So what are you up to eh', are we just cuddling or watching this or are you trying to, I wanted to stop and they wanted to keep going, that's a turnaround"

However, when asked about taitamatāne giving consent it was reported that this was predominantly a taitamāhine requirement and may not have been considered by taitamatāne. They also verbalised that forcing or coercing a girlfriend to have sex was not okay and disrespectful. There were some considerations given to why girls may not want to have sex, as shown here, "It's like yeah sometimes if a girl is like very spiritual, she doesn't want to like smash, then if you just force her, it's real rat shit". Interestingly, like taitamāhine, the word rape was not used to describe non-consensual sex. To finish this section, one taitamatāne encapsulates the possible struggles of the 'knowing to the doing' around consent for some taitamatāne.

“That’s how I used to think of it aye, I used to think like that’s how you had to do it, because that’s what teachers always used to say and help us, you can’t do it unless you got consent. I used to always think, like fuck when I do it, but through my own experience it was like lying in bed and then like little gestures and like it just ended up happening. To say like a ‘Oh babe all good if we have some sex?’ like that’s awkward as like fuck, but I don’t want to be that guy that pressures”

Taitamatāne and the facilitators discussed consent and its importance to both taitamatāne and to taitamāhine in terms of tapu and mana from this kōrero.

Within this Whare Tapa Whā exercise exploring sex and sexual behaviours, the range and scope of replies was diverse. This highlights the flexibility required within research to allow taitamariki to be able to discuss what is important to them within the topic. It is important to note that most taitamāhine and taitamatāne had clear understandings of the importance of gaining consent to engage in sexual intimacy. However, further discussions were had in both wānanga (with researchers), discussing coercive behaviours and further clarification of consent. Taitamariki were also aware of the consequences should consent not be achieved to their individual well-being and that of the relationship.

Theme Five: Mana wāhine and Mana tāne

Kōrero was facilitated within both wānanga to explore taitamariki understanding of mana wāhine and mana tāne. We were also interested in taitamariki understandings of mana-wāhine and mana-tāne within their relationships, and whether these understandings informed their behaviours. As discussed in Chapter 5, the concepts of mana-wāhine and mana-tāne are central to Kura Kaupapa Māori schooling. The importance of whakapapa, whānau, te reo, mana, tapu and tikanga was evident throughout this kōrero.

Taitamāhine understandings

I start with taitamāhine responses to being asked what mana - wāhine means to them: They were asked he pātai ki a koutou, he aha te mana wāhine ki a koutou, he aha tērā? (here is the question for you all, what does mana-wāhine mean to you, what is that?). The majority of taitamāhine described that to them mana wāhine meant being an “independent woman”, who was “confident within herself”, “caring for people”, being a “role model” and one that “led by example”. Independent and being confident were terms that taitamāhine also described as attributes to having a healthy relationship. When further asked, he aha wēnā āhuetanga o te mana wāhine (what are those traits/attributes of a mana-wāhine?), taitamāhine described these traits as: “Te manaakitanga” (to nurture or care for others), “Like opumanawa, like your strengths, your own qualities, like self-

confidence” , “Yeah, being able to like stand and like talk” , “Being safe”, “Being inspirational, inspiring” and “Someone that you look up to like hash tag Whina Cooper”.¹³

Further kōrero found that the context of *being safe* was attributed to being confident to be able to stand and kōrero because of the support and knowledge to do so. When asked are there certain things we do like te mana o te wāhine, taitamāhine said the following: “Being respectful”, “Being there for other people”, “We care about people” and “Being a role model for iwi”. This last comment was responded to with, “Wow that’s a good one” from another participant.

Taitamāhine were then asked, he aha mea tikanga mo te mana wāhine, he aha wena mea? (what are some of the practices of a mana-wāhine, what are those things?). They responded by firstly discussing the importance of the practice of te reo Māori and tikanga: “Reo tuatahi” (first voice), “Like being the first main of reo on the Marae”, “To be a mana wāhine you have to have te reo”, “Yep my mother, that’s mana wāhine”, “It’s keeping the tikanga practices” and “Be hūmārie (gentle caring)”.

The importance of whakapapa and mana wāhine were also discussed in terms of where tangata, whilst noting the importance of both tāne and wāhine: “What about like how the wāhine’s like a where tangata, like babies and all that”, “Babies means whakapapa”, “Yeah, the creator of tangata, oh well, not really, but kind of, well you need a lady and a man to make a baby” and “Te ira tangata [human elements], the ladies carry it”.

In keeping with wānanga process there was discussion with the researchers and taitamāhine to enable further kōrero and learning. Whilst it was acknowledged within this kōrero that mana wāhine “was in all of us”, there are particular wāhine that stand out like Dame Whina Cooper. Taitamāhine were asked what is it that they do that makes us think “Wow, Mana Wāhine”? They responded by again talking about te reo Māori and added the whenua (land) as well as the person having a “strong belief in the kaupapa, whatever it is”, “they carried out te reo like throughout their lifetime, growing up around it” and “that belief, that belief, Whina had the belief in te reo and the whenua”.

To further explore mana-wāhine we asked, “as young mana wāhine what do you think the expectations are on you?”. There was an almost unanimous “all of that above”, indicating the list which had been written on the board from their kōrero. This included the following: some of the above and Reo tuatahi; māngai mō tō iwi [represent your people]; self-confidence; role model; lead by example; where tangata; te reo rangatira; hononga [connection]; te ira tangata; carry ‘te reo’; manaakitanga; stand as kaiāpehi [advocate] for iwi Kaupapa; being respectful and there for others;

¹³ Dame Whina Cooper, of Te Rarawa descent, was born in 1895 in northern Hokianga. She is best known for leading the famous 1975 land march (also called a hīkoi) from Te Hapua (in the far north) to Parliament in Wellington. The land march was a protest about Māori land loss and a nationwide reminder of the strength of Māori identity (see King, M. (1991). *Whina: A biography of Whina Cooper*)

and to be looked up to. Taitamāhine were asked when they were talking about standing as kaupāhai for kaupapa were they talking about kaupapa Māori or any kaupapa, which they responded to as any kaupapa. Developing some of these attributes was also discussed: “I reckon being able to like stand as a kaupāhai for anything really”, “Anything to do with your iwi, like kaupapa that have to do with iwi, so like being able to be that person that can kind of count on”. Other personal attributes were, “Sometimes stepping out of your comfort zone”, “Experience more things, expand ourselves” and “Yeah, like explore other stuff”.

We then asked taitamāhine to think about the kōrero we had just had on expressions of mana wāhine and to now relate these to an intimate partner relationship. Most of the taitamāhine suggested that if tā te tāne, tapu tā te wāhine was respected within a relationship, then dealing with unhealthy relationship behaviours would be easier to manage for both parties (to be discussed further). Initially, I thought the following kōrero was an example of tāne dominance and wāhine expected subservience when taitamāhine were talking about unhealthy relationship behaviours, “But sometimes if you’re a bit too like lippy you could possibly be the reason why the relationship ends”. However, with further discussion, it became clear that should your boyfriend’s behaviours diminish your mana by what he might do or say then, “You can get lippy back and whakaiti [reduce/belittle] him and it just goes on, better to think about how they take it and say it so it doesn’t whakaiti him and yourself more”. In other words, how you respond can still respect the mana of your partner while maintaining your own mana. Getting ‘lippy’ (aggressive, verbally abusive) would therefore not achieve this. This reinforced for me the need to continually check out with taitamariki their context and meaning. There were discussions on ‘standing up for yourself’ within an unhealthy relationship, or when things were happening that you did not agree with; however, the key point was ‘how you stood up for yourself’ in a respectful way that maintained your mana.

Some of the taitamāhine were clearly thinking about future relationships when discussing mana wāhine and relationships, as seen here, “Be able to provide for your partner and your whānau” and “Be a good role model for like kids and stuff”. Having your partner behaving in the same way was important to be a good role model for healthy relationships. It was important for others to see “good relationship role models”.

Taitamāhine said that being “put down”, “being hit”, “made to do stuff you didn’t want to” all “did things to our mana wāhine”. The consequences of being in an unhealthy relationship were discussed in two ways: “I think it can go two ways, sometimes it will just make you stronger, sometimes it will just put you down”. Firstly, taitamāhine expressed the emotions attached to being put down, “made to feel smaller” and “you feel like kaka [shit] at the time”. Secondly, the majority of taitamāhine suggested that these experiences could be a learning platform and could make you ‘stronger’. Again,

taitamāhine discussed the need to be confident within yourself. Below are some examples from four of the taitamāhine kōrero:

“It’s at first like you’ll feel like you’re getting put down and then from that you’ll learn from it, like next time you’ll know, stand up for yourself”

“At the time you’ll feel like shit, but you’ll be better later on, you’ll improve on it”

“It depends though, like if you’re a confident person you don’t feel like put down, you stand up for yourself and don’t care, get out of my house!”

“Do you know like how we talked about like the effect it would have on you like a bad relationship, well it depends on like the type of person you are, like maybe you are a person if you, if he said something to you, you’d just like say something back instead of just letting it affect you”

Personal attributes were seen as important to how unhealthy behaviours were managed or not, whilst being aware that for some this could be difficult. Within the kōrero about mana wāhine, taitamāhine discussed that unhealthy behaviours such as “being given the bash” or “forced to have sex” would trample on their mana, and their tapu would not have been respected. This would not only influence their “thinking about the relationship” but their responses to these unhealthy behaviours. This led to conversations about feeling pressured into having sex and the preference for boyfriends who understood the concepts of mana and tapu (to be discussed further in Chapter 8).

Taitamāhine suggested that having attributes of a mana wāhine would help with and make “handling” an unhealthy relationship more likely. Some of those attributes as evidenced throughout the wānanga were being confident about themselves, confidence in themselves, confident about their bodies, confident to stand and represent your whānau and be respected by your whānau. This may also suggest having the confidence to be Māori. The confidence kōrero appeared to also be about having confidence in their decision-making within a relationship, especially when it came to consent to sexual intimacy.

Most of the kōrero of mana wāhine was in the context of being in a relationship. We wanted to know whether or not the same expectations and understanding were also relevant for one-night stands. Taitamāhine were adamant that being treated with respect was paramount in any situation of sexual intimacy as the consequences were the same. Taitamāhine added the following words to describe having sex without being in a relationship - “quick fix”, “friends with benefits”. Further discussions suggested that this meant that there were no expectations of a relationship and these occasions were used for sexual gratification and sexual exploration, for example, “you do it cause it feels good” and “like you need to know, well some people do, how it is”. There were a few caveats on how acceptable these behaviours would be seen and how they may damage your mana. Having a ‘quick fix’ whilst drunk was seen as unacceptable as was having a ‘quick fix’ whilst in a relationship as evidenced here by two taitamāhine : “Not while you are drinking”; “Yeah not while you are drunk, like

that's a mistake" and "don't do it while you are in a relationship, because that's like still abusing the other person, trampling on his mana, like mentally abusing them, there's something wrong with you".

It would appear that a large part of the hinengaro and mana discussions were focused on the impact of manipulative behaviour, showing that mana can be trampled through different elements, largely reflecting intention, values-based consideration and action.

Taitamatāne understandings

Taitamatāne were asked he aha nga āhuatanga o te mana tāne? (what are the traits you associate with mana-tāne?). One taitamatāne described some of the traits which make our te mana o te tāne as "just his heart". Another said, "like his spirit and strength". The mention of *strength* as an attribute was further discussed with taitamatāne, making it clear that it was not physical strength they were meaning but strength of character and wisdom, and how they behaved towards others. For example: "Some fullas might be the strongest fulla but they'll not be kind, no mana there", and "Like they have the softest heart aye". Two of the taitamatāne named tāne that they felt were mana tāne, both were slightly older than the participants. Wisdom was described in terms of life experience and guiding younger tāne behaviour, passing expected behaviours and knowledge:

"Like they're like their wisdom, because as a boy you make heaps of mistakes, once you get to a man then you have your own son, you can tell him like when you have your first drink, they'll like don't do this, first root don't do this because they are wise in that way".

Two taitamatāne used the words "dick" and "semen" when asked about what mana tāne meant to them. Whilst at face value this may appear to be solely about male sex, these words were used symbolically to describe the role of whakapapa. These taitamatāne did not specifically use these words but said "without semen no pepi (baby)", highlighting the role of tāne in sustaining whakapapa. Three other taitamatāne equated mana tāne with expected behaviours shown within mana tāne relationships. This included not only with their partners, but themselves, places, and all people. And gave these explanations: "A mana tāne should respect their missus", "Like [respect] himself even, not just the missus, like people, places, like everything", "To even respect their women, they can be the strongest, can do the mean as pumps, but they don't respect their missus and then no mana". They also gave examples of behaviours that carried no mana: "If you're one of those people that walk around like a big head, big chest you're just a dickhead" and "Like the alpha dude, dickhead, fuck all mana".

Being humble was also seen as important. When prompted a little more by being asked what are some tikanga that might be placed around mana tāne, what tikanga exists for us as men?, one taitamatāne said "classic line, he tapu tā te tāne, the sacredness of man". What followed from this question seemed to describe physical things that needed to be done within a whānau environment both inside and outside the whare. These actions, such as "do the mahi [work], chop the wood for the

wāhine”, “Gather wood, even the cooking, like cleaning the house, you think like a mana tāne” and “you can do both, wash dishes, do laundry, vacuum” highlight the concept of equity of tāne and wāhine roles. Looking after your whānau and providing for your whānau was discussed by most taitamatāne and was part of being a man, for example: “Especially if you’re the man of your whānau, I remember that my dad told me that when I get kids, if you’re the man of your whānau, you got to be the first one up in the house, look after your whānau”, “Provide, yeah that’s a big thing, you have to provide, like real responsibility” and “Like the providing and cleaning definitely but I’ll go hunting like just out here, I just go take it home like providing the food, I cook the food for them”.

The facilitator asked taitamatāne if they think that mana tāne is within them. This question was asked as much of the discussion was about ‘when they became older’. Some of the responses saw slightly different understandings. Some said, “definitely yes”, others said, “I’m still a boy myself” and “I’m still under the tonotono [instruction] of my dad so I’m still a boy”. Conversely, there were some distinct generational tensions around meanings of mana-tāne, with some of the taitamatāne expressing that the behaviour of their Dads and Uncles may not fit with appropriate mana- tāne traits and behaviours. They also discussed being pressured by their Dads and Uncles into behaviours they may not wish to comply with. Alcohol appeared to have a big place in this discussion, with one taitamatāne suggesting that his father drank too much – “My dad’s like on it, drink heaps and fuck you think you’re a man, nah”. Another taitamatāne suggested that being a man entailed “like doing the right thing”. Therefore, being a man for these taitamatāne was more aligned with their understandings of mana tāne than perhaps the traditional Western notions of *being a man*. This kōrero highlights the role of tāne within a Māori ideology and we need to consider how the role of Māori tāne in a relationship looks in modern terms. Having an intergenerational/collective approach is therefore important to consider.

When it came to consumption of alcohol, two taitamatāne suggested some caveats around drinking alcohol for taitamatāne - “like if you are drinking to be cool then I reckon you’re a boy, if you’re drinking for a good time with the bro because of something, oh yea we just finished Haka’s, let’s get on it, that’s all good”. It appeared that if the drinking had a purpose it was more acceptable. The drinking of spirits was also discussed in terms of its cost and how for some it created an environment for fighting. Generally, these taitamatāne agreed that overconsumption was not okay, unhealthy and did not prove you were a man. Some were also critical and appeared disappointed with the alcohol consumption of their Uncles and Dads, and their subsequent aggressive behaviours.

Still discussing mana tāne, taitamatāne were further asked as a Māori male what are the expectations on you? Most of the responses to this question centred around cultural practices and obligations: “You gotta go to tangi, you should be the reo of the whānau”, “Mean at haka, kai kōrero”,

“Karakia, like back in the days, hard”, “Hāpai [support] kōrero” and “I can’t wait till that day when you rock up to a tangi, when it’s just you and your little whānau, show respect for them”.

Two of the taitamatāne suggested that these expectations were sometimes difficult and sometimes taitamatāne may not feel ready, as evidenced here: “You feel constantly watched, you feel watched every time you go to tangi, everybody’s like sussing you waiting for you to like stuff up” and “nah I’m not ready to like get into that stuff at this stage”. This led to discussion on mana tāne and relationship expectations as discussed in the next section.

Following on from above, **taitamātāne** firstly talked about their perceived mana tāne expectations of themselves within a relationship. However, for much of this kōrero, taitamatāne discussed the expectations of others on them rather than their own expectations. This may have been due to the way the question was phrased. The first part of this conversation centred around what they perceived their girlfriends wanted, that is, good sexual performance and the physical sexual attributes that went with this. Further kōrero elicited other expectations taitamatāne felt were on them, many of these they felt were from their girlfriend’s whānau. Being successful at school, knowing tikanga and being healthy were three that were mentioned: “Yeah, I reckon that if you’re like the son in law, then they expect you to like not smoke all of that, they expect you to be like an A graded student scholar”, “Do all the karakia, know all the haka” and “That time that we sat by the table, that was the first question that her Mum asked me, ‘Do you smoke?’ and that was like awkward moment ever”.

There was a discussion about, within a relationship, what actions may damage your girlfriend’s mana. Social media was highlighted, that is, sending and sharing photos of your girlfriend without her permission. Other examples were described within the context of unhealthy relationships: having lack of trust in your girlfriend, cheating on your girlfriend, arguing all the time and being violent. To finish this section, interestingly, one of the taitamatāne said that “*the in-laws expect you to be white*”. Whilst he was discussing his own situation this topic came up several times when the discussion turned to what are the aspects in Te Āo Māori that are important to you in relationships and will be discussed further below.

Theme Six: Te Āo Māori

This next section relays taitamariki kōrero of their understandings of Te Ao Māori that may inform their healthy relationships.

Taitamāhine

Taitamāhine were asked what from Te Ao Māori really matter to you, for your relationships, and how come? It is important to note here that the kōrero within the wānanga with taitamāhine was in both English and te reo Māori, however when asked the question above, taitamāhine kōrero was in te reo Māori and all stood to speak. I suggest this indicated that taitamāhine were acknowledging the

significance of what they were saying, that is, what I am saying is important, I have something important to say that requires respect in how I say it, which is part of tikanga. This significance may have been lost within a Western analysis. I have included each of the eight taitamāhine kōrero in its entirety to acknowledge and maintain that tikanga. The importance of tikanga, upholding your own mana and tapu and that of others, were highlighted within the kōrero.

“Mōku ake tēnei o ngā kaupapa ko te whakapono, me whakapono ki a koe anō me o tikanga Māori anō hoki ki tō whare, ki tō tinana me te āhuatanga o te Tāne me te Wāhine, tikanga me mana ki ērā o ngā kupu ki runga rā te tapu ō te Tāne me te Wāhine, kia whai tikanga i ērā ō ngā kupu me ērā o ngā kōrero”

“Mōku ake ko te aroha, tuatahi rā me aroha koe ki a koe anō, kātahi ka aroha koe ki tō hoa, otirā me manaaki tētahi ki tētahi, nā te mea he tapu tā te Tāne he tapu tā te Wāhine”

“Ko tōku nei kupu e hanga ana ki tēnei mahi ko te tikanga, i te mea he tikanga tā ia tangata ki ngā mahi o te like what’s a relationship in Māori, ngā hononga o “

This kōrero above revealed that in a relationship, the importance of trusting yourself and your Te Ao Māori beliefs and customs, both within your home and within the whare tangata, your body, was important. The ability to love yourself before being able to love your partner was highlighted. Emphasis was placed within Te Ao Māori that tāne and wāhine have different attributes to bring to a relationship, which both needed to be respected in a relationship, acknowledging that both were sacred. Should he tapu tā te tāne he tapu tā te wāhine be respected, this could assist with relationship health by each person in the relationship applying tikanga practices. Manaaki tētahi ki tētahi also reflects how important it is that the love of each other is reciprocal in order to achieve an acknowledged tapu balance. I suggest that these kōrero may give a better understanding of the context of prior kōrero about the importance for taitamāhine in a healthy relationship feeling confident and feeling in control within themselves.

“Ko te reo Māori me ngā akoranga ki tō tātou iwi, mēnā ka whai tamariki pea koe ai mātou tō mātou tipuranga ko te tikanga kia mōhio ai ngā tamariki tātou ake tātou ki te reo Māori, kia tipu ki roto i te kōhanga reo tae noa ki te wharekura, nō reira kia mōhio ko tēnā pea ka kōrero ngā hononga kia mōhio te tangata”

Whakapapa was an important aspect for taitamariki. The importance of children gaining knowledge of Te Ao Māori and tikanga through te reo Māori from an early age by attending kōhanga reo and wharekura to ensure connections to this knowledge was known. The importance of developing knowledge under the auspices of your iwi, learning the reo and culture from attending kōhanga and wharekura was seen as enabling for taitamatāne and taitamahine in a relationship, to understand each other and the importance of this connection and knowledge.

“Ko tōku kupu ko te manaakitanga nā te mea ki roto i ngā relationships katoa me manaaki tētahi ki tētahi kia ora koutou”

“Ki au nei ko te tautoko nā te mea, mēnā ka tautoko koe i tō hoa, ka tautoko ia i a koe, kia noho aroha, kia noho piripono ki a rāua anō. Āe”

“Kei au maha ngā kupu ko te mea nui ko te aroha mai te wāhine me te tāne, commit 100% to the relationship and support one another”

“Mōku ake ko te whakaiti, ko te respect me kī me kore pea ko te whakaiti ka noho āhua rangirua koe ki roto i te hononga ki tō hoa rangatira o tō hoa Tāne o wāhine rānei, engari ehara pea ko te whakaiti mōna anahe, engari ko te whakaiti mō tāna whānau ki tāna iwi, me ōna āhuatanga katoa, me aspirations ērā mea....Āe”

Showing love, nurturing, support and caring for each other within a relationship were seen as important, as was the absence of behaviours that showed no respect to either partner. Being put down, or your whānau being put down, along with your beliefs and aspirations were seen as unhealthy. The importance of having a genuine and uplifting connection was seen as important, and there cannot be two parts to it, that is, a side that belittles the partner and their whānau.

A subsequent question was asked, “What influences them (taitamatāne) to behave like this do you think?” Taitamāhine showed some awareness of intergenerational behaviours as demonstrated here: “Their role models, whoever is like the parent, like the way they got brought up, yeah that kind of stuff, their role models”, and “The way they got brought up, the environment they were brought up in”. Taitamāhine, I suggest, were not necessarily speaking about a nuclear family when discussing this issue but the wider whānau.

Music, the internet, and drugs were also discussed within this context. One taitamāhine suggested that the lyrics of some songs and music videos (internet) portray women as sexual objects and portray sex within a relationship incorrectly. She gives this example: “Yeah, because some writers these days they talk about sex but like in a relationship kind of like the same as one-offs, the men are doing it to the girl, and she just has to do it”. This also may suggest that this portrayal of some commonly held Western beliefs around sex - with the submissive female - was commonplace. This same taitamāhine said that these portrayals can influence both mana wāhine and mana tāne.

Taitamatāne

Taitamatāne were asked, “What from Te Ao Māori really matters to you for your relationship and how come, and what are the aspects in Te Ao Māori which you think are important to your relationships or past relationships?” Whilst not all taitamatāne directly answered this question as the taitamāhine did, or stood to kōrero, all contributed to the kōrero. Taitamatāne used both English and te reo Māori. The importance of whakapapa, whānau, te reo Māori and tikanga was evident throughout this kōrero. Within some of the kōrero their girlfriends or potential girlfriends were also discussed:

“Like Te Ao Māori influence for me in a relationship is like, if I was gonna have a kid or something like I’ll make sure that he grows up going through kohanga reo, Te Kura Kaupapa

and staying fluent in the environment of Te Ao Māori, like even at home, I'll make sure that te reo is widely spoken, normally spoken at home and that's who I choose to come and be my girlfriend, like preferably Māori and you know that your household for Māori speaking. I can't go marry like a Pākehā woman that don't know Māori, but if she wants to learn like she's down, I'll be like oh yeah. Te reo Māori and all the tikanga will be the main role for relationships for me"

There was a discussion around racism that preceded the above kōrero. One taitamatāne discussed that he thought his girlfriend was "a bit racist" while taking interest in her opinions on Māori. When asked if she was a Pākehā by the facilitator, his response was as follows: "Oh nah she's like Māori, she's Māori but she's racist to herself, yeah she like grew up white, yeah I just like hearing what she says about everything, like that side". Conversely, another taitamatāne said that he had lived with his girlfriend and her whānau for a year and that this had influenced his understanding of Te Ao Māori as "they speak Māori most of the time at that house, and that's good". Having a role in passing knowledge of Te Ao Māori on to further generations was discussed by taitamatāne as evidenced here: "I'll impact it [te reo] on a family that I'll start, I reckon what NAME just said, take them to kōhanga expand them and that will grow out into other schools and it will produce again". Whilst supporting the previous speaker, another taitamatāne considered that both partners needed to support this kaupapa:

"Tautoko ngā korero o nga NAME. I don't want to be like the bro NAME growing up, have a kid, take it to kōhanga go through wharekura, be a Kaiako[teacher] like me and my girlfriend she's a stoner aye I can't say much about her"

A further taitamatāne spoke about his girlfriend and her whānau having knowledge of Te Ao Māori, however he felt that some of their behaviours may result in the loss of this knowledge: "Yeah but I want her to learn Māori aye, her family's like all into that Māori stuff, all art and all that, she's just a stoner, all of them are stoners so they're gonna pass it anyway". The importance of the intergenerational continuation of tikanga and having a partner that supported this kaupapa is highlighted here. The place and responsibility of whānau in learning was also articulated by one taitamatāne:

"Te Ao Māori how it would benefit me and my whānau in the future, I think your home is the most important learning space, because you can put them through kōhanga, kura kaupapa, where kura tae atu ki te whare wānanga, ki wētahi ake me whakatō au o kākano i roto i a rātou ki te kāenga te tuatahi, wharekura right through to whare wānanga [because you can put them through pre-school, Māori secondary school, Māori immersion institute through to University, to others I should plant the seeds (of knowledge) into them at home first, Māori immersion institute right through to University]. To others I should plant the seeds at home first. So, if it's things like, that's why I look up to NAME cause if it's waking them up in the morning, and if it's normal for them to. I have to get up at six, Papa said I have to do my mihi at 6.30, have it done by 7 and then things like, just basics like leaving your shoes at the door, taking your hat off at the table, taking your hat off during karakia. So that when they do go to kura they're not having to learn that sort of stuff it's natural. It's like second nature. So if it's like your first day at school and other

kids might be like kaikorero 'Oh yea so when we have karakia we take our hats off', for me I want my kids to be 'Oh yeah nah Papa already taught me this'. It's like second nature stuff. I think make it like you have to put all your effort into your home first, because that's, you go away and come back go to their mate's house go to school come back go to rugby training, they'll always coming home so as long as that's where the base of everything is. Like coming from that's where ka tipu tāua kākano ki roto i ai a [both our seeds - way of expressing term knowledge - will develop inside of them], those seeds will grow inside them. I think home's the biggest"

The above kōrero was greeted by the other taitamatāne with appreciative and supportive words. One taitamatāne said, "I like listening to you eh", with another saying, "wise and inspiring". Several others agreed with the speaker, acknowledging they had learnt from his kōrero. Others supported the kōrero by giving their own examples:

"NAME is a good example, like I love listening to his daughter NAME, when he first started, he used to play cards and she'd like speak Māori "Papa kei te tinihanga ia, Dad he's cheating". She'd be talking like that or having arguments but in te reo Māori. She's probably only like 4. Yeah when she speaks English too, like it sounds weird, cause she's not that. I was like trying to tell her, like say this word like in English like she'd be saying "I can't kao kao, kare au taea"

"Yoh, [yes] like the bro said I think it starts from home. Like for me, in my family we don't have to do it at home but that's why I come to school to learn, but since I know now I can like pull it at home, so yeah, try and influence aye"

"Yoh [yes] in, my kids and stuff, but yeah my ex-girlfriend is a Rangatira at te reo, is like toki [champion] as, her whole whānau, her whole rohe [area], nah but she was like toki as, like every time I'll like say a te reo Māori word, she'll always correct me and stuff, yea but she'd never put me down, but yeah she'll always correct me"

Whakāwatea

The whakāwatea process of the wānanga facilitated taitamariki to share their final thoughts, learnings, and advice. Within this process **taitamāhine** thanked the facilitators for coming to their Kura and for listening to them and sharing their knowledge. They also expressed thanks for the koha given to them for their participation. Further kōrero centred around taitamāhine asking the researchers as to why personally we were interested in taitamariki relationships. The **taitamātāne** whakāwatea saw a more structured and formal procedure with all the taitamatāne participating.

Taitamatāne spoke of feeling comfortable and connected within the wānanga and expressed how positive the experience had been, especially with knowledge exchange, and that having young tāne facilitate the wānanga assisted in feeling comfortable.

"The bro's [facilitators] they are not that much older than us, a few years ahead of us in life so everything, like had just finished experiencing it and so it was easier to relate, they were like telling us, tell us how they found out and experienced certain things"

Others commented that "It was comfortable with them they broke the ice straight away", "Being comfortable around the boys talking about all this personal stuff in a relationship" and "Getting comfortable around yous connecting with each other, again being comfortable and going into the

serious part like the whare tangata and that sort of stuff". Some expressed what they had learnt and the need for the opportunity to have further wānanga and why. This may indicate that taitamatāne have few opportunities to do so. A taitamatāne suggested another wānanga, as this would give them time to think about what they had learnt. Several taitamatāne were able to be reflective of their own behaviours within their relationships and what they had learnt from the wānanga. As shown below:

"A good thing for me was to know what a healthy relationship was between like a girl and a boy and like differences"

"I can improve on when getting into a relationship is taha wairua and taha hinengaro"

"For me like, was to be able to open up to everyone, I only started back into this school and so good to be close with the brothers, we need to improve on the unhealthy relationship I've got heaps to improve on myself"

"Something to work on maybe is to have these twice a term, like every 6 months or whatever just like deep hard conversations, from here we get used to the whakaaro [thoughts] and think, us have time to think about it"

"Come around more frequently, bring your whakaaro to us, we need to be free to do this, we not saying you have too."

Being able to *open up* was a constant positive in their kōrero. One taitamatāne acknowledged that taitamatāne may not discuss their relationships openly, and reflected on the consequences of 'not opening up'.

"Thank you for coming to our school to share your knowledge, and also opening all the boys up, yeah we rarely talk amongst each other like this, opening up so thank you for that, good yeah the boys opening up being comfortable with each other, something bad is just those people that don't like opening up, that are embarrassed, mainly Māori men. Even science have proven that Māori men don't like speaking out and there's the high rates of suicide is from our Māori men – and that's a bad thing what I don't like to hear, don't be shy to open up"

And finally, for this section, highlighting the value of having knowledge that supports their healthy relationships, one taitamatāne said "Good to manaaki our wāhine with this knowledge".

Summary

This chapter is the beginning of understanding the circumstances, knowledge, and experiences of taitamariki Māori forming and negotiating intimate partner relationships. It also highlights the successful use of the methods. These findings show that taitamariki Māori are capable of engaging in research when given the opportunity and within their own cultural context and environment. The data were rich in content and showed high levels of understanding of both traditional Māori relationship practices and non-Māori practices. Within Te Ao Māori taitamariki voiced clarity of expected relationship behaviours while being aware of stereotypical traditional Western gender roles and the subsequent behaviours within their relationships and the relationships of the previous generation. Describing 'gender roles' within the context of mana-wāhine and mana-tāne elicited further cultural

knowledge of healthy behavioural practices and, to some degree, increased taitamariki awareness of sexually coercive behaviours. The use of te reo Māori by taitamariki appeared to elicit deeper taitamariki understandings. This cohort had a good understanding of the constructs of mana-wāhine and mana-tāne and were reflective of their own behaviours within their relationships. Whānau, whakapapa, tikanga, tapu, mana, manaakitanga and aroha were all important aspects of a healthy relationship for taitamariki Māori and need to be considered further when developing support for them in their healthy relationships.

Chapter Seven - Kuia and Kaumātua Kōrero

Whiriwhiria ngā taonga tuku iho, e arahina koe i tō mahi - to select unsurpassed treasures of the past, to respond appropriately to circumstances of today (Kingi, Sokratov, & O'Brien, 2013, p. 3)

In understanding Kuia and Kaumātua insights we need to reflect on our history, what was happening 65 to 85 years ago within Aotearoa as these Kuia and Kaumātua were growing up and entering intimate partner relationships. We need to consider the political, economic and socio-cultural environment of this time for Māori. As one of the Kuia explained, “Life issues also affected us, the flu epidemic, the world wars, the urban shift, loss of land, loss of te reo, moving and dislocation from hapū and tribes”. Many of these impacts are apparent within their kōrero.

Wānanga One

This first wānanga had no ‘interview guide’ as such, with its purpose being to establish connections with some, re-establish with others and to generally kōrero about the Kaupapa. I outlined the whakapapa of the research by briefly explaining the research carried out by Eruera and Dobbs (2010) and by Eruera (2015) with taitamariki Māori exploring taitamariki understandings of healthy and unhealthy intimate partner relationships, how they learnt about relationships, and what supports they needed to have healthy relationships. I then discussed the Kaupapa of this present study, sharing that there was a gap in our knowledge about taitamariki Māori understandings of māreikura and whatukura (Māori gender elements) and sex, and the influences these may have on taitamariki intimate partner relationship well-being and decision-making. I explained that I was looking at traditional concepts and expressions of Te Ao Māori gender roles, specifically looking at transforming these understandings so they might have relevance to taitamariki within today’s society. I was therefore seeking their understandings of Te Ao Māori values and practices related to the development and maintenance of healthy relationships.

Whilst the kōrero was focused on Te Ao Māori and intimate partner relationships, Kuia and Kaumātua spoke about this in many different ways during the wānanga - discussing the past, the effects of the past on the present and about how taitamariki could be better supported in the future. Their kōrero was filled with good humour, good debates, and with respectful disagreements and agreements among participants. It is difficult to transfer this wairua on to the written page.

Theme One: Colonial impacts

The kōrero began with the agreement among participants that taitamariki Māori relationship well-being was a huge subject. A Kuia suggested that “what is it that they (taitamariki) don’t understand might be a good starting point for discussions”. There were three main avenues of conversation from this initial kōrero after the introduction of the Kaupapa of the study. Firstly, that taitamariki today were living in two worlds, which created tension and contradiction for them and whānau. Secondly, the loss of teaching of tikanga and tika behaviours around the importance of whakapapa across generations, all of which was worsened by the loss of te reo Māori. Thirdly, the loss of understandings of Te Ao Māori and tikanga for our taitamariki, which was intrinsically linked to whakapapa. Ongoing colonisation was highlighted as impacting on traditional knowledge transference, suggesting traditional Western concepts and Te Ao Māori can be contradictory with the result being that some taitamariki have no knowledge of Te Ao Māori. One of the Kaumātua explains:

“How can we rectify it [impacts of ongoing colonisation], our children are in all disarray, and in actual fact I think we just about go right back to when we were colonised. Before that we were well and truly taught by our tupuna and our parents, exactly what line [whakapapa], what we gotta do, our responsibilities. But since we’ve had the two come in, it’s been contradicting one another, which one do we go for, which one don’t we. So, our children, some of our own children as well, they’ve taken on one side and some have taken on the other side and the two just don’t quite mesh together. I can see in that a lot. To cut a story short, sure we can go through that line for ages and get nowhere but let’s see what’s the fundamental of it, whether we bring back native schools and bring back the tikanga properly, and bring those sort of information back into the classroom and teach them from there, get a starting point” (Kaumātua)

However, two of the Kaumātua had another view, suggesting that Māori and the crown are equal partners under the Treaty of Waitangi so referring to colonisation places us back in time and therefore gives us no credit for the strength we have as a people: “We’ve gone past all that you know. We are making our own foothold with what is set in the country”. A Kuia also suggested that a better term for colonisation was racism, “There’s institutionalised racism, not colonisation, it’s racism”.

Loss of intergenerational connections and difficulties in engagement of taitamariki was also highlighted in discussion of traditional knowledge being lost:

“I see what NAME is saying, today you know with our mokopuna¹⁴ there gone both ways, you know and it’s hard to bring them back, connect them back. My father is 90 and it’s hard to bring some of those mokos back from the concrete jungle. Yeah it is, and yet he’s [speakers’ father] staunch with his tikanga and that to try and teach them and even just values. But they’re out there you know. They don’t want to go there you know, ‘Oh Papa you’re a bit too behind there’, you know ‘We’re over here’” (Kuia)

¹⁴ The word ‘mokopuna’ comes from two words - moko - (tattoo or blueprint) and puna - spring (of water). This recognises that children, nieces, nephews and others are the reflections of their ancestors.

Having teachings of Te Ao Māori was an avenue for enabling taitamariki to know who they are and where they were from, strengthening connection, identity, and whakapapa (to be Māori) whilst acknowledging the influences that may prevent this. A Kaumātua described it as:

“If that child had some teaching, if they’re gonna come through Te Āo Māori sure they’re gonna ask for their whakapapa, but if they come from otherwise, football come first, hotel come first and many other things because they are not interested in ‘Ko wai au?’ [who am I?],’ no hea au?’ [where am I from?] And that’s lots to do with it”

The loss of te reo Māori in particular weighed heavily on Kuia and Kaumātua and was an important issue discussed throughout both wānanga. Half said they had only spoken te reo Māori at home as children, while many said they were physically punished for speaking te reo Māori at school. Growing up their home was a place of safety, both in terms of the ease with which te reo Māori was spoken and its use as a primary means of communicating among whānau, including with parents and elders who “couldn’t speak proper English anyway” (Kaumātua). A Kaumātua said, “We got belted for speaking te reo [at school]” while a Kuia said, “But you go home, and you speak as much as you like at home, you kept it at home.” The suppression of their use of te reo Māori was described in terms of the negative impacts it had on their sense of self when they were young, and on whānau cohesiveness and connectiveness.

“What I’m saying, again I’m taken back to where the reo Māori was stopped and I’m going back to the 40s late 30s to the 40s, ... that reo of mine was the most important communication between my Dad and my Mum, my Brothers and Sisters and my Grandmother and my Grandfather others, and that was the pinnacle of my life and then all of a sudden these things comes in. This morning as I haere mai ki te kura, I saw, every Māori word I uttered I gotta a six of the best [cane], and at the age of eight, nine, you know the cuts are still here”

Kuia and Kaumātua reflected on the impact of colonisation within different tribal areas and its impact on Ngāpuhi, as exemplified here: “Colonisation hit us the hardest, the first and the most, we got Christianised first, we got sailors and whalers first” (Kuia). The impacts of colonial views imposed on Māori by the early settlers on intimate partner relationships and marriage and its purpose was also highlighted. One Kaumātua said, “Colonisation seems to cloud the history. I mean colonisation is something that happened, and marriage was very much a part of it”. From the kōrero on the effects of colonisation on ‘marriage’, Kuia and Kaumātua spoke about the process of *tomo* (intimate partner relationship arranged by the elders) discussing cultural practices and intimate partner relationships. Whilst not necessarily advocating or not advocating for the process of *tomo*, Kuia and Kaumātua were telling in their own way the importance of the concepts of whakapapa and of whenua (land). Gender constructs were less clear in the kōrero. They described the *tomo* process, as the union between a man and a woman in ‘marriage’, was focused on whakapapa and the well-being of the collective. Senior whānau chose “who you married” as the concepts of whakapapa and collective well-being were more important than individual choice. *Tomo* ensured whakapapa succession was maintained and

bloodlines strengthened, as well as strategic alliances and the resolutions of war and conflict. Two Kuia and four Kaumātua shared their stories of what they knew of their parents' or siblings' experiences of being tomo in the late 1800s, early 1900s. Whilst not all were in agreement about all aspects of the tomo process (these were gendered), all agreed that the main reason for the tomo process was to maintain whakapapa and whenua as well as being perceived as tika (correct) behaviour at that time, as evidenced below.

"I think Tomo is, Tomo is a right you know, the kids really had nothing to do with it. No say doesn't matter what you say. The inter-tribal, the inter thing, there was reasons why. No more than English people you know. Looking after their land, looking after their whakapapa, keeping their whakapapa true, things like that, Tomo ensured longevity of their whakapapa, and their land" (Kaumātua)

Several Kuia suggested that young tāne and wāhine were not prevented from engaging in sexual activity, as long as it did not impact on their obligations to their whānau and community. Within the tomo kōrero, Kuia were more likely to talk about wāhine agency to be able to choose their own partner and to be engaged in sex as shown here: "So as a young wāhine, I could instigate in joining with another hapū from another area, say East Coast, West Coast, not my parents, I'm going after that person over there, that man", other Kuia agreed, "You were free to do that". However, others suggested that was not being tomo, with one Kaumātua humorously suggesting that, "I think tomo was just for people that couldn't make up their minds". Another Kaumātua explained that whilst young people did have some agency in having sexual intimacy before being tomo, there were protocols that were followed, and avenues taken should either party not wish to be tomo. However, some colonial influences can be seen within the kōrero from a Kuia, that there was no sex before 'marriage'.

"My sister got Tomo and my sister is just younger than me. You know in her early 60s now and she got Tomo but for different reason than these [whakapapa and whenua.] Because in those times you couldn't be with someone [have sex]. Well this was our, what we were taught on the Marae. And that's what his parents did; they came and saw my parents and they were tomo. Well he's passed away now but they had a good life, but it was a different circumstance, she loved him and she was you know about doing the right thing at that time, and that's what had to happen and they had to marry one another, and they did and that's the difference of that Tomo and what NAME said" (Kuia)

A Kaumātua also highlighted in his kōrero about his parents being tomo how some of the traditional understandings of sex and sexuality had begun to diminish, possibly due to the imposition of Christian values, saying, "My mother never knew anything about men, 'cause sex was never discussed in her whānau", whilst also highlighting the role whānau had in his father's learning:

"My father was a very learned man, he was taught by his Aunties, he was orphaned, the influenzas, at an early age but his Aunties brought him up, all his Aunties and he had a lot of them and they taught him the facts of life, how to look after a woman when she's koopu, When she's koopu you look after your wife and things like that, when to touch her when not to touch her" (Kaumātua)

The kōrero again found conversations on the effects of colonial settlers and the disordering of the traditional roles of wāhine and tāne. One Kuia suggested that Māori men may have been complicit with colonial views of wāhine, as evidenced here: “You don’t think that Māori men loved it, that all of a sudden there was this English Law that said we owned everything, that you were a chattel, because before colonisation that’s not how it was”. Another Kuia talked about Māori wāhine supporting the Suffragette movement – namely, well-known Ngāpuhi wāhine Meri Te Tai Mangakāhia who petitioned parliament for Pākehā women’s right to vote. The Kuia also stated that whilst tomo occurred it was only through the Rangatira line: “Hey, women signed the Treaty of Waitangi, look how Rangatira [of high rank] they were, they didn’t need to go and petition but they went to help the ones that came to live here, women were Rangatira and usually the betrothal is the Rangatira line not everyone is the Rangatira line”.

Another Kuia participant said that she had been tomo by ‘Court’. The following kōrero from this Kuia perhaps reflects some of the influences that were a challenge to traditional practices intergenerationally and attitudes towards sex and relationships, from colonial teachings.

“There was a bit of a stigma if you had a child out of wedlock. Basically, you know the grandparents they didn’t see anything wrong with it [having sex and having a child]. But at the same time because of this colonisation or religious upbringing it became a no no, and then you are sort of stuck with that as well. It’s a stigma to have a child out of wedlock and well with us the way our mother taught us, we were scared stiff of that, no way. But it sort of grew in me and then when I had my own children I tried to you know bring them up to the same way. I understood my husband was like both of us were oh actually we were tomo too, but this tomo was sort of got in Court. We were going together for over a year [sleeping together], but then we were found out that he was living with me, well that was it. In the Marae the Kaumātua and Kuia! And then the Kaumātua and Kuia, we hardly had anything to say, we had nothing to say, every now and again I would want to stand up, my mother would say ‘taihoa [stop], taihoa’ you know, and the Kaumātua and the Kuia, like my grand aunties, some of them I only knew them as Auntie so and so, and I found out later they weren’t even related, but this is how we were brought up in the community everybody was your Auntie and Uncle. I got to the stage I used to ask my Mum, ‘How come she’s my Auntie and she’s not your sister?’ You know that sort of thing, but yeah I was tomo and we were both approached and asked if we were committing ourselves to each other and ‘cause we both agreed. The sad part was in that tomo, in those days if you’re under 21 you had to have permission from your parents. What do you call it? You know consent forms before you’re 21” (Kuia)

The reference to ‘parental consent’ I understood as being a requirement of New Zealand law at the time. This Kuia also describes the influences of Christianity.

“Ae, but my Mother refused to sign it, my Father did, and his Mother did because his Father had already died, and when my Mother refused I said, ‘Why are you saying no, you just put us through all this, now you’re not going to agree to it?’ and she said ‘You can wait till you’re 21, you can please yourself’ and I said ‘Oh I didn’t want to wait, this is just a couple of years away’ [Group laughter]. And in the end she’d agreed, and the only reason she didn’t agree was because we were Catholic and he was Ratana and she just said to him ‘Not as long as you’re

not Catholic' so the first thing he said was 'Oh how do I become a Catholic?', and that was it, so we got married and we were 50 years married" (Kuia)

Kuia and Kaumātua were voluble on the importance of maintaining whakapapa as an intent of the practice of tomo, as evidenced in their discussions. Whānau and whakapapa within te hurihuri – the contemporary world - raised concerns. One Kaumātua expressed concerns about the effects on taitamariki when whānau was disconnected, as expressed here:

"So you had a place, if you had a wife, you got a wife or something you had a place for her to stay and all this and some means of sustaining her and I think that's what's missing now, they [mokopuna] just making it nilly willy, they get sick of one partner change another and we got kids running around don't know who daddy is, don't know who mummy is, the father is missing" (Kaumātua)

The change and influences in our connections and collectivism were highlighted by one Kuia, which she associated with what had happened to our land: "It was all collective not individualised you see, and ah the same with what broke up our land, individual, and now it's mine, mine, mine, not ours".

Theme Two: Sex and gender roles

I was interested to hear Kuia and Kaumātua insights and understandings of how taitamariki learnt about sex, sexuality, mana-wāhine and mana-tāne (gender roles). I asked Kuia and Kaumātua how taitamariki were taught or learnt about gender roles, sex, and sexuality and about relationships. There was a unanimous reply from most of the Kuia that waiata was used. There was lots of laughter and singing in te reo Māori depicting some of these waiata, with one of the Kuia explaining:

"A way that our youth, our taitamariki learnt about sex and sexuality, there was a humour to those waiata, you know those ones that NAME and them sing, and Nanny NAME and them sing and you never sing it in English because it would be offensive, singing it in Māori and chuckling away together, those taitamariki have learnt about sexual things from those waiata [group laughter]" (Kuia)

The use of waiata was discussed in a slightly different way by one Kaumātua. Waiata was used not only as a way of learning but as a way of uplifting the spirits in a time of oppression, as seen here:

"There were times there, they used those waiata after getting drunk and felt knocked and hounded by the system. Sometimes the system is looking you in the eye and telling you, and then a lot of the waiata that we used to sing you know, we think it's ok but it's waiata that showed the grievances and pain and anger, te mea rukeruke, te tinana I te aroha, e kore rawa e tu tika ai, I te kaha taimaha e" (Kaumātua)

This Kaumātua also gave comment to the impact of religion on mana-wāhine when he spoke about pain and waiata.

"All those waiata you know, we might put it in such a way of singing it, but when you look at the lyrics, grievances and pain, anger comes through it. So, I look at a lot of our Kuia too, of yester years, in my mum's days I found they were just going over the hurdles of being used."

When I was young, I'm only 21 now but [group laughter] when I see the women of back in those days, a lot of those grievances and pain was religion" (Kaumātua)

Other forms of learning about relationships were reported by Kuia and Kaumātua, in their time, as taitamariki also learnt by listening and observing the people around them. One Kuia said that these teachings were all in our legends. However, she was cognisant of the effects colonial and Christian teachings had on these teachings: "The English came, stamped their thoughts, their god, they called us savages, they thought they were superior". She said that within our carvings, sexuality was celebrated and could depict both male and female sexual organs and sexual acts between men and women, also between those of the same sex. The removal of these carvings introduced negative notions of sex and gender, especially for wāhine, as indicated here:

"They were torn down and hidden, they were dumped into swamps, because they [Christians] thought we were heathens, our gods were false gods, they thought they were rude, they had no idea of the meaning and significance to our way, silly... And they thought they were so superior too" (Kuia)

Another Kuia agreed that other tribes still had their carved meeting houses, whereas many Ngāpuhi Marae had their carvings torn down and were banned by missionary settlers. She reminded us of the Victorian morals that were imposed.

The impact of the loss of te reo Māori has been evidenced in the kōrero throughout this wānanga. Emphasis was placed on how te reo Māori adds a depth of understanding and awareness and can facilitate reclaiming ourselves as Māori. A Kuia gave an example of what she was teaching taitamariki which she saw as relevant to this kōrero and reiterates the importance of passing knowledge to the next generations, and importantly passing on this knowledge through te reo Māori:

"I do a sexuality talk to the young kids that come through for hui, from this Iwi Social Services and trying to make the link between the fact that, when a woman is pregnant, the baby is feeding from the whenua, that's the placenta and so for Māori there was always that link between that baby and the rest of the tribe. So, there's whenua, there's the mother's hapū, which is what we call the baby has Koiwi which are bones and we call ourselves an Iwi from hapū. So, there's that progression, which is natural process in our reo, but when we lost our reo, when a lot of our kids lost our reo, they lost that connection stuff" (Kuia)

This same Kuia also suggested that although a lot of knowledge was passed down to taitamariki about sex and sexuality in the past [her generation], sadly for some this did not occur. She gives examples and some explanations here: "This wasn't a taboo subject before colonisation, and a lot of our women were brought up like that, so how can you teach what you don't know?". Having been to boarding school, she was staggered to realise many of her classmates had very little understanding of menstruation or the understandings that she had been taught about māreikura and whatukura - the spiritual deities representing male and female dimensions, the elements of gender at an esoteric level which are used to explore cultural constructs about relationships between tāne and

wāhine. This saw this Kuia as a young wāhine teaching her classmates. Awareness of the influences of the early missionary teachings and anthropologists' mis-understandings of mana-wāhine and Te Ao Māori were apparent for these Kuia. As suggested here, some were taught menstruation was a time when women were seen as unclean: "They were considered unclean, that's was the kōrero given to me" (Kuia). Whilst another said, "Nah, they were sacred, tapu not unclean!" (Kuia). This also highlights the diversity of the impacts of colonial and Christian influence. Humorously, another Kuia said, "They [wāhine] were allowed to scale the fish and cut the fish up, but they weren't allowed to fish. My Nanny always thought that was unfair, she would have rather do the fishing".

One of the Kaumātua suggested that, whilst the missionaries may have seen themselves as superior, he felt that "We were more Christian than them" from a Te Ao Māori view, as "we knew how to worship, we knew how to karakia before every task, in everything we did, to our gardens, to the sea, to nature and for our health and well-being together". A Kuia talked about our use of rahui and tangihanga which have not been "taken away". However, she did acknowledge that some understandings of tapu have been Christianised over time for some and this had impacted on understandings of intimate partner relationships.

Another Kuia said that the role of whānau was important in preparing taitamariki to embark on relationships using traditional values, and gave her own example within her whānau.

"With our children we tried to install the old values, well we felt that we were bringing all that into the teachings, because I included all my brothers and sisters and their children in the upbringing of my lot and we shared their kids and we told each other things, right down to this menstruation because of the young ones, right down to the boys. I use to ask my husband now you tell the boys what happens when you get to that age, and all those things but between us we did that, but by then this is in the sixties, seventies, all outside influences come in and education became a big thing. Yeah and that urbanisation you're away from home, you're not at your home ground. You're not as in close contact with your Marae and your whānau, and you're only going home about what, every 2 or 3 times a year" (Kuia)

This Kuia highlighted these teachings are not in the distant past. However, she was aware of generational differences that could make this teaching more difficult, citing influences of urbanisation.

Whakapapa was also described as determining roles as described by one of the Kuia, when asked about pre-settler times: "That [knowledge] will come in your whakapapa, what role you are, see the Puhi, kept them separate, you are the treasure, add this in your whakapapa". Within this kōrero, this Kuia gave some insights into what she felt was important for taitamariki and for whānau in the present time – respecting yourself and others. She also touched on the meaning of whānau:

"It's teaching your children to respect themselves, to respect each other and to understand you know, you get into situations you know, drinking and of course you get carried away, and there's always something there somewhere. You teach them think about the respect - themselves and for each other. Hold back, but it's getting across to today's people now that's the problem. I have some grandchildren around me about, from about 12 up to 17 and I talk

to them the same as I did to their parents, and this is what's happening with them too. But it's harder because of the outside influences, but I do believe in that whānau, it's not just your parents, not just your parents, there's Aunties there's Uncles. Yeah and of course whakapapa is a big thing too, teach them about that - understand who you are, where you come from and always acknowledge people whoever they are" (Kuia)

I finish off this section with a quote from another Kaumātua who urges us to consider the teachings of our customary ways, including relationship behaviours through te reo Māori, for both taitamatāne and taitamāhine and the support they need. He gives his own whānau example of supporting his mokopuna to learn te reo Māori and how this has been positive.

"You know, Ko koe, ko ngā kura katoa, o tātou kuri te kai hakaako wā tātou tamariki, ko rātou e kitea ana ko wēhea wā tātou tamariki e hakaako tikahia ana, wēhea kaua kē tino hakakohia ana i o tātou tikanga, taku mokopuna i roto i te kura nā, haere mai i te tatinga kīhai ia i tino mātau i te reo, i āiane nā ko tēnā hear what our children are saying tāna ao ko te reo, haere hoki mai ki au, rīngi mai ki au, kōrero māua i te reo i ngā wā katoa. E moko, kei a koe i a ia nā, i taima i a ia i ko i au rā, ka hakakongia ngā tikanga, tikanga mō te tama tāne, tama wāhine, ko kite kanohi i ai a, ka kitea ka mea tēnā, kaua koe mahi pēnā, tama tāne ki tēnā, te tama wāhine kaua koe mahi wēnā mahi and hoki koe ki tāna matua, hoki mai tāna māmā ki au, mea mai ki au, My girl this totally changed, tērā kia tika te hakaako e tātou, ko tātou e hakaako ia rātou ngā tikanga, e noho ki roto konei o rātou māhunga, haere rātou ki hea e tari ana e rātou, kia kitehia ai e mahi tika ana rātou, hoinano wāku nei kōrero mō tēnā, Kia ora" (Kaumātua).

Theme Three: Aspirations for Mokopuna

I asked Kuia and Kaumātua what their aspirations were for their mokopuna and their intimate partner relationships and what would be the best thing they could teach them? These questions evoked a variety of responses. Being 'educated' was paramount; however, this 'education' was not necessarily within a Western understanding. Whilst Western school education was seen as important to Kuia and Kaumātua for their mokopuna, there was a greater importance put on mokopuna having positive Māori role models and understandings of mana tāne and mana wāhine. Understanding wairua, having respect for yourself and your whānau and having self-worth were denoted as being important to relationship health as was having knowledge of the consequences of engaging in sexual intimacy. Having self-worth may assist in some of the decisions made within relationships, as depicted in the following quote:

"It's all about self-respect, teach them about self-respect, it's not just your parents your whole whānau, grandparents your sisters your brothers and their children, be all a part of this and understanding each other and understanding that each one has their own wairua, and they respect and people respect them for that, and they respect themselves for that too. So, when they go out, when they meet twice as young teenagers or even just friends and they have this feeling that oh they'd like to be with that boy or with that girl. Deep in their mind they also understand I can do so much, but don't go so far. Yea but for them to understand that there are barriers there that they need to understand. You can go so far, you know like, we know like 'petting'. Young couples can do that all the time, but there's a stage where they need to realise

what they are doing, why and who they are and respecting that person they're with too, it's about self-worth" (Kuia)

Another Kuia reiterated that the teaching of not only physiology of the body was important for taitamariki but the teaching of whakapapa – the creation of life – and about tapu.

"It's learning and instilling in a young person, there were eight of us girls in our family, and our mother taught us everything. She taught us right from the age of 5 or 6, that in later on you're going to start to bleed in a certain place, cause we thought 'What the heck's all this about?', you know and, but she prepared us right up until we all went through it, through the beginning of our menstruation and then she explained why. What the menstruation was all about and what could happen later, not just bodily but in our minds, and this is if you meet a boy. You know and then babies will come. Now you have to be prepared, that this is another person that's going to come into your life. This is whakapapa. Is that what you want, you know you should be prepared for that first, and me and my sisters this is how we were brought up, to the stage that it was a bit hard sometimes to listen to, she taught us about the tapu" (Kuia)

Supporting and creating households that were free from violence and aggression was discussed along with how we might be teaching our taitamariki. One of the Kaumātua expressed his concerns when answering the questions about his aspirations for his mokopuna:

"I'm sorry it's gonna run the Māori down of course, but we're teaching them the wrong things in Kapa haka sorry NAME. Some of our kapa haka now it's yelling and screaming and all that you know that violent side. In my day of kapa haka you, we worked with harmony and all that and even our actions were something like this - waiata were hardcase and you know and we create some fun in it to make the people laugh, and join in and um but to get to that we gotta go back to our teaching. Same thing, back to school again, what's out there now it's too late for them let's start a new programme and get the new ones into this new idea" (Kaumātua)

However, one Kuia had an alternative view, depicted here: "I have a different view, because these are our young men trying to emulate who their tupuna are and these are our young men trying to bring their tupuna into them, and they are very good on stage you know their gestures and that's what I see, the men that's where I see it, how else can they emulate their tupuna?" These kōrero saw Kuia and Kaumātua considering levels of violence within whānau and agreeing that teaching our taitamariki about healthy relationships could reduce whānau violence, and intergenerational violence. One Kuia suggested that teaching about respectful relationships should start with the very young. Kapa haka was brought up again by the same Kaumātua within this kōrero while referencing the homes our children may find themselves in. He gives the example of old teachings of kapa haka to new teachings, especially for men:

"It's our younger generation see; they see an aggressive household and a timid household. They'd go to the timid household because they can talk to them as a person, an aggressive household it's loud and dominant. That's where a lot of our kids, they are in turmoil at the moment it's through that. That's the only thing they know, pathway they know is that way a timid household they can talk to them, you can talk to them as a person and they can go anywhere else. If they talk this way everybody will listen, but an aggressive household is totally different they're loud and you find our kapa haka group the louder they are, they think they're

doing well but they're not. They're just screamers, but you get a good kapa haka group cos it's in co-ordination, teachings of men's responsibilities, and it's good to listen to, that's the difference between the two" (Kaumātua)

The notion of intergenerational knowledge transference about healthy relationships was considered by both Kuia and Kaumātua. They spoke of their own role in this knowledge transfer as and some of the impacts on whānau structures.

"So, I mean don't blame the kids though. If we can try rectifying it. You need to go further back, it's not an overnight solution you know, the potency is not there but we could be part of the solution as Kaumātua and Kuia, trying to talk to our own children. Mind you a lot of us our children are already in their 50s. They are already grandmothers, but we should be setting the example. Telling our children to set the example of a good relationship you know fine education, if all that happens, I think you know. Poverty and housing don't help, hard to get out of that".

Another Kaumātua highlighted intergenerational issues which have seen a disconnection between the generations, and reflected on cultural practices which ensured that taitamariki looked to the older generations for guidance.

"I think it's our generations, two generations above those mokopunas. That we are the ones that have failed just through our actions or our inactions. You know now not being a firm unit like husband and wife you know. That's been deleted by now you know. Just being partnered there's no sort of an identification of the rule of marriage and things like that - tomo. Marriage is a European concept and I accept that but under tomo it was there forever you know, forget about this so to love, Till Death Do Us Part. Māori had a different way for different reasons. You know, you are there for life you know. If we could instil those values you know in ourselves then our mokopunas will hopefully look to us and not look past us at our worries. I mean they were fighters they [tupuna] tried to get peace the best way they could you know with a rival, whatever, by killing people we're not at that. We are a generation or our generation now that should have set an example, it's too late now. The result of what these kids are doing now could just be the effect of their parents and their grandparents, just manifesting in amongst with whatever they do, you know violence or truancy, you know if you don't teach them to go to school you know" (Kaumātua)

Strengthening our whānau so that they can better support their taitamariki into healthy relationships was seen as being an important cultural value that required some attention, as the colonial ways had reduced this important aspect of Te Ao Māori. Kuia and Kaumātua gave their own whānau examples of the resurgence from many Māori whānau of reclaiming cultural knowledge and embracing te reo Māori with positive outcomes. One Kaumātua advised that it is important to be reflective of the knowledge Kuia and Kaumātua have to support whānau and their taitamariki, and the importance of doing so as this knowledge is a gift which needs to be passed to future generations for the knowledge to survive:

Me titiro anō ki a koe anō, kua e titiro atu ki ngā taonga kua homaingia rā mā tātou, ko tā tātou titiro kē, me pēhea kā taea e tātou ki te kōmiri i ngā raruraru, i ngā taimaha, i ngā pōuri, kia kua e uru atu ki runga ki wā tātou tamariki.....kia kua e uru atu ki runga ki wā tātou

tamariki mō te taenga mai, mō te whitinga ake o Tamanui te rā, pai anō te marino te āhua o wā tātou tamariki, ko mōhio tāua, ko oti ia tāua te hoatu, ki wā tāua tamariki ngā taonga, ngā tikanga, ngā kaupapa, ngā oranga katoa, nā mō wā tāua tamariki e tukua atu, ki wā tāua mokopuna aua taonga e hoatungia anō tāua ki a ratou, e te kore e hoatungia ki wā tātou uri, me pēhea anō te kaupapa e haere, i roto i tō tātou reanga, o tātou whakapapa āpōpō (Kaumātua)

Creating change for mokopuna and whānau from the impacts of the past was very much in the minds of the Kuia and Kaumātua when discussing their aspirations for their mokopuna. Many felt that Kuia and Kaumātua had a role in ensuring tribal well-being. However, some felt that in some quarters there was a ‘disconnect’ between the generations, brought about by ‘the two worlds’. Although acknowledging the importance of retaining our well-being now and into future generations, Kuia and Kaumātua said this could not be achieved without a collective tribal approach, whānau, hapū and iwi. In the following kōrero, a Kaumātua concedes that, while Kuia and Kaumātua are old, they have important gifts and a responsibility to pass on and contribute to tribal strength and tribal whānau ora.

Koia whakahokia mai te mauri o te raruraru, ki runga ki a koe, kaua e waiho atu ki te mokopuna, i te mea ko koe tēnā e whāngai ana e te mokopuna tētahi oranga, he oranga, kāhore raini, nō reira e mea nei au, ko tāu rourou ko tāku raurau ka ora.

I te tukuna e tāua kia haere pērā tonu ko tāua kē ngā mea ka raru, e hara kē ko rātou, ki ahau kia kaha kē tātou ki te noho pēnei, whakawhānaunga i a tātou hei oranga mō te hapū, he oranga hoki mō te whānau āpōpō ko tū mai te Ngāpuhi Tū Maranga Mai. Nō reira kia hoki kē mai ki a tātou, ahakoa kua hina kē wā tātou huruhuru, nā tātou ngā taonga, ahakoa kē kua tātaka kē ngā niho, a ka tū mataara [Group giggles]

Ahakoa hoki kua kapo kē, nā tātou ngā taonga, nō reira ko taku kē e kī ana ki a tātou e noho nei, me pēhea tātou e whakatū ai i a tātou ki runga ki tāua maunga rā, he oranga mō ngā mokopuna e eke ake nei i runga i tāua maunga rā, ko tāu raurau ko tāku raurau, koia rā tāku nei taea te kī, kia kaha kē tātou, ina mea ana tātou ko Ngāpuhi tātou, kei hea tō tātou whānaungatanga i roto i a Ngāpuhi, kaua e tukuna māu anake te tangi e tangi, anei mātou i roto i tāua āhua, anei mātou i roto i te marangai anei mātou i roto i te tonga, tēnā homai au tēnā tangi mā tātou ko te tangi, he aha ai hei oranga mō tātou i roto Ngāpuhi (Kaumātua)

This Kaumātua also spoke of the importance of retaining and teaching our customary ways of our tupuna, speaking for ourselves in our own language and inspiring young people’s minds and spirits so they too learn the customary ways and give them direction. He suggests that this, in his opinion, needs to be done within Kura Kaupapa total immersion schools as the language is at the heart of our worldview and could be a conduit between the generations.

Tērā wairua e ngaro ana i te wā nei nē, i waenganui i a tātou ngā Kaumātua, Kuia ki te whakahoki mai i tērā wairua i whakawhānaungia ai te hauāuru, te tonga, te marangai nē.....Ērā āhua katoa kia tatū mai anō mā tātou anō tātou e kōrero, i roto i tō tātou reo, me ōna nei tikanga katoa, kaua e tātou ka noho ki konā tāhi ka kōrero mai te kupu paradise, ka mutu e mōhio ana tātou he pā, kia mōhio ai tātou e hoa mā, ko kuia, kaumātua haere kē tātou,

a tātou purapura e whakatupungia e tātou e ngaro ana i te rangi nei, nā ko tō tātou mahi kē he whakatō atu noa, ehara he kāreti engari he kūmara ki mua i o rātou aroaro, kia timata anō e rātou te hoki mai te hīkoi runga i o tātou tapuwae, koia kē tēnei tāku e ngau nei tāku ngākau ki wā tātou mokopuna e noho ake nei i roto i te kura kaupapa, ka nui te nui o rātou kei reira e ngau ana i te reo, a ko te reo tawhito tāku e whāngai atu ana ki a rātou, pēnei i ngā tauparapara, e tauparaparatia ana e au nē, Tauranga kōtuku taku rerenga nei “Tenei au, tenei au ko te hokai nei, Tuia i runga tuia”, ērā tauparapara katoa, e whāngaingia atu nei ahau ki a rātou me te whakamārama atu ko ēhea aua tauparapara me whakamahi ki hea, nā te nuinga o ngā kupu kia whakahokia atu ki a....

Ko te tangi āku tuāhine, āku rangatira mō te reo, ki ahau ko tēnā te mea e ngaro ana i a mātou te rangi nei, pēnei ana te reo i waenganui i a mātou, i a rātou e iriiri mai rā, e kore kōrero mai, pēnā te ngaro o te reo, ka mutu, he tapu, he mana, he mauri i o rātou, ko mātou tēnei e kawea nei i wā rātou taonga, ko te tumanako kē, tēnā ko tātou ngā uri o rātou mā, takahia o rātou tapuwae, i roto i ngā takahitanga o tō tātou reo, kua tātou mea “How do you do”, engari pēnei atu “Āe”, mahi i te ata hāparatanga ki te kōhurutanga o te tai awatea te kāhoretanga o te manuhare, pōkerekere paraparangia i te ao tūroa, pēhea tāu nei ao i tēnei wā.....Simple (Kaumātua)

One of the Kuia had a slightly different perspective on the importance of te reo Māori, which brought up discussions about interracial relationships and cultural practices, identity and whakapapa.

“I disagree about te reo, I know it’s an important part, but mixed children in our marriages, some of our children can speak beautiful te reo and are kittens to trees. Where the Pākehā/Māori little boy the one who goes to a Pākehā school wouldn’t need to do that. So, I don’t believe that te reo is everything to a person’s identity, that you may be able to speak but it doesn’t make you a better human being” (Kuia)

Some of the Kuia and Kaumātua spoke of their children and grandchildren having Pākehā partners and other members of their whānau, with one Kuia saying she also had a Fijian and Samoan marry into her whānau. One Kuia considered the concerns for the taitamariki of mixed races and some of the potential reactions from others:

“One of my sons married a Pākehā, and he got a lot of flak with the rest of the family you know and so I had to teach him like ‘Come on eh, she’s no different from you man’. Skins colour, it’s got nothing to do with it, ‘Oh but she doesn’t know what her whakapapa is’, and I said ‘Ok, she’s got her own whakapapa’. She didn’t know and she actually didn’t when we talked to her she didn’t know, and when I got the idea of putting together a whakapapa with her grandparents and so on, she was blown away and so were her parents. But I mean things like that. I found out that a lot of our young boys, I see them out there, you know as soon as they see a Pākehā girl you know they straight away think yeah, and to me that’s not respectful. And that’s something that worries me sometimes when I see a lot of our young people. Now I got three sisters that married Pākehā, and their children are you know, some dark some fair and they get that from their cousins. ‘Oh, you fullas are white’, you know just being smart to each other” (Kuia)

This Kuia was cognisant that, because of the makeup of our population in the North, the matters she discussed need to be considered when Kuia and Kaumātua were supporting taitamariki to have healthy respectful relationships and pondered on how, as Kuia and Kaumātua, do they address

these young people, when cultural expectations and knowledge may be different. She gave these examples:

“When a Pākehā girl gets pregnant, you never ever see, ‘cause the parents have taken her away or taken the baby somewhere else and you as a parent may have lost that because the Pākehā have took them away and that’s it, there’s no contact, and that type of thing you know. They [child] come back again in a few years later, that Pākehā kid, who didn’t know he was a Māori all of a sudden, finds out, and there will be anger with his side. It’s not just with Pākehā, I’ve got Fijian and I’ve got Samoan you know and the differences in culture but at least with them you can basically understand with the islanders that they do have similar way to us” (Kuia)

In response to the Kuia question above as to how can Kuia and Kaumātua address young people, one Kaumātua suggested that instilling Te Ao Māori from a young age will ensure that no matter where our children go or with whom, they will always have that in their hearts. He gives his own example of his whānau:

“Because I know we can do it, I’ve got two sons and three girls, and my two sons married English girls, they Pommies, and yet their kids, they’d tell you they’ve taken their kids to Māori, everything Māori they’ve always stuck with, and man they’re over the moon, when their kids get involved; come back with headband and piupiu on, you know it’s awesome” (Kaumātua)

This Kaumātua adds that, whilst his grandson lives overseas with his non-Māori wife and their children, they still practise the ways of our forebears.

Summary

In Wānanga One, Kuia and Kaumātua kōrero indicated that they believed many taitamariki Māori and their whānau are managing overlapping identities in Aotearoa. They also suggested that the influences of Christianity, loss of whenua, loss of the use of te reo Māori, racism and structural barriers have made it difficult and/or interrupted the intergenerational knowledge transference of Te Ao Māori values and practices related to the instigation and maintenance of healthy relationships. Kuia and Kaumātua saw themselves as being important to the support taitamariki need through their life stages and that this may need to be achieved by using a Te Ao Māori context, that is, supporting the traditional social structure arranged around whānau, hapū and iwi.

Wānanga Two

The second wānanga was slightly more structured. Kuia and Kaumātua had requested a second wānanga so we could speak further about their understandings of mana-wāhine and mana-tāne and of the cultural values within Te Ao Māori. The format of this second wānanga was similar to the format of the taitamariki wānanga. We started with an explanation that I had used the Whare Tapa Whā framework with taitamariki in this research project, as it was a safe way to begin conversations about relationships and taitamariki understood the constructs, as the framework was taught within the Kura.

Some of the Kuia and Kaumātua had knowledge of the framework as used in the health sector. Asking Kuia and Kaumātua about their understandings of the constructs tinana, hinengaro, whānau and wairua within taitamariki healthy relationships elicited not only their understandings but how they were taught about them and their thoughts on what aspects within Te Ao Māori needed to be added to this framework to support and maintain healthy relationships – whenua, whakapapa and te reo Māori.

Theme Four: Understanding tinana, hinengaro, wairua and whānau

Kuia and Kaumātua both discussed **wairua** in terms of “what you have got in you, the two sides to us tangata and wairua” (Kaumātua) and was closely aligned with the mauri - “kei roto I a koe, tou nei ana wairua” (Kuia). The interconnection of these constructs and their impact on each other was highlighted throughout this wānanga. Connections between wairua and whānau – “they work together, that was how they (tupuna) spoke to us” were also made. Within healthy relationships, wairua was viewed as the ability to “settle the mind” and acknowledge “the spiritual side of each other” with your actions towards each other. This was extended to the meaning of trust and having “faith” in each other within the relationships and yourself. Acknowledging wairua within a relationship was important: “It’s acknowledging a higher order, because we all do it all the time, it’s unseen, but it’s faith, like I said” (Kuia). There were discussions around the understanding of karakia and wairua as seen below:

“Wairua is a biggy” (Kuia)

“Rereke te karakia ki te wairua” (Kuia)

“Because wairua is not only to do with church, people get this mixed up” (Kuia)

“It’s not a religion (wairua)” (Kuia)

The influences of Christianity were discussed, noting the changes to our karakia over time and the use of karakia. Kaumātua recalled how they began and ended each day with karakia and how their parents would ensure they adhered to this. One Kaumātua also recalled being taught by his grandparents about wairua which was related to intimate partner relationships. He was taught how it was important to look after your own wairua and that of your partner by your actions.

Within the Whare Tapa Whā framework, Kuia and Kaumātua suggested that **whānau** and **whakapapa** were essential to relationship well-being. Having knowledge of their taitamariki intimate partner’s whānau was therefore important. Questions around this were quite often asked, as observed here: “Well I always ask, when my son started looking at girls you know, when he was telling me about his girlfriend so I said, ‘Where’s she from?’ and ‘Who’s her parents?’ I tell ya” (Kuia). Several of the Kuia and Kaumātua explained that, within the context of intimate partner relationships, and Whare Tapa Whā, whakapapa should be added and sit with whānau. Explaining that whakapapa lays

down the relationships and connectiveness of people to others and to place. It also sets down reciprocity and collective obligations that will promote whānau and hapū well-being – it establishes connections and, as one Kaumātua said, “it joins us, we’re all linked, but if you are going down you can look to whānau , hapū, iwi to assist you.” Whānau and whakapapa are seen as protective factors for taitamariki. A Kuia expanded on this and said that:

“Knowing the whānau through the whakapapa makes sure that many are there to awhi (support) our kids, you gotta know who they are, they gotta know who your whānau and whakapapa – it then connects us , we are all responsible then” (Kuia)

The next construct asked about was hinengaro, within a healthy intimate partner relationship. Kuia and Kaumātua suggested that a person’s physical and emotional well-being were connected so chose to discuss **hinengaro and tinana** together. The importance of being able to express your thoughts and feelings within a relationship was examined as were the consequences if this did not occur. One Kuia suggested that “of course bringing it [thoughts and feeling] out into the open is healthy, when it gets sick when it’s left in there, in te po, it needs to be brought out into te ao marama (the light) so that we all know”. In response to this kōrero, a Kaumātua suggested that more recently feelings of shame have made this difficult for the individual but also for some whānau to get support.

“Because most of that te hinengaro was part of it, was pushed on the side because everybody was whakamā, because one of the whānau has got that, so nobody sort of kept them aside, and that was the problem with that hinengaro. The thing is it’s to the whānau you know, you can tell just by looking at a person that there’s something wrong with them, and that’s something that with Māori was whakamā about the whānau, they hide it so they won’t be seen” (Kaumātua)

Two of the Kuia suggested that the understanding of hinengaro has been Westernised and ‘mental well-being’ is now seen through a deficit lens, which may prevent individuals and whānau from seeking help should they need to. The kōrero turned to tohunga and traditional Māori healing practices which had spiritual elements. The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 intended to stop these practices. The Kuia suggested that, through a colonial lens, the practices by tohunga were seen as quackery which impacted on how these traditional Māori practices were utilised by Māori over time. “See that [being ashamed] was a colonised thing though. Because in the old days, those who had this sight were actually considered real live tohunga. They had that ability to see a different world and just to get messages”. Another Kuia agreed by saying, “So the concept of hinengaro is, by the time the Christians came and told us that we should not be recognising them [tohunga] and honouring them, then all of a sudden it became a minus thing to have”. A person’s tinana was recognised as being affected if they were not supported emotionally or spiritually.

Kuia and Kaumātua discussed the importance of **whenua** in the first wānanga and did so again within the Whare Tapa Whā exercise. The loss of whenua was considered the greatest impact on Māori

whānau ora (well-being). One Kuia explained that whenua needed to be placed in the Whare Tapu Whā framework as “Whenua is the base, without whenua nothing happens, without whenua we can’t survive”. Another Kuia added that, “It affects the mind too, the baby’s placenta is whenua”.

Another domain talked about throughout the first wānanga, and again in Wānanga Two, has been **te reo Māori**, with Kaumātua suggesting te reo Māori be added to Te Whare Tapa Whā framework. The impact of colonisation on te reo Māori were discussed from a Ngāpuhi perspective, as shown below.

Within this group of Kuia and Kaumātua, most conversed about their parents’ decision to encourage their children to learn and speak English. On reflection, some could see that this decision by their parents had been well-intentioned. The rationale that Kuia and Kaumātua suggested were behind their parents’ decisions were as follows: “You won’t progress, you won’t get a job with te reo” (Kuia), “My mum and dad made the decision that we won’t because we would be better off speaking English” (Kuia) and “My mum was a teacher and that’s what she believed that you go to English/Pākehā” (Kuia).

While agreeing with the Kuia above, one Kaumātua told of his father insisting on his children speaking te reo Māori as well as English: “Good intentions, my father had another view he said no, be strong to your reo and he maintained keep the reo”. Another Kaumātua shared the importance for our taitamariki learning te reo Māori when describing visiting another tribal area with his whānau where he experienced many taitamariki speaking only te reo Māori.

“I first got there, my brother goes, ‘God, all these kids are speaking Māori’ and I said, ‘You’re in TRIBAL AREA’. All these little kids, mokopunas running around. That was their first language. I said to NAME I said, ‘You’re so lucky,’ she said ‘Why?’, I said ‘All you gotta learn is the Pākehā world’. Not like us we’re stuttering in Māori and English and we still gotta learn” (Kaumātua)

Kuia and Kaumātua spoke of their parents both encouraging and discouraging the use of te reo Māori within the colonial setting, and the historical violent consequences of speaking te reo Māori at school, as discussed previously. However, the teaching of te reo Māori and tikanga by these Kuia and Kaumātua to their whānau was strongly evident, which assisted with their mokopuna being able to ‘live in both worlds’ and maintain their connection.

From the above kōrero, thoughts were shared of the influences of other tribes within more recent times. It was recognised that many hapū have their own kawa (protocols). The kōrero reinforces that Māori are not a homogenous group and our culture is not static. As this Kuia considers:

“I forgot the fact that Kuia and Kaumātua are influenced by so many other tribal groups now. There was a time when we only knew our own, our own was the main one, everyone did it in our world as far as we were concerned. Then we met all these other Iwi that spoke differently, that did things differently. We freaked out and you kind of think this is the way Māori do it, and no, this is the way the Māori up North do it” (Kuia)

To finish off this section, suggestions from Kuia and Kaumātua to add to the Whare Tapa Whā framework for healthy relationships were as follows:

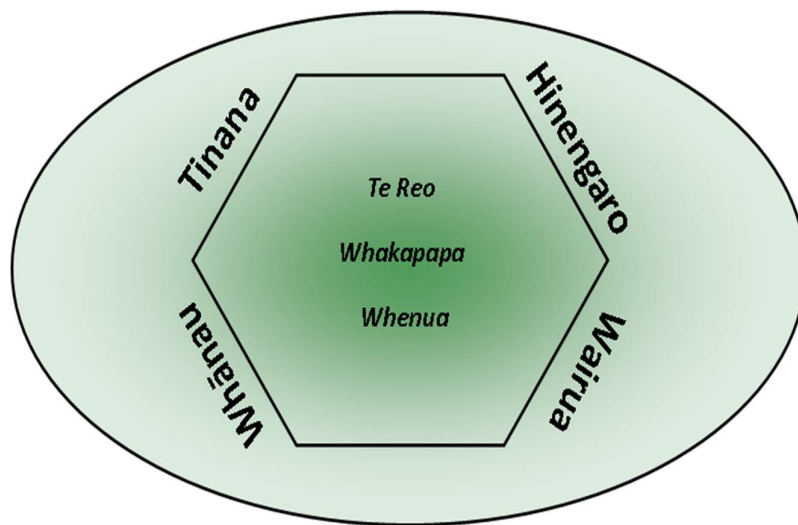


Figure 4. Kuia and Kaumatua adaptation Whare Tapa Whā framework

Theme Five: Te Ao Māori - Mana Wāhine Mana Tāne

I wanted to further the understandings of mana wāhine and mana tāne with Kuia and Kaumātua to explore possible ways for the transmission of these traditional concepts and expressions of Māori gender roles to have relevance to taitamariki Māori within today's society. I asked Kuia and Kaumātua to reflect and consider what mana wāhine and mana tāne meant to them, and what within Te Āo Māori was important in the instigation and maintenance of a healthy intimate partner relationship. This was achieved by asking Kuia and Kaumātua (in gendered groups) to brainstorm on large pieces of paper their kōrero (see below) then coming back together to discuss. Within these discussions not all kōrero ended up on the page and need to be read within the context of the general kōrero. I have added some of this kōrero. One Kuia commented that “cultural expectations” should be changed to “cultural values”, which was supported by the rest of the group. I begin with the Kuia, many of them reflected back to when they were aged 16, as a starting point for this discussion.

Kuia and mana-wāhine

Having good role models while “growing up as young wāhine was important, we learnt values” (Kuia). These role models were seen as being ‘strong’ and ‘proud’ to be a wāhine and who were ‘respected’ because of their actions. Learning came from being taught specifically and/or observation of others’ relationship behaviours and listening to older whānau kōrero.

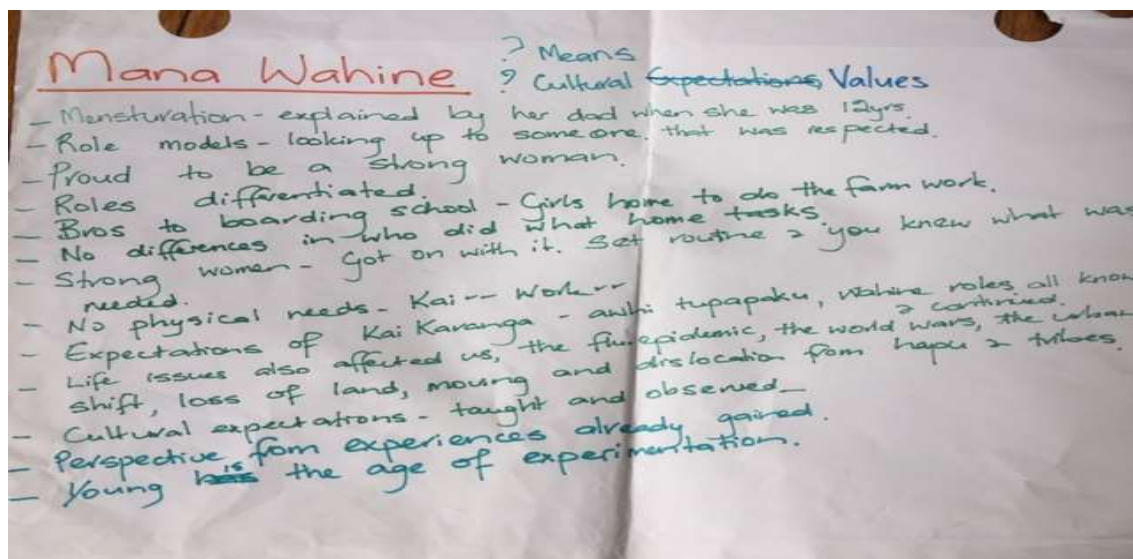


Figure 5. Kuia thoughts on mana-wāhine and cultural values

Several Kuia remembered those in their whānau using ‘riddles’ in the teaching of these values, with one Kuia saying, “My Papa never answered a question, he gave it to you in another way, it was like a riddle”. Another Kuia agreed with this and added, “You had to work it out yourself, pena he roro kei koine hakamahia, if you’ve got a brain use it”. As seen in Figure 5, as wāhine grew up their roles were known. For example, one Kuia said because of her position in the whānau she was expected to karanga (call onto the Marae), to look after the Marae and sit beside the coffin at tangihanga (funeral). There was also acknowledgement that many of these traditional practices and knowledge transference were disrupted as she got older. Kuia again discussed the loss of whenua, the impact of urbanisation and “dislocation” from hapū and iwi.

Many of these Kuia themselves and/or siblings had attended various urban, church-based boarding schools, which must be noted. Mana tāne and mana wāhine were spoken about by Kuia in terms of equity, as shown by these two Kuia:

“See we all grew up on farms, in my household there was no sexual differences made, you know you worked inside the whare, my brothers worked inside the whare you know we had to go and milk cows, the females. They had to come in and cook and clean house and do the ironing and things like that. There was no gender differences, my mother expected that of us so we all did it, and my brothers turned out fabulous husbands, they did all the cooking” (Kuia)

“We had three younger brothers and we were the three older girls and then we had three older brothers who were away at boarding school. So those three younger brothers they stayed home and you know I tell you they used to sweep the floor and wash the dishes and you know our mother made them do those things because we were still coming in from the farm. But boarding school was a must. So, you get the education and get the best job you can, that was my parents and they sacrificed a lot and they did” (Kuia)

Kuia also spoke of ‘education’ in terms of their whānau wanting their mokopuna to be able to “survive better in the world” and to obtain more ‘education’ in the state system than they had. Kuia

also discussed the impact on Māori of the “world wars” and the flu epidemic within this kōrero, suggesting that these events also impacted on traditional practices and knowledge transference.

Kaumātua and mana-tāne

Kaumātua shared what mana-tāne meant to them, as seen in Figure 6 below. Having a strong sense of self and within oneself was important, as well as the ability to be honest with yourself and with all actions you take. Being true to tikanga and standing with pride: “so your whānau can be proud of who we are”, along with having a state of ‘settled’ hinengaro and wairua. Within this kōrero, one of the Kaumātua suggested that not knowing relationship expectations and/or having knowledge of relationships could be fraught. One of the Kaumātua also suggested that how relationships were initiated has changed over time. He gave the example of being tomo and of his generations going to dances, and how wāhine would not approach a tāne, compared to more recent times: “Because, you know, then the women waited to be approached by the man, but now if a woman likes a man, she’ll go up and tell them, you snooze you lose” .

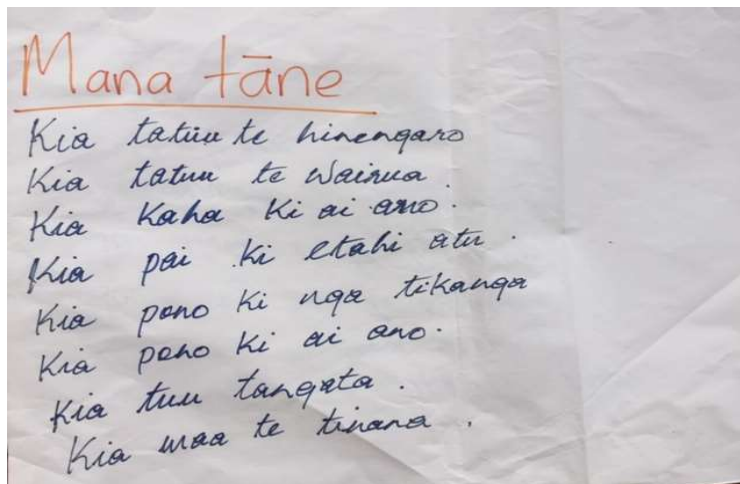


Figure 6. Kaumātua - Mana-Tāne

Kōrero about life stages, outside influences (as discussed also at the beginning of the first wānanga) and generational differences came from this kōrero on mana wāhine and mana tāne. There were reflections of the misconception of the young that “love conquers all” (Kaumātua), and whilst knowing what tika behaviours are expected now, and were expected in the past of the young, sexual desires can make this difficult to abide by. Kuia and Kaumātua discussed the influences that our taitamariki have within today’s society which affect not only their intimate partner relationships but how they might feel about themselves and their identity.

Kuia and Kaumātua were supporting the need for intergenerational kōrero as shown below:

“And this is where experiences come into. We’ve walked that journey. But what I see is a lot of them [taitamariki] are not proud of who they are, and they wanna be someone else. Like that Hip Hop. We got to talk about our tupuna, our Rangatira, how proud they were and what they did for us. We gotta do it more so it’s instilled into our children. Because they want to follow someone else. The learning is important. If you do this, you’re gonna end up here, if you do that, you’re gonna end up there. And all this [teaching] is for harmony. It’s for the harmony of man and women living together, being together, all this is healthy” (Kuia)

There was an appreciation about listening to taitamariki views expressed by both Kuia and Kaumātua and to consider that they are also not a homogenous group, as seen here: “This is our kōrero from our age group and the teenagers they got different kōrero, we have to sort out how they see it” (Kaumātua) and this from Kuia, “You’ve got to love yourself before you can love others. We are all from different backgrounds and our kids are too that’s why some are like that [don’t love themselves]” (Kuia). The importance of holding on to our values and instilling these values to mokopuna and their whānau was deliberated, and how best to do this. The Marae was suggested as an appropriate place; however, it was recognised that “they have to want to come, we have to make it so they want to come” (Kuia). Another Kuia said this was the site where teachings on healthy relationships should be taught as parents did not always have this knowledge, and she added they probably needed it just as much - both tāne and wāhine. Some Kuia reflected that they were “brought up on the Marae” and “their [mokopuna] world is different to the way we grew up”. One of the Kaumātua suggested there was value in getting Pākehā on to the Marae which would assist in understandings between Pākehā and Māori.

I shared with Kuia and Kaumātua some of the findings from my wānanga with taitamariki on their thoughts on mana wāhine and mana tāne and the cultural values that were important for them for their healthy relationships within Te Ao Māori. There was great interest shown from Kuia and Kaumātua in taitamariki kōrero. Kuia and Kaumātua responded by saying they felt that these were ‘grown-up thoughts’ and were excited by the depth of knowledge of these taitamariki. One of the Kuia suggested that having such knowledge can assist taitamariki to be more resilient (protective factors) to outside influences:

‘Cause straight away you know that these are the children that’s not going to be led down drinking and drugs, they’re gonna think for their future, whereas the ones that gonna not have those learnings, values, they’ll get pulled in by others” (Kuia)

Others in the group reiterated that taitamariki need to be supported by their whānau to feel confident in themselves, to respect themselves and each other’s mana and to be proud of who you are as Māori. Kuia added to this saying that showing taitamariki aroha was perhaps lacking in a lot of households and was something that had been a ‘natural process’ in the past which has been lost by some whānau. Showing aroha assisted with taitamariki having confidence about themselves.

Cultural Values

Within this wānanga Kuia and Kaumatua were asked about cultural values within Te Ao Māori (not withstanding mana wāhine and mana tāne principles) that were important for healthy intimate partner relationships to them. These are listed in Figure 7. Care, love and support of whānau were expressed as important values. Additional values and Te Ao Māori principles were also discussed (Figure 8).

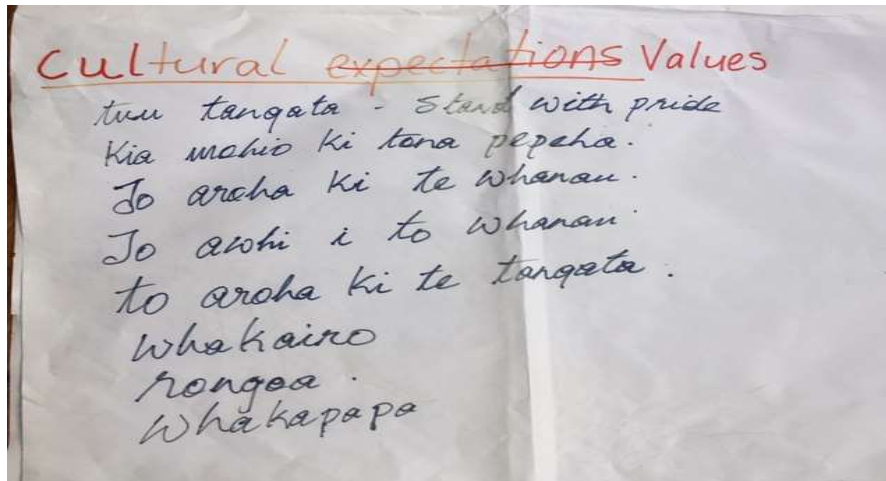


Figure 7. Kaumātua Cultural Values

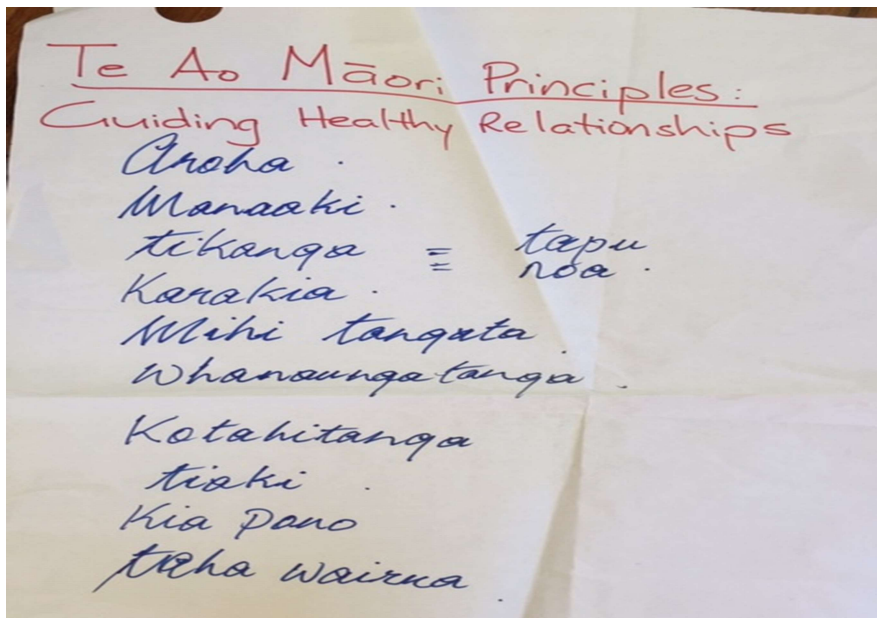


Figure 8. Kaumātua Te Ao Māori Principles

Kuia added “To aroha ki to Marae and to aroha ki te tangata, love for other people. Whānaungatanga kinship, relationships, jump out at me, this is tikanga”. Tu tangata, stand with pride and kia mohio ki tona pepeha, knowing your identity, and whakapapa were strongly endorsed by Kuia as a conduit for a healthy relationship. So also was honesty – to be pono about all your actions and

show aroha and manaaki. One Kaumātua had this to say which led to kōrero about ‘the knowing to the doing’ and discussions on passing the knowing on to the next generation.

“In reality we’re not doing what we are talking about you know. I hear this thing people say ko te aroha (it is love), and I see it, even in amongst my family and I think how real is it you know, we’re not being honest to one another, it’s a bit like ants, you do what we say, not what we do” (Kaumātua)

One of the Kuia agreed whilst saying that “even that expectation is what I know, I’m gonna teach before I go to the grave, it’s an expectation we just take for granted, yeah we all got the whakaaro there but ah putting it into action becomes harder and harder”. The best ways of learning were discussed by Kuia and Kaumātua, being shown or being spoken to was a preferred method for this group whilst acknowledging that we used to be an oral culture and did not “write these things down that’s right, that’s how everything was handed down and that’s been lost too”. Two Kaumātua used the analogy of him trying to use his computer and another using his cell phone – when they were shown by their mokopuna how to use these devices, they were more successful than trying to read the instructions.

Summary

To assist to summarise this section, I use a quote from one of the wānanga Kaumātua who quoted from the late Sir James Henare, a prominent Ngāpuhi leader and politician. “Ko te reo te mauri to Māoritanga – the language is the heart and soul of your Māoridom, Māoridom being your identity”. Te reo Māori adds a depth of understanding to who we are. Kuia and Kaumātua kōrero has highlighted some of the often-complex interactions of colonialism. However, to contextualise modern experiences and expressions of intimate partner relationship health and to develop possible solutions for violence prevention, understanding and interrogating the effects of our colonial history on our cultural evolution, especially with taitamariki Māori, is important. Kuia and Kaumātua play an essential part in this, however, they too need to be supported in doing so. The next chapter discusses this further by drawing together taitamariki and Kuia and Kaumātua kōrero, the literature and Māori theoretical perspectives on healthy intimate partner relationships.

Initially, a third wānanga was planned with taitamariki and Kuia and Kaumātua together as part of wānanga knowledge exchange and reciprocity across generations. This became untenable within this thesis due to the COVID-19 outbreak. While feeling disappointed with this situation, Hall (2015) reminded me that within a Māori consciousness the notions of *Ā te wā* and *mā te wā* needed to be considered. She cites Tate (2012): “*Ā te wā* is a common phrase meaning that *te wā* is in the future. It is not now. It will come about ‘in due course’”. In the meantime, the right course of action is to attend to the present moment and the stages that now need to be set in place. The goal will be achieved in due course.

Chapter Eight – Discussion

...prevention is the investment of love, care, teaching and guidance for children and mokopuna... It is the transmission of important knowledge, abilities and practices that will contribute to building and sustaining whānau ora in the future, that necessarily involves a commitment to the positive development of whānau today... (Cooper, 2012, p. 180)

I set out to inquire about taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationship well-being and their understandings of gender roles and sex within Te Ao Māori. I achieved this by putting taitamariki in the centre of this study and did an enquiry that was with them and for them and not on them. Acknowledging the mana of taitamariki, taitamariki and I set out to formulate Kaupapa Taitamariki Māori research methodology which actioned the belief that to build a strong evidence base for supporting taitamariki Māori healthy intimate partner relationship well-being and to establish violence prevention efforts, we need to know more about taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationships, *from* taitamariki Māori. The result was they shared a kete of knowledge about their intimate partner relationships framed within Te Ao Māori which has been supported by Kuia and Kaumātua. Together, they answered the research question - *Can traditional Māori practices inform and support the development of taitamariki Māori healthy intimate partner relationships?*

In this chapter I discuss this outcome. The answer is about healthy relationships and explains these relationships. These explanations can be used within a violence prevention space. Taitamariki identified the principles within Te Ao Māori that inform the way they practice within a healthy intimate partner relationship; namely, *whakapapa, whenua, whānau, te reo, mana, tapu, tikanga, manaakitanga* and *aroha*. These traditional Māori practices are principle-based practices that guide intimate partner relationship well-being; these are the principles that are embedded in who they are and guide their behaviour when in an intimate partner relationship. They are, however, not linear but intrinsically interwoven with each other, as taitamariki and Kuia and Kaumātua have evidenced. Understanding these principles has increased our knowledge about taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationships and identified traditional Māori practices that can inform and support the development of taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationship well-being.

To go into a violence prevention space, we need to go through a taitamariki Māori door; see through a taitamariki lens, using kaupapa taitamariki Māori frameworks and constructs of ora (well-being). Firstly, however, we need to recognise that taitamariki are capable of expressing their views on their intimate partner relationships when given the opportunity. We therefore need to facilitate these opportunities. In this thesis, this was achieved by the co-construction of Kaupapa Taitamariki Māori methodology with taitamariki Māori. Kaupapa Māori theory and research methodologies and approaches are inter-related. Like whakapapa, they are continually layered with each other (Pihama, 2016). As a result, the findings of this research contribute to the evidence as to what works for

taitamariki Māori as well as for Kuia and Kaumātua within research processes and in supporting their taitamariki intimate partner well-being. Eliciting taitamariki and Kuia and Kaumātua understandings of intimate partner relationship well-being also provides further opportunities for a Te Ao Māori prevention focus that is sourced within an inter-generational consciousness.

This research has been co-constructed with taitamariki Māori to ensure their knowledge (worldview) and voices are evident and understood. Ideally, taitamariki would have continued to be fully involved in making meaning of kōrero collected. However, I have had to proceed to this end point largely without them because of COVID-19 and, as such, am tasked with representing their knowledge. While this is a dilemma in terms of the methodology advocated in this thesis, taitamariki Māori piloted and co-constructed the methodology and were involved in some of the data analysis. Their voices have been brought to the fore by the use of many quotes from them. It is hoped that through the dissemination of this thesis their voices will be listened to and actioned. It is my hope that I have represented their knowledge accurately, on their behalf, and I will continue beyond this thesis to check in with them and expand and revise this body of work, as warranted by further co-construction with taitamariki.

In this chapter I discuss Te Ao Māori principles highlighted by taitamariki Māori and Kuia and Kaumātua as important for intimate partner relationship well-being. The implications of the co-construction with taitamariki within research and practice are then discussed along with considerations of the possible application of the identified Te Ao Māori principles to a taitamariki violence prevention framework. The strengths and limitations of the study are then described before recommendations for further research are made. I finish this thesis with some concluding remarks.

Principle-Based Practice Framework

There is a wealth of well-known Kaupapa Māori conceptual frameworks and models, founded on Te Ao Māori principles, that aim to maintain and promote 'ora' or well-being. For example, Dynamics of Whanaungatanga (Tate, 1993; Pere, 1994), Te Wheke (Pere, 1991), Mauri Ora (Kruger et al., 2004) and Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985), to name a few. I have chosen the Mauri Ora Framework (Kruger et al., 2004) (the framework) to structure the discussion of the findings, as this framework has been specifically conceptualised for violence prevention by and for Māori and is founded on Te Ao Māori principles. Although the framework is not specific to taitamariki Māori, it does not exclude them. It therefore holds the potential to guide the analysis of taitamariki understandings and, as such, has provided a Kaupapa Māori conceptual and theoretical base to the study. I have used this framework in previous studies with taitamariki Māori and violence prevention, as has Eruera (2015).

Eruera (2015) suggests that using the Mauri Ora Framework can highlight ‘mana ahua ake taitamariki’ (recognising taitamariki uniqueness, agency, capacities and potential within the life cycle) within the context of their whānau, hapū and iwi. This framework promotes respectful and equal relationships (removing the opportunities for violence to be practised); promotes all of whānau awareness of the effects of violence and challenges its normalcy (dispelling the illusion that violence is normal, acceptable and culturally valid); and, importantly within this thesis, provides systems of support that teach transformative practices based on Māori cultural principles. As previously discussed in Chapter 3, the framework is a multi-level ‘well-being’ approach to whānau violence prevention and includes three areas that have been canvassed within the content of this thesis - Te Ao Māori (historical perspectives); Te Ao Hurihuri (today’s context including analysis of colonisation and social, economic and political impacts); and Transformative practices (imperatives or elements, which apply cultural constructs into today’s context). Transformative elements have been identified in this thesis as those elements that are relevant to taitamariki Māori developing healthy intimate partner relationships. Taitamariki are in a transformative time in their lives, they carry the mauri – life force, energy – in their ihi, wehi and wani (personal communication, Advisory Group member, 2020). The Mauri Ora Framework holds all the principles evidenced in the data collection within this study. However, it is important to interrogate these principles from a taitamariki worldview. The next section shows the key principles that Ngāpuhi Kuia and Kaumātua and taitamariki consider important to intimate partner relationship well-being. Many of these principles are interconnected, so their separation here is for the ease of discussion only.

Key Te Ao Māori principles for intimate partner relationship well-being

No society is static, nor can culture be frozen in time, no matter how attractive the past might look.
(Durie, 1998)

Mana and Tapu

There are intergenerational differences in *how* the concepts of mana and tapu were talked about. The Kuia and Kaumātua in this study were taitamariki at a time when colonisation was central to their lives and, more strongly, the lives of their parents and grandparents. Thus, their understandings of tapu and mana are mātauranga, but mātauranga altered by an intense colonial gaze. Consequently, when Kuia and Kaumātua bring it forth today even they are talking about tapu and mana in these terms. The effects of colonisation on the understandings of mana and tapu is highlighted in Mead (2003), and Mikaere (2003) and has been discussed in Chapter 2.

Taitamariki, who have been immersed in te reo Māori and tikanga through their schooling and whānau commitment, have in effect embarked on a decolonising ‘push back’ of this ‘altered gaze’. Their understanding of tapu and mana have been impacted by this desire to decolonise mātauranga

and reclaim their birthright of taonga tuku iho. As a result, when taitamariki talked about mana and tapu they carried with them the essence of what Kuia and Kaumātua had said, interpreted for both their contemporary context and unpacked from any colonial wrapping. Having respect for each other's bodies was of paramount importance within a healthy relationship for both taitamāhine and taitamatāne, especially highlighted by taitamariki when discussing sex and consent. An emphasis was placed on the tapu of both tāne and wāhine within Te Ao Māori values, explaining that tāne and wāhine have different attributes to bring to a relationship and both needed to be respected for these qualities in a relationship – both were equally sacred. Respect for he tapu tā te tāne he tapu tā te wāhine assists with relationship health by each person in the relationship applying these tikanga practices. Conceptualising relationships through a lens of equality challenges traditional Western norms related to gender roles, for example, where females are considered to have a submissive position relative to males who are considered as holding positions of power and authority (Mikaere, 2011).

Supporting taitamariki to exercise their mana and having it recognised by their boyfriend or girlfriend within their intimate partner relationships is of importance to taitamariki intimate partner relationship well-being and is centred around both mana and tapu. Importantly, taitamāhine described a healthy relationship as one in which they had a sense of confidence and control. The term control referred to internalised control, rather than the often-understood reference to being controlled by other's actions, thus feeling in control of themselves by having the confidence/courage to exercise their mana and having agency and feeling confident to exercise it. Taitamatāne also spoke of feelings of confidence within a sexual relationship within the context of their understandings of mana-tāne. Having equal status within a relationship is an understanding of mana-wāhine and mana-tāne (Pihama & McRoberts, 2009). Taitamariki desire for having their equal status within their relationships acknowledged and recognised, challenges the traditional Western 'sexual scripts' discussed in Chapter 3 by Blunt-Vinti et al. (2019), placing the responsibility for perceived sexual consent on taitamāhine. This was highlighted further by taitamariki in decision-making within a relationship, especially when it came to consent to sexual intimacy. Supporting taitamariki to be confident (exercise their mana) was supported by Kuia and Kaumātua who felt whānau were integral to assisting taitamariki to feel confident in themselves, to respect themselves and each other's mana within a relationship. This was directly related to being proud of who they are as Māori. This also required whānau to feel proud to be Māori. Identity was an important point throughout wānanga with Kuia and Kaumātua. Knowing your identity was strongly endorsed by Kuia as a conduit for a healthy relationship and the ability to exercise your mana.

Taitamatāne expressed mana-tāne attributes as being grounded in respectful behaviours that were shown to others, wisdom, being humble, and the ability to pass on knowledge, rather than physical strength. Whilst taitamāhine could relate mana-wāhine to themselves in the present, some of the taitamatāne related this to “when they were older” as they were “still boys”. Some taitamatāne did, however, give understandings of generational differences around the meanings of mana-tāne, with some saying that the behaviour of their dads and uncles may not fit with their understandings of appropriate mana-tāne behaviours – namely, around the use of alcohol and drugs and attitudes to sex.

Mataira (2008) comments on the important role of tāne in changing attitudes to whānau violence and suggests, “We need to advance a new approach to decolonisation, to masculinity, to the validation of our Indigenous ways and to appreciating ‘ngā mātauranga Māori’ in support of meaningful Māori men’s education and mentoring work” (p. 35). Taitamatāne suggested that being a mana-tāne centred on seen behaviours. *Being a man* for these taitamatāne was more aligned with their understandings of mana-tāne than perhaps the traditional Western notions of *being a man* which were depicted in talk about the behaviours of their dads and uncles, as discussed above. Further responses to what mana-tāne meant to taitamatāne centred around cultural practices including responsibility to speak te reo Māori, knowing your whakapapa, to practise karakia, attend tangihanga and be involved with whānau and Marae activities – doing the right thing. Importantly, taitamatāne understood mana-tāne involved showing manaaki (support) to others, especially girlfriends and whānau.

Both Kuia and Kaumātua and taitamariki were in agreement that any abusive act towards another person would be a violation of that person’s tapu and may takahi (trample) the tapu and mana of the other person as well as your own. Unhealthy behaviours in a relationship were described by taitamāhine as being hit, put down, your whānau being put down, being cheated on, belittled and made to do stuff you didn’t want to – all of which impacted on their mana-wāhine. Notably, taitamatāne spoke little of unhealthy relationship behaviours, with a consensus that any violence within a relationship was not okay. Of note here is the response of a taitamāhine when describing “being lippy” to your boyfriend. This example shows an understanding of exercising mana in a relationship - should your boyfriend’s behaviours diminish your mana by what he might do or say, then “you can get lippy back and whakaiti (belittle, diminish) him and it just goes on, better to think about how they take it and say it so it doesn’t whakaiti him and yourself more”. In other words, how you respond can still respect the mana of your partner while maintaining your own mana – getting ‘lippy’ (aggressive, verbally abusive) therefore, would not achieve this.

Common to both Kuia and Kaumātua and taitamariki, even though they might use different language, is the idea that mana is inherited through a direct link to tīpuna and the kāwai tīpuna and can also be acquired or diminished by an individual throughout the course of his or her life, and that everyone is required to protect their own tapu and respect the tapu of others. Mead (2003) affirms that mana is always a social quality that requires other people to recognise one's achievements and accord respect. Having others recognise one's mana was highlighted by taitamāhine.

The analyses of definitions of a relationship revealed a clear distinction between a relationship and being friends and highlighted the importance of mana and tapu within taitamariki sexual relationships. Sexual activity and sexual intimacy were central to descriptions of a relationship as opposed to opposite gender friends (mates). Sex was the point of difference. While this could suggest that sexual intimacy is understood by taitamariki as characteristic of an intimate partner relationship, sexual intimacy was also discussed by both taitamatāne and taitamāhine, in terms of having sex solely for sexual gratification and sexual exploration purposes, with no expectation that a relationship would follow, for example a one-night stand. Notably, some taitamāhine expressed that having sex felt good and reiterated that was the point of having sex and that taitamāhine did enjoy sex. Having mana (control) includes the power of enjoyment and sexual satisfaction. These aspects of taitamariki relationships are not often examined within the literature or acknowledged and discussed with taitamariki. Kuia talked about the understandings of māreikura and whatukura – the spiritual deities representing male and female dimensions, and the cultural constructs about relationships between tāne and wāhine which were influenced by missionary teachings and 'convenient' misunderstandings of mana-wāhine for purchase of whenua similar to Mikaere's (1995, 2011) accounts. Hokowhitu (2007) suggests for mana-tāne the dominant colonial discourse reduced Māori masculinities 'to a narrow binary'.

Many of our tupuna were known for their sexual prowess as depicted in chants, waiata and whakapapa stories, showing sexual activities were an important part of our history (Pere, 2002). Kuia and Kaumātua recalled playful banter with their nannies about sex, with humour, and in te reo Māori as a means of learning. They reflected on the effects of colonial views imposed on Māori traditional gender practices and the purposes of intimate partner relationships. Kuia argued that young tāne and wāhine were not prevented from engaging in sexual activity as evidenced in our whakapapa stories – importantly often depicting wāhine as having the mana to refuse or instigate sex. Some of these whakapapa stories have been utilised by kaupapa Māori sexual health educators today. Historical representations of Māori as savages and tales of women's promiscuous behaviour continue to inform colonising deficits for Māori (Le Grice & Braun, 2018) – this can impact on taitamariki Māori and the development of behaviours within their relationships.

He tapu tā te tāne he tapu tā te wāhine was of importance to taitamariki within a sexual relationship as well as a one-night stand. Non-consensual sex was seen as diminishing the person's mana and not respecting the person's tapu – affecting the person's well-being – hinengaro, wairua and mauri. Wairua was described as having mutual feelings of deep connection, understanding of each other, a connecting energy, and as acquiring mutual supportive strength to a relationship, similar to Kruger et al.'s (2004) descriptions. Taitamariki talked about the importance of having good wairua with the person you were having sex with. Conversely, for taitamāhine being forced to have sex your wairua would be “dying”. Kuia and Kaumātua supported taitamariki understanding of wairua within relationships, adding that within healthy relationships wairua was an acknowledgement of the spiritual side of each other and extended to connections to mauri and a conduit to trust. Acknowledging wairua within a relationship has also been described by Pohatu and Pohatu (2011), Durie (1998) and Cooper (2012) as being the core of our well-being. Similarly, to Kuia and Kaumātua, Pere (2002) affirms that traditionally both sexes were expected to spiritually come together as one influence, as mana-wāhine and mana-tāne. Kuia and Kaumātua asserted that through settler and missionary processes, wairua has been maligned and understood as primitive in comparison to Christian beliefs and has resulted for many in having little understanding. Cooper (2012) argues that wairua is not a religion, a point reiterated by Kuia and Kaumātua. Kruger et al. (2004) and Durie (1998) concur that an absence of wairua can make people more prone to illness, as suggested by taitamāhine – wairua would be “dying” if forced to have sex - and reiterated by Kuia and Kaumātua. Of note was a taitamatāne who described how learning about wairua and mana influenced his actions and understandings within his sexual relationships.

The effects of ongoing settler influences on the acquisition of traditional knowledge of sex and sexuality are apparent in the literature (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007; Hokowhitu, 2012; Le Grice & Braun, 2018; Mikaere, 2011). Kuia and Kaumātua echoed that sex and sexuality knowledge was passed down to taitamariki and was not a taboo subject before colonial settlements. They provided examples of how this process was slowly lost within their parents' generation through Christianity, schooling and urbanisation. They also explained the intergenerational teachings of relationship behaviours and understandings of mana-wāhine and mana-tāne were also impeded by the loss of te reo Māori. In this study, however, taitamariki evidenced a good understanding of mana-wāhine and mana-tāne which was supported within their Kura through te reo Māori. Taitamariki were reflective of their own behaviours within their relationships, and how mana-wāhine and mana-tāne understandings related to their decision-making which were sourced in their understandings of Te Ao Māori principles. The balance and expression of gender roles is important to the maintenance of most, if not all, our cultural practices (Eruera, 2015).

Taitamariki were very much aware of traditional Western influences on their relationships, for example the pressure on taitamariki to engage in sex and 'to perform' - citing the influences of music, the internet and the portrayal of some commonly held views on sex depicted in pornography and music videos – the submissive female and the dominant, highly sexually performing male. Exploring whether or not constructs within Te Ao Māori could support taitamariki Māori in their decision-making processes is important while keeping in mind that our taitamariki are part of a Western-dominated society and are therefore influenced by its norms which, as depicted in this thesis, can often conflict with their knowledge of Te Ao Māori principles of mana and tapu. Having an awareness of how tāne and wāhine are portrayed within today's world is a start. This cohort suggested that these portrayals can influence both mana-wāhine and mana-tāne.

Traditional concepts of sex and gender have been heavily influenced and modified with the vestiges of colonisation (Aspin & Hutchings, 2007; Fitzgerald, 2003; Hokowhitu, 2012; Kruger et al., 2004; Le Grice & Braun, 2018; Mataira, 2019; Mikaere, 1995, 2011, 2016; Mead, 2003; Moewaka-Barnes, 2010; Pere, 2002; Pihama & McRoberts, 2009; Pouwhare, 1998; Rimene et al., 1998; Smith, 1996, 2005; Waetford, 2008). Nevertheless, taitamariki expressed their preference for a boyfriend/girlfriend who had an understanding of the constructs of mana and tapu, and suggested that these constructs, when applied within a relationship, could promote the well-being of themselves as well as the relationship. Having an understanding of mana and tapu was equally important within a one-night stand for well-being.

Whakapapa and Whenua

Common to both Kuia and Kaumātua and taitamariki was the importance of whakapapa to intimate partner relationships, whānau connectiveness and to cultural identity and knowledge. Kuia and Kaumātua expressed that whakapapa is the foundation of a Māori worldview. These understandings are similar to those reported in the local literature. Kruger et al. (2004) suggest that whakapapa is intrinsically about a sense of belonging and a birthright to be part of the collective and is a tie to your identity. Makereti (1938), Mead (2003), Mikaere (2011), Pere (1991) and Pihama et al. (2003) affirm that, traditionally, whakapapa influenced intimate partner relationships and was important to the continued succession and protection of whānau, whenua and overall well-being. Kuia and Kaumātua gave comprehensive and personal accounts of how intimate partner relationships have changed over time and through the generations for Māori. Evidenced in their kōrero was the impact of colonial views imposed on Māori by the early settlers on 'marriage' (tomo) and its purpose, and how traditional understandings of sex and gender had begun to diminish. The practice of tomo was highlighted and described, as the union between a man and a woman in 'marriage' with a focus on whakapapa, whenua and the well-being of the collective. The literature also highlights the impact of colonisation

and the subsequent historical trauma for Māori through the dispossession of land and the impact on the connectivity to the land (whenua) and to each other, that is, whakapapa and whānau (Pihama et al., 2014; Reid, Taylor-Moore, & Varona, 2014; Winihana & Smith, 2014). The Native Schools system contributed to the undermining of Māori structures, as discussed by Kuia and Kaumātua, as did missionary teachings, in particular with the reconstruction of gender roles and the movement of whānau to a nuclear family structure (Pihama et al., 2003). Smith (2019) suggests that the effects of historical trauma are important to understanding the marginalisation of Māori and the disconnect from whānau, whenua and whakapapa as a consequence of colonisation and the trauma of this for many Māori. Kuia and Kaumātua echoed these views throughout wānanga.

Kuia and Kaumātua acknowledged that within the contemporary lives of taitamariki and their whānau, the tomo process is unlikely to be practised. However, Kuia and Kaumātua reiterated that the importance of the values that sit inside whakapapa which underpin the essence of Māori identities (Pihama et al., 2003), the governance role of tikanga among whānau, hapū and iwi (Smith, 2019) and within intimate partner relationships, which brings about connections, responsibility, reciprocity, and obligations, all still remain (Kruger et al., 2004; Lawson-Te Aho & Liu, 2010; Mead, 2003). Kuia and Kaumātua talked about the importance of knowing who their mokopuna girlfriend/boyfriend whānau were, explaining that whakapapa lays down the relationships and connectiveness of people to others and to place (whenua). They also explained whakapapa sets down reciprocity and collective obligations that will promote whānau and hapū well-being. Importantly, they talked about whakapapa as a protective factor for taitamariki. Kuia and Kaumātua placed emphasis on the reclamation of whakapapa links to rebuild relationships with wider whānau, as well as the development of cultural knowledge and skills. Importantly for healthy relationships, Pihama (2001) suggests that vital to the continuation of whakapapa are both the female and male elements. Therefore, whakapapa embodies the origins and nature of all relationships.

Similarly, whakapapa was an important aspect for taitamariki within their relationships and within their understanding of Te Ao Māori, describing whakapapa in terms of the importance of both tāne and wāhine to continue whakapapa, as described by Pihama (2001). Taitamāhine expressed the importance of whakapapa and mana-wāhine as being whare tangata (house of the people) – giving birth to the next generation - while acknowledging the importance of both tāne and wāhine to accomplish this. While Kuia and Kaumātua acknowledged that teaching of tikanga and tika behaviour around the importance of whakapapa across generations was impeded by the loss of te reo Māori, taitamariki saw the importance of intergenerational continuation of tikanga and having a partner that supported this kaupapa. The importance of children gaining knowledge of Te Ao Māori and tikanga through te reo Māori from an early age, by attending kōhanga reo and wharekura to ensure

whakapapa connections and knowledge transference, was apparent to and understood by taitamariki. Taitamariki articulated the responsibility of whānau in this learning and their own responsibilities when they become parents. This was similar to Kruger et al. (2004), who broadly define whakapapa as the continuum of life which includes kinship and history. Nicholls (1998) and Henare (1988) discuss whakapapa as the process that records evolution and genealogical descent of all living things and the interconnectedness of relationships between people and the environment as well as to each other, in an ordered process.

Both taitamariki and Kuia and Kaumātua felt a responsibility to ensure knowledge was passed down to the next generation. The significance of whakapapa is highlighted within Te Ao Māori and supports the importance and recognition of interconnectedness (Nicholls, 1998; Henare, 1988). Importantly, whakapapa is intrinsically about a sense of belonging and a birthright to be part of the collective and ultimately a tie to your identity (Kruger et al., 2004; Lawson-Te Aho & Liu, 2010; Mead, 2003) and was articulated and understood by taitamariki. As discussed by Kruger et al. (2004) in Chapter 2, the reciprocity and obligatory nature of whakapapa means that it can be used to create productive and enduring relationships to support change. Whakapapa is also a tool for engagement.

Whānau

There were few differences between Kuia and Kaumātua and taitamariki as to the importance of whānau within taitamariki intimate partner relationships. They also had similar understanding of the possible causes of intergenerational knowledge transfer 'disconnect'. Both taitamariki and Kuia and Kaumātua supported the vital role of whānau in the development of taitamariki relationship well-being, which is supported by the local literature (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Kruger et al., 2004; Wilson, 2016). Familiar to both Kuia and Kaumātua and taitamariki was the understanding that by way of whakapapa we are born into whānau which is the essence of the social unit within the Māori world and, traditionally, whānau was the site in which taitamariki were taught values and beliefs which formed the social controls and balances within the Māori world (Mead, 2003). Kuia and Kaumātua further endorsed that the role of whānau is essential, in that it affirms the roles and obligations that we as Māori have as a collective group, akin to Pihama et al.'s (2003) explanations. For taitamāhine and taitamatāne, it was important for whānau to know about, accept, have a good connection with and trust of their own whānau, and that of their boyfriend/girlfriend. Having whānau support could assist with their further learnings about relationships and act as protective or safety factors, an aspect also reported by Kuia and Kaumātua, although taitamariki used different words. Taitamariki were more likely to seek help and support from whānau as they were perceived to be less likely to be judgemental of their relationships or them. This has implication for taitamariki seeking help. Taitamatāne spoke of going to their nannies for advice as they had mana in the whānau. Honesty was

therefore required and their nannies gave advice in a manner which was easily understood. How support is given is therefore important too. Taitamariki acknowledged that all whānau are not supportive, however they acknowledged that within a Te Ao Māori view of whānau, they could always find someone who would support them.

Taitamariki showed insight into intergenerational differences and aspects of Western masculine stereotypes which were at times in conflict with their own Te Ao Māori beliefs. McBreen (2012) contends that stereotypes “lurk in the backs of our minds, and subtly (or not so subtly) influence how we feel in the world and how we understand our world” (p. 7). For some taitamatāne, the values of some tāne whānau members towards their intimate partner relationships conflicted with their own Te Ao Māori beliefs and learning, notably around engaging in sex and the understanding of mana-tāne and mana-wāhine. These taitamatāne had a reluctance to seek out their tāne whānau members (dads and uncles) for support generally. Some spoke of having supportive grandfathers that provided teachings of mātauranga Māori to them. They suggested that the previous generation were brought up within mainstream schooling and not a Kura so had little knowledge of Te Ao Māori and relationship behaviours. This perhaps shows the beginning of an analysis (sense making) on the effects of our history and reinforces the need for teaching taitamariki about our colonial past to assist with this analysis. Kidman (2018) has highlighted the ability and desire of taitamariki to know their history and to challenge how these histories are constructed. Taitamāhine had awareness of how Te Ao Māori values can be lost depending on how taitamariki are brought up – having poor ‘role models’ and the environment in which they grew up. To contextualise modern experiences and expressions of intimate partner relationship health, and to develop possible solutions for violence prevention, understanding and interrogating the effects of our colonial history on our cultural evolution with taitamariki Māori is important (Eruera, 2015). Gaining knowledge of history from an Indigenous perspective, and knowledge of whānau and community history can assist youth to understand where they fit in this cultural disruption (Kidman, 2018; Ullrich, 2019).

Similarly, Kuia and Kaumātua made the point that traditional Western concepts and Te Ao Māori can be contradictory, for example, individualism versus collectivism, with the possible results being that some taitamariki have no knowledge of Te Ao Māori and have overlapping identities. Subsequently, some taitamariki and their whānau are living in ‘two worlds’ with this creating contradictions and tensions for them. Kuia and Kaumātua commented that the outcome can impact on taitamariki and their whānau sense of identity and of who they are. Therefore, Kuia and Kaumātua were advocating that having a strong cultural identity was important to strengthen taitamariki and whānau ability to deal with adversity. Kuia and Kaumātua signalled that whenua was important to a person’s identity and therefore important to all aspects of the person’s behaviours. Rata (2012) and

Moewaka-Barnes (2010) suggest there are challenges for some taitamariki Māori around identity in the 'two worlds' they occupy, as discussed in Chapter 4. They caution that we should not make judgements and develop perceptions of real or authentic Māori which promotes a Māori 'one-size-fits-all' as we acknowledge diversity and history. Kuia and Kaumātua are advocating that we do have an obligation, however, to provide access and connections to our culture to assist taitamariki. This is supported by Moewaka-Barnes (2010) who argues that the complexity of the issues around identity do not stop a strong belief that what taitamariki need are particular forms of cultural connections to promote their well-being and their secure cultural identity. Taitamariki are not a homogenous group and for taitamariki that are not connected to their culture having feelings of "not being Māori enough" can evoke feelings of whakamā (shame) and embarrassment (OCC, 2018) and need to be considered.

When findings on taitamariki understandings of mana-wāhine and mana-tāne and cultural values that were important to them in a relationship were shared with Kuia and Kaumātua, the latter responded by acknowledging these as 'grown-up thoughts'. Kuia and Kaumatua were excited by the depth of knowledge evidenced by taitamariki. They also voiced that having such knowledge would act as protective factors to the influences and tensions of living in 'two worlds'. While the intergenerational trauma of ongoing colonisation was apparent throughout wānanga with Kuia and Kaumātua, many gave examples of their own whānau actively reclaiming cultural knowledge and embracing te reo Māori with positive outcomes. They attributed reinstating or enhancing a positive cultural Māori identity as a strategy for improving whānau well-being. Strengthening whānau investment in the development of taitamariki to meet their full potential through the teaching of cultural practices that ensured their safety and well-being was seen as being an important cultural value by Kuia and Kaumātua. This required some attention, as the colonial ways had reduced whānau collectiveness, connection and obligations to each other (also discussed above) and the passing down of cultural knowledge.

Taitamariki and Kuia and Kaumātua have highlighted intergenerational issues which have seen a disconnection between the generations, with the outcome being that cultural practices, which ensured that taitamariki looked to the older generations for guidance, are made more difficult. It must be noted again that some taitamatāne said they would go to their nannies (and some to their grandfathers) for support before other whānau, so maybe that is where the disconnect is more apparent. Taitamatāne were saddened by some of their tāne whānau who they perceived did not behave in ways that upheld or taught the principles or practices of Te Ao Māori. It would appear for these taitamatāne they may be catalysts for transformation, which highlights the complexities within taitamariki positions today. Mataira (2008), Hokowhitu (2003) and Ruwhiu et al. (2009) all comment on the importance of tāne in decolonising traditional Western masculinity, therefore including

whānau tāne is important within a prevention focus. Colonial policies of creating a divide between generations led to the education of a few select taitamatāne in British-style boarding schools for Māori boys (Hokowhitu, 2012) and later Māori girls' boarding schools. Clearly, some of the impacts of this colonial divide of the generations is still apparent.

For the taitamariki in this study, attending Kura has helped to support their understandings of Te Ao Māori and healthy relationship behaviours, and in some cases having more knowledge than their whānau. Pihama (2016) reminds us that transformation comes in many forms and gives this example, which is relevant to this study and this study's cohort:

Transformation can be in the form of whānau, when a whānau that has been denied Māori-language speakers for three generations makes a decision to place their children in Māori language immersion education such as te kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, the pathway for that whānau is transformation. For those whānau, embarking on a journey of revitalising te reo Māori can change the life path for all generations to come. The point is that transformation can come in many forms. (p. 110)

Te Reo Māori and Tikanga

Te reo Māori was spoken and spoken about throughout wānanga by Kuia and Kaumātua and taitamariki. Whilst they used different expressions and examples of the importance of te reo Māori and tikanga, there was common agreement that tikanga is applicable and highly relevant to their daily lives and that tikanga is the way we practise what we believe in as Māori, and importantly provides behavioural boundaries within relationships, consistent with the beliefs outlined in Kruger et al. (2004). Taitamariki gave examples of applying tikanga practices within their relationships by respecting the mana and tapu of their girlfriends/boyfriends. They also were aware of behaviours that were not in keeping with tikanga which could impact on their own well-being, relationship well-being and that of their whānau and ultimately on whakapapa. Taitamariki gave examples of the loss of tikanga practices and knowledge within their own whānau and the influences of drugs, alcohol, music and pornography.

The use of te reo Māori allowed a depth to the kōrero for taitamariki and must be noted when researching with taitamariki Māori from Kura. Taitamāhine stood when asked what aspects of Te Ao Māori are important to an intimate partner relationship, and spoke in te reo Māori, acknowledging the importance of their kōrero and acknowledging tikanga practices. Te reo Māori was an important aspect of *being* a mana-wāhine and mana-tāne. Taitamāhine talked of a mana-wāhine having the ability to “carry out te reo through their lifetime, and having a belief in te reo and the whenua”, for wāhine the importance of te reo was emphasised as being the first voice heard on the Marae, reiterating to be a “mana-wāhine you have to have te reo”. Taitamatāne talked about the importance of te reo Māori and tikanga within their relationships, with some suggesting that whilst their preference would be to ‘marry a Māori’, if a Pākehā woman learnt te reo Māori then that would be

acceptable. Taitamariki recognised the importance of te reo Māori as a conduit of carrying tikanga practices from generation to generation and, from their perspective, needed to be within the whare as well as through schooling to be effective. This supports Mikaere's (2011) belief that tikanga needs to be central in our thinking if we are to reinstate it as our code for living.

Kuia and Kaumātua connected the loss of te reo Māori with the loss of whenua, describing this loss as the greatest impact (trauma) on Māori whānau ora (well-being), including relationship well-being. Within the wānanga they suggested placing both te reo Māori and whenua within the Whare Tapa Whā framework because of the significance to our overall well-being – "Whenua is the base, without whenua nothing happens, without whenua we can't survive" (Kuia). The impact of the suppression of the use of te reo Māori was described by Kuia and Kaumātua as affecting their sense of self as children, and their whānau cohesiveness and connectiveness. Mikaere (2005) and Pihama et al. (2003) describe the outcome as a significant disordering of Māori social structures. The connection between tikanga and te reo Māori was further emphasised by Kuia and Kaumātua and taitamariki, by pointing out that understanding te reo Māori assisted in understanding Te Ao Māori principles, and importantly the use of te reo Māori acknowledges respect and cultural identity and actively promotes tikanga practices in all activities. This understanding has been articulated on many occasions - the window to a culture is through its language (Eruera & Ruwhiu, 2014) - 'te reo me ōna tikanga'.

Kuia and Kaumātua emphasised throughout wānanga that the impacts of Christianity, loss of whenua and te reo Māori, racism and structural barriers for Māori have made it difficult and/or interrupted the intergenerational transference of Te Ao Māori knowledge. A whole of hapū and iwi prevention approach was suggested to ensure that taitamariki and their whānau have support to have and maintain healthy intimate partner relationships - supporting taitamariki through their life stages in a Māori context using the traditional social structure arranged around whānau, hapū and iwi. The local literature suggests that supporting the reclamation of cultural values and practices that ensured respectful relationships and the safety of whānau Māori, which has been replaced by Western 'imposter tikanga' (Kruger et al., 2004; Eruera & Dobbs, 2014; Wilson, 2016) is essential to whānau well-being. This was supported by Kuia and Kaumātua who advocated speaking for ourselves in our own language and inspiring young people's minds and spirits so they too learn the customary ways and give them direction, acknowledging that language (te reo Māori) is at the heart of our worldview and suggesting that te reo Māori could be a conduit between the generations.

Manaakitanga and Aroha

Kuia and Kaumātua and taitamariki described manaakitanga as the obligation of caring for one another, nurturing relationships, and caring about how others are treated, with aroha or love and respect. Taitamariki saw the ability to manaaki others as an attribute of being a mana-wāhine and

mana-tāne. They spoke about feelings of arohanui (deep affection), harikoa (joyful), and ngākau (much affection) within a healthy relationship both physically and emotionally. For some, this was connected to a feeling of ‘good wairua’ within the relationship and a sense of connection, especially where sexual intimacy was present. Importantly, the ability to love yourself, and to be yourself before being able to love your partner, was highlighted by taitamāhine and by Kuia and Kaumātua – having a sense of self.

Taitamariki and Kuia and Kaumātua were of the same opinion about the importance of whānau showing manaaki toward taitamariki relationships, which was required for a healthy relationship. Kuia and Kaumātua commented that showing taitamariki aroha was perhaps lacking in some households and had before been a “natural process”, within traditional understandings of the importance and place of taitamariki within whānau, indicating that views on children have changed over time, perhaps for some, under the vestiges of ‘the nuclear family’, among other factors. The impact of colonisation on whānau structure is immense and ongoing (Cram & Pitama, 1998). New ideas on childrearing and childhood from eighteenth century Europe spread to Aōtearoa with colonial settlers (May, 1999). Māori concepts of childhood were being constantly subjected to challenge (Smith, 1996) within these two worlds, an aspect spoken to by Kuia and Kaumātua.

Showing love, nurturing, support and caring for each other – manaakitanga - within a relationship were essential (as was the absence of disrespectful behaviours), attributes of being a mana-wāhine and mana-tāne, not only within taitamariki relationships, but with others. This aligns with King (2017) who describes manaakitanga as being a foundational Te Ao Māori value, construct and tikanga that underpins all relationships. Similarly, Mooney (2012) describes aroha and manaakitanga as fostering relationships, a genuine care and love for people and treating others as you would like to be treated. Taitamatāne gave careful thought within the whakāwatea on the knowledge gained and required to support their healthy relationships and how they should apply this knowledge to manaaki their girlfriends. Communicating physical needs and desires was also of importance, as was showing physical affection. Within a healthy relationship, other behaviours also needed to be present for taitamariki - having fun, spending time together, doing things together, having good communication, trust and showing each other respect. It is important to note that what taitamariki desire within their relationships is not dissimilar to that of adults. Eruera and Dobbs (2010) remind us that adults do not always take taitamariki intimate partner relationships seriously, which may prevent them from seeking help if needed.

The kōrero from Kuia and Kaumatua and taitamariki have shown that our traditional practices can be protective if reclaimed, understood, practised, and normalised. Te Ao Māori understandings of sex and gender had relevance to taitamariki within their contemporary lives and have supported taitamariki to challenge traditional Western norms related to sex and gender roles. For those that

have been disconnected from their culture, the reintroduction to Te Ao Māori principles could provide cultural guidelines to support intimate partner relationship well-being.

Kaupapa Taitamariki Māori

There are many examples of the use of research as a colonising tool (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 2015). To engage in Kaupapa Māori methodology is to 'research back' to those dominant understandings and to do that in line with our own cultural frameworks. That is a powerful position to take, and it is one that I would highly recommend. (Pihama, 2016, p. 111)

Co-constructing Research

The literature examined in this thesis revealed some unease in the way in which research involving children and young people, and especially Indigenous children and young people, is framed and carried out, raising further concerns within the Indigenous intimate partner relationship well-being field. These analyses suggest that other research paradigms needed to be explored to elicit taitamariki Māori authentic voices. The research method in this study has emerged then, in part, from exposure to both Western and Kaupapa Māori research paradigms and the belief that a 'third space' paradigm for taitamariki Māori needed to be investigated. Chilisa (2012) suggests that Indigenous cultures inform Indigenous paradigms and methodologies, which need to be opened up to include the voices and knowledge systems of "subgroups within Indigenous essentialised cultures potentially excluded within the already marginalised Indigenous cultures and research paradigms" (p. 25). Within the local literature there is also a recognition that there is a need to reclaim our cultural understanding of taitamariki Māori (Tawhai, 2016; Kidman, 2018), and our understandings of them within research processes, that is, as agents of change (Berryman et al., 2013; Eruera, 2015) and conduits of decolonisation processes (Kidman, 2018). Whilst taitamariki Māori are seen within the context of their whānau, investigations into their lives sourced from them is an emerging discourse.

Developing Kaupapa Taitamariki Māori methodology further enabled the moving away from a deficit theorising of taitamariki Māori to having the potential to be proactive and have ownership of the research processes, by defining the research questions and the methods for this research in their own way. This development was guided by the needs and aspirations of those who will benefit the most from the research and by turning to our traditional practices of knowledge acquisition, reciprocity, and exchange by utilising wānanga. When research design and methods are co-constructed with taitamariki and their cultural agency is taken seriously, there may be more likelihood that the research process and outcomes will be more beneficial to them. The co-construction with taitamariki Māori was underpinned by a belief that taitamariki have the inherent capacity and capabilities to make meaningful contributions to matters that affect their lives. They are the subjective experts on their own lives.

The nature of wānanga allowed taitamariki to guide the kōrero and for the subsequent knowledge transference and reciprocity between the participants and researchers. Wānanga also helped to ensure that research was not only done *with* taitamariki (as opposed to *on* them) but *for* them. Being adaptable within our traditional practices, the analyses suggest (taitamariki told us) that having same-gender and same-culture researchers was highly relevant to their participation. Adhering to tikanga was also of significance in this study. Using tikanga practices - karakia, whakawhānaungatanga, mihi mihi and whakāwatea - created a space to connect and acknowledge each other and to reinforce the respectful space that was created. This enabled taitamariki to speak openly about sex and their sexual relationships. The use of te reo Māori within the wānanga also contributed to the depth of knowledge exchanged.

The exploration of what constitutes a healthy intimate partner relationship was framed within Te Whare Tapa Whā framework. What constitutes a healthy intimate partner relationship is a broad question. Using the domains within this framework helped participants to consider aspects of intimate partner relationships in more detail. Analyses from taitamāhine and Kuia and Kaumātua found additional health markers (enablers) were required to assist in their descriptions of a healthy intimate partner relationship. Central to these additions for taitamāhine were mana (control), māia (confidence/courage), tapu (respect) and haumarū (safety) within this framework. For Kuia and Kaumātua, the constructs of te reo Māori, whakapapa and whenua were added.

Whare Tapa Whā was purposeful for taitamariki to start to express their insights into their relationships and insights into the role of sex and gender within their relationships. However, when questions were placed distinctively from a mātauranga Māori context and in te reo Māori, significantly greater depth of knowledge and understandings of a healthy relationship became apparent. These taitamariki attended a total immersion school and therefore had an understanding of the terms and values kupu Māori (words) hold. Language use can provide insights into the values and views held of relationships (Towns & Scott, 2008) and, in this case, a depth of understanding to Te Ao Māori. Describing 'gender roles' within the context of mana-wāhine and mana-tāne (as suggested by the pilot group) increased taitamariki understandings of what was being asked. This use also increased awareness of sexually coercive behaviours and enhanced their ability to express themselves, using te reo in part. This cohort had a good understanding of the constructs of mana-wāhine and mana-tāne and were reflective of their own behaviours within their relationships when placed in this framework. Whakapapa, whānau, tapu, mana, tikanga, te reo Māori, manaakitanga and aroha were all important aspects of a healthy relationship for taitamariki Māori. The Whare Tapa Whā well-being domains allowed a holistic description of the individual's sense of well-being and aspects impacting on

relationship well-being, including the importance of whānau - an aspect which has not been included in Western relationship measures or well-being frameworks to date.

Analyses revealed the successful development and use of Kaupapa Taitamariki Māori research methods for engaging with and carrying out research with taitamariki Māori. Taitamariki reiterated how 'comfortable' these methods were for them and made it easier to 'open up', so much so that they wanted more opportunities to be able to discuss their intimate partner relationships. This also highlights that taitamariki may have few opportunities to do so. As a culturally determined space, wānanga ensure the use of te reo me ōna tikanga practices as a normal process.

The co-construction of the research methods in this study has highlighted the importance of developing research methods which respond to and reflect the purpose of the research. Ultimately, research development should be guided by the needs and aspirations of those for whom the research will be of most benefit (Cooper, 2012), an underlying construct of Kaupapa Māori research, which includes taitamariki Māori, while assisting taitamariki to reclaim their cultural identity and ways of knowing and the solutions within (Eruera, 2015; Eruera & Dobbs, 2010). The value of such approaches has been demonstrated in this study. The methodology used has been exploratory and provides a platform from which further research could be developed. Importantly, advancing skills for engaging with taitamariki Māori – in practice and within institutions and research - is crucial to advancing their well-being now and into the future.

While guidance for well-being and tika behaviours within intimate partner relationships for Māori can be found within our tikanga, te reo and mātauranga Māori (Pihama et al., 2019), taitamariki understandings needed to be elicited. It is imperative to use culturally bound methods for ongoing understandings within today's contemporary world – Te Ao Hurihuri. This requires adults to facilitate with taitamariki these methods. Mātauranga Māori in this study is not just about creating a space for taitamariki Māori 'ways of being and knowing', but to value the richness that their whakaaro (ideas and concepts) brings to this kaupapa. There is no one way to 'know' something. I am reminded of Tawhai's (2016) suggestion that we too have to consider how we view our taitamariki, and their capabilities and capacities - this includes within research processes. By placing taitamariki Māori at the centre of all aspects of this project, it was expected that the findings would be a more accurate and appropriate reflection of taitamariki Māori worldviews. Just as this project has journeyed with taitamariki, so must any violence prevention efforts be developed based on their knowledge. Ruwhiu (2001) reminds us that mana-enhancing behaviour ensures that interactions between the spiritual, physical and natural realms are valuable. He points out that both Māori and non-Māori can benefit from the understanding that every person has mana and can increase and share mana with others. Mana is an important concept relevant to well-being, both individually and collectively (Smith, 2019).

It is not mana-enhancing for taitamariki when adults take their knowledge and plan prevention projects without them, which is why the discussion about a violence prevention framework below takes a broad brush-stroke approach.

Co-constructing Prevention

For the first time we have heard from taitamariki Māori about Te Ao Māori principles that are significant to their intimate partner relationship well-being. The findings have shown that taitamariki's understandings of Te Ao Māori principles and practices of sex and gender are understood and have relevance to their intimate partner relationships in their contemporary lives. There is then a strong call to facilitate and action this knowledge. This knowledge is pertinent to educators, iwi, hapū, Marae, social workers, whānau and all those working with taitamariki. The Mauri Ora Framework has been highlighted throughout this thesis; developing this framework further with a specific taitamariki Māori focus using their worldview has potential to action this knowledge. For example, the Mauri Ora Framework identified six Te Ao Māori principles – whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri and mana - to be applied as practice tools within the framework; similarly, taitamariki have identified whakapapa, whenua, whānau, te reo, mana, tapu, tikanga, manaakitanga and aroha. Further, the Mauri Ora Framework developed a rationale for the inclusion of these principles and gave 'practice examples' of how they may be applied with whānau. Taitamariki have given some rationale for their inclusions. For example, there is the significance of taitamariki having an understanding of mana and tapu within their intimate partner relationships for strengthening their own and their relationship well-being. Therefore, developing practice applications **with** taitamariki is critical. Just as this research could not have happened without a co-construction philosophy, the conceptualisation and development of a specifically taitamariki violence prevention framework, which can be utilised by themselves and their peers and others, must be with them.

The first steps are to develop the application of these identified principles into practice - the 'how to'. However, this requires asking taitamariki how this process should take place – what will work for them. This demands further work with taitamariki, investigating how these principles can be framed in a way that taitamariki can relate to and apply them to their relationships – translating these practice principles to be effective. Excluding taitamariki would be inappropriate; without their knowledge we will fail them. Those taitamariki Māori that have little or no knowledge of Te Ao Māori principles will need the opportunity to reclaim this knowledge. This does not necessitate an exclusion before a framework has been developed. Is the development of this framework and its application with taitamariki who have knowledge of Te Ao Māori principles a way of reclaiming knowledge for these taitamariki? Can not the development and design with, by and for them be a place of sharing of

knowledge, where everyone is a learner, and everyone is a teacher – enacting tuakana/teina relationships.

The development of a taitamariki Māori violence prevention framework with and for taitamariki Māori, using taitamariki kaupapa Māori methodology, and their identified Te Ao Māori principles, can result in building taitamariki capacity to reclaim and apply Te Ao Māori principles to inform their intimate partner relationships well-being. As discussed in Chapter 1, whānau violence prevention begins with taitamariki Māori. Taitamariki are not a homogenous group and therefore an understanding of the complex range of experiences and influences taitamariki may be exposed to is important and reinforces the need to facilitate their own views.

Utilising the identified principles, from and with a taitamariki Māori worldview, is the beginning of developing a taitamariki violence prevention framework. Acknowledging Te Ao Māori understandings of ‘violence’ within relationships is important. These principles have been highlighted in this chapter from within a violence prevention space and have the potential to support taitamariki in applying their ‘knowing to the doing’. That is, drawing from their knowledge of Te Ao Māori principles for relationship well-being, and then being supported in the application (doing/actioning) of these principles within their relationships. The application of these principles within a violence prevention framework needs to facilitate ora (well-being) which builds taitamariki Māori capacity to have mana-enhancing intimate partner relationships and work away from doing harm within these relationships.

A taitamariki Māori violence prevention framework can reclaim traditional practices and knowledge and assist taitamariki in applying these practices within today’s context. Reclaiming Māori values and tikanga is transformative and can potentially strengthen protective factors and inform healthy mana-enhancing behaviour within all relationships, including intimate partner relationships, and provide the base for a taitamariki violence prevention focus, which has been absent.

Developing a taitamariki Māori violence prevention framework requires an acknowledgement that the well-being of taitamariki is linked to the well-being of whānau and that taitamariki are seen as valued members of the cultural, social structures of whānau, hapū and iwi. The development of their healthy intimate partner relationships therefore plays a significant role in the well-being of future generations, as discussed throughout this thesis. There can however be tensions and a need to look at ways to balance the promotion of the individual mana of taitamariki, inside of their role within the collective, while respecting the cultural norms that underpin collective identity and collective well-being.

The impacts of colonisation and the influence of traditional Western societal views about children, childhood and parenting have resulted in changes to whānau collective dynamics. This often

means parents and adults (and institutions) do not always create spaces for taitamariki contribution to the whānau collective process. Involving whānau in the development of a framework is important, however, this needs to be balanced with ensuring taitamariki are heard within the collective whānau. It also means being mindful that within some whānau Māori, today, violence is normalised, and taitamariki develop the belief that these behaviours are acceptable, which maintains the intergenerational transmission of violence (Wilson, 2016).

The outcome of supporting taitamariki Māori and their whānau to realise and practise healthy relationship behaviours now and as taitamariki begin to transition through their life cycle into adulthood can support the reduction of whānau violence and in turn contribute to increased well-being for whānau, hapū and iwi, and the wider community. Prevention of whānau violence begins with the prevention of intimate partner violence within taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationships whilst being supported by their whānau, hapū and iwi to do so.

Nepe (1991) commented that, traditionally, teaching and learning always acknowledged and sought to validate the absolute uniqueness of taitamariki and reinforce their position within their whānau, hapū and iwi. The challenge today is to ask, listen, hear and action taitamariki views whilst acknowledging their uniqueness. If we consider taitamariki as being one of the foundations of the positive, long-term transformation and progress of our communities (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014; Erai & Allen, 2006; Eruera, 2015), we may first need to recognise that they are the key population to influence and support. It is essential that we find out and recognise what their specific needs are within the context of their whānau, hapū and iwi, if long-term changes are to be achieved.

Supporting taitamariki and whānau to deepen and develop their understandings of healthy intimate partner relationships founded in Te Ao Māori, can assist taitamariki with mana-enhancing behaviours, and increase whānau ability to enact their whakapapa protective obligations. Importantly, the ability to be Māori is based on the strength of collective relationships and relationships with whakapapa, whānau and whenua. Developing a taitamariki violence prevention framework that ensures that taitamariki Māori have full participation, on matters which affect their lives, is important; and provides an opportunity for iwi, hapū and community to support a community driven and defined Māori health need.

"Ko te tiaki o te mokopuna, te tiaki o te whakapapa, hei oranga whānau"¹⁵

¹⁵ The care of the child, the protection of the whakapapa, for the survival of the whānau.

Strengths and Limitations of the Study

This study has been firmly located within a Kaupapa Māori research framework and has been positioned within my own tribal authority of Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi and therefore is grounded within Ngāpuhi tikanga. In undertaking this study, I came as an 'insider researcher' that gave me access to participants based on whanaungatanga, and reinforced the principles of whakapapa and tikanga. With that comes the responsibility that the study is useful and beneficial to those who participated. Initially, a third wānanga was planned with taitamariki and Kuia and Kaumātua together as part of wānanga knowledge exchange and reciprocity across generations. This became untenable within this thesis due to the restrictions on face-to-face meetings imposed at the time of writing (2020) as a result of the COVID-19 outbreak; plans to disseminate the findings of this study back to participants and to iwi were also disrupted. These goals will be achieved in due course.

A strength of this study has been the guidance of Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau (advisory group). Through the study process my own limitations, namely, my lack of te reo Māori, became apparent, while at the same time, the importance of te reo Māori within Te Ao Māori understandings also became apparent. Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau assisted with my understandings of te reo Māori kōrero within the wānanga and the analyses of the findings. Recognising the importance of the understandings of te reo Māori led me to engage research assistants who were fluent in te reo. In the process, the training of two young tāne research assistants contributed to advancing iwi research capacity.

A further strength within this study has been the recognition and ability to be responsive and reflective in my research approach, namely actioning the advice from both Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau and the pilot group, consequently situating the study within a wharekura where participants had knowledge of Te Ao Māori and the reframing of questions on sex and gender within Te Ao Māori – mana-wāhine and mana-tāne. The outcome of the study may have been quite different had I carried out this study within a mainstream school or within a different setting. To my knowledge, this study is the first to elicit taitamariki Māori understandings of sex and gender within their intimate partner relationships framed in Te Ao Māori, as is the development of Kaupapa Taitamariki Māori methodology. The depth of the kōrero has evidenced its success. This study contributes to the current gaps in the literature and research projects of proven methodologies and methods which ensure Indigenous youth-focused participation. Also, to my knowledge, there are no other studies which have gathered Kuia and Kaumātua knowledge on Te Ao Māori constructs that can support taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationship well-being.

This study sits within Ngāpuhi and there is a wide-ranging amount of shared understanding of beliefs and customs that exists for and amongst Māori (Fox et al., 2018), the knowledge and

understanding of traditional values may vary between groups as a consequence of our colonial past and need to be considered.

Using same-culture and same-gender research assistants within wānanga has been highly relevant to taitamariki participation, however, a possible limitation is that some questions were framed slightly differently within each wānanga and may have affected some of the findings across taitamahine and taitamatāne, making it more difficult to make comparisons between them. Further questions on whānau support and attitude towards taitamariki one-night stands would have been advantageous. Importantly, using a co-construction approach developed by taitamariki for taitamariki aided taitamariki within the research process; although, when using this approach, the importance of confirmation by other peer groups is essential. Utilising this process may go some way to alleviate the potential that one group of taitamariki then become the 'representative voice' of all taitamariki. However, this study was exploratory and can provide a platform for further research.

Future Research

In this study, taitamatāne and taitamāhine were given the opportunity to include same-sex relationships within the wānanga, however little comment was made regarding same-sex relationships. It was also interesting to note that Kuia and Kaumātua did not mention same-sex relationships within their kōrero on sex and gender roles, which may indicate the effectiveness of the colonial imposition of values, as discussed in Chapter 2. This means, however, that gaps in the literature still exist in regard to understanding takatāpui (LGBTI) intimate partner relationships framed within Te Ao Māori and the supports they need for relationship well-being. Future research is required with this cohort as this was not canvassed explicitly within this thesis.

Secondly, inter-racial relationships were discussed by Kuia and Kaumātua and some of the taitamatāne. These discussions were not specifically explored within this study. It may be valuable to further explore this topic in association with supporting intimate partner relationship well-being.

Thirdly, the literature review carried out for this thesis highlights that research is required to explore training for researchers who engage with children and young people, and taitamariki Māori, to ensure safe and ethical practices within research processes. Also highlighted was a need to reassess the characteristics of ethics committees, to have adequate disciplinary, epistemological and methodological expertise in Indigenous research/issues, including ongoing issues of 'insider' researchers, as well as expertise about researching with children and young people. Ideally, the development of Indigenous ethics processes needs to be examined.

As discussed above, furthering this thesis by developing with taitamariki a taitamariki violence prevention framework from the identified Te Ao Māori principles could enhance and support

practitioners, organisations, hapū and iwi to advance and strengthen taitamariki intimate partner relationship well-being.

Concluding Remarks

To return to the ideas which introduced this thesis, I asked the question: how do we begin to prevent whānau violence if we are not considering or listening to taitamariki Māori perspectives on this issue? I also considered whether or not taitamariki Māori were being asked, were being heard and whether or not other research paradigms could be used to better include and promote taitamariki Māori voices and cultural agency. This interest came from my awareness of the lack of research with this cohort and the possible consequences of this within the violence prevention discourse.

Additionally, my interest is in how ‘data from’ taitamariki are collected, constructed, and analysed as such ‘data’ can influence education, health, law and social sector policies and practice. It also impacts on how society view taitamariki Māori. Reconceptualising research methodologies, tools and techniques that empower the researched and create reciprocal learning opportunities is required (Mataira, 2019).

This thesis aimed to formulate, with taitamariki Māori, Kaupapa Taitamariki methodology grounded in Kaupapa Māori principles to facilitate understanding of their intimate partner relationships, framed within a taitamariki worldview. This study contributes new knowledge to the violence prevention field by gathering taitamariki voices using a co-constructed approach with taitamariki, eliciting Kuia and Kaumātua wisdom and using a mana-enhancing analysis framed in cultural values. Taitamariki and Kuia and Kaumātua have articulated and evidenced Te Ao Māori principles which will support taitamariki Māori intimate partner well-being; presenting a range of information that can contribute to the development of a taitamariki Māori violence prevention framework. The challenge for adults is to continue to explore **with** taitamariki their ongoing **inclusion** in this field. This continuation rests within the views of taitamariki Māori, not just the views of their capabilities but how we view their place in the world here and now and through what lens. I concur with Pihama (2016):

What is clear is that if research is not transformative, if it does not seek to create positive outcomes for Māori, if it does not seek to intervene in existing inequalities or provide knowledge and outcomes that inform us and answer the questions that we believe to be important, then that research is of little consequence. Kaupapa Māori research is about transformation, creating change and supporting positive movements for Māori – and it is inherently empowering. (p. 110)

Taitamariki views of their world are not static and are influenced by our changing world, as they negotiate their place in it. Findings from this study and previous studies with taitamariki suggest that there has been a ‘shift’ in the present generation of taitamariki to be more responsive and interested in Te Ao Māori than were earlier generations (Crengle et al., 2013; Kidman, 2012). For

example, Ormond (2017, personal communication) suggests that social media has allowed taitamariki to gain knowledge around the Treaty of Waitangi and they seem to have better knowledge of whakapapa and appear prouder of being Māori. This suggests that while negative stereotypes of taitamariki can influence and counter their own individual lived experiences, having knowledge of Te Ao Māori can assist in countering negative self-images within a sociohistorical context (Borrell, 2005; Hokowhitu, 2004). There is a need therefore to continually seek taitamariki views and to achieve this by using Kaupapa Māori co-constructed methods, as has been successfully accomplished in this study.

The ongoing effects of colonisation have impacted on the intergenerational transmission of the messages within Te Ao Māori on relationship practices. Traditional practices continue to be influenced by societal determinants. However, we continue to progress our own cultural frameworks and models of practice, which are founded on cultural values, principles and customary practices that contribute to self-determination and our improved well-being. However, we need to include our taitamariki in these developments in meaningful ways, *with* them - creating space and valuing their voices, knowledge and solutions in their world. Our taitamariki are impressive, dynamic and are central to preventing intimate partner violence into the next generation – we need to support the ongoing development of their ihi, wehi and wana – acknowledging that, despite the effects of ongoing colonisation and globalisation, our traditional practices still remain.

“For how the children grow, so will be the shape of Aōtearoa” (Dame Whina Cooper)

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Appendices

Appendix A - Kahui Urungi Rangahau Terms of Reference

Building taitamariki Māori capacity: reclaiming and applying Te Ao Māori principles to inform and support their intimate partner relationship well-being.

Preamble

Over the past 20 years' indigenous peoples have begun writing protocols and guidelines; stating indigenous people's expectations of research and evaluation to be done *with* and *for*, not *on* indigenous people. Within the Aotearoa context Māori have been proactive in developing protocols supported by global indigenous agreements such as the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by the United Nations and others. These documents reinforce the right to self-determination, identity, intellectual and cultural property rights, and maintenance of our traditions, languages and religious practices and the protection of human rights for indigenous people. The development of indigenous research protocols and practices align with and are supported by the core principles of these international agreements.

The following has been adapted from a Ngāpuhi research Project carried out by Dr Moana Eruera and myself in 2011 (cited in Eruera, 2015, ppOK.270-273). It contains the Guiding principles of this present research and the terms of reference for this projects Advisory group.

This research project will be guided by the following protocols:

1.1 Guiding Principles

1.1.1 Mana whenua are the guardians and interpreters of their culture and knowledge systems – past, present and future.

1.1.2 Mana whenua knowledge, culture, and arts are inextricably connected with our land and have the rights and obligation to exercise control to protect our culture and intellectual properties and knowledge.

1.1.3 Mana whenua knowledge is collectively owned, discovered, used and taught and so also must be collectively guarded by appropriate delegated or appointed collective(s) who will oversee these guidelines and process research proposals.

1.1.4 Any research, study, or inquiry into collective mana whenua knowledge, culture, arts, or spirituality which involves partnerships in research shall be reviewed by the ***Kahui Urungi Rangahau***. (Partnerships shall include any of the following: researchers, members of a research team, research subjects, and sources of information, users of completed research, clients, funders, or license holders).

1.2 Obligations

1.2.1 All research with mana whenua is to be approached as a negotiated partnership, taking into account all the interests of those who live in the community (ies). Participants shall be recognized and treated as equals in research done instead of as "informants" or "subjects".

1.2.2 All research, study or inquiry into mana whenua knowledge, culture, and traditions involving any research partners belongs to the community and must be returned to that community.

1.2.3 All research partners must show respect for language, traditions, standards of the communities, and for the highest standards of scholarly research.

1.2.4 All research partners shall provide descriptions of research processes in the partners' own language (written and oral) which shall include detailed explanations of usefulness of study, potential benefits and possible harmful effects on individuals, groups and the environment.

1.2.5 Researchers must clearly identify sponsors, purposes of the research, sources of financial support and investigators for the research (scholarly and corporate), tasks to be performed, information requested from mana whenua, participatory research processes, the publication plans for the results, and anticipated royalties for the research if any.

1.2.6 All research partners should attempt to impart new skills into the community, building communities own research capacity and capability, whenever possible, advisable or desirable by the community. The Researcher should endeavour to involve mana whenua scholars, students, and members of the community in research, to provide full recognition of their collaboration, and to provide training to enable future contribution to the community.

1.2.7 All research scholars shall invite mana whenua participation in the interpretation and/or review of any conclusions drawn from the research to ensure accuracy and sensitivity of interpretation.

1.2.8 All research scholars should consider a variety of research processes, including qualitative and participatory research methods and move beyond the dominant quantitative methods to empower indigenous voice and skills.

1.3 Ethical Obligations

1.3.1 No coercion, constraint, or undue inducements shall be used to obtain consent. All individuals and communities have the right to decline or withdraw from participating at any time without penalties.

1.3.2 All research involving children or information obtained about personal histories of children will involve informed consent of parents or guardians. Informed consent from the child is also required before the child's participation in all research projects.

1.3.3 All researchers involved in projects with children and young people need to have a working knowledge of the disclosure and reporting of suspected child abuse, under the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act, 1989, Section 14.

1.3.4 All researchers will ensure consultation and supervision is undertaken to assist decision making in matters concerning child safety.

1.3.5 All research partners shall inform participants in their own language about the use of data gathering devices - tape, video recordings, photos, physiological measurements, and how data will be used. They shall also provide information on the anonymity or confidentiality of their participation, and if not possible, to inform the participant that anonymity is not possible.

1.3.6 Participants shall be informed of possible consequences of their choice to remain in the research and their rights to withdraw consent or participation in the research at any time.

1.3.7 All research partners shall provide each person or partner involved in the research with information regarding the anticipated risks involved in their participation, and any anticipated benefits

1.3.8 All research partners must be duly informed of each research step along the way and be provided with information about the research process and the distribution of results and information.

1.4 Kahui Urungi Rangahau

It is recommended that a Kahui Urungi Rangahau is established to oversee any research project and that its members come from the local community who are skilled to review ethical principles, standards, protocols and practices of research conducted, cultural knowledge and heritage.

The duties and responsibilities of Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau are as follows:

1.4.1 Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau will assist us to ensure that our research is ethical, safe and robust as a Kaupapa Māori project and adheres to our guiding principles.

1.4.2 Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau members (experts in their fields) will advise on each phase of the research, including providing guidance with: te reo me ōna tikanga o Ngāpuhi, engagement strategies, Kaupapa Māori research, taitamariki and whānau violence.

1.4.3 The researchers will update Te Kahui Urungi Rangahau members of our progress at these meetings to ensure that the research remains ethical and safe and aligned to kaupapa Māori research principles and mana whenua. We may also seek guidance from individual members throughout the project if necessary.

Appendix B - Kuia and Kaumātua Information Sheet

Kia ora koutou katoa,

He mihi whanui tenei ki a koutou nga karanga maha o Te Tai Tokerau i runga i nga āhuatanga o tenei mahi rangahau e pa ana ki te oranga o a tatou taitamariki. Ko te putake a o tatou mahi kia mahi tahi i nga taitamariki ki te kimihi o ratou whakaaro, o ratou mohiotanga, matauranga hoki i nga hononga ratou i a ratou. Na reira, he tono tenei mo o tautoko ki tenei kaupapa hei oranga mo a tatou whakatupuranga. Tena tatou katoa.

Ko Whakaterere te maunga

Ko Waima te awa

Ko Whakamaharatanga te marae

Ko Te Mahurehure Ngati Pakau te hapu

Ko Ngāpuhi Te Rarawa te iwi

Ko Ngati Pākehā

Ko Terry Dobbs ahau

Background

In 2011, Terry Dobbs and Dr Moana Eruera carried out research with taitamariki Māori, looking at healthy relationships between Māori young people (boyfriends and girlfriends). We explored with taitamariki Māori what a healthy relationship is and the influences on those relationships; we also asked taitamariki Māori what they thought would help support healthy relationships and prevent violence. The Health Research Council funded the research with support from Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi.

From that 2011 study, we recommended that future research further explore taitamariki Māori understandings of māreikura and whatukura (Māori gender roles) and sexuality, and the influences these may have on their intimate partner relationship well-being and decision-making. We also recommended that future research look at traditional concepts and expressions of Māori gender roles, specifically looking at transforming these understandings so they are relevant to taitamariki within today's society. Taitamariki in the 2011 study identified sexual activity within partner relationships as important to them. However, many behaviours reflect western gender roles and expectations, and the sexual act is often used as a controlling tool. Some of the taitamariki were confused about consent and coercion in relation to sex. By exploring taitamariki views on these issues, we may be able to support taitamariki to develop cultural gender norms that challenge traditional Western norms related to gender roles (for example, where females are considered to have a submissive position relative to males and who were considered as holding positions of power and authority).

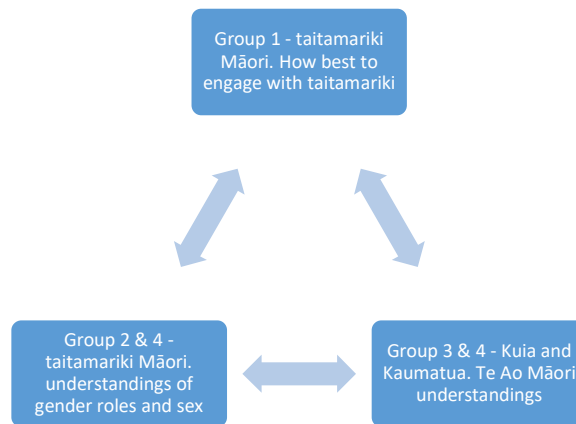
This study

The researchers will ask Kuia and Kaumātua about their understandings of Te Ao Māori values and practices related to the development and maintenance of healthy relationships, including violence prevention. This will include asking Kuia and Kaumātua about cultural concepts of gender and sexuality. The researchers will also ask taitamariki Māori about their understandings of gender roles and sex, and the influences these may have on their intimate partner relationship well-being and decision-making. We will then bring these findings together to see if the relevance of Te Ao Māori understandings for present-day taitamariki has the potential to inform violence prevention initiatives, and enhance taitamariki Māori relationship well-being.

Who will be carrying out the project?

Terry Dobbs (Ngāpuhi) has a Health Research Council Clinical Training Fellowship and works within Auckland University of Technology. Terry has undertaken two previous studies with taitamariki which were located within, and undertaken with the permission of, Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi. The current study is part of Terry's PhD studies. She has three supervisors who will oversee her mahi as well as an Advisory Group which guide her on te reo me ōna tikanga o Ngāpuhi, engagement strategies, Kaupapa Māori research, taitamariki and whānau violence prevention.

Participants and what they will be asked to do:



What will I be asked to do:

We are looking for about 10 Kuia and Kaumātua from Te Tai Tokerau to talk about their understandings of Te Ao Māori values and practices related to the instigation and maintenance of healthy relationships including violence prevention. This will include asking Kuia and Kaumātua about cultural concepts of gender and sex. Terry will be guided by you as to the best way and place to talk with you and other Kuia and Kaumātua.

We will also be asking both Group 1 and Group 2 (see above) taitamariki participants if they want to attend a wānanga with Kuia and Kaumātua if you are agreeable. The purpose of this wānanga would be to encourage tamariki connections to Kuia and Kaumātua and to gain mātauranga from Kuia and Kaumātua.

What data or information will be collected?

All discussions will be recorded and transcribed. Terry Dobbs, her supervisors, and the person who types the transcripts will have access to the information from the groups. The data collected will be securely stored. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for six years, after which it will be destroyed.

Confidentiality

All information gathered from you will be treated as confidential. Results of this project may be published, but any data included will in no way identify you personally.

Additional Contact

Should you wish to assist in the data analysis, dissemination of results or writing of any publications please indicate this on the Consent Form. This states that you are happy to be contacted after the collection of data is complete.

Na reira, na tou rourou, na taku rourou ka ora ai te iwi.

If you have any questions, please contact:

Terry Dobbs Cell: 021-993 481 Email: terry.dobbs@aut.ac.nz

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Professor Jane Koziol-McLain Phone: (09) 921 9670 Email: jane.koziol-mclain@aut.ac.nz
Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEK, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz , 921 9999 ext 6038.

This research Project is funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand.

Version 2 - Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 26 March 2018, AUTEK Reference number 18/58

Appendix C - Kuia and Kaumātua Consent Form

I have read the information sheet explaining this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage of this project.

I know that:

My participation in this project is entirely voluntary

I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage to myself

I understand that the research data [audio-tapes and transcript] will be retained in secure storage, and will be destroyed and that all personal information [names and consent forms] will be destroyed at the end of the study;

I understand that only Terry and her research assistant, and the person who typed the transcripts will have access to the information from our wānanga or individual interviews.

I agree to keep what has been said in wānanga private and the identity of other participants.

Terry has asked Kuia and Kaumātua to help her with data analysis after all the discussions and wānanga are finished.

I understand that the results of the project may be published, but my anonymity will be preserved.

I understand that I have access to Terry should I need to discuss this project with her or discuss any issues that may arise from this project

I consent to take part in this project.

..... (Date).....
(Signature)

I agree to Terry contacting me again to ask if I want to help her with data analysis and/or about participating in a wānanga with taitamariki Māori.

..... (Date).....
(Signature)

Appendix D – Youth Space Flyer

*Ko Whakatere te maunga
Ko Waima te awa
Ko Whakamaharatanga te marae
Ko Te Mahurehure Ngati Pakau te hapu
Ko Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa te iwi
Ko Ngati Pākehā
Ko Terry Dobbs ahau*

Kia ora koutou katoa

I am looking for a group of young people to help me with my University work. I am wanting to find out about young people's intimate partner relationships (boyfriends and girlfriends) but don't know the best way to do this. I think young people are the experts on their own lives. This is why I am needing your help.

- We will talk in a group when it suits the group
- It will take about an hour and a half
- Kai will be provided
- A \$30 gift card will be given in appreciation of your time and expert knowledge.

I will ask the group about these sorts of things:

- The best ways to go about asking young people about sex, gender and relationships?
- What are the best words to use when asking young people about the role of sex and gender in a healthy relationship?
- What are some of the things that can influence taitamariki relationships?
- How is the best way to find out what knowledge taitamariki have of Te Ao Māori and healthy relationships?

If you are aged between 13 and 18 years old and interested, please get in touch with Jackson.

Ngāmihi mahana

Terry Dobbs

Appendix E - Taitamariki Group 1 Interview Guide

The following questions will be used as a guide with subsequent follow up questions to explore issues spontaneously, clarify information and to allow free narrative from participants:

- What are the best ways to connect with taitamariki Māori in research on this topic so that they feel comfortable and safe?
- What are the best questions and words to use to find out about?
 - Taitamariki Māori views on the role of sex in taitamariki intimate partner relationships
 - Taitamariki Māori views on gender differences or similarities within these relationships
 - Do taitamariki Māori understand what gender roles mean? And how could we ask about this subject?
 - What may have influenced taitamariki Māori views on sex, and gender roles?
 - What information and supports do taitamariki need to help them know about sex and gender roles?
 - What knowledge do taitamariki have of Te Ao Māori in relation to healthy partner relationships and how would they like to find out?
 - What are the best ways to ask these questions and are there other questions we should be asking?

Appendix F – Group 1 - Taitamariki Māori Information Sheet

Ko Whakatere te maunga
Ko Waima te awa
Ko Whakamaharatanga te marae
Ko Te Mahurehure Ngati Pakau te hapu
Ko Ngāpuhi Te Rarawa te iwi
Ko Ngati Pākehā
Ko Terry Dobbs ahau

Kia ora koutou katoa,

Background

Terry is a student at Auckland University of Technology (AUT) and is starting to do some research about taitamariki Māori and their intimate partner relationships (about boyfriends and girlfriends). Terry talked with other taitamariki in group discussions a few years ago.

They told her that relationships can be complicated and sometimes taitamariki don't know if things that happen in relationships are okay or not. Taitamariki said that, when they ask for help, people don't always take them seriously.

Terry knows that taitamariki Māori understand what a healthy relationship is. But it's hard to 'live it'. Adults don't always know what taitamariki Māori think. So Terry thought she should ask the experts: taitamariki Māori. Terry wants to find out more about taitamariki relationships because she wants to know more about what will help and support taitamariki to make these relationships healthy and free from all types of violence.

This study

Before Terry does this research with other taitamariki Māori she wants to first know the best way to do this research – what works for taitamariki Māori and what doesn't?

So Terry is looking for a group of taitamariki Māori (taitamatāne me nga taitamāhine) aged 13-18yrs to help her figure out how to talk to taitamariki about relationships. What will happen is that the taitamariki will take part in a group discussion with Terry.

Taking part in the group discussions is voluntary. This means that you do not have to take part if you don't want to. Nothing will happen to you if you decide you don't want to be in the group discussions. There will be eight to ten other taitamariki Māori in the group discussions so this might make it easier for you to talk.

There are no right or wrong answers to the questions Terry asks you. If you don't want to answer any of the questions, that's fine. The group will meet a couple of times at a place and time that suits everyone.

Terry will also be talking with a group of Kuia and Kaumātua to find out how relationships stayed healthy in the time before Europeans came to Aotearoa. This information might help taitamariki with their healthy relationships now.

There may be a wānanga called with Kuia and Kaumātua to help share their information with the taitamariki who take part in the group discussions, if Kuia and Kaumātua agree. But taking part in the wānanga with Kuia and Kaumātua is voluntary too—you don't have to take part if you don't want to.

If you agree Terry will make sure that your parents/caregivers also understand the project and will ask them to support you to be part of this project. Each person who takes part in the research will receive a \$30 Gift Card as thanks for your time and sharing your knowledge.

What will I be asked to do?

To help find out the best way to do her research with taitamariki Māori on intimate partner relationships Terry will be asking you to tell her about these sorts of things:

1. How best to talk with taitamariki Māori in research on this topic so that they feel comfortable and safe.
2. The best questions and words to use to find out about:
 - a. Taitamariki views on the role of sex in taitamariki intimate partner relationships
 - b. Taitamariki views on any differences or similarities between boys and girls within taitamariki intimate partner relationships
 - c. What may have influenced taitamariki views on sex and boys and girl's roles in relationships
3. What information and supports do taitamariki need to help them know about sex and gender in a healthy intimate partner relationship
4. What knowledge do taitamariki have of Te Ao Māori about healthy partner relationships and how (methods) would they like to find out (for example hui with Kuia and Kaumātua).

The discussions will last about 90 minutes. Terry will also tape the discussions on a digital recorder. You can leave the discussion at any time; you can also ask Terry to turn the tape off at any time. The words on the tape will be typed out by a professional typist; only Terry, her three teachers (they are called "supervisors") and the person who did the typing will see what you said. Six years after the project is over, Terry will destroy all of the information you gave her.

What will happen to the information?

All the information that Terry gets will be written up as a sort of Book (it's called a thesis) and she will also write reports and articles that go in Journals. Terry might use your words in her write up and/or with other groups of taitamariki Māori, but your names will be kept private—she will just say that *someone* in the discussion group said those words.

Terry would like some taitamariki Māori to help her look at all the words said in the discussion groups and wānanga (it's called data analysis). Terry wants to make sure she has understood what taitamariki Māori have told her. Other taitamariki will see your words but they won't know who said them. All data will be anonymised which means there will be no names shown.

If you are interested in helping Terry with the data analysis, she will contact you after all the discussion and wānanga are finished if you agree.

If I have any worries what can I do?

If you are worried about anything after the group discussions, you can come and talk with Terry. Terry will keep everything you say private. But if Terry thinks that you are not safe, she might have to tell some other adults who can help make you safe and will talk with you first. You can ask Terry any questions you like before you take part in the discussion groups.

Contact details:

Terry Dobbs, Cell:021-993481, Email:terry.dobbs@aut.ac.nz

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Terry's Dobbs Supervisor, Professor Jane Koziol-McLain Phone: (09) 921 9670 Email: jane.koziol-mclain@aut.ac.nz Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz , 921 9999 ext 6038.

This research project has been funded (given money to help Terry do the research) by the Health Research Council of New Zealand.

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Appendix G - Group 1 – Taitamariki Consent Form

My Name is: _____

My Age is: _____

I am: Male: Female: Gender Diverse:

I understand that:

- Participation in this study is voluntary which means I do not have to take part if I don't want to and nothing will happen to me.
- Terry will ask me questions about how to talk with taitamariki Māori when doing research, what words and methods are best to use with other taitamariki Māori.
- There are no right or wrong answers. If I don't want to answer some of the questions that's fine. Anytime I want to stop talking that's okay and Terry will turn the tape off.
- Terry may use what I say when she does her research with other taitamariki Māori and writing her thesis/journal articles and reports but won't use my name.
- Only Terry, her Supervisors and the typist will see/hear the tape. They will keep the copy of my words from the tape private.
- If I have any worries about our talk then I can talk about these with Terry.
- Terry has told me that she will keep everything I say private but if she thinks that I am not safe Terry might have to tell some other adults who can help make me safe.
- I agree to keep what has been said in the discussion groups private and the identity of other taitamariki.
- Terry might invite me to a wānanga with Kuia and Kaumātua
- I understand that Terry will ask taitamariki if they want to help her with data analysis after all the discussions and wānanga are finished.
- I consent (give permission) to Terry talking with me today and to taping the talk.

Signed (participant).....

- I agree to Terry contacting me again to ask if I want to help her with data analysis and/or about participating in a wānanga with Kuia and Kaumātua

Signed (participant).....

DATE:

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Appendix H - Whānau Information Sheet

Kia ora koutou katoa,

He mihi whanui tenei ki a koutou nga karanga maha o Te Tai Tokerau i runga i nga āhuatanga o tenei mahi rangahau e pa ana ki te oranga o a tatou taitamariki. Ko te putake a o tatou mahi kia mahi tahi i nga taitamariki ki te kimihia o ratou whakaaro, o ratou mohiotanga, matauranga hoki i nga hononga ratou i a ratou. Na reira, he tono tenei mo o tautoko ki tenei kaupapa hei oranga mo a tatou whakatupuranga. Tena tatou katoa.

Ko Whakatere te maunga

Ko Waima te awa

Ko Whakamaharatanga te marae

Ko Te Mahurehure Ngati Pakau te hapu

Ko Ngāpuhi Te Rawara te iwi

Ko Ngati Pākehā

Ko Terry Dobbs ahau

Background

In 2011, Terry Dobbs and Dr Moana Eruera carried out research with taitamariki Māori, looking at healthy relationships between Māori young people (boyfriends and girlfriends). We explored with taitamariki Māori what a healthy relationship is and the influences on those relationships; we also asked taitamariki Māori what they thought would help support healthy relationships and prevent violence. The Health Research Council funded the research with support from Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi.

From that 2011 study, we recommended that future research further explore taitamariki Māori understandings of māreikura and whatukura (Māori gender roles) and sexuality, and the influences these may have on their intimate partner relationship well-being and decision-making. We also recommended that future research look at traditional concepts and expressions of Māori gender roles, specifically looking at transforming these understandings so they are relevant to taitamariki within today's society. Taitamariki in the 2011 study identified sexual activity within partner relationships as important to them. However, many behaviours reflect western gender roles and expectations, and the sexual act is often used as a controlling tool. Some of the taitamariki were confused about consent and coercion in relation to sex. By exploring taitamariki views on these issues, we may be able to support taitamariki to develop cultural gender norms that challenge traditional Western norms related to gender roles (for example, where females are considered to have a submissive position relative to males who were considered as holding positions of power and authority).

We hope this information sheet will explain the Kaupapa of our research and that you and your whanau will support your taitamariki to take part.

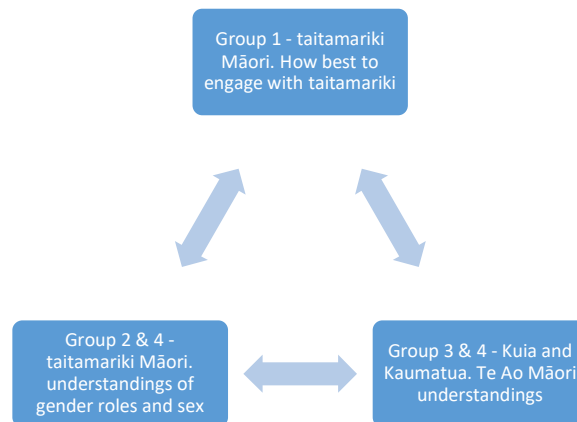
This study

The researchers will ask Kuia and Kaumātua about their understandings of Te Ao Māori values and practices related to the development and maintenance of healthy relationships, including violence prevention. This will include asking Kuia and Kaumātua about cultural concepts of gender and sexuality. The researchers will also ask taitamariki Māori about their understandings of gender roles and sexuality, and the influences these may have on their intimate partner relationship well-being and decision-making. We will then bring these findings together to see if the relevance of Te Ao Māori understandings for present-day taitamariki has the potential to inform violence prevention initiatives, and enhance taitamariki Māori relationship well-being.

Who will be carrying out the project?

Terry Dobbs (Ngāpuhi) has a Health Research Council Clinical Training Fellowship and works within Auckland University of Technology. Terry has undertaken two previous studies with taitamariki which were located within, and undertaken with the permission of, Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi. The current study is part of Terry's PhD studies. She has three supervisors who will oversee her mahi as well as an Advisory Group which will guide her on te reo me ōna tikanga o Ngāpuhi, engagement strategies, Kaupapa Māori research, taitamariki and whānau violence prevention.

Participants and what they will be asked to do:



Participants will be asked to:

Group 1 - We are looking to talk to a group of 10 taitamariki Māori aged between 13 and 18, both taitamatāne and taitamāhine, who may be interested in this project. We will ask the young people for their consent to take part in the research. We seek your guidance on how best to ask for their consent. We expect that we will need to meet with taitamariki two or three times.

We wish to ask taitamariki Māori to talk to us about:

1. How best to connect with taitamariki Māori in research on this topic so that they feel comfortable and safe.
2. What are the best questions and words to use to find out about:
 - a. Taitamariki views on the role of sex in taitamariki intimate partner relationships
 - b. Taitamariki views on gender differences or similarities within taitamariki intimate partner relationships
 - c. What may have influenced taitamariki views on sex and gender roles
3. What information and supports do taitamariki need to help them know about sex and gender in a healthy intimate partner relationship
4. What knowledge do taitamariki have of Te Ao Māori in relation to healthy partner relationships and how would they like to find out more (for example hui/wānanga with Kuia and Kaumatua).

These discussions will help us in developing the research questions for **Group 2** of taitamariki Māori.

Group 2 – We will hold a wānanga with another group of 20 taitamariki Māori aged between 13 and 18, both taitamatāne and taitamāhine, using the methods and questions (words) recommended by Group 1. Taitamatāne and taitamāhine will wānanga separately. A tāne research assistant will take the taitamatāne wānanga and Terry Dobbs and Dr Eruera will take the taitamāhine wānanga.

Group 3 – We will invite 10 Kuia and Kaumātua from Te Tai Tokerau to korero on Te Ao Māori (Māori worldview) values and practices related to the development and maintenance of healthy relationships, including the prevention of violence.

We will also ask both **Group 1** and **Group 2** participants if they want to attend a joint hui or wānanga with Kuia and Kaumātua if the Kuia and Kaumātua agree.

Each taitamariki Māori participant will receive a \$30 Gift Card to thank them for their time and sharing their knowledge.

What data or information will be collected?

All taitamariki discussions will be recorded and transcribed. Terry Dobbs, her supervisors, and the person who types the transcripts will have access to the information from the groups. Terry Dobbs will provide whanau with a summary of the research at the end of the project and you are most welcome to request a full copy of the results of the project. This will include information from our Kuia and Kaumātua group. Results of this project may be published, your names and your taitamariki names will not be used. The data collected will be securely stored while the project is under way. AUT requires us to keep the recordings and transcripts for six years after the project is finished in secure storage. After that, this data will be destroyed.

What we are asking of whānau?

Whanau involvement in this research project is important and may help taitamariki to participate. Terry Dobbs is asking you to support your taitamariki, anyway you can, to take part in either Group 1 or Group 2 of the project and a joint discussion with Kuia and Kaumātua should this wānanga occur. This will involve two meetings of around 90 minutes each. We will not talk to your taitamariki without the consent of your taitamariki.

Confidentiality and Care

All information gathered from taitamariki will be treated as confidential. However, if through the discussions Terry Dobbs feels that taitamariki may not be safe, she is ethically obliged to engage with an appropriate agency to help make them safe. However, Terry will discuss this with you and the taitamariki first. Should you need to discuss this project or discuss any issue that may arise from this project for yourselves or our taitamariki please feel free to contact us.

We hope you will support this project as a learning and leadership experience for taitamariki Māori who agree to participate. They will be valued and guided through the process.

Na reira, na tou rourou, na taku rourou ka ora ai te iwi.

If you have any questions, please contact:

Terry Dobbs Cell: 021-993 481

Email: terry.dobbs@aut.ac.nz

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Professor Jane Koziol-McLain Phone: (09) 921 9670 Email: jane.koziol-mclain@aut.ac.nz
Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.

This research Project is funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand.

Version 2 - Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 26 March 2018, AUTC Reference number 18/58

Appendix I - Whānau Consent Form

We have read the information sheet explaining this project and understand what it is about. We have also read the taitamariki information sheet and consent forms. All our questions have been answered to our satisfaction. We understand that we are free to request further information at any stage of this project.

We know that: -

- Our taitamariki and the Kura participation in this project is entirely voluntary and we are free to withdraw our taitamariki from the project at any time without any disadvantage to them or the Kura.
- We understand that our taitamariki will be part of a wānanga and that our taitamariki will not take part in the wānanga without their consent.
- **Group 2:** Taitamariki will be asked to talk about their understandings of gender roles and sex and the influences these may have on their intimate partner relationships. Taitamariki will also be asked about their knowledge of Te Ao Māori (Māori world view) and their intimate partner relationships.
- We give consent for Terry to notify an appropriate agency should she have concerns that there are any safety issue for taitamariki. We also understand that Terry will speak to us first before taking any action.
- We understand that only Terry, her supervisors, her research assistants, and the person who typed the transcripts will have had access to the information from the wānanga.
- We understand that Terry will ask taitamariki to help her with data analysis after all the wānanga are finished.
- We understand that Terry will ask taitamariki to participate in a wānanga with Kuia and Kaumātua should they consent to.
- We understand that the results of the project may be published, but our anonymity and our taitamariki anonymity will be preserved.
- We understand that we have access to Terry should we need to discuss this project with her or discuss any issues that may arise from this project for ourselves or our taitamariki.

We give consent for our taitamariki to take part in this project.

..... (Date).....
(Signature of Tumuaki)

Appendix J - Group 2 – Taitamariki Māori Information Sheet

Ko Whakatere te maunga
Ko Waima te awa
Ko Whakamaharatanga te marae
Ko Te Mahurehure Ngati Pakau te hapu
Ko Ngāpuhi Te Rarawa te iwi
Ko Ngati Pākehā

Ko Terry Dobbs ahau

Kia ora koutou katoa,

Terry is a student at Auckland University of Technology (AUT) and is starting to do some research about taitamariki Māori and their intimate partner relationships (about boyfriends and girlfriends). Terry talked with other taitamariki in group discussions a few years ago. They told her that relationships can be complicated and sometimes taitamariki don't know if things that happen in relationships are okay or not. Taitamariki said that, when they ask for help, people don't always take them seriously.

Terry knows that taitamariki Māori understand what a healthy relationship is. But it's hard to 'live it'. Adults don't always know what taitamariki Māori think. So Terry thought she should ask the experts: taitamariki Māori. Terry wants to find out more about taitamariki relationships because she wants to know more about what will help and support taitamariki to make these relationships healthy and free from all types of violence.

Terry has recently talked with a group of other taitamariki in Te Tai Tokerau (taitamatāne me nga taitamāhine) aged 13-18 years, who told her what works for taitamariki and what doesn't when researching with taitamariki. They gave Terry excellent advice and now she is ready to start a full research study with a larger group of taitamariki.

This study

So, Terry is now looking for groups (about 20 participants) of taitamariki Māori (taitamatāne me nga taitamāhine aged 13-18 years old) who will participate in this research project by attending a wānanga (with activities and group discussions about relationships between boyfriends and girlfriends).

Taking part in the wānanga is voluntary. This means that you do not have to take part if you don't want to. Nothing will happen to you if you decide you don't want to be part of the wānanga. There will be eight to ten other taitamariki Māori in the wānanga so this might make it easier for you to talk. Taitamatāne and taitamāhine will wānanga separately. A tāne research assistant will take the taitamatāne wānanga. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions you will be asked. If you don't want to answer any of the questions, that's fine. The group will meet a couple of times at a place and time that suits everyone.

Terry will also be talking with a group of Kuia and Kaumātua to find out how relationships stayed healthy in the time before Europeans came to Aotearoa. This information might help taitamariki with their healthy relationships now. There may be a wānanga called with Kuia and Kaumātua to help share their information with the taitamariki who take part in the wānanga if Kuia and Kaumātua agree. But taking part in the wānanga with Kuia and Kaumātua is voluntary too—you don't have to take part if you don't want to.

If you agree Terry will make sure that your parents/caregivers also understand the project and will ask them to support you to be part of this project. Each person who takes part in the research will receive a \$30 Gift Card as thanks for your time and sharing your knowledge.

What will I be asked to do?

The wānanga will be focused on taitamariki Māori intimate partner relationships (relationships between boyfriends and girlfriends) and participants will be asked about these sorts of things:

1. Taitamariki views on the role of sex in taitamariki intimate partner relationships
2. Taitamariki views on any differences or similarities between boys and girls within taitamariki intimate partner relationships
3. What may have influenced taitamariki views on sex and boys and girl's roles in relationships
4. What information and supports do taitamariki need to help them know about sex and gender in a healthy intimate partner relationship
5. What knowledge do taitamariki have of Te Ao Māori about healthy partner relationships and how (methods) would they like to find out (for example hui/wānanga with Kuia and Kaumātua).
6. How can adults assist and support you to develop healthy relationships free from violence?

The wānanga will last about 90 minutes and will be taped on a digital recorder. You can leave the wānanga at any time; you can also ask for the tape to be turned off at any time. The words on the tape will be typed out by a professional typist; only Terry, tāne researcher and Terry's three teachers (they are called "supervisors") and the person who did the typing will see what you said. Six years after the project is over, Terry will destroy all of the information you gave her.

What will happen to the information?

All the information that Terry gets will be written up as a sort of Book (it's called a thesis) and she will also write reports and articles that go in Journals. Terry might use your words in her write up and/or with other groups of taitamariki Māori, but your names will be kept private—she will just say that *someone* in the wānanga said those words.

Terry would like some taitamariki Māori to help her look at all the words said in the discussion groups and wānanga (it's called data analysis). Terry wants to make sure she has understood what taitamariki Māori have told her. Other taitamariki will see your words but they won't know who said them. All data will be anonymised which means there will be no names shown. If you are interested in helping Terry with the data analysis, she will contact you after all the discussion and wānanga are finished if you agree.

If I have any worries what can I do?

If you are worried about anything after the wānanga, you can come and talk with Terry. Terry will keep everything you say private. But if Terry thinks that you are not safe, she might have to tell some other adults who can help make you safe. You can ask Terry any questions you like before you take part in the discussion groups.

Contact details: Terry Dobbs, Cell:021-993 481, Email:terry.dobbs@aut.ac.nz

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Terry's Dobbs Supervisor, Professor Jane Koziol-McLain Phone: (09) 921 9670 Email: jane.koziol-mclain@aut.ac.nz Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz , 921 9999 ext 6038.

This research project has been funded (given money to help Terry do the research) by the Health Research Council of New Zealand.

Version 2 - Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 26 March 2018, AUTC Reference number 18/58

Appendix K- Group 2 – Taitamariki Consent Form

My name is: _____

My age is: _____

I am: Male: Female: Gender Diverse:

I understand that:

- Participation in this study is voluntary which means I do not have to take part if I don't want to and nothing will happen to me.
- In the wānanga Terry will ask me to take part in activities and group discussions about taitamariki relationships - between boyfriends and girlfriends.
- There are no right or wrong answers. If I don't want to answer some of the questions that's fine. Anytime I want to stop talking that's okay and Terry will turn the tape off.
- Terry may use what I say in her writing of her thesis, reports and in journal articles but won't use my name.
- Only Terry, her Supervisors and the typist will see/hear the tape and see any words I have written. They will keep all these private.
- If I have any worries about our talk then I can talk about these with Terry.
- Terry has told me that she will keep everything I say private but if she thinks that I am not safe Terry might have to tell some other adults who can help make me safe.
- I agree to keep what has been said in the wānanga private and the identity of other taitamariki.
- Terry might invite me to a wānanga with Kuia and Kaumātua
- I understand that Terry will ask taitamariki if they want to help her with data analysis after all the discussions and wānanga are finished.

I consent (give permission) to Terry talking with me today and to taping the talk.

Signed (participant).....

I agree to Terry contacting me again to ask if I want to help her with data analysis and/or about participating in a wānanga with Kuia and Kaumātua

Signed (participant).....

DATE:

Version 1 – Approved by Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on the 9 October 2018, AUTECH Reference number 18/58