Kia tau te rangimārie

Towards peace-centred, Te Whāriki-based practice

Jenny Ritchie

This article considers ways in which early childhood educators in Aotearoa New Zealand might draw upon te ao Māori conceptualisations in delivering pedagogies that foster and enhance dispositions of empathy, compassion, and caring, thereby strengthening children's emotional and social competence as well as their self-control. It first outlines some theoretical considerations from both western and Māori paradigms, and then provides several examples from previous research. It concludes by suggesting that more research is needed in this area.

Introduction

ew Zealand is a violent society. Children are often the unwitting victims of neglectful and violent parenting. The recent global recession and the New Zealand government's policies in relation to this have exacerbated the stresses on families and children (UNICEF Office of Research, 2014). The extent and nature of violence in relation to children is starkly evident in the following statistics:

- In 2014, there were 101,981 family violence investigations by the New Zealand Police. There were 62,923 family violence investigations where at least one child aged 0–16 years was linked to these investigations.
- In 2013/14, Child, Youth and Family received 146,657 reports of concern. Of these, 54,065 were deemed to require further action, leading to 19,623 findings of abuse or neglect.
- In 2014, the New Zealand Police recorded 10 homicides of children and young people under 20 by a family member.
- In 2013, 54 children aged 16 years or under were hospitalised for an assault perpetrated by a family member.

 Between 1 in 3 and 1 in 5 New Zealand women and 1 in 10 men report having experienced child sexual abuse (New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, 2015).

Research has identified the benefits to children of gaining emotional competence in the early years, and that this is achieved through attuned sensitive interactions with empathic adults (Dalli, White, Rockel, & Duhn, 2011; Gluckman & Hayne, 2011; Moffitt et al., 2011). Children who learn the skills of emotional self-regulation as young children are much more likely to become successful, well-adjusted adults. Early childhood services are well positioned to offer models of nonviolent, empathy-rich adult-child interactions. This can not only equip young children with dispositions that contribute to individual and collective emotional wellbeing, it can also provide support and modelling for families and caregivers. Te Whāriki, the New Zealand early childhood curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1996), and other Ministry documents such as Te Whatu Pokeka (Ministry of Education, 2009), provide guidance for early childhood centres in this area, yet it is not always positioned as a priority in relation to teaching and learning objectives.

Violent society

According to the New Zealand government's Campaign for Action on Family Violence, on average ten children are killed by a member of their family every year, and half of these are Māori (Family and Community Services, 2013). This over-representation of Māori children and families is a tragic indictment on the longstanding impacts of colonisation, since prior to European contact, Māori did not abuse their children (Salmond, 1991; Smith, 1995). A large survey commissioned by the Ministry of Social Development found that a concerning proportion of the 2446 respondents considered that smacking children was justified when: the child misbehaved in public (28 percent); had a tantrum (30 percent); hit an adult (29 percent); or hit another child (39 percent) (McLaren, 2010). Children who witness family violence are more likely to later suffer from anxiety and depression (Lievore & Mayhew, 2007). Interestingly, "Media violence is the most prevalent form of violence in children's lives" (Carroll-Lind, Chapman, & Raskauskas, 2011, p. 10). Furthermore, research now links the growing public health issue of obesity to childhood trauma (Bowden, 2014; Williamson, Thompson, Anda, Dietz, & Felitti, 2002). Peaceful ways of knowing, being, doing, and relating are therefore in need of serious consideration in Aotearoa, both within early childhood care and education, and more widely.

Empathy deficit

A lack of parental or caregiver empathy is implicated in the abuse of children, as are socioeconomic inequality and social and cultural norms that promote violence and physical punishment of children (Centre for Social Research and Evaluation Te Pokapū Rangahau Arotaki Hapori, 2008). Baron-Cohen considers that the "Erosion of empathy is an important global issue related to the wellbeing of our communities, be they small (like families) or big (like nations)" (2011, p. 130). Empathy is "one of the most valuable resources in our world" [italics in original]" since "[w]ithout empathy we risk the breakdown of relationships, we become capable of hurting others, and we can cause conflict. With empathy, we have a resource to resolve conflict, increase community cohesion and dissolve another person's pain" (Baron-Cohen, 2011, p. 130). Empathy and other aspects of emotional intelligence are significant components of infants', toddlers', and young children's brain and moral development, and contribute to later academic achievement (Baron-Cohen, 2011; Grille, 2008; Qualter, Gardner, Pope, Hutchinson, & Whiteley, 2012; Sims, 2009).

Children's dispositions for emotional well-being

Dispositions potentially established in the early years, such as emotional intelligence and the capacity to self-regulate, are foundational to learning and future educational achievement and success (Gluckman & Hayne, 2011; Moffitt et al., 2011; Moffitt, Poulton, & Caspi, 2013). The large longitudinal Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health and Development Study being conducted under the auspices of the University of Otago has found that regardless of measures of "IQ" or social class:

three year olds who scored lower in self-control based on measures such as frustration, tolerance and persistence in reaching goals were more likely later in life to have health problems, dependency issues (tobacco, alcohol, illegal drugs), financial troubles, a criminal record and a lack of school qualifications than those who scored higher. (Blundell, 2014, p. 18)

The director of this study, Professor Richie Poulton—who interestingly is also the science advisor to the Ministry of Social Development, the agency that oversees protection of children—explains that self-control "is the ability to control your emotions so they don't overwhelm you, to persist in the face of frustration, to keep your emotions in check, to focus on something and see things through until you reach your goal" (cited in Blundell, 2014, p. 20).

When young children receive care and education which frequently models respectful, responsive, and sensitive inter-relationships, they are more likely to grow up as emotionally secure meaning-makers (Dalli, Rockel, Duhn, Craw, & Doyle, 2011; Dalli, White, et al., 2011). When they are emotionally secure, children develop resilience (Atwool, 2006), become emotionally literate and have a greater capacity to interact sensitively, empathically, and intelligently (Denham & Weissberg, 2004). Identifying approaches informed by and reflective of te ao Māori (Māori worldview) which effectively foster these capacities, is of central importance if we as a nation are to realise our commitments under Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and to ensuring equitable educational outcomes

for tamariki Māori (Ministry of Education, 2013).

The Education Review Office has promoted practice which enables "children to develop as socially and emotionally competent and confident learners" (Education Review Office, 2011, p. 29). The Education Review Office provides a list of desirable features of early childhood programmes which includes that: adults and teachers actively listen "to children's ideas, encouraging them to express their feelings"; and children are provided with opportunities to become "highly aware of expectations and associated limits and boundaries for behaviour", and have frequent opportunities to determine these, so that they will develop "dispositions such as being resilient, persevering with a task and showing empathy for others" (Education Review Office, 2011, p. 11).

Te Whāriki and Te Whatu Pōkeka

Te Whāriki places a strong emphasis on fostering relationality—the capacity to function reciprocally, respectfully, and with empathy in everyday relationships. Relationality permeates the entire curriculum through its sociocultural, holistic emphasis on learning occurring through "responsive and reciprocal relationships with people, places and things" (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 14). The Te Whāriki principles of whakamana—empowerment; ngā hononga-relationships; and whānau tangatafamily and community are all relationally founded, as are the curriculum strands of Mana Atua-Wellbeing, Mana Whenua-Belonging, and Mana Tangata—Contribution. The learning outcomes of Goal 3 of the Contribution strand require children to gain knowledge, skills, and attitudes which relate to "initiating, maintaining, and enjoying" their relationships with others, specifically including: "taking another's point of view, supporting others, and understanding other people's attitudes and feelings", as well as gaining "a range of strategies for solving conflicts in peaceful ways, and a perception that peaceful ways are best" (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 70). The dispositions and skills for maintaining peaceful relationships are thus a goal of the early childhood curriculum, which requires educators to foster children's "increasing ability to take another's point of view and to empathise with others" and support children to gain competence in making "contributions

to groups and to group well-being" (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 70).

While *Te Whāriki* is recognised internationally as a ground-breaking, visionary document (Fleer, 2013), concerns continue to be expressed that the realisation of the full potential of the curriculum is dependent on the teachers who enact it having extensive, sophisticated professional knowledge (Hedges, 2013). It is the contention of this article that teachers need to both model and foster the skills, dispositions, and understandings pertaining to relationality, such as empathy, respect, interpersonal communication skills, and a vocabulary for identifying a range of emotions. In Aotearoa New Zealand, it is important that teachers draw upon both western (see for example, Grille, 2008; Hart & Hodson, 2004) and te ao Māori perspectives (Marsden, 2003; Pere, 1982/1994, 1991). It is the contention of this article that we require a deepening of teacher capacity in the wider early childhood care and education sector, with regard to fostering children's emotional wellbeing, resilience, self-control, and empathy as foundational to other learning.

Teachers may contribute to changing attitudes and practices within the wider community by proactively enacting with children/tamariki and their parents/whanau, pedagogical practices embedded in a commitment to peaceful relationality. Te Whatu Pōkeka (Ministry of Education, 2009) offers deep insight into Māori conceptualisations of tamariki (children) in relation to their whakapapa (genealogy) and taonga tuku iho (inherited gifts). Te Whatu Pōkeka emanates the profound respect for tamariki that is upheld within traditional te ao Māori conceptualisations. I suggest that early childhood care and education teachers in Aotearoa might see it as their responsibility to consciously, intentionally work to foster dispositions, attitudes, skills, and knowledges of peaceful relationality drawing on current pedagogical documents supported by te ao Pākehā (western) and te ao Māori paradigms as described in Te Whatu Pōkeka.

Te ao Māori1

Te reo Māori, and the knowledges it encapsulates, have endured as taonga, te reo having been officially recognised in the Māori Language Act (1987). Whakataukī, whakatauāki and pepeha (traditional proverbs and aphorisms) are integral to Māori theorising, providing wisdom and guidance with regard to honouring relationships with people, the environment, the

animate and the inanimate, and demonstrating humanity's interconnectedness to all things. Many early childhood care and educations have employed these traditional sayings as metaphors and guides for reflection and practice (see for example, Barker, 2010).

The whakataukī "Kia tau te rangimārie" speaks of peace prevailing. It is often used to inspire those participating in a discussion or debate to be respectful of others ideas, to accept differences of opinion in a way that upholds and sustains an environment of rangimārie, a feeling of peace and respect, anchored in ancestral teachings. This is well illustrated in the phrase "Kia tau te rangimārie, kia maranga kei te tiro i ngā taumata o tātau mātua—let peace be upon us, look up to the lofty deeds (heights) and accomplishments of our ancestors as a beacon to guide us forward" (Ministry of Justice, 2001, p. 164).

The term tatau pounamu literally means a door made of pounamu (New Zealand nephrite or bowenite, known as 'greenstone'). In ancient times, tūpuna (ancestors) revered pounamu as a rare and precious stone. Pounamu heirlooms or weapons of significant value were traded as acknowledgement of an agreement of rangimārie (peace). The metaphorical use of pounamu to cement a treaty of rangimarie is described as a tatau pounamu (greenstone door). It is a symbol of a shared pathway towards peace, with the tatau pounamu open to all peace-makers. The durable nature of pounamu contributed to its symbolism of eternal endurance of an agreement of rangimārie (Ministry of Justice, 2001). The whakataukī, "Me tatau pounamu, ki kore ai e pakaru, ake, ake" is translated as "Let us have a greenstone door that will not be broken, ever, ever" (Benton, Frame, & Meredith, 2013, p. 416)

Hohou i te rongo is an idiom which means to "make peace" (Benton et al., 2013, p. 86). Similarly, the notion of maunga rongo is about reaching a place of rangimārie. Further examples include "Rongo ā whare, peace brought about by the mediation of a woman and Rongo a marae, peace brought about by the mediation of a man, and Rongo taketake, 'well-established peace'" (Benton et al., 2013, p. 86).

In te reo Māori, many words have multiple layers of meaning, often with deep metaphorical significance. *Rongo* can also be considered as meaning "felt". In te ao Māori, rangimārie is significantly recognised through Rongomatane, the atua or spiritual guardian responsible for peace and cultivated foods. A further explanation of hohou rongo involves

negotiation of an agreement of rangimārie that will bind the recipients together over time in honouring the covenant. When the agreement is honoured it is described by Mead (2003) as a *rongomau* (peace-keeping), a kaupapa of rangimārie (philosophy of peace) that has been upheld.

Te ao Māori ways of being, knowing, doing, and relating interweave the dimensions of te ira atua, te ira tangata, and te ira wairua (forces of spiritual guardians, of people, and of spiritual interconnectedness), a whakapapa (genealogical record of origins) which connects Māori to all things that exist in the world: "We are linked through our whakapapa to insects, fishes, trees, stones and other life forms" (Mead, 1996, p. 211). In the ancient procreative cosmological pūrākau (storied traditional knowledge), Māori in their humanness are related to Ranginui (Sky father) and Papatūānuku (Earth mother) thus cementing humankind's intertwined spiritual relatedness to te ira atua, te ira wairua and te ira tangata. Ecological principles are embedded within these realms. Wairuatanga, is an integrative spiritual force or presence, and hau is the essence of vitality (Benton, Frame & Meredith, 2013). "Mauri is the elemental essence imparted by wairua" (Marsden, 2003, p. 47). Mihipeka Edwards has written that "wairua emanates from the beginning of time and never changes. Everything and every person has wairua and mauri—your spirituality and your life force—they are something you are born with" (Edwards, 1992, p. 55). The wellbeing of mauri and wairua is intrinsic to being in a state of rangimārie.

Manaakitanga is a principle very much embedded within all conduct in Māori society. "All tikanga (Maori beliefs and practices) are underpinned by the high value placed upon manaakitanga-nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about how others are treated" (Mead, 2003, p. 29). Integral to the concept is reciprocity, of ensuring that when hosting one upholds the mana of those present, the hapū and the iwi. "Aroha (love, reciprocal obligation) is an essential part of manaakitanga and is an expected dimension of whanaungatanga (family interconnectedness). It cannot be stressed enough that manaakitanga is always important no matter what the circumstances might be" (Mead, 2003, p. 29). The whakataukī "By honouring (manaaki) people the mana endures (ma te manaaki i te tangata e tu ai te mana)" (Benton et al., 2013, p. 208, italics in original)

affirms that the obligation of manaakitanga requires ensuring everyone's mana remains intact, upheld by the reciprocal obligation to care for the other. In this te ao Māori conceptualisation, it can be seen that aroha ki te tangata, and manaakitanga are foundational values, dictating empathy, concern and care as dispositions to be instilled in young children.

Implications for practice

Traditional western pedagogies have been strongly slanted towards cognitive development. Yet the understandings outlined above point to emotional learning as being foundational to other learning. Recent neuroscience highlights the false dichotomy of separating emotional wellbeing and cognition. According to Siegel (2010), "the mind is embodied and relational" (p. 54). This section considers ways in which teachers can strengthen their practice in relation to fostering children's emotional wellbeing, empathy, resilience and self-control, using te ao Māori constructs to inform their practice.

Teachers are at the heart of the messages that are conveyed within a centre. These involve more than mere transmission of information, representing values, intentions, attitudes, and desires, both consciously identified and less overt (Shanker, 2013). Resonating respect and empathy for children and families contributes to children in turn gaining capacities for "co-regulation", supporting one another in the development of empathy (Shanker, 2013, p. 99). Siegel describes this empathic affirmation as "feeling felt" (2010, p. 57). Siegel defines *mindsight* as the ability to look

within and perceive the mind, to reflect on our experience, activating "circuits that create resilience and well-being and that underlie empathy and compassion as well" (p. xv). This requires understanding our own internal worlds. With internal awareness and selfempathy, along with integration of a sense of interconnectedness, we can "create harmony within the resonating circuits of our social brains" (Siegel, 2010, p. 231). This ability to recognise our own emotions is key to feeling and demonstrating empathy for others. A study involving 136 children, conducted in Ottawa, Canada, found that "more empathic children were reported to exhibit greater prosocial behavior and less aggression and social-withdrawal. In addition, empathic children demonstrated a more sophisticated understanding of shyness and aggression as compared to less empathic peers" (Findlay, Girardi, & Coplan, 2006, p. 347).

For Rosenberg (2003a, 2003b, 2005), the key to emotional wellbeing is a process of "nonviolent communication" which requires developing a vocabulary of emotions and needs. Rosenberg outlines a straightforward process which enables people, including young children, to identify the feelings they are experiencing, which are related to unmet needs. By following the pathway of feelings into identifying needs, children can learn strategies, such as making requests, which will enable their needs to be met (Rosenberg, 2005).

A core aspect of emotional wellbeing to recognise the centrality of culture in children's identity and learning, that is, children are cultural beings (Carr, 1993; Rogoff, 2003). Educational processes need to be founded in pedagogies which intentionally work to ensure that children's cultural identity is recognised and affirmed (Durie, 1997). Three examples follow, drawn from two previous Teaching and Learning Research Initiative (TLRI)-funded projects (Ritchie, Duhn, Rau, & Craw, 2010; Ritchie & Rau, 2008).² The first example illustrates how the kindergarten teachers in a predominately Māori community proactively generated an emotional climate within their centre that was welcoming and affirming of children and families identities.

As part of their engagement in Te Puawaitanga, a TLRI study (Ritchie & Rau, 2008), the teachers at Hawera Kindergarten had set up a large display along the back wall inside the kindergarten, inviting children and families to make connections to various local marae.

Cheryl Rau, project co-director, discussed with the Hawera Kindergarten teachers the significance of this display. During this conversation, teachers pointed out that having this visual display was an invitation, an opening to family members to feel connected to the work in the centre. They had also noticed a sense of pride in families and their children as parents began taking turns to organise morning tea at the centre:

Teacher 1: It was an event for them.

Teacher 2: It was!

Teacher 1: It was their hospitality.

Teacher 3: The aroha.

Teacher 2: Everyone was enjoying it.





FIGURES 1 & 2 (L-R). DISPLAY OF MARAE CONNECTIONS AT HAWERA KINDERGARTEN

Teacher 1: It wasn't chucking it on the bench and saying—'that's enough'—and just walking away. They come in, drop the bag off. So proud.

Teacher 3: They were so excited and happy to see their mum and dad had come and that they would bring them morning tea. (Previously unpublished material from the study Te Puawaitanga, Ritchie & Rau, 2008)

In this short excerpt from a much longer discussion, it is clear that the teachers were excited about the changes in the centre, that they felt had generated a sense of aroha and hospitality (manaakitanga) which had fostered a stronger sense of belonging for both families and children than had previously been apparent. These tamariki/children and whānau/families were clearly experiencing feelings of warmth and positive anticipation in relation to this education setting, where their emotional wellbeing was sustained by a sense of inclusion, of being respected, and of their culture and identity being valued and affirmed.

In the next example, Vikki Sonnenberg, who at the time of the study was the head teacher at Galbraith Kindergarten in Ngāruawāhia, demonstrates deep sensitivity and empathy towards a shy mother and child who have recently joined the kindergarten (for a fuller narrative, please see Ritchie & Rau, 2008). She outlines the importance she places on welcoming new whānau, going on to relate how...

I talked about some of the practices that happened at Galbraith as an acknowledgement of the *tangata whenua*. She said "Oh that's really cool", and because the regatta was on I suggested she might want to take a walk with us and help supervise the tamariki. She did that, from then on she'd go and make a cup of tea for herself, not only for herself but also for teachers. So I think we helped create a place of belonging for her. (Cited in Ritchie & Rau, 2008, p. 82)

We have previously identified the importance of ongoing welcoming (Ritchie & Rau, 2006) and of hospitality (Ritchie, 2010). Vikki models these processes within her practice. After attending the tangihanga (funeral) of the Māori Queen Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, Vikki gently, over a period of several days, encouraged the child to share (pānui) with the

other children the booklet she had obtained at the tangi:

The next day Katerina came in with her booklet of the Māori Queen and I said to Whaea [Mother], 'That's wonderful'. Because Katerina never does a pānui, she's so shy, we asked her if she wanted to share a pānui. Mum said 'Daughter, do you have a pānui?', but Katerina said 'No, no'. This continued for two days. Then I again said, 'Well what about tomorrow?' The next day Katerina brought her pānui in and she stood up by herself. She says 'Oh Whaea' to me, wanting to know if her Mum could help her. I replied 'Kei te pai'. Katerina stood up and she said, 'Come on Mum, let's go'. So Mum went to stand beside her and she began with 'Katerina went to the Māori Queen's funeral but we were there for all the days and we saw . . . ', and then Katerina talked about her Uncles and Aunties being there and what she thought was important there. So Mum was starting to instigate the korero with her daughter so she could talk to the whānau. Previously you just couldn't get 'boo' out of Mum either. So what we saw of this girl, a very shy Māori girl who previously wouldn't talk—once she started you couldn't stop her! It was like she thought 'It's okay to do this now, I can do this, my Mum is here.' When she finished it was like: 'Yes! Katerina!!!' And you could see the smiles on Mum's face and her face and we took a picture of them both together and next day Mum goes, 'Oh, have you got that photo?' and of course we blew it up. [And] her whole kõrero, her language it just extended, all her korero and many times she would pānui after that about a range of things, but a lot of it was based around whānau and the marae, recalling things from when we were at the marae, when we were at the regatta. That was the link for her and she felt comfortable talking about her Māori tikanga. And the other thing that we noticed too about Katerina is she was entering a lot more curriculum areas, it was like a door opened for her and she was able to cope with what was out there now and I truly believe it was from the korero when Mum came in and did all that with her and she could see the value of it and for Mum too, she goes 'This is

choice, this place is choice'. (Ritchie & Rau, 2008, pp. 82–83)

The following example of empathy and compassion being elicited through sensitive pedagogical practices comes from our most recent study (Ritchie et al., 2010), in which the focus was on "caring for ourselves, others and the environment". Teachers at Richard Hudson Kindergarten in Dunedin emphasised the Māori creation story, as a strategy for invoking for tamariki and whānau a sense of caring for Papatūānuku. This proved to be particularly evocative, having particular resonance for the children who related strongly to the relationships being depicted (Ellwood, 2010; Ritchie, 2011). Lily hand-wrote her own story to accompany her artwork, portraying the pain of Rangi and Papa's separation:

Rangi is at the top. He is really, really close to the children. You can't see the baby because he's in the ground with his mother. They pushed them apart. The earth mother wasn't close to Rangi anymore. So. So. So. So. Sad. (Lily, as cited in Ritchie et al., 2010, p. 96)

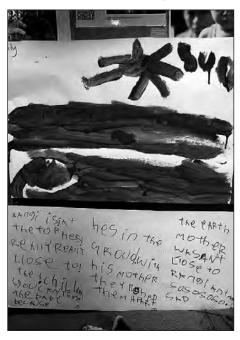


FIGURE 3: LILY'S PAINTING AND STORY OF RANGINUI AND PAPATŪĀNUKU

Lily demonstrates her compassion, her empathy, and her concern for Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) and Ranginui (Sky Father) and for the baby Ruaūmoko, still "in the ground with his mother". In this project, we argued that dispositions such as these displayed by Lily bode well for the future of not only the children who exercise these, but for the future of our planet.

As Adele Ellwood, teacher at Richard Hudson Kindergarten, wrote:

Knowledge of Rakinui/Ranginui and Papatūānuku gives our tamariki a seed of knowledge and concern about the vulnerability of our world. We must all do what we can to look after Papa[tūānuku]. By giving the young learners of our society ecological strategies in a realistic context, we are laying the foundations for a generation of earth users who know to care. (As cited in Ritchie et al., 2010, p. 59)

Final thoughts

The three examples above, drawn from previous studies, hint at the potential for early childhood care and education settings to serve as sites in which the skilful pedagogies of sensitive teachers can serve to enable dispositions of care and compassion within the children and families attending, and that te ao Māori is a rich reservoir from which to draw strength in this cause, in keeping with the philosophies outlined in Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996) and Te Whatu Pokeka (Ministry of Education, 2009). They demonstrate the sensitivity, compassion, and commitment of the teachers who were engaged in these pedagogies, as well as the enrichment to tamariki and whānau who experience programmes which resonate this aroha, wairuatanga, and manaakitanga. Further research would be useful to identify pedagogies whereby teachers who are committed to a kaupapa (philosophy) of rangimārie provide intentional support to fostering dispositions of caring, compassion, and empathy within the members of the centre community. Internationally, there has been a growing expectation, supported and facilitated by UNESCO during the recent Decade of Sustainable Development, that educators might lead the way in reconfiguring ways in which we can live sustainably on our planet. This United Nations' definition of sustainability embraces social, economic, cultural, and ecological aspects. As has been the case historically, the early childhood care and education sector is progressive and committed to social change (May, 2009, 2013). It is clear from the examples given above, and from other work internationally, that our sector continues to proactively contribute to social, cultural and environmental justice (UNESCO Education Sector, 2012). As Daloz (1990) has written, "care is both just and loving" (p. 244).

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Notes

- 1 This section draws upon a section within Ritchie, Lockie & Rau (2011).
- 2 Teachers wished to have their names and centres acknowledged in these studies. Parents and children were given the choice as to whether they wanted their real names used.

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