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The Discipline Experience:
Parents' and Children's Perspectives

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Abstract

This study considered the interpretation within parent–child dyads regarding a discipline event. Research relating to the parent's interpretation of a discipline event is limited and tends to accept their meanings as given, rather than interrogating how they arrived at those interpretations. This study involved a near real-time reflection of a discipline event from the perspective of both the parent and the child. It specifically focused on the extent to which parents' and children's understanding of the circumstances leading to the discipline event were attuned. This study adopted a qualitative, interpretative strategy using semi-structured interviews and child diary entries and these were supplemented with a Parenting Relationship Questionnaire. Thirteen dyads participated in the study, with children aged between 10 and 11 years old. The participant parents and children generally experienced misattunement in their interpretation of the discipline event. At the foundation of that misattunement was the parent's assumption that their children were negatively motivated. For the most part, parents tended to respond to their children based on their negative core beliefs. These beliefs are themselves influenced by wider discourses regarding children's social position. Children's voices in the process tended to be marginalised and ineffectual. This thesis is located within a children's rights perspective and proposes a new discipline model within that paradigm. Within this discipline model, parents are asked to reflect on their beliefs and provide children with an environment in which their voices can be privileged. In doing so, parents and children establish better attunement, productive discipline outcomes and strengthened relationships.

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Glossary and List of Abbreviations

Attunement	Similar experience or understanding shared between parent and child
BP-RPDM	Best Practice-Reflective Parenting Discipline Model
CCA	Care of Children's Act
CDE	Child Diary Entry
CYPA	Children and Young Person's Act
DE	Discipline event
Dyad	Relationship or interaction between parent and child
Explicit memory	Conscious and contextualised memories formed within the hippocampus brain region
FGC	Family Group Conference
Hapū	Māori term for sub-tribe
Implicit memory	Memories formed outside of the person's awareness from their amygdala region of the brain
I-RPDM	Interim-Reflective Parenting Discipline Model
Iwi	Māori term for tribe
IWM	An individual's internal working model
Kaumātua	Māori term for tribal elder (Ryan, 1999, p. 59)
Māori	Indigenous people of New Zealand
Misattunment	Experiences or understanding shared between parent and child is dissimilar
NZPDM	New Zealand-based parenting discipline models
Pākehā	Non-Māori, European, Caucasian (Ryan, 1999, p.99)
PIS	Participant Information Sheet
Prospective memory	A function that helps people to remember to perform tasks in the future
PRQ	Parenting Relationship Questionnaire
Punitive discipline	Involves methods based on fear, withdrawal of support or controlling children's outcomes without their input
RIG	Representations of interactions that have been generalised

Time-out	Defined as the removal of a child from their activity or familial environment or positive attention for a period of time
TA	Thematic Analysis
UDHR	Universal Declarations of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
Whakapapa	Māori term for genealogy, cultural identity (Ryan, 1999, p. 167)
Whānau	Māori term for extended family (Ryan, 1999, p. 172)
Whānaungatanga	Māori term for relationship, kinship (Ryan, 1999, p. 172)
WHO	World Health Organisation

Chapter 1: Introduction

Overview of the Thesis

This study explores children's and parents' interactions and behaviours as a result of their involvement in a discipline event (DE) that is characterised by conflict and resulted in negative feelings experienced between the two parties. A main goal of this study was to better understand children's experiences of a DE and to the extent those experiences were negative in terms of outcomes, develop a new approach that might be utilised by parents to improve DE interactions and outcomes for both themselves and their children. A further focus in the thesis was to find a way in which a child's voice could be heard and acknowledged by their parent during a DE. Additional aims for this study were to consider how parents' DE responses affected their children and how a parent's inherent beliefs, which manifested through the parent's behaviours and choices, contributed to the process and experiences of attunement or misattunement within the dyad during a DE. Because each individual has their own unique interpretation and understanding of their environment and experiences (Siegel & Hartzell, 2004), it was imperative for this thesis to access and consider both parents' *and* the children's narratives as a result of their DE involvement.

This thesis also discusses the historic and legal evolution regarding childhood as a construct and children's rights and how those are in play during a DE. It is only in recent times that children have been considered as separate entities from adults, and their rights recognised in relation to their wellbeing, special needs and status, and self-determination goals. In 1989, one of the most extensive treaties dealing with children's rights and interests, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) was adopted by the General Assembly and subsequently ratified by most countries world-wide (Sutherland, 2013). The UNCRC outlines for State parties certain aspirational principles in relation to children's rights (Lynch, 2008) that are contained in 54 articles commonly grouped within a framework of rules that address the provision, protection and participation rights for children (Smith, 2013a). Historically, and at the time of this study, there is greater emphasis or focus on children's rights, particularly regarding their participation (Article 12 of the UNCRC) in matters relating to their wellbeing (Milne, 2015). Various authors and theorists have discussed and debated children's rights in a number of capacities, alluding to or identifying with particular schools of thought, discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 2.

Discipline, Children and Participation

Parenting and discipline in relation to children is a well discussed and often debated topic (LaCaze & Kirylo, 2012). The majority of people involved in parenting or caregiving typically experience discipline and its effects on a day-to-day basis (Hoffman, 1979). Indeed, Cozolino (2006) suggests interactions between parent and child can influence their synergy and impact on their attunement as a result of constructed communication patterns and the parent's own attachment history. These components impact on the parent's ability to interpret child-related events and respond appropriately. Discipline, children and their family are also discussed and debated in the political arena. For example, within New Zealand, one of the objectives for the repeal of Section 59 of the *Crimes Act 1961* was to provide children with the same or at least very similar rights as adults regarding "force" within their familial environment, thus fulfilling its obligations under the UNCRC (Hornibrook, 2008). The UNCRC acknowledges and supports the importance of parental responsibility for children in the home and within the wider community (Te One, Blaikie, Egan-Bitran, & Henley, 2014). Yet, in a broader context, the UNCRC does not directly proscribe specific rules associated with discipline within the familial environment. However, the UNCRC represents a significant shift in the global recognition of children as holders of human and citizenship rights, and creates a space in which the normative assumptions regarding the hierarchical power relations between parents and children can be examined, disrupted and perhaps renegotiated. Indeed, the UNCRC discusses children's participation, particularly in relation to their competence (aligned with age, ability and maturity) (Qvortrup, 1996). Families are pivotal in how children experience their rights (Smith, 2016). One of the objectives of this thesis is to consider how parents perceive their child's position, participation and voice in relation to a DE, and explore the need for parents to recognise the hierarchical nature of their relationships and provide a different discipline paradigm. In doing so, parents could create more spaces for dialogue and negotiation with their children and reflect on their own triggers/influences underpinning their responses in the context of DEs.

Discussed in this thesis are a number of schools of thought in relation to children's rights, their competency and sociocultural position. Some theorists claim that children are often considered as "becomings" as opposed to "beings", and only considered competent, therefore fully "human" in terms of rights once they have reached an age and stage in maturity to make informed and sensible decisions (discussed further in Chapter 2). Indeed, some of the current and commonplace New Zealand-based parenting discipline models (NZPDMs) (see Chapter 2), prioritise the parent's narrative and position the child as

subordinate and powerless. Children, because of these discipline models, will inevitably experience their parents during a DE as authoritarian and the relationship as hierarchical. With this in mind and as noted previously, one objective and outcome of this study is the introduction of a new parenting paradigm in the form of a "Best Practice - Reflective Parenting Discipline Model" (BP-RPDM) or, alternatively, an "Interim - Reflective Parenting Discipline Model" (I-RPDM) (see Chapter 7). This thesis discusses the preferred paradigm, where children will experience a DE with their parent from a position of "being", in other words, a more liberal approach identified within the "liberationist" school of thought. Children's position and participation in this approach is given due consideration, out of respect and equality for them as human beings, as children are considered more competent than they are often given credit for (Verhellen, 2005). One important clarification needs to be proffered at this point. This thesis acknowledges that children do indeed need secure boundaries (rational, inclusive and negotiated guidelines) and this is discussed in Chapter 2. However, this thesis highlights the lack of voice and participation experienced by children during a DE process that may indeed impact on their sense of self, wellbeing and their attunement with their parent. These outcomes, suggested by the literature in Chapter 2, can impact on a child's development, the nature of their relationship with their parents or caregiver and future interactions with others.

Researcher's Position

The seeds for this thesis were sown, unintentionally, when I was approximately seven years old. I vividly recall a difficult discipline-oriented interaction (described in this thesis as a DE) with my mother. I was instructed to have an afternoon nap, but as a result of feeling anxious and needing reassurance, I chose instead to follow my mother surreptitiously around the house. My mother appeared to interpret my behaviour at that time as wilful and naughty, whereas my understanding and motivation for the behaviour had a very different origin. At that time my behaviour was driven by concerns, unknown to my mother, that were designed to regulate my emotions. Importantly, my mother did not seek my perspective during or after the DE. I believe a misattunement occurred in respect of this DE due to my mother's misinterpretation and fundamental failure (relating to that particular incident) to seek clarification from me as to the reasons for my conduct. Indeed, the governing perspective during that DE was solely that of my mothers. Because of my mother's approach during the DE, my voice in regards to my own behaviour was treated as largely irrelevant. Unfortunately I experienced, with sadness and confusion, the consequences for my apparently naughty behaviour.

In recent years, I have reflected further on that DE, particularly in relation to my counselling practice and involvement with children and their parents, but also as a mother. Increasingly, my interest grew and I wondered how commonly discrepancies in interpretation exist between participants during a DE. I wondered if common what factors contribute to this process? Does this misattunement have wider implications, such as attachment-based issues between parent and child that could potentially impact on their relationship? It was difficult to source relevant literature, and particularly research related specifically to a parent's and child's interpretation of a DE. In addition, literature identifying what might influence a person's interpretation in relation to a DE and how this could impact on their behaviour was difficult to source. Consequently, this thesis goes some way in considering these questions and advancing analysis in this important area of familial interaction, with the inclusion of the parents' and children's broader DE experiences, such as their feelings during and after the discipline interaction.

Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is presented in eight chapters. Chapter 2, divided into three parts, provides a review of the literature related to this field of inquiry. Part 1 discusses the evolution of children's rights and their legal position. Part 2 focuses on discipline and the familial environment, particularly in relation to children in middle childhood (the age of the participant children involved in this study). Part 3 considers NZPDMs, particularly regarding how children's positions are represented in relation to their parent(s) during a DE interaction. Chapter 3 outlines the ontological, epistemological and methodological framework that underpins this research. This qualitative study adopts an ontological and epistemological paradigm involving a constructivist and relativist approach, where the person's experience, or in this case that of each participant, is interpreted as their truth. Chapter 3 also discusses the research questions or scope of inquiry, discusses the data collection methods, the participation selection process, the ethical considerations, the role of the researcher and data analysis method.

Chapter 4 and the subsequent three chapters engage directly with the data produced by this study. Chapter 4 provides an overview or context for each of the 13 parent and child participant dyads and their DE experience in the form of vignettes. The vignettes describe the DE interactions and sequence of events between each parent and child to inform the reader about, and create awareness of, the DE environment in that moment. The thematic analysis of the data (parents' and children's interviews, and children's diaries) and findings

of the Parenting Relationship Questionnaire (PRQ) are presented in Chapter 5. The findings are discussed according to six major themes and the subsequent sub-themes associated with the parents' and children's DE experiences. Chapter 6 interprets and provides a context for the findings in relation to the participants' DE experience and the broader literature. The findings are interpreted and discussed according to three dominant themes. The key findings propose that a shift in the parent and child discipline paradigm will enable the process to be better attuned (meaning that parents will become more confident and less frustrated, and children will feel heard, respected and more valued—as well as better able to internalise family values) when parents choose to move away from the normatively assumed power dynamic, recognise the legitimacy of their child's perspective and voice, reflect on the presuppositions they bring to DE encounters, and prioritise dialogue and negotiation. The result of this attunement is a more positive and constructive relationship, and where the DE interactions between parent and child raises the likelihood of more securely attached children and reduces the child's risk of developing pathological disorders later in life.

In order to encourage attunement in DE interactions, Chapter 7 outlines the proposed new reflective paradigm in the form of a "best practice" (or alternatively an "interim") parenting discipline model. Finally, Chapter 8 concludes this research with a synthesis of the main findings in the context of the wider literature and advances a number of contentions. Limitations of the research are also acknowledged and discussed, and further considerations regarding the implications for counselling and future research and policy practice in this area are identified and considered. Collectively, this thesis addresses the gap in the research regarding the potential differences in interpretation of the DE between a parent and child. As noted previously, this thesis not only considers parents' and children's DE interpretations and experiences, but also provides an alternative discipline model that, if utilised, may positively affect the DE experience for all of those concerned and normalise the child's position as "being"—that is, fully human, recognised as possessing rights and having a voice that deserves and is entitled to be heard.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The following chapter is divided into three parts. Part 1 considers the evolution of the construct of the child and their wellbeing, their legal rights and protection and how children came to be recognised as citizens in their own right. Part 1 also discusses the various schools of thought and their proponents in relation to children's rights. In addition, this part provides an overview of children within New Zealand and their legal rights leading up to the 1989 UNCRC and looks beyond this treaty at some child-related initiatives. Although this component of the literature review focuses on the historic evolution leading up to the universally acknowledged UNCRC, this part concentrates and discusses the Western world's perspective of the evolution of the child.

Part 2 of this chapter focuses on discipline and the familial context. This part initially provides a broad overview of the historical context and the evolution of discipline, and focuses on two specific theories (utilised within the discipline context) being operant conditioning (a form of behaviour modification) and attachment theory. Secondly, perception and interpretative differences between individuals are discussed. A focus of Part 2 considers the potential disparities between individuals in the understanding of similar events or environments, and considers parents and the discipline environment. It also describes the potential influences that impact on the parent's ability to interpret their child's behaviour during a DE. A number of factors are discussed such as the neurological and sociocultural components that impact on the parent's ability to interpret current environments accurately. This part also considers discipline in relation to children—more specifically, the child's voice and their interpersonal communication experiences, their neurological development and their discipline experiences in middle childhood and their discipline preferences. Finally, consideration is given to theories of developmental psychology, specifically Piaget's cognitive developmental model focusing on the age and potential stage in relation to the study participants. Piaget's cognitive developmental theory was utilised as a basis to recruit the participant children.

Part 3 of this literature review identifies and explores parenting models in relation to discipline. A framework, including a historic overview regarding parents, their authority or familial position and discipline is provided. This is followed by a more specific focus on Baumrind's influential and well-established "parenting style model" often referred to by

theorists and practitioners in a variety of contexts. This part also considers and discusses helpful and unhelpful components that impact on the parent and child discipline process and experience. Finally, this part provides a summary of four current NZPDMs popularly accessed and utilised by New Zealand parents.

Part 1: Childhood, Rights and the Legal Evolution

The Construction of Childhood and the Evolution of Children's Rights

Human rights have been brought to attention as a result of an arduous and complex process (Hart & Hart, 2014). The last 500 years or so has seen the inception and growing recognition in relation to the protection and needs of humans and of their human rights (Hart & Hart, 2014). More specifically, and the focus of this section, children's rights have also had a revolutionary journey (Wald, 1979), and the redefining of children's status from chattel to person did not just occur by chance (Hart, 1991). The notion of childhood from an adult's perspective is considered a relatively recent construct, yet its origins are influenced by historic adult beliefs that need to be understood to garner a full appreciation (Tucker, 1977). Although, according to Fass (2011), the lead up to one of the most binding universal treaties (the 1989 UNCRC) appears seamless, the 70 years prior to this treaty was thought to be the most violent and tumultuous in human history. The following section considers this journey in a linear format relating to periods of time and focuses on the era considered "The Century of the Child" (Dekker, 2000), with earlier centuries discussed briefly.

Childhood in the 16th Century

The road to children's rights was influenced by a number of factors (Hart, 1991). Historically, children in the Western world were initially ignored, did not have an individual identity, were defined as chattels and worked primarily for their family (Hart, 1991). Children six years and older were defined as mini adults before the 16th century (Ariès, 1962; Plumb, 1972), yet were treated abominably by their parents who had total power, and the child's competencies, or lack of, defined the adult's expectations (Hart, 1991). Donnelly (2005) explained that during this period it was the adult's responsibility to shatter the child's will. However, adults' perceptions of children slowly changed during this period (Smidt, 2010). Child bearing and rearing (prior to the 18th century) was considered dangerous and unsatisfying and medical interventions were inadequate (Hart, 1991). As conditions became more favourable, adults began to develop empathy and bonded with their children (Hart, 1991). Indeed, during the late 16th century, the construct or notion of childhood emerged as

a "sentiment" (McGillivary, 2014), which slowly evolved as a distinguishable stage in the upper classes during the 16th and 17th centuries (Greven, 1992).

Childhood in the 17th–19th centuries

During the 17th century, the Enlightenment era, children were depicted as depraved and blameworthy individuals governed by evil tendencies (Hendrick, 1997) and needed education and socialising (Smidt, 2013). This was followed by a further shift during the 18th century that focused on a combination of discipline and nurturing relating to the wellbeing of the child (Smidt, 2013). Adults' narratives, rooted in religious origins, fixated on the nature of the child (Hartas, 2010) with two conspicuous, but opposing views evident providing philosophical guidance and structure to manage children (Smidt, 2013). One theory promoted by an Anglican clergyman and founder of the Methodist movement, John Wesley, suggested that children needed to be harshly trained and "broken" by their parents to ensure they readily accepted God's will (Smidt, 2013). A second philosophy, from France, was promoted by Rousseau, with his renowned book *Emile* (1762), which introduced the notion that children were different to adults and needed to have their own recognised childhood phase (Smidt, 2013). Towards the end of the 18th century, child labour was rampant (Smidt, 2013) and children from poor families involved in laboured work were thought to be missing out on a childhood (Hartas, 2010). During this period, advocacy (rights) for the child emerged as a result of childhood being recognised as a socially constructed phase during the Enlightenment and Romantic periods (Alaimo, 2002). Childhood slowly evolved and became a more widely recognisable phase (Smidt, 2013) and children were redefined as vulnerable, needing protection and were considered to lack the ability to make decisions and be autonomous (Buck, 2014; Hart, 1991; Montgomery, 2013; Such & Walker, 2005).

Workplace child abuse was not formally controlled until the beginning of the 19th century, yet abuse in the home was not discussed and was only considered in association with animal rights at the end of the 19th century (Myers, 2006). Until the mid-19th century, it was believed that children's value lay in their contribution to the workforce (Hart, 1991). Compulsory schooling, however, was also introduced for children and by the mid-19th century the focus for the child's wellbeing involved the development of norms and consistent or fixed notions pertaining to childhood (Smidt, 2013). Children were considered "innately" good according to Rousseau's beliefs, adaptable according to philosopher and physician John Locke, and when away from adults and with additional experiences they could be moulded (Stone, 1977). In stark contrast, children were also believed to be

"innately sinful" as defined by the Calvinist perspective (Stone, 1977). Indeed, an influencing rhetoric, centred on the Victorian "cult of the child" believed that children required rescuing from adult corruption. Consequently, children were removed from what were believed to be harmful and debauched settings and placed into middle class training environments to learn solid work ethics and provide for their families (Montgomery, 2013). The class system was still in force with middle class children more protected than children from the poor class (Montgomery, 2013; Smidt, 2013).

Although it was considered that some environmental variabilities between children's experiences existed, an interest in the mistreatment of children materialised in the late 1800s (Hart, Lee, & Wernham, 2011). Children were thought to be at risk as a result of immigration, industrialisation and urbanisation which could result in "undesirable" behaviour and impact on society negatively (Hart, 1991). Fass (2011) also suggested that children's wellbeing in the Western world was influenced by a number of factors. For example, as a result of medical intervention relating to birth and sanitation, which reduced waterborne diseases, and the introduction and increasing availability of effective birth control by the late 19th century, people realised these developments were positive for children, particularly in smaller families (Fass, 2011). In other words, the progress of science awarded benefits for children (Meckel, 2004). As a result, further points of interest regarding the wellbeing of children relating to the economy, work and education and child-saving measures such as the "clean-milk campaign" were introduced (Hart, 1991). State, private and religious agencies also intervened and influenced domestic life to help protect children (Hart, 1991). Scientists and professionals involved in child-related fields began to focus specifically on children's rights in relation to their wellbeing and self-determination prior to the 20th century (Hart, 1991).

Childhood in the 20th century

Children became the focus of numerous interventions and legal instruments as a result of changes that occurred in the 20th century (Mayall, 2000). In the early part of the 20th century, the focus of child-saving measures was further defined to incorporate the belief that children were the future of society (Hart, 1991), however, the focus relating to the middle classes was on the welfare of the child as opposed to their liberation (Fass, 2011). These changes influenced family life with the introduction of developmental psychology, child labour reforms, the formation of the juvenile court system and the continuation of compulsory education (Hart, 1991). Legal instruments were created during this period to

begin the process of redefining children as rights bearers and as separate entities from adults (Hart, 1991). In 1919, the first legally binding treaty was established that focused on child labour and restricted children from working in dangerous conditions. In 1924, the first official convention relating to children's issues, the *Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child* was formed and passed by the League of Nations (Fass, 2011; Montgomery, 2013). Although the focus was on children and their wellbeing, this declaration outlined children's rights in just five paragraphs and addressed only their basic needs; for example, shelter, food, work and concerns relating to exploitation (Ensalaco, 2005).

During the middle of the 20th century child advocates became more aware of adults not fulfilling their obligations to care and protect their children and that harm was being done (Fass, 2011). Indeed, protection (or welfare) for children in the Western world was considered inadequate, and as a result, a more rights-based approach developed (Fass, 2011). Advocates from the "helping professions" such as psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers continued their support for children's rights in leading debates that focused on self-determination (Goldstein & Drotman, 1977). Towards the end of 1946, the United Nations formed the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, renamed UNICEF in 1953 (Ensalaco, 2005). UNICEF was created to respond to the concerns that children, post-World War II, needed further protection (Ensalaco, 2005; Smith, 2016). At the end of World War II, human rights ideals were documented in the non-binding *United Nations Charter* and the *1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) and provided further impetus to protect children's rights (Fass, 2011). The *1948 UDHR* contained just a few statements (articulated further in the UNCRC, discussed below) relating to the wellbeing of families and children (Ensalaco, 2005; Montgomery, 2013), but has since been divided and reformatted into two legally binding treaties: The *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*; the latter being adopted in 1966 and which came into action in 1976 (Hart & Hart, 2014). Although these covenants provide a rights-based structure relating to all persons, the rights were directed more specifically towards adult men and women (Hart & Hart, 2014). In 1959, the United Nations General Assembly incorporated its own *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* to ensure children's interests were given due priority (Ensalaco, 2005). The 1959 declaration focused on the protection of children (Hart, 1991; Hart & Hart, 2014), but similar to the *1924 Declaration of Children's Rights*, was not enforceable or binding and rather considered the child's wellbeing and protection, again, from the adults' perspectives as opposed to providing rights directly to children themselves (Twum-Danso, 2009).

Protection and welfare, as opposed to a rights-based approach, was again the focus for advocates in the 1960s and early 1970s (Beck & Butler, 1974). The welfare of children was aligned to how they could benefit (emotionally and economically) their parents and society (Hart et al., 2011). Commentators such as Farson and Holt, influenced by Rousseau and other theorists such as Dewey's earlier philosophies, believed that children were entitled to rights to participate in aspects to do with their wellbeing and form decisions (Minow, 1995). However, the impetus for this aspiration did not begin to be realised until the mid-20th century, when the child's status was redefined from a person who was considered as "becoming an adult" to a child with an existing status (Hart, 1991; Hart et al., 2011). Indeed, by the 1970s, the focus shifted from child-saving (protection) mechanisms to children's rights in relation to liberation (Freeman, 1998; Hart, 1991). As a result of this "emerging person status", children's self-determination rights were emphasised (Rogers & Wrightsman, 1978). Consequently, as opposed to relying on the established *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* advocates contended that a binding and comprehensive agreement was required (Hart et al., 2011). In 1978, a proposal was put forward at the 34th session of the then United Nations Commission on Human Rights and was followed by a first draft of the UNCRC by Poland in 1979 (Lee, 2010). Specific focus regarding New Zealand's acknowledgement of the UNCRC principles is discussed later in this chapter.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and beyond

Past declarations were useful and established a foundation for a legally binding, influential treaty associated with children's wellbeing (Hart et al., 2011). During the 1960s and 1970s, various sectors or people believed that rights-based discussions could include both protection and liberation for children (Minow, 1995). As noted, the UNCRC (discussed later in this chapter), prompted by the Polish government, was developed in association with international consultation over a 10-year period (1979–1989) (Murphy-Berman, Levesque, & Berman, 1996) as a result of the "unsatisfactory" environment experienced by children around the world and the understanding that current declarations did not cover specific legally binding legislation relating to children's needs and rights (Hart & Hart, 2014).

The UNCRC was adopted in 1989 by the UN General Assembly (Hart et al., 2011; Montgomery, 2013; Parkes, 2013; Revaz, 2006) and was the first binding treaty that placed a spotlight on "justice" for children as opposed to "charity" (Veerman, 1992). The UNCRC was also a further impetus for adults to consider how they perceived children and their position (Parkes, 2013). Fass (2011) explains that the UNCRC emphasises children's rights

and rather than being perceived as objects vulnerable to adults and needing protection, they are instead acknowledged as human beings with rights to act in their own best interests. The UNCRC contains 54 articles outlining expectations relating to children's needs and rights (food and shelter), emotional and physical protection, and participation. In other words, their ability or right to provide their voice on issues relating to their development and wellbeing (Montgomery, 2013). The Treaty acknowledges that children should be recognised as having an agency and considered as "full-fledged citizens" separate to adults (Twum-Danso, 2009). The UNCRC was not devised to provide a formulaic process, but formed with the ideological objectives relating to "dignity" and "respect" for children (Montgomery, 2013). Indeed, numerous articles within the UNCRC focus on the child's civil rights. However, Article 12, which relates to children's participation and is commonly accepted as one of the key articles of the Convention, (Flekkøy, 1996) requires states parties to implement measures within their own jurisdiction to recognise children's views (in accordance with their age and competency) (Liebel, 2012a). As noted earlier, Te One et al. (2014) and Jones (2009) explain that in relation to Article 12, the UNCRC leaves it to individual states to provide the specific mechanisms by which these participation rights will be given effect. Furthermore, the notion of childhood competency - recognising their ability to make sensible decisions - is a challenging notion for adults. Although the UNCRC formally recognises childhood as being up to the age of 18 years (Fonda, 2009; Montgomery, 2013) the "black letter" approach, while considered helpful in establishing and differentiating childhood from adulthood, has been criticised as being too simplified (Fonda, 2009). Therefore, in some contexts, the law utilises a more individualised approach that Fonda (2009) refers to as the "competence approach", where the child's competencies, capabilities and maturity are assessed—that is, their ability to take responsibility for their decisions.

Although the UNCRC will be interpreted differently by different cultures (Murphy-Berman et al., 1996), the adoption of the UNCRC by countries kick-started their government's law reforms with independent overseers appointed and situated in 38 countries worldwide (Santos Pais & Bissell, 2006). The UNCRC acknowledges the role of government in supporting the parent's role unless the wellbeing of the child is at risk (Melton, 1996). Tang (2003) suggests however that tensions exist as a result of children's rights potentially undermining parents' role to raise their children as they see appropriate. Furthermore, tensions between the role of the parent and the right for the child to participate was also evident from the child's perspective. In 2002, at a United Nations Special Summit on children's rights, children identified a number of concerns such as the need for space to

consider issues that they participate in, the provision of a "child-led" environment and education for adults to reduce intransigence regarding the child's voice (Bennett Woodhouse, 2003).

Schools of Thought and the Rights of the Child

Although it is the States' (that are party to the convention) responsibility to implement and follow the UNCRC principles (Vandenhole, 2015), Verhellen (2015) describes these principles as the minimum standard and encourages the States parties to look and practice beyond these aspirations. Sutherland (2013) explains that while the UNCRC principles cannot be considered in isolation, understanding Article 12 relating to children's participation is paramount to children's rights. Indeed, awareness of, and debates acknowledging children's voices and participation are dominant, yet lack practical implementation (Prout, 2003). As noted previously, Article 12 of the UNCRC acknowledges that states should provide children who are "capable of forming views" with the right to discuss issues (Jones, 2009). However, as Jones (2009) points out, children's capability or competency is open to different meanings and interpretations.

<u>Competency and children</u>

Verhellen (2015) claims that if the UNCRC is considered from the perspective and in the order of protection, provision and participation rights it will cause a problem for the States parties because it will reinforce the prevailing image of the child who is perceived as needing protection, therefore lacking competence to participate. Indeed, Swadener and Polakow (2011) suggest that concepts regarding protection and provision are easier notions for adults to respond to, as opposed to participation. Debates relating to children and their participation rights according to Franklin (1996), are usually centred around two particular rhetorics. Firstly, children's participation is often seen as a competency issue, in other words children are considered not capable of making informed or appropriate decisions. Secondly, as a result of age, children lack experiential maturity, and as a consequence are more likely to make errors in their decisions. However, Verhellen (2015) states that participation is not about competency, but how adults perceive children as "becomings". Hanson (2012) describes "becomings" as a concept where children are perceived as future citizens as opposed to being acknowledged in their present state as "beings". Archard (2004) explains that child liberationists (discussed later in this chapter) perceive the competency argument as an ideological construction as a result of modern thinking in relation to childhood. Children's liberationists believe that a child's lack of competency is not sufficient grounds to

deny access to their rights, and in fact could be viewed as a double standard as adults do not always make the correct decisions, yet have access as rights bearers (Breen, 2006). Within Western countries, the prevailing opinion tends to relate to the notion that children are "becomings" and belong to a "special category" (Verhellen & Cappelaere, 1996). However, there are various schools of thought that demonstrate conflicting views, as evidenced below.

Schools of thought – Children's movements

Children's rights movements have been highly visible since the 20th century, yet have historic origins (Parker-Jenkins, 1999). According to Parker-Jenkins (1999), children's rights theories or movements have been particularly divisive, with the focus primarily being related to "… protection or paternalism versus liberation or self-determination" (p. 140). Indeed, Freeman (1983) and Pardeck (2010) concur and suggest that the debates focus on the distinctions between protection and liberty. A number of trends idealise various notions and philosophies relating to children's rights which Verhellen (2015) defines as the "reformist trend", the "children's liberationists" movement and the "pragmatic and emancipatory trend". Hanson (2012) divides these schools of thought into four trends, and suggests that these categories are based on how the images between the child, their competency, and the way children's rights are perceived. Hanson (2012), similar to Verhellen (2015), discusses four dominant movements: paternalism, liberation, welfare, and emancipation that each have their own rhetoric and supporters in relation to the child's position and rights. Freeman (1997) argues that each movement tends not to consider concerns relating to the other approaches and suggests that this is problematic. Freeman (1997), who describes himself as a "liberal paternalist" believes there is a need to consider children's present and future "autonomy" and explains that there would be more value in recognising and addressing the concerns of each child movement.

Paternalism

Paternalism is a well-established movement stemming as far back as the late 19th century and into the first part of the 20th century, identifying with the child-saving movements (Platt, 1969). The paternalistic perspective acknowledges that children are perceived as dependent, therefore not yet evolved enough to form or make competent decisions. According to this perspective, children's rights only relate to protection vis-à-vis adults, whether it is parents, the State or other agencies (Hanson, 2012). Indeed, caregivers/adults define what is in the children's best interests. Paternalism rationalises the adults' intrusion into children's decisions based on "best practices" (Parker-Jenkins, 1999). Locke's

philosophy on children's rights is more situated in the paternalism movement (Parker-Jenkins, 1999) as he believed that parents needed to train their children who were "blank slates" (Donnelly, 2005). Philosopher, Thomas W. Simon (2000), according to Hanson (2012), supports the paternalistic notion and believes the UNCRC's primary objective and basic core involves the protection of children as opposed to participation, and the adult's main responsibility to not cause children harm.

Liberation

The liberation trend is considered more radical and disputes the notion, based on moral foundations, that the competency argument is valid (Verhellen, 2015). This school of thought or movement also believes in the basic principle of equality for all people (Hanson, 2012; Verhellen, 2015). According to Hanson (2012), liberationists perceive children as independent and competent citizens. Liberationists believe that any form of discrimination such as age is morally inappropriate, and children should have access to rights in the same context as adults (Breen, 2006; Verhellen, 2015). Child liberationists support and indeed believe it is imperative for children to have rights that include self-determination goals (Hanson, 2012). The UNCRC discusses the provision for "special needs" in relation to children's rights (Liebel, 2012b), however, child liberationists suggest there is little difference between adults' and children's needs (Hanson, 2012). Therefore, as opposed to acknowledging special needs for children, they believe the only valid approach is equal rights held by both adults and children (Hanson, 2012).

Richard Farson and John Holt both support autonomy for children and are aligned with the children's liberationist approach (Hanson, 2012; Parker-Jenkins, 1999). According to Archard (2004), Farson and Holt suggest that other alternative approaches could cause oppression and "segregation" that only serve to bolster the perception of children as naive and childlike. Holt, according to Liebel (2012b), believes children are more capable than ordinarily perceived by adults, a notion shared by Cowden (2016). Interestingly, Hawes (1991) claims that parents, teachers and even some children resist the liberationist notions. Hawes (1991) suggests that many parents and teachers align more with the protectionist philosophies. Current concerns held by the children's liberation movement and supported by Holt and Farson (Cowden, 2016) are issues relating to the political arena such as the children's right to vote, which is absent within the UNCRC principles and is still argued in this present day (Hanson, 2012).

Welfare

The welfare movement is similar to the paternalistic approach, yet is considered to be less structured in their philosophies (Hanson, 2012). For example, the paternalistic approach perceives children as "becoming", thus not acknowledged as "being", where the liberationist approach acknowledges children as "being" (Hanson, 2012). Alternatively, the welfare approach claims that children are both "becoming" and "being", yet primarily perceives children as incompetent, but open to be proven otherwise (Hanson, 2012). In other words, the onus is placed on proving competency, and until such time, children are perceived as incompetent. In relation to the UNCRC, the welfare approach prioritises and views the primary principles in the following order—children's protection, over provision, and finally participation rights (Hanson, 2012). Milne (2015) purports that welfare was the focal point for a number of historic declarations, for example the *1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Child*, and suggests it is still the emphasis or focus within the UNCRC. Hanson (2012) claims that the welfare approach is primarily active within the welfare-oriented sector both nationally and internationally. For example, UNICEF (discussed below), an international organisation that provides humanitarian support, acknowledges in its mission statement the notion of children's protection (Hanson, 2012). Philosopher Laura Purdy (1992) aligns with the welfare approach and believes that children are advantaged as a result of protection as opposed to the likes of participation (Hanson, 2012).

Emancipation

Similar to the welfare approach, the emancipation approach perceives children as both "becoming" and "being", however, the emancipation approach believes that the burden of proof for children's lack of competency lies on those who suggest children are incompetent to make decisions (Hanson, 2012). Unlike the welfare approach, those who hold to the emancipation approach believe that children are considered competent unless proven otherwise. This trend elucidates further on the liberationist movement and considers, pragmatically, why children should not be granted access to all human rights, including the ability to make decisions autonomously as their right unless established otherwise – in other words the "*juris tantum*" principle (Verhellen, 2015). In relation to the UNCRC principles, the emancipation approach emphasises and prioritises children's participation rights, and acknowledges, to a lesser degree, the children's right to provision and protection (Hanson, 2012). Therefore, the emancipation movement purports that adults and children are deserving of equal rights, whilst acknowledging that children require a provision for special needs/rights under certain circumstances (Hanson, 2012). Since the early 1990s, the

development of the "working children's organisations" align more with the emancipatory approach in relation to children's rights (Swift, 1999). According to Hanson (2012), both Eugene Verhellen (2000) and Miek de Langen (1992) align with the emancipatory approach and claim that children's core rights outlined in the UNCRC acknowledge their entitlement to be recognised as bearer of rights as opposed to passive recipients.

Reformist

The additional school of thought discussed by Verhellen (2015), that does not align with any of the four movements outlined previously, is the reformist approach. Verhellen (2015) argues that the reformist trend acknowledges that the competence argument is indeed valid, but suggests that children's abilities are underestimated and believes children are more than capable of making logical and informed decisions. This movement suggests that even young children are more than capable of making rational judgements (Verhellen, 2015).

Overview of children's participation

In today's world, children living in Western society tend to be ensconced within a private familial sphere (Smith, 2016), ostensibly different from their historic counterparts where they were perceived as mini adults working alongside adults (Qvortrup, 2005). Today, children are considered to be more protected with reduced visibility, yet perceived to be situated in a more democratic society (Qvortrup, 2005). For example, children in this current time are either at home, at school or in their local community playing, where adults have a significant influence on their wellbeing and can exercise their decision rights (Jones, 2009). Notwithstanding the implementation of the UNCRC Treaty, Sgritta (1997), suggests that children's rights and participation are indeed worse and according to Jones (2009) children are considered only to be visible within certain contexts. Furthermore, the findings of a UNICEF Young Voices Poll in 2000–2001 that involved interviews in 35 countries with 15,200 children aged 9 to 17 years old, indicated that the attitudes or beliefs held by adults do indeed negatively impact on children's lives (Jones, 2009). Although the competency proponents, such as the welfare movement (discussed previously) suggest otherwise, Hartas (2010) claims that separating and protecting children from decisions potentially exploits them and creates a hierarchical structure leaving children in a powerless and subordinate position. Hendrick (2000) suggests that the child's perspective will continue to be marginalised if their voice is only visible through adult narratives.

In summary, although the best interests of the child are thought to underpin the principles of the UNCRC (Cowden, 2016), the implementation of Article 12 related to children's

participation is not only a focus (Milne, 2015), but is thought to be a particularly challenging notion as it conflicts with the various perceptions of children held by adults and organisations (Prout, 2003; Smith, 2008). Verhellen (2015) argues that if children were perceived as competent from the outset, they would be more prominent on a larger scale, which in turn, would influence how adults identify and work with children and fundamentally change the nature of the adult–child relationship. Indeed, the notion of children's rights, according to Milne (2015), is incomplete and focuses on needs associated with welfare or protection as opposed to being equal bearers of rights. For this focus to shift towards the notion of children's competency and participation, a different paradigm regarding the perception of children needs to occur (Liebel, 2012a). Such and Walker (2005) also explain that if children are perceived as fully-fledged citizens, there would be a requirement for additional recognition and infrastructure, particularly relating to representation and governance.

Children in New Zealand

The following section is concerned with the evolution of New Zealand laws that are associated with the care, welfare and protection of children. Although there are numerous laws that have an influence on childrens' well-being, this section focuses on the laws that most directly have impacted on, and in some cases defined the best interests and welfare of children.

<u>History</u>

The New Zealand legal system was initially established on the English legal system (Spiller, Finn & Boast, 1998) and the British governed New Zealand as part of the New South Wales colony after the "acquisition of sovereignty" in 1840 (Spiller et al., 1998). In 1839 Captain William Hobson "… was commissioned to establish British sovereignty in New Zealand …" by way of a treaty with the Māori people (McDowell & Webb, 2002 p. 106). In 1840 New Zealand became a separated colony from New South Wales (McDowell & Webb, 2002) and the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 (Imp), described by some as New Zealand's first constitution, came into force in 1853 (McDowell & Webb, 2002). However, the English Laws Acts of 1854, 1858 and 1908 confirmed that the laws of England (both statutes and general law) applied in New Zealand as at 14 January 1840 (McDowell & Webb, 2002).

<u>Legal evolution</u>

The first legal rules in New Zealand that sought to provide some legal protections for children had their source in adopted English laws. For example, the Custody of Infants Act 1839 (UK), which enabled women to have access to and have custody of their children (Bailey, 1995) and The Guardianship of Infants Act 1886 (UK) which included a welfare of the child principle (Reddaway & Keating, 1997). Furthermore, even when the New Zealand Government legislated its own laws in this context those still relied heavily on analogous English laws (Ludbrook & de Jong, 2005). For example, the foundation of The Infants Act 1908 (NZ) was modeled on the way in which the British viewed the welfare and protection of children (Ludbrook & de Jong, 2005). English laws applied to New Zealand until social and legal independence was developed in the early twentieth century (McDowell & Webb, 2002).

In 1925 the New Zealand Parliament passed The Child Welfare Act, which was concerned with the care and control of children (Ludbrook & de Jong, 2005). This legislation conferred on Magistrates powers to deal with children in need of protection (Ludbrook & de Jong, 2005). A new Guardianship of Infants Act was passed by Parliament in 1926 with an amendment being made to the legislation in 1927. This statute was replaced by the Guardianship Act 1968 which emphasised the need for paramount consideration to be given to the welfare of the child (Ludbrook & de Jong, 2005). This key legislative directive (which subsequently became known as the "paramountcy principle") was now clearly expressed as being part of New Zealand law (s23(1)) (Watt, 2003), although as Ludbrook and de Jong (2005, p. 9) explain that references to a paramountcy principle can be found in New Zealand law at the time of the Infants Act 1926 and indeed earlier in the English Acts mentioned above (McDowell & Webb, 2002).

The Children and Young Persons Act 1974 (CYPA) adopted the paramountcy principle contained in the 1968 Guardianship Act as a central policy. However, this legislation did not address other key cultural questions applying to families (Keddell, 2007) (discussed below in this section) and made only three changes to the existing law to assist with the recognition of children's rights, namely, drawing a distinction between children and young adults; establishing children's boards; and reforming children's courts (Watt, 2003).

The CYPA was criticised for its lack of focus on family and community and child participation in the consultative process that preceded the legislation (Atkin, 1990). The paramountcy principle was contended to ignore cultural normalcy and the inclusion of

whānau, hapū and iwi in relation to decisions about any Māori child's wellbeing (Keddell, 2007) and produced institutionally racist outcomes (The Maori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1988). The Puao-Te-Ata-Tu Report, undertaken by a Ministerial Advisory Committee in 1986, addressed many of the criticisms of the CYPA and recommended the need to recognise the wider context of the hapū community without polarising or conflicting with the paramountcy principle (Atkin, 1990).

The Children and Young Persons Bill introduced in 1986 further considered the needs and protection of children (Watt, 2003), although again criticisms were levelled at this Bill because of its lack of clarity around how a broader and more culturally-appropriate conceptualisation of a child's place within the family could be delivered (Atkin, 1990). The Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act (Watt, 2003) responded to these concerns by introducing a "new paradigm" providing the way in which the link between family and cultural relationships was to be established (Watt, 2003). One of the key principles of this legislation (set out in section 5), stated that family decision-making processes needed to be aligned with the Māori cultural practices in accordance with the processes of a "family group conference" (FGC) (Atkin, 1990). This FGC process was to incorporate traditional Māori customs and consider the wishes of the child in conjunction with their age, maturity, and culture (Atkin, 1990). For example, any FGC was to recognise the concept of whānaungatanga, in which all relevant parties in a child's life are invited to attend decision-making or counselling sessions (Durie & Hermansson, 1990).

Related legislation passed in the same year, The Children and Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989, acknowledged that children have certain rights but did not specifically describe how those rights were to be protected in practice (Henaghan, 2005). Furthermore, Henaghan (2005, p. 3) explains that while The Care of Children Act 2004, which replaced the Guardianship Act 1968 and the Guardianship Amendment Act 1991, provided specific requirements which needed to be adhered to in relation to obtaining children's views in court proceedings, the Act did not provide clear guidelines or address how those views from the child were to be obtained and presented to Court.

UNCRC and New Zealand's legal system

The development of the UNCRC in 1989 forced some refocusing of how children and their rights were perceived in New Zealand (Freeman & Higgins, 2013; Smith, 2013a). New Zealand's involvement in the UNCRC, ratified in 1993, required politicians, agencies and policy makers to consider children's rights and best practice procedures for advancing those

rights (Smith, 2013a). In addition Smith (2013a) explains that as a result of ratifying the UNCRC, children within New Zealand were expected to receive participation rights in relation to their wellbeing and would become citizens of society; protection rights (i.e., being treated fairly and equally); and provision rights (i.e. provided with a reasonable standard of living that encompassed education and health). Despite these expectations for children contained with New Zealand's ratification of UNCRC (Lynch, 2008), according to Hoare and Wilson (2007) implementation of UNCRC's requirements in New Zealand was poor.

Care Of Children Act 2004

The UNCRC influenced the New Zealand's government amendment of the 1968 Guardianship Act and in particular the Care of Children Act 2004 (CCA), Henaghan (2005) noting that one of the latter statute's primary concerns was with the best interests and welfare of the child. Indeed, section 4(1) of the CCA incorporated not only the "welfare of the child" principle, but also their "best interests" principle too (Ludbrook & de Jong, 2005) and importantly also recognised that a child's "views" were important (Henaghan, 2005). In addition, section 6 required a court to provide a child involved in court proceedings with the opportunity to outline their "views" (Henaghan, 2005). The word "views" was adopted in the CCA as opposed to "wishes" (the latter notion contained in the Guardianship Act 1968) to align the CCA more closely with Article 12 of the UNCRC (Henaghan, 2005).

Henaghan (2005) also explains that the CCA highlighted the need for children's views to be taken into consideration in all decisions relating to their well-being, particularly in the context of judicial proceedings (Boshier, 2005). Henaghan (2005) suggests the choice of the word "views", as opposed to "wishes", emphasised the child's perspective at the time as opposed to relegating their view to the future desires. A further focus of the CCA was to outline the legal parameters of the parent/child relationship (Henaghan, 2005) and to reinforce the earlier terminology of the Guardianship Act 1968 in terms of "duties", "powers", and "rights", but with the addition of "responsibilities" in relation to the day-to-day care in accordance to the child's development. Finally, the CCA highlighted the need, duty and right for parents to be involved in their child's upbringing (Henaghan, 2005).

Cultural concerns

In addition to the legislative history and changes referred to above it is important to highlight insensitivities that existed in New Zealand's laws and practices towards children's rights in terms of cultural values and philosophies. One key illustration of the lack of acknowledgement of children's rights in relation to their wellbeing is that Māori values and

cultural practices were often negated and conflicted with the established legal approach (Marraccini, 2009). Within Māori culture, whānau assist with support and have a collective responsibility for raising children in addition to having broader tasks such as managing property and responding to internal conflicts (Smith, 2013b). Traditionally, the decision of how individual children were raised was left to the kaumātua (Metge, 1995). Durie also discusses the importance of whānaungatanga, which is an individual's relationship with their broader family within Māori culture, which is considered to be vital to their wellbeing. In contrast, Pākehā approaches to family tend to utilise a more insular approach whereby parental authority governs familial processes (Smith, 2013b).

Section 59 of the Crimes Act

Although a number of the new initiatives and Government task forces promoting better protection for children had mixed success, the UNCRC policies did influence some positive changes relating to children's rights. The most controversial of these measures relates to parents' use of corporal punishment on their children. Within the New Zealand legal system section 59 of the Crimes Act 1961 was modeled on English common law and Roman law (Hassall, 2007), which was re-enacted from the nineteenth century where parents were able to utilise physical punishment as a result of section 68 of the Criminal Code 1893 (Taylor & Smith, 2008). For example, until 2007 section 59 of the 1961 Crimes Act stated that a caregiver of a child was entitled to use "reasonable force" to discipline a child if the force was justified for its intended purpose (Debski, Buckley, & Russell, 2009). Although the law relating to physical discipline focuses on what the parents are not permitted to do, as opposed to the child's rights or entitlements outlined within the UNCRC (Lawrence & Smith, 2009), changes did occur with the repeal in 2007 of section 59 of the 1961 Crimes Act (Debski et al., 2009). Wood, Hassall, Hook and Ludbrook (2008, p. 19) suggest that as a result of the repeal of section 59 there existed an implicit understanding that children shared the "… same range of human rights and afforded equal if not greater protection under the law …". Wood et al., (2008) explained that the repeal enabled children to have the same legal protection from physical assault as adults and aligned New Zealand's domestic law with its UNCRC obligations.

Present day initiatives

The New Zealand Ministry of Social Development in 2002 devised an *Agenda for Children* incorporating specific requirements that would serve to guide future government policies (Ministry of Social Development, 2002). The *Agenda for Children* proposed several action

points that included: raising awareness for the whole child, addressing child poverty, addressing violence in homes, improving local planning and central government structures, and reinforcing research collaboration (Action for Children and Youth Aotearoa Incorporated, 2010; Smith, 2008). However, without the introduction of any implementation procedures, for example, allocation of the responsibilities and enforced timelines, the *Agenda for Children* became nothing more than a statement of principles and lacked any real mechanism for meaningful implementation, and consequently was not actioned (Action for Children and Youth Aotearoa Incorporated, 2010). Following on from the *Agenda for Children*, a number of further initiatives were introduced. In 2005, the Human Rights Commission produced *The New Zealand Action Plan for Human Rights* that suggested the focus needed to be on the rights of children and young people (Human Rights Commission, 2010). However, a review completed in 2008 by the Human Rights Commission indicated that the implementation of the 2005 report had been inconsistent and lethargic (Action for Children and Youth Aotearoa Incorporated, 2010).

Beals and Zam (2010) completed a report based on evidence contained in focus groups held between 2009 and 2010 that involved 199 children and other young people from a variety of New Zealand cultures and contexts. The authors' findings indicated that New Zealand children acknowledged positive aspects regarding life in New Zealand, such as educational opportunities, but wanted more involvement in decisions, to be able to share their perspectives and wanted discrimination towards Māori to be addressed (Beals & Zam, 2010). In August 2016, Māori tribal leaders signed a "covenant" with "the nation's children" committing to respect, value and to ensure childhood is experienced in a positive and wonderful way (Collins, 2016). The document that recognises this commitment is not considered to be legally binding, but was envisaged by its authors to set a precedent for an attitudinal change towards all New Zealand children (Collins, 2016).

This part highlights the legal journey that has taken place, particularly since the early part of the 19th century and outlines the development regarding greater recognition in relation to children's rights and participation in matters relating to their well-being. However, discussed in this thesis, parental practices may fall short of these expectations and in important areas, such as the child's voice and their participation, do not appear to be aligned with the legal aspirations. These matters are discussed further throughout this thesis.

Part 2: Discipline and the Familial Environment

Introduction

The following section provides a broad understanding of discipline and its historical context. Two theories—Skinner's operant conditioning (a form of behaviour modification) and Bowlby's attachment theory are discussed in context of the discipline environment. This section also considers an individual's understanding, more specifically a parent's perception and interpretation of the DE process, and how it potentially impacts on the familial environment and their relationship with their children. The parent's specific role within the discipline environment and how sociocultural perspectives and neurological processes influence this role and impact on the DE process are also considered. A discussion specifically relating to children and their discipline experiences, particularly their voice, preferences and relevancy within discipline contexts is also explored. Finally, a broad overview of developmental psychology is provided, with a focus on Piaget and his cognitive developmental theory model as it relates to the recruitment of the study's sample.

History of Discipline

The construct relating to discipline and its implementation within cultural environments has been influenced by historic rhetoric. Discipline, as described by Thompson and Goodman (2011) and Davidov, Grusec and Wolfe (2012), is a form of correction for children as discerned by adults. Heath (2013) considered the historic views and evolution of discipline theories, and suggested that the Hobbesian perspective, that was popular throughout Europe (Ariès, 1962) and the Calvinist perspective, widespread in the United States (Kagan, 1979) influenced the autocratic parenting approach to child discipline and socialisation processes. Hobbes posited that children needed to be trained out of their evil and impulsive natures and specified that the maternal rights ruled the "kingdom" (Heath, 2013). The familial position of children was similar to domestic staff, in that they held no rights, and children were expected to do as they were told without question (Heath, 2013). Hobbes' perspective was widespread and according to Baumrind, is the foundation for fundamental religious doctrines (Baumrind, 1996). Calvin's discipline philosophy was similar to Hobbes' perspective, believing that children needed harsh and uncompromising discipline implemented without parental warmth (Kagan, 1979). Harsh punishment constituted "severe floggings", otherwise

known as whippings, on a daily basis (Stone, 1977). Plumb (1972) even suggested that children were deliberately targeted and sexually abused.

In the late 1800s, G. Stanley Hall challenged Hobbes' and Calvin's discipline notions, which continued to be debated well into the 20th century (Heath, 2013). Although G. Stanley Hall was discredited by numerous scholars including Dewey and Thorndike, his work impacted and formed the child study movement and the parent education movement (Brooks-Dunn & Johnson, 2006). G. Stanley Hall believed it was important to consider the needs of children from a scientific perspective (Heath, 2013). Early childhood educators and psychologists began influencing childrearing approaches throughout the United States and Europe (Heath, 2013). In the late 1920s, John Watson, an American psychologist and the initiator of American behaviourism, influenced how children should be raised and recommended a more objective and scientific approach (Heath, 2013). Watson proposed that children's needs were primarily physical (Cunningham 2005), thus emotional nurturing, such as hugs should be ignored; however, Watson's approach was not scientifically based and lacked evidence (Heath, 2013). Despite this, Watson's views influenced parental attitudes for an extended period through the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. During this period, alternative theories were also introduced such as Sigmund Freud's basic instincts theory, Bowlby's attachment theory, and Piaget and Vygotsky's developmental theories, which considered that children were active and contextual learners within their environment (Heath, 2013).

During the mid-1940s, developmental psychology reviewed the appropriateness of parental responses towards their children which was supported by French psychologist, René Spitz (Heath, 2013). During the 1940s through to the 1970s, another theorist by the name of Spock suggested that either a too harsh or too lenient approach to discipline was unhelpful and was quick to reassure and encourage parents to rely on their intuition (Bakker & Wubs, 2002). Spock's views were widely circulated and readily accepted (Heath, 2013) alongside other influential theories such as Freud's and Bowlby's, which considered people's behaviour and their psychological wellbeing from an alternative perspective (Brandon, Pitts, Denton, Stringer, & Evans, 2009). During this period, Grusec and Goodnow (1994) suggested that Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957) were among the first theorists to provide a foundation to consider the effectiveness of discipline techniques and suggested that children were motivated to model their parents' positive behaviours. Further theorists, such as W. C. Becker (1964) considered earlier investigations and proposed parenting typologies as opposed to parenting techniques and believed two dominant parental groups existed based on "… warmth-hostility and restrictiveness-permissiveness" (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994, p.

5). Baumrind (1971) extended the notion of parenting styles and proposed three parenting typologies: "authoritarian", "authoritative" and "permissive" (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994), discussed later in this chapter.

Operant conditioning (Behaviourism)

An American psychologist, B.F. Skinner, developed a behavioural discipline approach and outlined the operant conditioning principles (Smidt, 2013), which came to be known as behaviourism. Human behaviour and how the external world influenced a person's decisions were of interest to Skinner; thus he focused on observable causalities as opposed to internal triggers motivated by emotional responses (Smidt, 2013). Operant conditioning involves a person learning as a result of their choice of response/action and the subsequent consequence (Weiten, Dunn, & Hammer, 2015). Skinner purported that children were motivated by genetics (influenced by their past and present epigenetics) (Smidt, 2013), and that a person's behaviour could be strengthened with the use of negative or positive reinforcements (Weiten et al., 2015). More specifically, Skinner believed that effective discipline involved children learning through a series of reinforced responses or extinguishing their behaviour (Weiten et al., 2015).

A further behavioural orientated discipline method known as "time-out" (defined as the removal of a child from their activity or familial environment or positive attention for a period of time) is a commonly used parenting technique, and is considered a replacement for physical discipline such as smacking (Clewett, 1988). Morawska and Sanders (2011) examined the criticisms of time-out as an effective parental discipline method. According to Sanders (2008), time-outs were introduced as a behavioural discipline technique in the 1960s, and are now used by various parenting programmes. Morawska and Sanders (2011) acknowledge that some practitioners and theorists are critical of time-outs and view them as a harmful discipline method, yet the authors believe these criticisms are misguided and instead suggest that time-outs can reduce a child's unwanted behaviours (Morawska & Sanders, 2011). Morawska and Sanders (2011) propose that time-outs help a child learn to self-regulate.

Barkow, Cosmides and Tooby (1992) suggest that behavioural modification is a naive approach, but recognise that socialising children is an important and learnt process to ensure they learn and respond and meet cultural and environmental expectations. Indeed, Skinner (1965) believed that operant conditioning may reduce a child's unwanted behaviour in that moment, but believed the method may not have the desired long-term effect. Skinner (1965)

suggested that behavioural modification in the form of rewards and punishments in conjunction with other theories and methods could create a more productive outcome and familial environment. The behaviourist approach became less popular in the 1960s, as other discipline models such as social learning theory, developed by Bandura and Walters were introduced (Heath, 2013). Bandura and Walter's theory suggested that children did not need to be systematically punished or rewarded for their behaviour, but instead learnt as a result of imitation and/or modelling of behaviours (Heath, 2013). Slee (2002) proposed a human socialisation process that encapsulated a combination of methods and included operant conditioning such as "reinforcement", "teaching" and "observational learning", whereby social processes were learnt as a result of the immersion into the environment and doing as significant others do.

Attachment theory

Overview and the Internal Working Model (IWM)

Attachment theory recognises variances in an individual's psychological wellbeing and considers the health and attachment category of the parent–child relationship (Zeanah, Berlin, & Boris, 2011). Attachment theory stems from Bowlby's initial work with the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1950 (Bowlby, 1988). Bowlby's six-month stint at the WHO enabled him to read the literature and produce and submit a report called *Maternal Care and Mental Health* (Bretherton, 1992). This report contained evidence illustrating the effect of maternal care on young children, in particular, a young child's experience of separation from their primary caregivers (Bowlby, 1988). Attachment, defined by Bowlby (1969) and Ainsworth (1979), is a special bond with a specific person that is enduring (Edwards, 2002; Pasco Fearon & Belsky, 2011). The relationship between a parent/caregiver and their child is thought to be crucial to the attachment process (Belsky & Pasco Fearon, 2008; Goldberg, 2000). Indeed, the primary focus for an infant in the first year of life is to develop an attachment with their primary caregiver (Schore & Schore, 2008), which also includes additional attachment orientated relationships with others (Ainsworth, 1979). Bowlby claimed that infants are born with innate behaviours that motivate the need for physical and emotional closeness with significant caregivers (Mikulincer, Shaver, & Pereg, 2003). However, some theorists suggest that an attachment begins to form and is exhibited prior to birth in the mother's late stage of pregnancy (Winnicott, 1956). Benedeck (1959) claims that the pregnant woman's psychic energy serves to encourage a prenatal attachment with the unborn child.

The attachment process is crucial to an individual's development (Doinita & Maria, 2015; Edwards, 2002) and utilises a hardwired multi-component system that involves an individual's internalised cognitive representation of their environment based on the self, the primary attachment person and the child's interpreted experiences (Bowlby, 1969; Siegel, 2001). Bowlby (1969) refers to these mostly subconscious internalised systems as an individual's "internal working model" (IWM). The IWM is an innate part of the child's psyche that forms automatic and unconscious processes and governs many aspects of the child's behaviours (Bowlby, 1988). A child with a secure attachment typically forms an IWM that will assist the child to self-regulate and reduce the necessity for close proximity to their primary caregiver as they develop (Moss, Bureau, Béliveau, Zdebok, & Lépine, 2009; Zimmermann, 1999).

Attachment categories, self-regulation and outcomes

In 1971, Ainsworth and colleagues established specific attachment categories as a result of the primary caregivers and child's pattern of interaction (Ainsworth & Wittig, 1969). Siegel (2001) suggests that attachment relationship types are primarily driven by relationship experiences rather than genetics. A secure attachment is considered optimal and is one of the four attachment categories (Bowlby, 1988). For a child to achieve a secure attachment, their primary caregiver needs to provide sensitive, consistent and attuned responses to their child's communication (Howe, 2011). Children with an insecure attachment (divided into two further sub-categories) experience inconsistent, and at times, unresponsive parental care. For example, avoidant or ambivalent/resistant attachment categories are associated with parental behaviours such as rejection and dismissiveness (Fonagy, Gergely, Jurist, & Target, 2005). Attachment types are fluid, for example, securely attached children can become insecurely attached and vice versa if parental care and responses change (Lamb, 2013). Thompson (2008) and Driscoll and Pianta (2011) claim that although there is evidence implicating an association between attachment types and children's pathologies, developmental outcomes are multidimensional and can also be as a result of other sociocultural complexities and therefore do not dictate a child's developmental trajectory. Yet, further evidence (discussed later in this chapter) links attachment-related behaviours with developmental outcomes.

An individual's ability to self-regulate is associated with their experience of the attachment process (Esbjorn, Bender, Reinholdt-Dunne, Munck, & Ollendick, 2012; Lieberman, Doule, & Markiewicz, 1999; Parrigon, Kerns, Abtahi, & Koehn, 2015). Self-regulation is defined as

an individual experiencing, and then adapting and moderating their emotions to respond constructively and in accordance with the context (Narvaez & Gleason, 2013). Emotion or self-regulation expectations vary according to an individual's cultural environment (Raval, Martini, & Raval, 2007; Zahn-Waxler, 2010). Without self-regulation capabilities, children are more at risk of psychological pathologies such as anxiety, due to the reduced function of managing anxious thoughts and feelings (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). Indeed, many children can feel anxious if they believe their parents are unavailable at times of conflict (Kerns, Schlegemilch, Morgan, & Abraham, 2005). A child with a secure attachment, however, is more likely to establish a psychologically well-adjusted foundation (Bowlby, 1988; Gray, 2014), individuate from their caregivers and become more autonomous over time (Bretherton & Munholland, 2008).

Notwithstanding the earlier note regarding attachment not being a deterministic element with regards to an individual's future development, Fearon, Lapsley, Bakermans-Kranenburg and Roisman (2010) undertook a meta-analysis concerned with pathological outcomes associated with insecure attachments. The authors considered the correlation between a person's insecure attachment and their externalised (maladaptive) behaviours. As a result of their meta-analysis Fearon et al. (2010), similar to Thompson (2008) (discussed earlier), claim that attachment patterns, particularly individuals with insecure or disorganised (the 4th attachment category) attachments, do indeed align with children's behavioural issues. Roelof, Onckels and Muris' (2013) investigative findings support Fearon and colleagues' (2010) findings. The authors discuss attachment-related issues being linked to a person's dysfunctional coping strategies and discuss unhelpful patterns of behaviour in relation to attachment issues, for example, youths' distrust in parents often correlated with their conduct issues. Moss et al. (2009) do, however, suggest that children with an insecure attachment present with more adaptive strategies than children with a disorganised attachment, but are still less adaptive than the securely attached group.

Perception, Interpretation and Discipline

The following section considers the accuracy and influences of an individual's interpretive abilities.

Perceptual and interpretative differences

Perception can be considered from different angles, yet is often recognised and discussed from the perspective of what an individual interprets (Audi, 2011). Giovannoni and Becerra (1979) noted that even professions, for example, lawyers, police officers and social workers

perceive events differently. Perceptual or interpretative differences do not just occur between professions. Although parents and caregivers respond and set parameters for acceptable child behaviour, their perception or interpretation of the DE and their child's behaviour often do not relate to the current environment (Siegel, 2013). De Los Reyes, Lerner, Thomas, Daruwala and Goepel (2013) explain that theorists also believe that differences in perception relating to various components involving environmental and family relationships readily occur, and an individual's interpretation and perception of an environment influences their communication and cultural understanding (Alwin, 2001).

People experience environments in a variety of ways as a result of an integration process that combines the recall of memories in conjunction with an individual's interpretation of their current experience (Hill, Fonagy, Safier, & Sargent, 2003). Hill et al. (2003) state that an individual's interpretation or perception of a current experience also includes their learnt cognitions based on past experiences, therefore are likely to be influenced by multiple factors that render them capable of making perceptual errors. Indeed, before a person is consciously aware of their immediate environment, their senses and their IWM processes have already assessed and actively interpreted their surroundings according to their past and present experiences (Bowlby, 1988). An individual typically evaluates their environment, the internalised emotional states of the other person, for example, their facial expressions, body language and tone of voice outside their conscious awareness and at speed (Cozolino, 2013; Howe, 2013). An individual's unconscious evaluation or interpretation is also likely to be attuned to their ego (Bowlby, 1988; McCready, 2011). People appraise the non-verbal communication of others to assess the potential state of engagement, for example, evaluate the environment and consider whether it is safe or dangerous and this allows the individual to respond accordingly (Cozolino, 2013). These interpretative assessment processes involve an individual utilising multiple stages to firstly, decipher and then either store or discard relevant information (Bowlby, 1988), which again as a result of this multifaceted system, an individual is at risk of making perceptual or interpretative errors (Hill et al., 2003).

Perception, discipline and the familial environment

Children and adults can interpret a shared experience differently. Interpretative differences between parents and children arise across a number of variables such as the occurrence of daily conflict, differences in parenting styles, the accuracy of the child's perspective, and the understanding of parental discipline messages. An adult's and child's perceptual differences

not only influence how they interpret a DE and its subsequent outcome, but also impact on the emotional health of the parent and child dyad (Bowlby, 1988; Siegel, 2013).

A study undertaken by De Los Reyes et al. (2012) considered the disparity between a parent's and child's perspective relating to the frequency of conflict pertaining to specific measures. Structured interviews were completed on 100 participant families and their children aged between 10–17 years. The interviews focused on how frequently conflict arose within the familial environment relating to 16 commonly occurring incidences. Some of the findings indicated differences in perspectives between the parent and their child. The participant parents believed that conflict occurred more frequently than did their child (De Los Reyes et al., 2012). Differences in perception between parents and children occur not only in the frequency of the conflict, but also the way parents conduct themselves during a DE. Smetana's (1995) study considered children's (110 participants aged 11 to 16 years) evaluation of their parents' discipline styles. The participant parents (108 mothers and 92 fathers) and children experienced perception differences regarding their parents' chosen discipline behaviours or parenting style. The children in Smetana's (1995) study assessed their parents' discipline style either as authoritarian or permissive. In other words, according to Baumrind (1966) strict or dictatorial, or at the other end of the spectrum, relaxed. Whereas the parents perceived their discipline behaviour towards their children as authoritative therefore, according to Baumrind (1966), implemented clear boundaries in a calm and assertive manner.

Further studies considered the accuracy of the parent's assessment of their child's thoughts and feelings as a result of a DE and how this could impact on effectiveness of the DE and the outcome. Grusec and Goodnow (1994) considered components that influenced the effectiveness of discipline and the internalisation (where the child adopts the value or discipline message as their own) of the discipline goal by the child. The authors suggested that internalisation required a "two-pronged" approach that involved the child accurately perceiving their parents' discipline message, and willing to accept it as their own. Yet, in order for children to willingly accept the parents' discipline message as their own Grusec and Goodnow (1994) suggest that three components were involved. Firstly, children needed to assess that their parents' behaviour was appropriate to the DE environment; they needed to be motivated to comply; and they needed to feel that the goal was not forced on to them, but instead believe they chose to adopt their parents' value (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994).

Hastings and Grusec (1997) argue that the effectiveness of DEs relies on the parent interpreting their child's affect (emotions) and thoughts at that time. The authors suggest that parents armed with this knowledge are more likely to implement the appropriate discipline strategy. One of Hastings and Grusec's (1997) objectives involving 40 parent–adolescent dyads from 20 families, was to explore how the accuracy of the parents' interpretation regarding their children's emotions/thoughts contributed to the frequency of conflict. The authors hypothesised that the parents' accuracy would reduce the number of DEs or conflict experiences. One of their findings suggests that the parent's ability to accurately interpret their child's thoughts and feelings is an important part of the DE process particularly in relation to the reduction of conflict (reported by the fathers and child participants) and feel satisfied in relation to the DE outcome (experienced by mothers and child participants). Hastings and Grusec (1997) also explained that although some mothers were aware of the value in understanding and validating their child's feelings the mothers did not necessarily act on this awareness during their interactions with their child. Hastings and Grusec's (1997) study while helpful in gaining further insight into the importance of interpretative accuracy did not consider the bidirectional and constructed patterns of behaviour between parent and child and the parent's inherent beliefs and unconscious processes that may influence their interpretative abilities.

Davidov and Grusec's (2006) study explored two parenting components in relation to compliance during conflict that involved the child's willingness and the parents' ability to accurately determine how their child might react to discipline methods. The author's findings illustrated a number of factors in relation to a child's compliance. Davidov and Grusec's (2006) findings suggest that there is a correlation between the mother's willingness to work with their child and their child's willingness to comply, but only when the DE did not trigger conflict. Furthermore, the findings indicated the possibility that the mother's ability to interpret their child's perspective relating to discipline interventions coincided with their ability to consider their child's perspective during conflict situations. Conversely, the mothers who had difficulty in predicting their child's perspective relating to different discipline methods tended to be more "rigid" and less likely to consider their child's DE perspective. A study conducted by Lundell, Grusec, McShane and Davidov (2008) involving 82 adolescents considered the goals held by adolescents during conflict with their mother. One of the findings suggested the possibility that mothers who were more able to acknowledge their adolescent's perspective experienced a reduction in the intensity of the conflict between themselves and their child. Indeed, Davidov and Grusec (2006)

acknowledged that children's cooperation and willingness to internalise their parents' socialisation goals is influenced by the parent's knowledge in relation to the DE.

A further study considered components that may influence mothers to more easily assess or interpret their child's DE perspective. Davidov and colleagues' (2012) study involved the participant children (n =59, 6 to 9 years) assessing three discipline strategies and their mothers were required to predict those assessments. The findings indicated that various elements may influence the mother's ability to accurately predict their children's assessments, such as mothers were more able to predict their child's discipline perspective when the transgression (DE) involved a "moral" (i.e., stealing) incident as opposed to a "prosocial" (i.e., sharing) incident. Davidov et al. (2012), similar to researchers discussed earlier in this chapter, believed that if parents understood their child's point of view regarding the DE they could more easily respond to their child's feelings and assertively implement boundaries. A further study conducted by Loeber, Green, Lahey and Stouthamer-Loeber (1989), considered the informants (parents, teachers and children) accuracy on children's (aged 7 to 12 years) misbehaviour relating to "oppositional behaviour", "conduct problems" and "hyperactivity/inattentiveness". These authors found that for the most part there was a discrepancy between the adults' and the children's accounts. Yet, Loeber et al. (1989) and Davidov and colleagues' (2012) studies did not consider the accuracy of the parents' interpretation as a result of influences (discussed below) leading to potential misunderstandings.

Discipline and Parenting

Parents' perspective on discipline

Discipline within the familial environment can impact on the development and mental health of the child (Slee, 2002). Yet, split standards and a clear demarcation exists between the treatment of adults and children, as discussed in Part 1, and the modern perspective suggests that adults maintain superiority over children (Archard, 2015). The parents' ability to be autonomous in their decision-making regarding how children should be disciplined is often debated (Fortin, 2009; Kellett, 2009). Smith (1998) explains that some parents are concerned with the loss of control, thereby increasing their anxiety if they were to include children into discipline discussions. However, children are involved in the discipline process be it as a result of their behaviour or the parents' interpretation of that behaviour. Parents also believe that children need to experience boundaries and punishments to achieve socialisation goals

(Jenks, 2005). Adults define these "life lessons" as a sign of "maturation" and illustrating knowledge regarding how to socialise (Jenks, 2005).

Discipline is not about punishment, but about children experiencing healthy boundaries to learn socially acceptable behaviours according to parental and societal expectations (Smith, 2005). The familial environment involving discipline between parent and child is considered a relatively common occurrence. According to Hoffman (1979), discipline interactions occur between parent and a young child approximately "5–6 times per hour" (p. 958). Davidov et al. (2012) explained that it was thought that the same discipline method implemented on any child would have the same desirable outcomes, being behaviour correction and socialisation goals. Furthermore, parents often hold the belief that they need to utilise punitive methods to achieve compliance, yet these types of methods are thought to trigger guilt and anxiety in children (Tsabary, 2014). A study completed by Runyan et al. (2010) investigated the implementation of harsh discipline methods involving 14,239 participant women from 19 communities in six different countries. The results indicated that parents used both nonviolent discipline techniques and psychological punishments (such as shouting, calling names and reasoning) and at least 55% of families relied on physical punishment, such as "spanking", and extreme physical punishment such as intentionally burning, which was rare in most of the countries. Some of the findings of Lawrence and Smith's (2009) New Zealand-based study, that explored beliefs regarding discipline practices, suggested that the 117 participant parents mainly used positive reinforcement ("rewards", "praise" and "reasoning") and "structure". The findings also indicated that the majority of parents used positive parenting techniques to socialise and guide their children's behaviour, such as firm boundaries implemented with parental warmth. Indeed, evidential trends indicate that different discipline methods have variable results, particularly if there are other environmental differences influencing the outcome such as parent–child relational health and temperament of the child (Davidov et al., 2012).

Parenting and discipline outcomes

A child's immediate family unit is primarily responsible and influences the child's development and wellbeing (Kerns, Aspelmeier, Gentzler, & Grabill, 2014). Parents' behaviours, such as their chosen discipline methods, impact on their child's moral and social development and influences the way in which a child perceives their own behaviour (Hoffman, 1979), which is a notion disputed by a number of researchers. Lamb (2013) considers parenting methods and children's outcomes and believes that there is little

substantive evidence to suggest that children's development and stability relies on a parent's ideal response. Children can still develop normally as a result of their malleability and "plasticity" even if parental care is inconsistent (Lamb, 2013). Indeed, adults can underestimate children's tolerance for variations in parental care (Lamb, 2013). Similar theories support the notion that children are not ordinarily impaired as a result of parental care failings, but instead build resilience (Van Ijzendoorn & Juffer, 2006). Rutter (1984) claims that children, irrespective of a less than desirable childhood, could develop into well-balanced functioning adults. However, as noted previously, some theorists believe that parental responses do impact on the way children develop. Panksepp (2013), for example, acknowledges that although humans may be resilient, the way in which people parent their children has longstanding consequences, further deviating from claims purported by Thompson (2006). Panksepp (2013) suggests that resiliency is formed because of the parents' ability to love and care for their children and not as a result of inconsistent nurturing and parental care.

Influences on parenting behaviours

Parenting challenges an individual's emotion regulation and impulse behaviour processes (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). The relational health and interpersonal dynamic between parent and child often relies on the parent's ability to reflect and respond to their own behaviour and motivations. A person's self-awareness and capacity to stay attuned with the other person, such as a child, is considered to be as equally important as the attachment process (Arden & Linford, 2009). Indeed, parents unresolved childhood issues could influence the parent–child dyadic communication. For example, parents may respond punitively to their child's communication or behaviour as a result of other triggers and not the current environment (Hughes & Baylin, 2012).

Parental reflection, where parents consider their own and others emotions and behaviours before responding to the environmental trigger such as a DE is a crucial component to an attuned experience between a parent and their child (Hughes & Baylin, 2012; Siegel & Hartzell, 2004). For any two individuals to have a congenial relationship, each person needs to have an awareness of the other person's preferences, in particular, the other person's perspective, objectives and emotional position (Bowlby, 1988). To garner insight, it is essential for an individual to first have an understanding or a sense of self in addition to having an awareness of the other person's needs (Bowlby, 1988). A parent's ability to self-monitor and utilise their error detecting and self-correction system encourages an attuned

response to the child's inner states (Hughes & Baylin, 2012; Siegel & Hartzell, 2004). Authors such as Goldberg (2000) and Siegel and Hartzell (2004) suggest that parents who are aware of their own internal emotional states (affect) are more able to intuitively accept and respect their child's emotions. The parent's ability to reflect on their inner state also increases their access to multiple responses and are more able to apply a flexible, as opposed to a rigid attitude when dealing with their child's behaviour (Siegel & Hartzell, 2004).

Parental self-awareness is influenced by numerous factors. Although this thesis does not consider or provide evidential knowledge or etiology of these influences, Grusec (2006), as a result of a brief literature review, suggests that a parent's maladaptive thinking could impact communication with their child. Peterson, Ewigman and Vandiver's (1994) study, for example, discovered a correlation between "maternal anger" and "maternally perceived behaviour problems". The authors' findings indicated that the participant mother's level of anger was often associated with her preference to control her child during a DE. Indeed, as Brazelton and Cramer (1990) explain, parents respond based on their own projection in accordance with how they interpret their child's behaviour. The following section considers some of the parents' triggers that could potentially impact on their communication abilities.

Neurological influences

Wiring of the brain

An infant's environmental experiences, such as their interactions with others, helps form an attachment pattern with their caregiver and influences the configuration of their right brain, considered the engine room (core brain) of the human unconscious (Schore, 2003). The right brain also develops sensory processes that influence the child's ability to self-regulate and their general sense of wellbeing (Hofer, 1994). If, in childhood, the core (right) brain has been wired in an unhelpful manner as a result of experiences, the ability to process environments as an adult will be affected and will influence the individual's interpretative abilities and impact on how they respond to others (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). In contrast, constructive experiences in childhood influence healthy wiring of the core brain that enables adults to self-reflect and respond sensitively and consistently to their children (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). This process is sometimes referred to as *mind-mindedness,* coined by Meins (1999). According to Meins (1999) mind-minded parents are able to incorporate their child's point of view and conduct productive parent–child conversations. Indeed, when children feel heard by their parents they are more likely to feel secure (Howe, 2011). Children also develop a representation of themselves as a result of their parents' mind-mindedness that

provides a blueprint and positively influences future interactions (Baumrind, 1996; Music, 2011). Neurological scans conducted on adults with either a secure or an insecure attachment illustrates different processes of the brain that lights up or appears activated upon hearing recordings of their child crying (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). "Reward" orientated neurological processes are activated within securely attached parents indicating that the parent is more likely to move towards the child, whereas neurological scans conducted on insecurely attached parents suggest they are more likely to activate ambivalent patterned responses and behaviours towards their children (Hughes & Baylin, 2012).

Gender also plays a part in neurological processing of information as male and female brains perceive their environment differently (Gurian, 2001). For example, when a woman's limbic brain system receives emotionally charged information, evidence via brain scans such as a position emission tomography and magnetic resonance imaging suggest that this information is directed to the brain's executive decision-making system (prefrontal cortex) more readily than the male brain (Gurian, 2001). Women are also more likely to think through processes more readily than men, who are more likely to respond physically, or alternatively, emotionally withdraw (Gurian, 2001). As noted previously, parents whose core (right) brain has been wired in an unhelpful manner (due to early childhood experiences), and are therefore more likely to activate unhelpful sensory processes, will tend to respond punitively to their child's communication or behaviour (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). In other words, parents will respond to their child as a result of their early childhood experiences and are less likely to respond to a DE based on current environmental information.

The parent's ability to reflect on their own behaviour correlates with best practice parenting (Hughes & Baylin, 2012; Reece, 2013), however, reflective practices challenge parents. Howe (2011) explains that parents tend to accommodate their behaviour rather than reflect on their own meaning-making processes during interactions with their children. Parents typically formulate their understanding (perception) and interpretation of the DE according to their entrenched meanings, historically formed and stored within their IWM (Bowlby, 1989; Howe, 2011). Indeed, the parent's sensory processing ability relies on a neural process known as the "state regulation system" (Hughes & Baylin, 2012) again developed because of the parent's childhood experiences (Porges, 2011). According to Hughes and Baylin (2012, p. 13), the state regulation system manages an individual's unconscious "bottom-up" (limbic neurological system) and conscious "top-down" (prefrontal cortex neurological processing) processes that activate the parent's approach and avoidance behavioural responses that govern and influence the parent's ability to provide care and nurturing for their child.

Parents' awareness of these internal neurological triggers will help regulate their responses to their children and increase the likelihood for their interactions to be an attuned process (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). Furthermore, brain plasticity enables parents to rewire neural connections in accordance with current environmental and familial experiences and they do not need to remain a victim of their childhood experiences (Kastner & Russell, 2013).

Parents' state of mind

Parenting children can trigger the emotional and irrational centres of the parent's brain (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). When a parent is stressed their prefrontal cortex (the executive and rational decision-making system) region of the brain is often switched off which impacts on their ability to reflect on their own behaviour and increases the likelihood of a misattuned experience between parent and child (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). Furthermore, they are more likely to perceive the environment in an unhelpful manner and make rigid and uncompromising decisions, activated from the limbic region of the brain (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). Indeed, when parents are triggered and feel stressed they will more likely activate defensive responses that are not attuned with their child's inner needs (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). For example, mothers who experience dysregulated affect (emotions) such as depression or distress, are thought to be generally less tolerant towards their children's behaviour (Webster-Stratton, 1988). Until the parent relaxes and calms their amygdala and limbic regions of the brain, it is difficult for parents to contemplate alternative strategies that are more complex and productive and respond rationally to their children (Hughes & Baylin, 2012).

Memory

Memories also enable people to interpret and understand their environment. Two primary memory categories, referred to as implicit and explicit memory (Cozolino, 2006), will be discussed in this section. In early childhood, learning and development is largely influenced by emotional responses to stimuli that are formulated and remembered "implicitly" (memories formed outside of the person's awareness from their amygdala region of the brain) as opposed to "explicitly" (conscious and contextualised memories formed within the hippocampus brain region) (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). Parents' early experiences with their significant caregivers or parent(s) sets a framework that guides future interactions (Bugental, Johnston, New, & Silvester, 1998). An individual typically experiences implicit memory through internal responses such as an intuitive feeling (Hart, 2008). Implicit memory is less forgetful than explicit memory and makes sense of situations and environments that the "logical brain" finds difficult (Hart, 2008). This memory process may instead activate a fear

or angry response triggered from the amygdala region without mobilising the explicit memory system (Hart, 2008). The amygdala and hippocampus regions of the brain provide a functional process that enables an individual to understand their emotional experiences (Hart, 2008). Neuroscientists explain that "emotion-driven memories" are formed or categorised into a time and place by the hippocampus and the amygdala, and these are then converted into long-term memories that can be recollected and considered in conjunction with the interpretation of the current environment (Hughes & Baylin, 2012).

Importantly, retrieved memories are not always a true account of the person's original experience. Schiller et al. (2010) explains that retrieving a specific memory involves a "reconsolidation" process that uses "… an adaptive update mechanism by which new information is incorporated into old memories" (p. 49). Therefore, every time an individual retrieves a memory, the memory is in fact a representation of the "last retrieval", as when the past memory is recalled additional information is included into the memory (Schiller et al., 2010). Therefore, the original memory or account of the experience has been reformulated to create a newer version of the past memory. Research participants who have been asked to recollect a retrospective memory will most likely recollect an altered or corrupt memory. In other words, memories are not simply a regurgitation of past events, but reintroduced as a reinterpreted memory and applied to the current environment (Hart, 2008). Furthermore, the neurological process that store the initial memories utilises a different system than the process that reformulates and introduces the reinterpreted memory for the individual to use for the current environment (Hart, 2008). Repetitive experiences cause generalised memories and provide an individual with an understanding, and forms patterns and expectations for future interactions and experiences, which Stern (1985) refers to as RIGS (representations of interactions that have been generalised). RIGS are updated on a regular basis because of everyday experiences (Hart, 2008). Indeed, a parent, as a result of this retrieval and reconsolidation process, will often experience a corrupted memory that impacts on their ability to form judgements based on the DE environment. Indeed, parents have more than likely evaluated the DE based on fragments of their own memories relating to their historic experiences and according to their unconscious IWM and implicit memory (Bowlby, 1988; Siegel, 2013).

Sociocultural and behavioural influences

Parents' historic and cultural expectations and their environmental and associated narratives influence their construct of childhood (Smith, 2013b). Constructed beliefs relating to

childhood impacts on an individual's perception and responses to children and governs how they contextualise children's familial and societal role (Miller, 1988; Smith, 2013a). People's collective beliefs also govern children's positions within society and influence the development of policies and conventions in addition to the acceptance and assimilation of parenting styles, which in turn become normative (Smith, 2013b). Parents' beliefs were evident in one of the two studies undertaken in Scotland by Borland, Laybourn, Hill and Brown (1998). The participant parents felt that by providing children ($n = 69$) in their middle childhood with more rights, that this would mean enabling them to have complete control over their decisions as opposed to some input. The authors' findings indicated that parents believed that disregarding children's perspectives was a common and normative process, and explained that parents who acknowledged or perceived their children as competent were more comfortable with the notion of children having rights (Borland, Laybourn, Hill, & Brown, 1998). On the other hand, the parents who believed their children needed strong guidance were considered less competent and were less comfortable with the notion of children's rights (Borland et al., 1998). A study conducted in South Africa by Ndimande and Swadener (2013) yielded similar findings in relation to parents' concerns. Although a number of themes were highlighted in the findings, some of the participant parents (a total of 127 parents over the two studies) were challenged by the notion of children's participation rights (Article 12, UNCRC). Ndimande and Swadener (2013) explain that "… child participation rights were less understood and sometimes viewed as a threat to cultural norms such as respecting elders and roles and rights of parents and teachers" (p. 172).

Overview of parenting and discipline

Adults' negative constructs relating to children, such as perceiving them as less able, plays a pivotal role in the choice of behaviours undertaken by a child. For example, parents' attitudes indirectly encourage children's unhelpful behaviour such as "lying", "demanding" and "refusing" to increase the likelihood of being heard (Mayall, 2005). Furthermore, a parent's and child's communication and behavioural patterns are typically formed in the child's early years and provides a blueprint for the dyad's future daily interactions, which are often played out without the parent's (and child's) conscious awareness (Howe, 2011; Lollis & Kucynski, 1997; Siegel, 1999). A parent, therefore, has most likely evaluated a DE, and selected and discarded information based on their unconscious IWM and implicit memory (Bowlby, 1988; Siegel, 2013). Siegel and Hartzell (2004) explain that an adult's perception of a DE could be grounded in unresolved issues from the adult's own childhood (discussed later in this chapter), as opposed to evaluating their current experience on its own merits. In

other words, the DE is a vehicle that potentially triggers the adult's unresolved issues, which in turn causes an emotional response from the adult that may not be consistent or appropriate for the DE.

Discipline and Children

Children experience or are exposed to regular discipline events (Hoffman, 1979) and childhood habits are often shaped by both the exposure to the environment and adult's expectations (Konner, 2010). Parents play an important role in their children's lives and how they experience their environments. Primary caregivers/parents influence the child's attachment relationship, IWM and interpretation of events through the quality of care towards the child (Thompson, 1999). Parents' beliefs also impact on children's interpretations relating to their daily experiences and help them define and understand their emotions, morality and their sense of self (Thompson, 1999). Indeed, children emulate their parents' behaviour and strive to meet their expectations often believing they need to moderate their interactions with their parent to maintain a harmonious relationship (Hart, 2008). Children manage their relationships with their parents/caregivers. Indeed, Hoffman (1979) suggests "… to reduce anxiety, the child tries to be like the parent – to adopt the parent's behavioural mannerisms, thoughts, feelings, and even the capacity to punish oneself and experience guilt over violating a moral standard" (p. 959).

Children moderate their own behaviours, masking their emotions to regulate attunement with their caregivers (Raikes & Thompson, 2005). Yet, when the child moderates the parent–child relationship to encourage and maintain a harmonious environment, they are more exposed to adopting externalised behaviours and experience disorders such as depression in adulthood (Schier, Herke, Nickel, Egle, & Hardt, 2015). As children mature, they develop the conceptual skills necessary to represent their personal experiences in more sophisticated ways, and are likely to appropriate the viewpoints and interpretations from earlier discourses with their parents (Narvaez & Gleason, 2013; Thompson, 1999). Indeed, children are not considered to be passive participants in their environment (Borland et al., 1998). The relationship between a child and parent is bidirectional and co-constructed (Grusec, 2011; Richardson, 2005; Smith, 1998). In other words, not only do parents influence their child's behaviour and development (de Wolfe & van Ijzendoorn, 1997), and therefore beliefs, but their child also influences the beliefs and behaviours of their parents (Smith, 1998). Indeed, children co-construct their own reality (Smith, 2013b) by utilising a vast storage of RIGs that provide them with knowledge enabling them to predict patterns of behaviour and assimilate

their parents' attitudes and expectations (Hart, 2008). Children's interpretation of the familial context also impacts on their view of how they should be punished. Dadds, Sheffield and Holbeck (1990) explain that children who were living in a more stressful environment, such as experiencing marital discord, believed that their parents should use "coercive" discipline strategies compared with children living in more harmonious environments.

Even young children have the ability to be reflective and consider their own and other people's needs. Children as young as six or seven years old can self-reflect and potentially interpret or understand their inner workings more accurately than adults within their environment (Burton & Mitchell, 2003). Bandura (1997) suggests that children have the ability to reflect on their attitude and can feel disappointed with their behaviour when it digresses from their inherent values. Children have insight, consider their interactions and adapt their behaviour to meet their needs in the DE environment

Discipline and the child's voice

This thesis was concerned with and explored the voice of the child in relation to a DE and their interaction with a parent. The term "voice" according to Smith (2016) refers to a child's unique perspective. Hayward (2012) argues that the child's voice is neither well recognised or acknowledged, and that adults struggle with the notion that children have a right to express their thoughts. Smith (2011) suggests that many adults will often believe that children's perspectives are futile and irrelevant. Children are often viewed as "incapable", "dependent" and "untrustworthy" (Jones, 2009), and parents experience difficulty in letting even their more mature children assess situations and form decisions and provide their perspective on issues that affect their future development (Fortin, 2009).

Adults' voices are commonly heard on matters directly relating to the child's experiences and future wellbeing and development. An additional example from Loeber, Green and Lahey's (1990) study indicated that the child's voice or perspective was considered valid only when the subject matter related to their experience of "worrying". A further study undertaken by Phares (1996) explored different informants' evaluations regarding feedback on children's behaviour. The study's findings indicated that participant mothers and fathers ($n = 200$) generally believed that parents and teachers provided more accurate knowledge and understanding of a child's behaviour as opposed to the child's own interpretation and feedback. This differed only when the reporting of family issues was involved. In this situation mothers, fathers and children were perceived more accurate than teachers (Phares, 1996).

Smetana and Gaines's (1999) study that involved 44 preadolescents and 51 early adolescents found that the majority of DEs between the child and parent were resolved by the adolescent. Research also suggests children are reliable informants. Halberstadt, Beale, Meade, Craig and Parker (2014) proposed that children often have constructs and insights that are as multifarious as their parents. Indeed, children are more than capable of reading social environments and sizing up expectations (MacArthur & McKenzie, 2013). McGuire (2005) suggests as a result of children's abilities to assess contexts, their perspectives and voice are valid. A study conducted by Halberstadt et al. (2014) that involved 222 participants (a mixture of children in the 7th grade (12 year olds) and their mothers and fathers) had several objectives, one that involved understanding the notion of "anger" and whether it resided "in" individuals as a trait, or was constructed within familial relationships. A further goal looked at how anger was perceived within the family. The findings illustrated that generally all mothers, fathers and their children shared similar perceptions of anger, thus the child appraised the environment in a similar fashion or with similar accuracy to their parents. However, Lundy (2007) suggests that children need a particular environment to feel safe to express their voice. Indeed, even when consideration is given to therapeutic inventions, it is valid to explore the parent and child dyadic relationship as a system and not just solely the personality attributes and behaviour of the child (Kindsvatter & Desmond, 2013).

Children experience stress, yet similar to the adult's beliefs relating to the child's voice, it is thought that children are immune to stress simply because they are young (Slee, 2002). Slee (2002) suggests that this is likely to be as a result of children having difficulty or choosing not to verbally describe their experiences as stressful. The child's ability to share their voice is also not a by-product of reaching a developmental milestone, but requires adults to respond to their needs and provide a conducive environment for children to share their thoughts (Kellett, 2009). Dwairy (2005) explains that few studies describe how to listen to children. Indeed, an environment that is conducive would involve adults recognising the validity of the child's voice (Kellett, 2009) and for parents to recognise the child's right to be listened too and participate in decisions to do with their wellbeing (Parkes, 2013).

Children and non-verbal communication

Humans rely heavily on non-verbal forms of communication, with some theorists claiming that verbal communication is a poor substitute when deciphering messages (Schore & Schore, 2008). An individual's right brain provides an important function and helps make sense of the non-verbal social nuances that work in conjunction with verbal communication

(Schore & Schore, 2008). Non-verbal communication can conflict with verbal communication and cause inconsistencies, potentially placing the parent and child in a misattuned state (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). Non-verbal communication is processed outside conscious awareness, efficiently and at speed, and interpreted by the child prior to assessing their parent's verbal communication (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). These interpretative assessment processes involve an individual utilising multiple stages to firstly decipher and then either store or discard relevant information (Bowlby, 1988). The meanings associated with the non-verbal "sensory inflow" influences a person's interpretation and helps decipher the information received and formulate a response (Bowlby, 1988). People's assessment of non-verbal communication also helps them assess the state of engagement, for example, safety and danger, and allows an individual to respond accordingly (Cozolino, 2013). Adolescents tend to employ "covert" behaviours such as withholding information or resisting their parents' directives when they interpret their parents' behaviour as inflexible or structured (Parkin & Kuczynski, 2012).

Children also experience parents' non-verbal communication. As noted previously, unresolved childhood issues can trigger parents' stress-orientated behaviours and memories, which cause parents to more likely signal negative non-verbal communication towards their child (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). Parents' and children's defensiveness can also be triggered, particularly when parents respond to a child's reflexive non-verbal negative communication and take their child's defensiveness to heart and fail to read the child's unmet need and non-verbalised communication intentions (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). Kellett (2009) suggests, however, that for children to share their perspective and be heard their voice must firstly be perceived and acknowledged as having a rightful place in cultural discourses, yet children often communicate using non-verbal language that is often invisible to the adult. Montandon (2001, as cited in Madge & Willmott, 2007) explained that children utilise many self-protection mechanisms when dealing with difficult interactions with their parents including strategies such as "compliance", "working out a way", "ignoring parental wishes" and "making a fuss". If a "mirroring process", in other words an attunement between the parent and child's verbal and non-verbal communication messages and emotional reciprocity occurs, empathy and understanding is more likely to be experienced (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). Indeed, children's behaviour during a DE may be more related to self-protection as opposed to behaving in a defiant manner.

Children's undisclosed thoughts

The discipline environment impacts on a child's ability to express their needs and discuss concerns with their parent(s). Research suggests that how parents communicate with their adolescent children is crucial, as opposed to what is being communicated (Padilla-Walker, 2008). Padilla-Walker and Carlo (2004) explained that parents who yelled or lectured their children were more likely to cause adolescents to experience negative emotions, i.e., anger and frustration, and this can impact on a child's ability and motivation to disclose their thoughts and feelings to their parent. Parents who do not actively accept their child's perspective tend to risk the child's psychological wellbeing and development, and the child would feel less inclined to share their inner thoughts (Davies, 2011). These findings reiterate claims regarding the importance of a safe environment for effective communication between parents and their children (Bowlby, 1988; Cozolino, 2013). Indeed, children who are punished for expression of feelings censored their thoughts and withheld information from their parents, *and* the experience increased negative feelings during conflict (Lynch, Robins, Morse, & Krause, 2001). Slee (2002) found that when children feel empowered they are less reactive or vulnerable particularly to unexpected negative life events, and states that children who have an emotionally supportive environment are more able to adapt and cope with external stressors. The child's preference to disclose information or feel safe within a discipline situation also has an impact on parent–child attunement. Furthermore, if children disclose inner thoughts, and if the information is important to parents, it is the responsibility of the parents to provide a safe environment (Smetana, Metzger, Gettman, & Campione-Barr, 2006). Almas, Grusec and Tackett (2011) studied a number of elements, one of which considered the pattern of disclosure and how this affects the parent–child relationship. The authors' findings indicated that the participant children ($n = 140$, aged 10–12 years old) who disclosed information were more likely to experience encouragement by mothers to engage in verbal communication and that the mothers were sensitive to their child's needs. Almas and colleagues' (2011) study also discussed the notion that the parent's style of communication influenced the child's decision regarding whether to disclose information.

Singer, Doornenbal and Okma (2004) conducted a study involving children aged between 8 and 13 years. The authors focused on a number of issues regarding a DE. One of the implications for the study indicated that the participant children could verbally express their inner feelings when the adult assisted them, by using a warm and accepting style, and probed the child with questions relating to their goals and concerns. When children anticipate an unhelpful response from their parent(s) they are less likely to be willing to share their inner

thoughts (Zeman, Cassano, Perry-Parrish, & Stegall, 2006). Indeed, Almas et al. (2011) found that children were more likely to disclose information to their parents when their parents' styles emulated an authoritative as opposed to an authoritarian process.

Discipline and children's brain development

Brain function is multifaceted and is designed to make sense of, interpret, and respond to environmental triggers (Sylwester, 2007). Researchers have previously thought that the wiring of an infant's brain in the first three years of life was paramount to the future wellbeing of the child (Morgan, 2013). Recent research has discovered that the brain continues to evolve and adolescence is a time of significant neurological change (Jetha & Segalowitz, 2012; Morgan, 2013; Phillips, 2007) that impacts on the future health and wellbeing of the child (Jetha & Segalowitz, 2012). Children and teenagers are vulnerable to their experiences, and their decisions during this time can impact on their future selves (Jensen, 2015). Brain connectivity is still in process, with the wiring formation occurring from back to front, where executive functions (logical decision-making) materialise later than other brain functions leaving them vulnerable to making impulsive decisions (Jensen, 2015).

Children and adults also access different parts of their brain to one another; therefore their responses are governed by different neurological systems (Feinstein, 2009). For example, teenagers are more emotional, whereas adults, if not stressed, access their logical systems of the brain more reflexively than their children (Feinstein, 2009). The formation of the prefrontal cortex (executive decision-making) does not occur until early adulthood and occurs through social interaction (Macfarlane, 2007), therefore children are more likely to experience emotional and impulsive outbursts (Phillips, 2007). The brain's plasticity during this stage increases a person's experiential vulnerability, but also provides an opportunity for an individual to practice self-regulation and strengthen the brain's capacity for this task (Jetha & Segalowitz, 2012). The adolescent age group evaluates risks based on the outcome of the anticipated reward and gratification as opposed to logical decision-making processes (Jensen, 2015). This period primes children to experience more emotion and self-regulation difficulties. The prospective memories (located in the front part of the brain) of children in the 10 to 14-year age group is on hiatus, therefore have difficulty remembering to do things (Jensen, 2015). An interesting dichotomy occurs in this age group. Late childhood through to adolescent children are hyper vigilant or sensitive to social appraisal from their peer groups

and important contacts, but as a result of lacking neurological maturity they also experience more difficulty in regulating their emotions (Del Giudice, 2015; Jetha & Segalowitz, 2012).

Researchers also explain that older children may find it challenging to read facial expressions of others, for example they may misinterpret an adult's worried face for one of anger (Icard, 2014; Morgan, 2013; Phillips, 2007). Boys are also less able to read facial expressions than girls as their amygdala (the emotion generating system) is slower to develop. Children aged 11 and 12 (similar ages to this study's participants) years are also 15% slower than their younger peers at identifying facial expressions. Evidence from brain scans suggest that reading facial expressions is coordinated using different brain structures, that do not mature until adulthood (Jetha & Segalowitz, 2012).

In summary, children in their late childhood and early adolescence experience neurological changes and use different brain systems to adults that govern emotion regulation, perceptual abilities and memory thus, children in this age bracket are not motivated just by their behavioural choices. Children, in utilising different brain functions, have difficulty in interpreting a parent's anger and frustration so when exposed to or experiencing a high conflict situation, such as a DE, the child is at an immediate disadvantage when compared to an adult, and may potentially experience confusion deciphering what could be considered basic communication systems such as facial expressions.

Discipline and middle childhood

Children in middle childhood experience conflict with their parents on a frequent basis (Konner, 2010; Riediger & Klipker, 2015). Moed and colleagues' (2015) study, involving 138 parent/adolescent dyads (approximately 13 years old) explained that daily living provides adequate material to trigger conflicts, also known as a "rupture" which could lead to a breakdown in the bond between parent and child (Siegel & Hartzell, 2004). Smetana and Gaines (1999) study also found that the participant children experienced conflict with their parent relating to commonplace subjects such as chores, homework and activities, yet the parent and their child perceived the intensity of the conflict differently. The authors' findings indicated that children in early adolescence rated conflict more intensely than children in pre-adolescence. Children in middle childhood are more likely to assume responsibility for their own regulation (Bosmans & Kerns, 2015; Brumariu, 2015). Yet, middle childhood and even older adolescent's ability (or lack of) to self-regulate is usually associated with an attachment pattern (Vinik, Almas, & Grusec, 2011) and/or expose potential vulnerabilities

and indicate future psychopathology issues (Jetha & Segalowitz, 2012). Indeed, securely attached children assume that parents will provide assistance if needed (Howe, 2011).

One of the objectives for parenting children in middle childhood concerns the way in which parents monitor or control their children and how they work together (Kerns, Aspelmeier, Gentzler, & Grabill, 2014). As noted earlier, Grusec and Goodnow (1994) claim that it is important for children to accurately understand their parents' discipline goal in order to accept it as their own. A study conducted by Dobbs (2005), that involved children aged between 5 and 14 years, discussed a number of aspects related to the discipline process. One of these aspects included a child's ability to comprehend their parents' discipline messages or communication during DEs. Dobbs (2005) suggested that approximately half of the children in the 9–11 age bracket could not always discern the parents' discipline messages or understand the vocabulary utilised by their parents, and their parent(s) neglected to provide clear explanations for their children's wrongdoing. Dobbs (2005) study also described the participant children's experience of powerlessness and lack of right to a voice (Dobbs, Smith, & Taylor, 2006). Furthermore, findings from Mills, Nazar and Farrell's (2002) study, involving children aged between 7 to 10 years suggests that the parent's position of power causes children to feel hurt. Yet, irrespective of negative emotions, many of the participant children in Dobbs' (2005) study believed it was their role to be the recipient of consequences (Dobbs et al., 2006).

Research suggests that children tend to believe that parents have the right to exert authority over their behaviour. Smetana's (1988) study, that involved children aged between 10 to18 years found that both younger children and adolescents did not view parental authority decreasing as they matured, but acknowledged the need for parents to maintain authority. Rosenburg (1979) shared similar beliefs explaining that although children up to 11 years believed that they have internal locus of control, their parents or adults have ultimate authority over their life decisions. Braine, Pomerantz, Lorber and Krantz (1991) conducted a study that involved 144 children, aged 6 to 11 years. The study required the children to describe vignettes illustrating parents' and children's common conflicts. Part of the findings illustrated that the children's normative beliefs included parents having the right to enforce rules that children needed to adhere to. Mayall (2000) explains that children rationalise their parents' choices by suggesting that it is the parents' duty to protect them and they are therefore entitled to dictate how children behave. Children rationalised, or in some cases repressed (McKenry, Price-Bonham, & O'Bryant (1981) their parents' behaviour, even if they were physically hurt in the process (Nixon & Halpenny, 2010). Saunders and Goddard

(2008a) explained that children believed their parent had a right and indeed a requirement to use physical discipline when needed out of parental responsibility.

Fairness also contributes to the discipline environment in middle childhood. The ability to evaluate other people's motives and ascertain fairness is considered an important part of "prosocial development" (Evans, Galyer, & Smith, 2001). Children in middle childhood are capable of holding or deciphering nuances between multiple perspectives (Davies, 2011; Higgins, 1989; Mayseless, 2005; Raikes & Thompson, 2005), particularly when securely attached to their caregiver/parent(s) (Zimmermann & Iwanski, 2015). Young children perceive fairness as including equitable positions for everyone, yet as they mature and reach middle childhood, their concept of fairness changes (Turiel, 2008). Children, aged eight or nine years tend to award fairness based on worthiness, irrespective of other circumstances, however, 10 or 11-year-old children evaluate worthiness in addition to assessing other elements associated with the context (Turiel, 2008). Tisak (1986) also suggests that if children were to acquiesce to their parents' wishes, that they first assess the fairness of the demands. Evans, Galyer and Smith's (2001) study, that considered the assessment of unfair rewards and punishments according to 110 children aged 9 to 11 years, indicated that children are aware of the distribution or implementation of fairness and the associated punishment. According to Turiel (2008), children believe that when it comes to fairness, circumstances need to be accommodated if people are not in similar positions.

Children's discipline preferences

Communication and the DE environment

A study conducted by Nixon and Halpenny (2010) involving 132 participant children and adolescents (aged 6 to 17 years), discussed appropriate discipline interactions. The participants acknowledged the value of negotiation during conflict or fractious issues relating to household rules and other boundaries associated to similar contexts. The participants involved in Nixon and Halpenny's (2010) study preferred to negotiate with parents as opposed to having restrictions imposed, particularly when the parent did not elucidate. With a few variations, older and younger participant children (aged 6 to 9 years) in Sorbring, Deater-Deckard and Palmérus's (2006) study discussed their preference for reasoning comparative to punitive discipline measures, and suggested that the method used by their parent influenced their parent–child relationship. Siegel and Cowen (1984) and DeRoma, Lassiter and Davis (2004) suggested that children also preferred discipline strategies that involved inductive reasoning, where the parent calmly discusses an incident

and the process with their child. Adolescents, aged 14–19 years involved in DeRoma and colleagues' (2004) study favoured negotiation and being included in the decision-making process during a DE. When the participant adolescents were more involved in the decision-making, they experienced less internalised anger, interpreted the parent's behaviour as fair and believed it increased their attunement and bond with their parent. Furthermore, according to DeRoma et al. (2004), children had a higher probability of accepting the discipline outcome.

Padilla-Walker's (2008) study involving 234 adolescents (approximately 16 years of age) suggests that a mother's parenting methods influence adolescents' emotions both in a negative and positive way. Padilla-Walker (2008) claims that it is important for parents to communicate clearly and with "positive intent". Dobbs (2005) and Hester and He Lan Tian's (2009) research (discussed below) shared similar insights. For example, the respondent children involved in Dobbs' (2005) study indicated that there may be a less fractious outcome, therefore resulting in a more positive environment if parents took the time to talk with them about the DE. Indeed, Dobbs et al. (2006) proposed that for children to adopt positive and socially appropriate behavioural outcomes, parents need to reduce their anger and be consistent and fair during a DE.

Attunement and validation of feelings

Child participants in Davidov and colleagues' (2012) study assessed their relationship with their parent as positive when their parent utilised methods during a DE, such as validating the child's feelings. The participant children believed that these strategies would promote productive parent–child relationships. Yet, the study's findings indicated that the participant children expected parental boundaries to be enforced and for their parents to correct their behaviour (Davidov et al., 2012). University students involved in Hester and He Lan Tian's (2009) study were required to retrospectively consider their childhood discipline experiences. The findings indicated that some of the 498 Chinese and 481 English participants felt misunderstood by their parents prior to being disciplined. A study conducted by Alink et al. (2009) involving 117 mother and child dyads considered the relationship between sensitivity and discipline in relation to mothers' responses towards their child. The study found a correlation between child aggression when mother's responses towards their child were insensitive. These studies suggest that sensitivity or validation of feelings by a parent plays a part in children's experiences and subsequent behaviour.

In summary, the participants of recent studies indicated their preferences relating to their parent's choice of discipline strategies. The strategies primarily involved the need for parents to listen to their child, negotiate, provide clear boundaries, use positive communication and validate their feelings. Further specific preferred strategies such as loss of privileges or being grounded (for older children), and restriction of activities were discussed, however, the dominant discourse focused on the child's need for an attuned and bidirectional relationship with their parent(s).

Child Development

<u>Developmental psychology</u>

Post-World War II developmental psychology provided a favourable framework to observe, understand and categorise a child's development (Reid, 2006). In current times, developmental models still inform practitioners and theorists of a child's progression through childhood into adulthood. Varying human development theories exist that also influence and define how childhood is perceived (Dell-Clark, 2010). For example, children's language and interactive capabilities provide knowledge regarding children's proficiencies and maturity (James & Prout, 2015). Although this thesis utilises a developmental model created by Piaget, it is noted that developmental psychology is not without its critics (Smith, 2016). Developmental theories are thought to rely heavily on the researchers or theorists' observations to understand and gain insight into childhood experiences and children's interpretations were often not requested (Dell-Clark, 2010). Lourenço and Machado (1996) suggest that one of the more common criticisms for Piaget's work concerns the conservative nature in which children's competency was assessed. Further criticism for Piaget's work focuses on the way in which children acquire their knowledge. Smith (1998) explains that in the current climate, developmental psychology now tends to acknowledge that children learn as a result of the bidirectional nature and depend on the environmental and social system. Yet, it is also important to highlight that whilst these criticisms exist and may be warranted, Lourenço and Machado (1996) explain that Piaget's cognitive developmental theory model (cognitive model) relied not on a structured, cultural and age-related format, but instead indicated a process children travelled before they reached the next cognitive level. In doing so, Piaget's cognitive model could be utilised within this thesis through providing a participant selection guide for children's sequential development.

Piaget and child development

Humans are considered to be one of the most vulnerable and immature species at birth and are emotionally and physically dependent on their adult caregivers (Atwool, 2013; Music, 2011). Piaget believed that an infant was largely a "blank slate" open to environmental influences and learned through making sense of their experiences (Smidt, 2013). From birth, the social and physical environments impact on a newborn's development and provide a blueprint for an individual to refer to as and when needed (Piaget, 2001). Piaget explained that a child's and adult's mind perceived things differently, and proposed that children adapt to environments through assimilating (adopting new experiences), and then accommodating (altering their original constructs) their experiences (Buck, 2014). Indeed, the cultural environment is made up of a complex set of interpretations and expectations relating to relational systems that are imposed on a newborn's way of being, and continues to impact throughout their life span (Piaget, 2001). Piaget believed that children were problem solvers and that every child was an "*active learner*" in order to make sense of, and construct rational reasoning for, their environmental experiences (Smidt, 2013).

Piaget – Cognitive developmental theory

Piaget's significant contribution to the field of human development was through the introduction of a formalised, successive and staged developmental model (James & Prout, 2015; Slee, 2002). As noted earlier, Piaget developed a cognitive development theory model to describe a child's sequential and staged growth during their life span (Sigelman, Rider, & De George-Walker, 2013). Piaget ascribes four stages to the child's developmental process being the "sensorimotor" (birth – 2 years) stage, the "preoperational" stage (2–7 years), the "concrete operations" stage (7–11 years), and finally the "formal operations" stage (11–12 years and older) (Sigelman et al., 2013). These stages are considered to be "invariant sequences" where children naturally progress, without deviation, through each stage, albeit at different rates where necessary (Mayall, 2000; Sigelman et al., 2013).

According to Piaget, children undertake a three-stage cognitive development process that involves assimilation, accommodation and equilibrium (Smidt, 2013). Children only move through each age-related stage once appropriate skills are attained (James & Prout, 2015). During each stage, children actively construct knowledge from their environment based on their observations and experiences and alter their assimilated interpretations to fit their schema (Piaget, 1952, as cited in Sigelman et al., 2013). Children assimilate new experiences into their vast library of knowledge to categorise and make sense of these

experiences (Smidt, 2013). When the stored and categorised information is challenged by the introduction of alternative and new material, a child needs to accommodate this knowledge by adapting their current information to make a new classification (Smidt, 2013). Equilibrium involves a person's ability to easily make sense of their environment using their stored and inherent understanding and cognitive schemas (repetitive patterns of interactions and behaviours) (Smidt, 2013). Accommodation, according to Piaget, is a "higher-order cognitive process" that distinguishes humans as logical and solution focused in order to achieve an equilibrium state (Smidt, 2013).

Piaget's cognitive model provided participant recruitment guidelines for this research. The participant children (aged 10 and 11 years) involved in this thesis, according to Piaget's cognitive model, were possibly in the "concrete operations" stage and therefore considered to be more logical in their cognitions compared to children in earlier stages of cognitive development (Sigelman et al., 2013). The concrete operations stage assumes that children operate a "trial-and-error" approach to their problem-solving, which applies to objects they can visualise, physically touch and manoeuvre, but are challenged by abstract or hypothetical thinking (Sigelman et al., 2013; Slee, 2002). Children in this stage are also thought to be able to consider another person's perspective logically whilst claiming their own (Buck, 2014).

Part 3: Parenting Discipline Models

The following section firstly considers the historic context and development of parenting models relating to children and discipline. Secondly, Baumrind's (1966) parenting style model will be discussed briefly. Finally, this section considers the need for a new paradigm in relation to parenting discipline models. This section identifies research that outlines helpful and unhelpful parenting components relating to the parent and child discipline relationship.

Discipline Context and Parenting Models

Parental authority was unquestioned until the 20th century (Baumrind, 1997), however, since then, parenting and raising children has been scrutinised (Holden, 2010). Freud's theories relating to the human psyche were widely recognised during the 20th century and created a new paradigm to consider children and their development (Qvortrup, 2005). Freud considered the nature of the child's experiences and their impact on children's development and potentially subsequent "aberrant adult behaviour" (Qvortrup, 2005). Although the focus

on childhood forms the basis of Freud's psychoanalytic therapy, the children's accounts relating to their experiences and interpretations were retrospective (Qvortrup, 2005). Since Freud, Holden (2010) discusses seven further parenting approaches that have been identified; the *social learning* approach which concentrates on the parent as being the dispenser of rewards or punishments; the *social-address* approach that considers that the parents' behaviour is influenced by their cultural environment; the *child-effects* process that suggests that children's own behaviour impacts and influences their parents' decisions and behaviours; the *momentary-process* that is concerned with how a parent's reactions in that moment impact on the child's unhelpful behaviour; *parental social cognition* that considers the parents understanding, their perceptions and their behavioural patterns; and *structural equation modelling* which is considered the newest approach. This approach explores longitudinal data and how it relates to child development and the characteristics of the parents. The final popular approach, *parenting traits,* has been studied since the 1940s and considered useful to identify child development risks and potential outcomes. More recently, research regarding the socialisation or discipline of children has refocused from a "unidirectional" approach to a "bidirectional" one and considers "externalisation" processes (where a parent and child each consider changes to their own IWM) (Sorbring et al., 2006).

Parenting programmes and discipline models are widely accessed by parents (Barrett, 2003). Walker and Frimer (2011) discuss the importance of the parents' behaviour and interaction with their children during a DE. Children assimilate their parents' values or discipline goals when the dynamic is "… a warm relationship and the child's belief that the value was self-generated rather than externally imposed" (Walker & Frimer, 2011, p. 251). Again, in order for parental discipline to be effective and a successful discipline outcome achieved, children need to interpret their parents' message correctly and adopt this message as their own (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Sorbring et al., 2006; Thompson & Goodman, 2011). Indeed, the family environment and interactions are an important structure for a child's development, as children mimic their caregiver's beliefs and social philosophies (Furstenberg, 1971; Mackenbach et al., 2014). Parents play a dominant role in influencing the child's attitudes and behaviours (Furstenberg, 1971; Mackenbach et al., 2014). If children experience dissatisfaction in their relationship with their parent, they are less likely to accept their socialisation goals and seek their advice (Furstenberg, 1971).

Baumrind's parenting style model

Baumrind's research has been influential in the field of discipline and parent–child interactions (Grusec, Saritas, & Daniel, 2014). During the 1960s, Baumrind undertook longitudinal research that involved 100 parents and children of various ages ranging from preschool through to high school (Baumrind, 2008). Baumrind studied how parenting styles affected the development of children (Baumrind, 2008; Kastner & Russell, 2013) and found that parenting styles could be categorised into two particular characteristics related to the parent's use of power being "demandingness" and the parent's ability to express love and nurturing being "responsiveness" (Baumrind, 2008). Baumrind (2008) extended these two traits further and derived four parenting styles: "unengaged", "permissive", "authoritarian", and "authoritative". Baumrind (2013) explains that although authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles both portray hierarchical relational structures, the differences lie in the way in which parents provide directives. Authoritarian parents demand respect and are more likely to believe that children are deliberately disobedient and challenging (Baumrind, 2012). Authoritarian parenting involves confrontive (rational, negotiable and constructive) and coercive (forceful, dictatorial and lack warmth) parenting traits (Baumrind, 2008, 2012; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Grusec et al., 2014; Rudy & Grusec, 1999). However, authoritative parenting is considered the most effective, and provides children with a consistent, nurturing environment with clear and rational boundaries and the ability to negotiate outcomes with their parent(s) (Larzelere, Gunnoe, Roberts, & Ferguson, 2016). Authoritative parenting also encourages children to learn internal control and respond constructively to their parents' directives (Kremer, Smith, & Lawrence, 2010). A study conducted by McGillicuddy-De Lisi and De Lisi (2007), found that their 125 participant students believed that the authoritative parenting style enabled a more positive and agreeable family environment. Yet, Grolnick (2003) believed that Baumrind prioritised parental authority and negated the specific needs of the child, and believed that Baumrind's model does not discuss tolerance and allow the provision for parents to withhold boundary setting.

Parenting components and discipline events

Overview

The role of the parent, as noted earlier, influences children's development and their socialisation skills (Maccoby, 2000). However, the literature (discussed earlier in this chapter) suggests that effective parenting does not ascribe to a specific or precise formula, and given the variability of children's temperaments, their interpretations and responses will

vary according to different environments (Grusec et al., 2014; Kremer et al., 2010). As a result of Grusec and Goodnow's (1994) earlier research, Hastings and Grusec (2006) argue that parents need to be flexible in their discipline approach. Indeed, it is thought that if a parent implemented a similar discipline strategy on various children, each of those children would likely perceive it differently, and in fact, the same child may interpret the same method differently at different times (Grusec et al., 2014). Parents' motivations for discipline or socialisation goals also differ based on their objectives for their children (Grusec et al., 2014) and their cultural expectations (Runyan et al., 2010). The measure of effective parenting is often predetermined according to the parents' goals and the internalisation of those goals by their child (Grusec et al., 2014). For example, parents are more likely to use punitive-orientated consequences when the goal is "parent-centred" (the need for the child to meet parent objectives), but will use induction (reasoning) methods when their discipline goal is "child-centred" (values orientated) (Grusec et al., 2014). However, as noted, the literature does acknowledge that some parenting components (discussed further below) may assist with DE interactions and enhance the parent–child attunement process.

Helpful parenting components and discipline events

A dominant discourse evident in the literature suggests that a productive, reciprocal and attuned process (as discussed earlier in this chapter) between a parent and a child relies on an awareness of each other's perspective and feelings (Bowlby, 1988) to achieve attunement (Davies, 2011; Howe, 2011; Music, 2011; Thompson & Goodman, 2011). Indeed, attunement is considered a fundamental element to the attachment process between the child and their primary caregiver and one which is based on mutual reciprocity (Maccoby, 1992). The literature also suggests it is imperative for parents to adopt a flexible approach and adjust their behaviours to meet the other person's goals or needs (Bowlby, 1988). Parents who provide a supportive environment, conducive to nurturing, allow children to self-evaluate in a positive manner (Harter, 2008). Parents who actively listen to their children are able to respond more appropriately to their child's needs ensuring a more cooperative and productive environment (Smith, 2013a). Indeed, when a child feels understood, a collaborative process unfolds (Siegel & Hartzell, 2004).

A further helpful element to maximise the likelihood of positive parent–child discipline interactions is the way in which parents and their children discuss conflicting issues. Parents who raise their voice towards their children during conflict influence the way in which their children deal with future stressful interactions (Bernstein, 2015). When parents calmly

encourage a child's verbal strategies, the parent effectively coaches the child to understand that resolving conflict can be a "verbalised" process (Davies, 2011; Perry & Szalavitz, 2011). Indeed, certain parenting traits, such as warmth, that Baumrind (1997) refers to as an emotional expression of love, responsiveness, and the ability to provide clear boundaries, similar to Baumrind's authoritative parenting style (Baumrind, 2005; Kremer et al., 2010) are thought to be important. Parents with a warm disposition and clear communication encourage children to reciprocate in the same manner (Scott, Briskman, Woolgar, Humayun, & O'Connor, 2011).

Unhelpful parenting components and discipline events

When a parent neglects or ignores the child's perspective, the child can activate a "secondary system" and utilise defensive reactions and withdraw from the interaction (Hughes, 2009). Children undertake these strategies primarily to communicate their distress (Goldberg, 2000). Theorists also discuss the risks and negative outcomes for children when parents behave disparagingly and punitively. Davies (2011) explains that the use of punitive discipline methods on children can influence the child's IWM. Punitive discipline as a replacement for induction (reasoning), and not allowing the child to share their perspective, also discourages children's development of empathy (Davies, 2004; Howe, 2013; Hughes, 2009) and the child learns and expects antagonistic communication patterns with their parent (Thompson, 2015). Beato, Pereira, Barros and Muris (2016) conducted a study and considered the prevalence of anxiety in 390 Portuguese parents and their children aged between 8–12 years. The authors' findings suggested that mothers, as opposed to fathers who were neglectful, had children with higher rates of anxiety.

Similarly, children aged between 8–12 years and their parents involved in a New Zealand-based study conducted by Rodriguez (2003), reported a correlation between parents' harsh discipline methods, such as physical discipline and children's higher rates of anxiety and depression. Gershoff and colleagues' (2010) study involving 292 mothers (based in different countries) and their children aged 8–12 years shared similar findings. Gershoff et al. (2010) found that out of 11 particular parenting discipline techniques, five were associated with children's aggressive and anxious behaviours. These discipline practices included "corporal punishment", "expressing disappointment", and "yelling/scolding" were associated with aggression in children, and "corporal punishment", "expressing disappointment" with the addition of "time-outs", and "shaming" were associated with children's anxious behaviours (Gershoff et al., 2010). Indeed, parents who utilise controlling behaviours or withdraw

emotional support from their children increase the likelihood of their child developing pathological disorders such as depression and identity issues" (Barber, 2001).

Parents are believed to be more capable in making judgements and decisions than children (Baumrind, 2013) and justify behavioural methods as a result of their children's dependence and need for protection (Baumrind, 2012). Indeed, parents often believe it is their right to govern or respond to their children as they deem appropriate (Baumrind, 2012), irrespective of what is in the best interests of the child and their own triggers (discussed earlier in this chapter).

New Zealand-Based Parenting Discipline Models

The following section briefly discusses four particular NZPDMs and how they relate to the unhelpful and helpful parenting components previously mentioned. The four NZPDMs were chosen based on their commercial profile, accessibility by parents nationwide and provided parental guidance for children of all ages (infants to teenagers). Each model/agency/author presented a variety of options providing education and awareness of discipline for parents living in New Zealand (discussed further below). Although other discipline models exist within New Zealand and are accessible, many parents at some stage would more than likely have heard of or have been involved in one or more of the four NZPDMs mentioned.

<u>Overview</u>

In the 1980s and 1990s, New Zealand-based research indicated that parents adopted punitive discipline methods such as "shouting" and "smacking" (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1997). Research also indicates that punitive discipline practices were declining (Kremer, Smith & Lawrence, 2010). The participant parents involved in Kremer and colleagues' (2010) study typically relied on verbal directives and negotiation as discipline tools, however, when their young child (under the age of 5 years) demonstrated oppositional behaviour, parents adopted punitive methods. Generally speaking, the participant parents involved in Kremer and colleagues' (2010) study utilised positive-orientated methods including mild corrective techniques rather than punitive discipline strategies. Cultural expectations also influence parental discipline decisions, however, both physical and verbal punishments were favoured by parents in low, middle and high income brackets worldwide as indicated in Runyan and colleagues' (2010) study, discussed earlier in this chapter.

Four NZPDMs, Nigel Latta (2012), Diane Levy (2007, 2014), The Parenting Place (2015), and The Triple P Program (2015), as noted previously, were considered for this research

based on their commercial profile (television appearances, seminars, published parenting articles/books and online courses), accessibility for parents and providing knowledge relating to young children and teenagers. For example, Nigel Latta is not only a parenting author, he is also a regular television personality and presented two specific parenting shows: *The Politically Incorrect Parenting Show* and *The Politically Incorrect Guide to Teenagers* in 2009 and 2011 respectively. Diane Levy, the author of numerous parenting books also presented a television show called *Demons to Darlings* in 2005. The Triple P Program was devised by Matthew Sanders and colleagues at the University of Queensland and provides an extensive online parenting programme. The Parenting Place was founded in 1993 by New Zealanders Ian and Mary Grant as a result of their commitment to their Christian faith. Similar to The Triple P Program, The Parenting Place offers comprehensive online parenting tools and nationwide seminars. The four NZPDMs all promote a behaviourist and hierarchical approach to assist parents to discipline and socialise their children. Baumrind (2012) explains that a hierarchical parenting approach is normative and necessary, and that it is not necessarily the hierarchical nature of the parent and child relationship that causes potential issues, but how the parent asserts their authority.

The NZPDMs educate or advise parents to undertake some of the helpful parenting components (discussed previously) in a variety of ways. The helpful components aligned with the NZPDMs involve parents remaining calm, the need for children to self-evaluate in a positive manner and for parents to demonstrate empathy, listening to the child, which will result in a more productive outcome. For example, Latta (2012) discusses the importance for children to feel "liked" by their parents to ensure they develop positive self-attributes. Levy (2007) explains that children can feel overwhelmed and experience intense emotions, therefore parents need to assist their children to regulate and calm down to resolve the issue. Children, according to Levy (2002), will withdraw from their parents if they respond in a disparaging or blame orientated manner as suggested by Hughes (2009) earlier in this chapter. The parents' empathetic response towards children is a further positive attribute supported by Levy (2002). Levy (2002) indicates that if children feel understood by their parents they are more likely to feel heard. The Parenting Place (2015) discusses the need for parents to remain calm and consistent and not punish children. Cowan (2015), who presented one of The Parenting Place's training modules suggests that punishing a child will likely trigger defensive behaviours such as anger and the child may feel ashamed. Stringer (2015), who presented an online module for The Parenting Place describes ways in which parents can ensure children align with them to find solutions. For example, parents are encouraged

to be respectful and demonstrate equality, and discouraged from emotionally withdrawing from their children, which as Barber (2001) suggests, may impact on the child's development. Finally, The Triple P Program (2015) explains the importance of parents being available to their children if they require assistance or need to communicate. The Triple P Program (2015) also suggests that parents need to behave in a calm manner and have realistic and age appropriate expectations and recognise that children cannot maintain good behaviour all the time. All of the NZPDMs align with some of the helpful parenting processes and attributes in some form.

The NZPDMs' processes, however, also include many of the unhelpful parenting components outlined earlier in this section. The helpful components or philosophies discussed by the four NZPDMs did not necessarily translate, in a practical way, into the discipline process. Indeed, all four of the NZPDMs did not encourage the parent to enquire about their child's perspective during or post the DE. The format of the four discipline models indicated that the parent's interpretation (without the need for self-reflection) of the DE governed the DE process and outcome. Furthermore, the four NZPDMs follow similar discipline processes. The Triple P Program suggests that parents undertake "planned ignoring" if the cause of the DE was minor (such as the child using a whiney voice). Levy (2002, 2007, 2010), Latta (2012), The Parenting Place (Cowen, 2015), and The Triple P Program (2015) all suggest, in a variety of ways, a number of steps that placed children in a subordinate and powerless position. These discipline processes involved the need for: parents to first ask their child to follow their directive, if the child ignored, instruct their child to complete their directive, if the child ignored, the parent was asked to respond and implement a consequence, such as removing the child from the activity, waiting with the child until they calmed down and then resume the activity, or placing them in time-out, if deemed appropriate. The NZPDMs discussed the notion of a time-out as a consequence if a child continued to ignore parental instructions. Morawska and Sanders (2011) suggest that time-outs are a useful tool to reduce unwanted behaviour from children and provide an opportunity for children to calm down. Morawska and Sanders (2011) also believe that if parents were to assist their children to calm down during time-out, children may develop a dependency on their parents' assistance and will not learn to self-regulate (Morawska & Sanders, 2011). Levy (2002, 2007, 2010) and Latta (2012) and The Triple P Program (2015) supported this notion and explained that if a child was placed into a time-out the child needed to calm down, without parental assistance, and comply with their parents' wishes before time-out was completed. Indeed, time-outs are discussed as an effective discipline

tool for children of all ages including adolescents (Crespi, 1988). Sanders (1999) suggests that over 80% of parents use time-out as a discipline method.

Practitioners have discussed concerns with time-outs as a discipline technique. Clewett (1988) categorised the use of time-outs as one where children conform to adult expectations and discouraged children to reflect on or consider their behaviour and cause children to feel rejected, hurt and humiliated. Palardy (1996) explains that behaviour modification (such as time-out) addresses the surface concerns of the child's behaviour, but ignores their potentially more complex underlying motivation. Laboratory and field research has indicated that negative consequences provide less stable outcomes, i.e., were less effective and more transient in nature than positive reinforcement (Thorndike, 1932).

Parenting styles are important (Donath, Graessel, Baier, Bleich, & Hillmacher, 2014) and the helpful parenting components, similar to Baumrind's (2005) authoritative parenting style for example, encourage children to achieve a higher self-esteem and the ability to self-regulate and build resilience (Donath et al., 2014). The four NZPDMs' normative roles for children were submissive to their parents and without the opportunity to negotiate their perspective during or post the DE. Levy (2002) and Latta's (2010) discipline models, in particular, did not appear to advocate parents providing explanations to their children relating to the DE. For example, Latta (2012) indicated that parents should not negotiate with their children, who he described as "terrorists". Although this term may have been used in jest, the implication made by Latta, as a result of the descriptive term and his practical advice indicates that children are unworthy of a voice. Furthermore, children's competency was challenged by one agency being The Parenting Place (2015) where Cowan (2015) stated that children were "smaller", "less intelligent" and "have poor impulse control" compared to adults, and claimed that parents have a right to impose expectations on their children and their behaviour (Cowan, 2015).

Although the NZPDMs promoted positive parenting practices and philosophies similar to the helpful parenting components outlined, many of the components contained in their discipline model align with Baumrind's (2005) authoritarian approach. Importantly, all four of the NZPDMs indicated that the parent's perception of the cause of the DE typically governed the outcome and children were often not involved in negotiating either their needs or their DE perspective. Parenting styles are crucial, as the way in which parents interact with their children impacts on the child's sense of self. Parenting styles are thought to increase the risk of suicide ideation, for example, when parenting is authoritarian or "rejecting-neglecting"

children are at a higher risk (Donath et al., 2014). Donath et al. (2014) conducted an investigation involving 44,610 German adolescents (aged 14–15 years) with one of the objectives being to consider the correlation between parenting components and styles in relation to adolescent suicide attempts. The findings indicated that components associated with authoritative parenting reduce the risk of suicide by up to 20% in adolescents.

Conclusion

This chapter considered discipline and the familial environment from a historic and current context, and provided an overview of children's legal and sociocultural rights. A number of points can be summarised from this chapter. Firstly, the recognition of children and their legal, participatory and sociocultural rights have been a complex and drawn-out process. Although the UNCRC has outlined States' obligations to children that support their right to participate and be heard, in practical terms, it is thought that children's current sociocultural position is more hidden than ever. Historically, children were more visible by the mere virtue that they were considered mini adults and worked alongside adults. Indeed, childhood, as a specific and formally identified phase, has only been a recent construct. The literature indicates that children are still perceived as needing protection and are considered vulnerable. The children's voice and their participation is still considered unnecessary, inappropriate or irrelevant, either because adults believe by giving children a voice they will lose their power, and/or children are too naive and considered incompetent to make informed decisions. Research also suggests however, that the way parents respond to their children impacts on children's wellbeing, yet their responses tend to be influenced by their own historic childhood experiences and resultant neurological wiring and their sociocultural expectations as opposed to their child's temperament (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). It is imperative for parents to reflect on their responses and recognise trigger points, even if they are unaware of the origin (Hughes & Baylin, 2012) as parents may believe their sensory understanding and interpretation is as a result of their current environmental interactions and not from past experiential exposure (Siegel & Hartzell, 2004).

Parenting experts within New Zealand promote the use of behavioural modification parenting models to discipline and socialise their children. These models may stem from historic constructs that suggest children are intentionally naughty and need harsh discipline or adult implemented boundaries. The research does indicate that children do value clear boundaries, yet also need to have their perspectives listened to and prefer to work with their parents to find solutions. Although the literature suggests that there was no one particular

parenting model or identified specific parenting behaviour that would encourage children's wellbeing, some theorists acknowledged that certain parenting traits and communication components will enhance the parent and child relationship and increase the likelihood of attunement. The literature suggested that these parenting traits involved the communication style; a supportive environment, particularly regarding parents' expectations, such as the need to be aware and sensitive of the other person's perspective; parental flexibility to adapt their response according to the environment; to actively listen and respond in a calm and warm manner towards children. These traits would encourage a positive relationship between parent and children and minimise children's developmental risks.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This study used a constructivist, interpretivist and qualitative approach to interview parent–child dyads about a single DE within 48 hours of that event having occurred. The parent and child were interviewed individually, and no reporting of the other's responses was offered to either dyad member. Two additional forms of data collection supplemented the interview data: a diary entry completed by the child and a Parenting Relationship Questionnaire (PRQ) (Kamphaus & Reynolds, 2006) completed by the parent. This chapter presents detailed descriptions of these various forms of data, the philosophical and methodological justifications for them, their design, development and implementation. The chapter also considers the ethical obligations and intentions and more generalised information relating to the study's setting, participant recruitment process, and the design and format of the data collection tools.

Ontology

Research is immersed within a broader context associated with beliefs, core values and how knowledge is obtained or gathered which is often referred to as paradigms (Killam, 2013). Multiple research paradigms exist requiring the researcher to organise their investigation within a core philosophical structure considered alongside their field of inquiry. Broadly speaking, qualitative research (this study's focus) often utilises a relativist ontological perspective, where meaning is considered subjective, contextual and constructed through experiences (Drummond, 2005). A relativist perspective or qualitative research tends not to identify "truths", but considers the person's perception of reality as their truth, acknowledging that multiple and changeable truths exist and are constructed according to the interpretation of experiences and nuances (Creswell, 2013; Killam, 2013). The ontological position relating to a constructivist paradigm considers an individual's interactions as being shaped through discourses that influences their perceptions and are embodied internally as opposed to meanings relating to phenomena that exist externally to the person (Bryman, 2012; Crotty, 1998). Bryman (2012) explains that these meanings are constantly updated. Indeed, an ontological research process governs researchers to think about reality and whether it occurs externally or within human interactions (Braun & Clarke, 2013). More specifically, social constructionism philosophy suggests that meaning is not observed, but is shaped by people as a result of their social interactions (Crotty, 1998) and is underpinned by

historical and cultural influences (Burr, 2003). McLeod (2011) asserts that if researchers perceive the world as being constructed, they will more than likely perceive that there will be layers of complexity woven between a person's "social", "personal" and "relational" environment. Gergen (2015) explains, "… we may say that as we communicate with each other we construct the world in which we live" (p. 5). Indeed, conversations and constructed patterns of interaction also create and sustain implicit values (Gergen, 2015).

Children are directly impacted by adults' decisions through discourses and experiences, yet are a separate and established social group within society, and according to children's rights proponents (discussed in Chapter 2) such as Mayall (2008), adults need to concern themselves with children's account of events. As discussed in Chapter 2, children have often been perceived as irrelevant societal members, particularly in relation to the construction of meaning and knowledge (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). This notion has since slowly changed to one where researchers acknowledge children's interpretations and consider them as co-constructors as opposed to passive societal participants (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). In recent times, however, researchers have taken an objective stance when observing children, yet to achieve and hear the child's perspective and obtain valuable data researchers need to eliminate, where possible, the division of power and work alongside children without a *them and us* approach (Mayall, 2008). Mayall (2008) explains that it is vital to view children as active, interpretative and competent participants in research. Therefore, within a social constructionist paradigm, children are considered active learners and "social actors" who respond to and influence their environment juxtaposed by being in the position where the environment impacts on their interpretations (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). Indeed, "Constructivist researchers perceive the child as a subjective, contextual, self-determining and dynamic being" (Greig, Taylor, & MacKay, 2007, p. 48) and capable interpretative research participants (Mayall, 2008). The social constructivist approach also considers the differences in children's meaning-making, and moves away from the notion that children's experiences are similar regardless of culture and time (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). Research with people is indeed more subjective in nature and therefore both the researcher and the participant children do indeed have their own perception and expectations of the research process that the investigator needs to consider (Greig et al., 2007). Similarly, within the constructivist paradigm, adults make sense or understand their environment as a result of how they think about their surroundings, their discourses with others and the meanings and interpretations they formulate as a result of those experiences (Pritchard & Woollard, 2013).

In addition to the ontological social constructivist approach, a questionnaire (discussed later in this chapter) was included in this study to inform and provide further insight into the relationship health of each parent and child dyad to compare and contrast findings between dyads. The inclusion of the questionnaire steps away from the social constructivist philosophy, and in doing so, acknowledges that reality can exist separate to people's constructed interpretation. Burr (2003) explains that critical realism, at times, can be entwined within the constructivist approach, and indeed some social constructivists accept that reality forms part of the context equation. At birth, cultural foundations are thought to already exist that influence how an individual or group perceive sociocultural nuances and expectations (Burr, 2003). Language, for example, influences a person's cultural interpretations and implicit understanding, in other words, language provides a contextual meaning (Burr, 2003). The inclusion of the questionnaire acknowledges commonly used familial language recognised by the participant parents as a result of the implicit adoption of sociocultural influences. Crotty (1998) explains that an individual's cultural environment influences their interpretations and helps form established communication patterns. Indeed, the participant parents and children already have established forms of relating as a result of implicit cultural understanding.

Epistemology

Epistemology is influenced by the ontological approach and is a philosophical perspective concerned with how researchers explore and come to understand knowledge (Killam, 2013). A relativist epistemological perspective does not assume there is one truth and that the perceived experiences are unique to the participant the researcher is working with (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The epistemological beliefs of social constructivism are "co-constructed" between the researcher and those being researched, where participants within a study reflect on the world they live in and provide "subjective" meanings, which are rich in data and potentially complex (Creswell, 2013). Epistemology, from a qualitative researcher's perspective, assumes that the researchers and the participants work with each other to gain insight and understanding of the participant's experiences (Creswell, 2013). The qualitative epistemological process is also "… based on assumptions about the subjective nature of children, knowledge and research methods" (Greig et al., 2007, p. 54). The interpretivist investigators are motivated to understand the child's point of view regarding their environment and experiences and how this influences their interactions and how they feel about others (Greig et al., 2007). In recent times, research has adopted more of a qualitative

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stance most likely as a result of the desire to access more in-depth data in less formal settings (Tinson, 2009).

This study's epistemological position is described as an interpretivist approach, whereby the focus is concerned with making sense of the social environment through the eyes of the participants (Bryman, 2012). In other words, researchers interpret the participant's narrative from a position where they identify with the participant's viewpoint as opposed to observing causal relationships (Bryman, 2012). Researchers working in the interpretative paradigm gain insight into social interactions through understanding the patterns of communication within the cultural context (Schwandt, 2000). Furthermore, from an interpretive epistemological perspective, participants' subjective meanings are valued and understood without losing an element of objectivity by adopting mechanisms or tools such as reflexivity undertaken by the researcher to monitor the likes of prejudices and biases (Schwandt, 2000). McLeod (2011) believes that people, as part of the social world, can be reflexive, and therefore consider how they communicate their choices. Indeed, interpretivist researchers actively interpret the participants' experiences to gain insight into their reality.

Children in Research

The development of a child-centric moral philosophy has led some researchers to insist that children's involvement in ethical research is paramount to the recognition of children's rights (Sargeant & Harcourt, 2012). Childhood is in and of itself a specific period within the human life cycle, increasingly recognised for important developmental behaviours offering unique and valid perspectives, as opposed to being extensions of their parental or family unit or perceived as a gateway to adulthood (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). Children are not miniature adults nor do they exist in isolation (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). Children's social and emotional relationships are more fluid than at any other time of the lifespan which cannot be ignored. For example, observing the child in a laboratory setting without additional data from a naturalistic setting will limit understanding (Greene & Hill, 2005). Researchers who use an interpretivist approach with children tend to want to explore and make sense of the child's social environment and experiences (Greig et al., 2007). It is important to note that both the researcher and the participant child each have their own perceptions, and therefore interpretations that need to be acknowledged and explored (Greig et al., 2007). The method and forms of assessments used in research is important for the relationship between the investigators and the children (Gollop, 2000). Researchers need to establish trusting relationships with children and other important gatekeepers to help reduce

potential problematic power imbalances (Smith, 2011). In addition, observing from an external position will not validate a child's first-hand experience; thus, constructivist researchers join the child's world with the objective to understand their interpretations relating to their social interactions and experiences from their perspective (Greig et al., 2007). Greig et al. (2007) believe appropriate, child-orientated methods are essential to consider children's perspectives and to draw out environmental complexities, and suggest that paradigms such as a qualitative, interpretative approach provides a helpful framework to consider the voice of the child.

One of the main concerns for researchers regarding children's participation is producing reliable and accurate information (Hart, 1992). Research indicates that children are particularly honest under certain circumstances. Hart (1992) explains that if children truly believe that adults (i.e., the researcher) have an authentic interest in their lives, children will be enthusiastic research participants. Davis and Bottoms (2002, as cited in Grover, 2004) found that children who experienced their interviewer as "*supportive*", were more likely to provide authentic and honest responses and would not intentionally mislead the researcher. In fact, according to Davis and Bottoms (2002, as cited in Grover, 2004), children preferred to tell the truth. When the information is associated, or impacts specifically on a child's life, children as young as five years old can be accurate providers of information (Hart, 1992). To achieve these outcomes, Smith (2011) believes that the data collection tools used within a study need to be attuned to participant children's needs to encourage responses orientated from the child's own voice, as opposed to pleasing and meeting the researcher's requirements. Historically, theorists and researchers have primarily focused their attention on the concerns and interests of the adult as opposed to the children (Dell-Clark, 2011), utilising a "top-down" approach where children were just passive participants without a voice (Smith, 2011). Indeed, adult defined data collection techniques, where children conformed to the adult's research criteria were widely used (Smith, 2011). In recent times, researchers have focused and supported the use of child-centred methodologies. These child-centred research strategies are grounded in how best to work ethically with children in the research field. Shier (2001, as cited in Dell-Clark, 2010) illustrated this approach by suggesting the importance of a multi-layered approach when children are participants in research. Shier (2001, as cited in Dell-Clark, 2010) believes researchers need to provide children with access to support and an environment where they are actively listened to, sharing of responsibility, having a voice in decisions, and an understanding that their views are important.

Methodological Design and Intention

Qualitative strategy

This study undertook qualitative research as a result of the design and the nature of the investigation. Qualitative inquiry is considered, in its basic form, a framework that uses words and descriptions collected and analysed in a variety of ways (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The qualitative paradigm provides a vehicle for researchers to consider how people view their environment and construct their realities (McLeod, 2011) with the notion that there are multiple truths (Braun & Clarke, 2013). McLeod (2011) asserts that if researchers perceive the world as being constructed, they will more than likely perceive that there will be layers of complexity woven between a person's social and relational environment. Qualitative analysis can delve into these intricate and layered nuances and explore these complexities (McLeod, 2011).

Qualitative research is also used to describe and interpret phenomena within unique or specific contexts to help explain the study's focus (Greig et al., 2007). This paradigm therefore provides an environment for participants to not only share their voice, but also provide richly described and detailed accounts of events or their experiences, providing the researcher with the opportunity to consider their meaning and develop and interpret discourses (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Maxwell (2013) supports this notion, and discusses the appropriateness of qualitative methods where the researcher seeks to explore the descriptive and personalised voice of the participant in association with their unique meanings and perceptions of their world. Creswell (2013) suggests that qualitative research provides an environment for the participant to feel empowered to share their experiences, as the environment is less likely to engender power orientated dynamics between the researcher and participant. Creswell (2013) suggests that qualitative research bridges the gap between the research participants and the researcher(s) and "empowers individuals" to share their perspectives so that the researcher can gain entry into the participant's cultural environment and understand the phenomena within this setting. Importantly, "silenced voices" are more likely to be heard when conducting a qualitative study (Creswell, 2013). Indeed, qualitative inquiry allows the researcher to join with the participants' understanding of their reality or social context, and also further explore the participants' meaning of such reality (Berg, 2008).

Patton (2002) suggests that qualitative methods allow the research process to unfold, focusing on the depth and detail of the inquiry without being constrained by specific numeric

categories or other accountable units such as those that quantitative research methods tend to impose. These methods complement the research process particularly when there is a need to understand how the participants make sense of not only their experience, but also their behaviour within their specific context or environment (Maxwell, 2013). Maxwell (2013) emphasises that it is the participants of the study who provide theories, yet these insights in relation to the phenomena are often neglected. Qualitative research is thought to provide researchers with the opportunity to explore and gather rich data to "make claims" (Braun & Clarke, 2013). It is also important to note, however, that qualitative studies typically use smaller sample sizes (Patton, 2002) as has been used for this study.

Qualitative research and quality

There tends to be a lack of agreement regarding the criteria, quality and process associated with qualitative research (McLeod, 2011; Tracy, 2013). As McLeod (2011) suggests , numerous attempts have been made to "construct guidelines for evaluating the credibility, trustworthiness, validity and practical utility of qualitative research" (p. 267). For example, Tracy (2013) suggests that the criteria for quality within the quantitative research paradigm such as reliability, objectivity and generalisability are inappropriate quality checks for interpretative, critical and postmodern approaches. Tracy (2013) suggests that the foundation of objectivity is based on the assumption that there is a one world or understanding where researchers are able to accurately replicate their observations. This of course does not suggest that the qualitative researcher can be sloppy or give themselves permission to disregard a systematic and transparent protocol, but importantly, the investigator needs to acknowledge that their focus has already been influenced by current and historic theories and preconceived constructed understandings (Tracy, 2013).

Social constructivist and interpretivist perspectives required new criteria to consider quality issues within the qualitative research field (Patton, 2002; Tracy, 2013). Lincoln and Guba (1986) proposed "credibility" as opposed to internal validity, "transferability" as opposed to external validity, "dependability" as opposed to reliability and "confirmability" as opposed to objectivity. These new concepts, when considered as a whole, were thought to provide "trustworthiness" (as opposed to rigour), and also suggest that the dependability of a piece of research needs to be a reflexive process and considered from many angles, such as the investigators own projections and beliefs and constructed meanings (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Tracy (2013) discusses criteria in which to consider qualitative research, and emphasises that the process complements a "constructed" paradigm as opposed to theories being

"discovered". Tracy's (2013) criteria for qualitative research involve "worthiness", "rigour", "sincerity", "credibility", "resonance", "significant contribution", "ethical research" and "meaningful coherence", all of which were used as a framework for this study. Tracy (2013) associates worthiness with value, in other words, the research offers value to the wider community or to the field of inquiry. Rich rigour refers to how the research is conducted to achieve a helpful outcome, ensuring the quality and quantity of data is achieved to support the research findings. Sincerity relates to the ethos of the study and the researcher's beliefs and ability to be self-reflective, authentic and vulnerable to their own judgements and meanings. A further category, credibility, refers to the likes of "dependability" and "trustworthiness" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility within qualitative research is concerned with interpreting meanings as a result of achieving in-depth data relating to people's environment and processes, often referred to as thick description (Tracy, 2013). Credibility also refers to the process of triangulation or crystallisation, where the researcher adopts multiple data collection methods to consider their topic from different perspectives (Tracy, 2013). Some qualitative researchers believe that triangulation provides the researcher with a more extensive understanding of the topic as opposed to an accurate understanding (Smith, 1996) and results in potential bias with "cross-data" checks (Patton, 2002). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) suggest that by undertaking multiple methods during data collection, the researcher is also more able to reduce potential bias. Resonance is similar to generalisability, however, rather than the researcher statistically proving how the study could cross over to a wider audience, the qualitative researcher provides appropriate case examples to emphasise a point that may impact the reader (Tracy, 2013). Significant contribution considers how the findings might offer or impact on the wider practices or broader understanding of the topic knowledge (Tracy, 2013). Ethical research is concerned with issues such as consent, privacy and confidentiality and avoiding deception. Finally, meaningful coherence refers to how the study materialises and whether it achieves the objectives. Tracy's (2013) components relating to the qualitative research are discussed throughout this chapter, but particularly in the ethics section later in this chapter.

Research objectives and questions

This interpretive study did not attempt to lay a claim to a hypothesis. This study primarily used methods to consider a "slice of life" focusing on a relational aspect (Tracy, 2013), being a DE between parents and children aged between 10 and 11 years old, and interpreted the findings according to themes, with a further data collection method to consider the

dyad's relational health and history with the aim of providing further insight and knowledge of this common phenomena.

Research questions – The evolution of the questions

When conducting qualitative analysis, investigators often devise research questions once they have entered the field of inquiry. Tracy (2013) suggests that some researchers understand and identify the boundaries of the proposed phenomena and will most likely create some initial research questions prior to entering the field of study. Although the initial questions serve to provide a frame of reference, once the researcher begins the collection of data, the questions are often modified and solidified as a result of contextual (i.e., field of study) influences and data collection processes (Tracy, 2013). A similar process was followed for this study, where initial research questions were developed, however, the research questions were modified and refined at the completion of the data collection process and prior to the data analysis. Although I had an initial and clear understanding of the topic under review, the data collection process enabled me to further refine and clarify the research questions to reflect a more specific focus that considered the interactions, beliefs and interpretations experienced by and between the parent and child dyads during a DE. Refining the focus influenced the evolution of the research questions and governed the nature of the enquiry. The initial research questions were:

1. How do adults and children perceive a child's discipline event?
   a) How different or similar is the adult and child's perception of the same discipline event?
   b) How does the adult's perception of the child influence the adult's perception of the discipline event?
   c) How does the adult's perception of the child influence the child's perception of the discipline event?

The modified and refined research questions specifically focused on how each participant interpreted the DE and how they behaved and responded to their partner involved in the study. The research questions also considered the similarities and differences shared between dyads. The final research questions for this study are as follows:

1. Do parents and children experience attunement and/or misattunement through a discipline event, and how are these expressed and experienced?

a) Within each participant dyad, how is attunement/misattunement expressed through similarities and differences in perception/recollection of a discipline event?

b) What are the experiences of parents seeking the child's account and perception of the event that caused the discipline event?

c) How did the parent's interaction with the child affect the child?

d) What factors can be identified in these accounts that contribute to attunement/misattunement in parent–child relationships?

Qualitative data collection methods

A qualitative research approach provides participants with the opportunity to respond with their voice and describe their perceptions and experiences relating to the field of inquiry. Researchers also believe it is important to use multiple methods when obtaining data from participants (Maxwell, 2013). Multiple methods enable the researcher to focus on a specific phenomenon under investigation and consider it from different angles (Patton, 2002). As discussed previously, triangulation provides a checking system, or a validity assessment across all data collection methods (Patton, 2002), that oversees the usefulness and clarity of the data collected from the different methods in a hope to draw similar interpretations or theories (Maxwell, 2013).

The data collection methods utilised in the study involved:

1. A semi-structured (paper version) child diary entry (CDE) for children (Appendix A)
2. A semi-structured interview for parents (Appendix B)
3. A semi-structured interview for children (Appendix C)
4. A structured PRQ, completed by the parent participants only (Appendix D)

Children's diary entry (Rationale and design)
Development of the child diary entry

Providing different methods of data collection such as drawing or writing enables participants to express their thoughts in different ways, particularly, for example, if they are uncomfortable verbalising feelings directly to the researcher (Tinson, 2009). Children can provide a rich tapestry of data through various collection methods including colourful drawings, expressive accounts of events (narratives) and diaries that can provide further understanding of complex and different constructs (Greig et al., 2007). Although it is considered to be less common, the use of written text can be a helpful data collection tool for

children to capture an event or memory relating to the study topic of interest (Gollop, 2000). Indeed, Greig et al. (2007) suggests that "… a single comment from a child's perspective will convey much more meaning about the impact of research than a whole array of figures" (p. 138). A semi-structured CDE was created for the participant children in this study. The children could use any format to express their thoughts and feelings, such as drawings, words or stickers. The CDE was voluntary, therefore the participant children had a choice to either respond to all or some of the questions, or indeed not to respond at all. The CDE provided the child with the opportunity to freely express their thoughts and perspective of the DE without an adult, such as the parent or myself, as the researcher, being present. Eleven of the final thirteen participant children completed the semi-structured CDE, that included three broad questions relating to the research topic of interest.

The CDE questions were as follows:

1. Describe what happened between you and your mum or dad or another person caring for you.
2. How did you feel about the disagreement between you and your mum or dad (or another person caring for you)?
3. How did you feel about how your mum or dad (or another person caring for you) reacted when they were cross with you?

I wanted to provide the participant children with another mode to express their perspective of the DE, but was mindful that I did not want the CDE data collection tool to cause the child to feel obligated, or for it to become an arduous process. The CDE was therefore designed to be age appropriate, brief and provide some guidance for the participant children. Importantly, I needed to ensure that the children understood it was a voluntary process and only to be used by them to present their thoughts and feelings.

Semi-structured interviews (Parents and children)

Overview of interviews for qualitative research

Qualitative data collection methods such as interviews provide the opportunity for a researcher to access the participant's subjective experiences (Bryman, 2012). Interviews are a commonly used inquiry tool (Bryman, 2012) and considered one of the oldest methods within psychological research (Gollop, 2000). Interviews enable a process of mutual discovery, exploring the participant's views and providing insight for the researcher. Tracy (2013) explains that interviews provide the researcher with a tool to explore complex issues

that may not otherwise be observable or obvious to the researcher. The interview process provides participants with an environment to provide their stories, opinions or perspectives in their *own* words and provides the researcher with insight into the participant's interpretation and meaning of their environment through the use of jargon and cultural nuances (Tracy, 2013). Participants' quotations or narratives from interviews provide the researcher with insight into the participants' emotional experiences and what may have influenced their constructed meanings (Berg, 2008; Tracy, 2013). Patton (2002) states, however, that it is imperative that the researcher considers and balances the need to achieve quality data with any concerns the participants may have. The objective of the research interview is to also obtain insight into a particular phenomenon as opposed to changing participants' understanding or meaning (Patton, 2002). In addition, when children are involved in research, the interviewer needs to ensure that the sentences and vocabulary are age appropriate and children are not exposed to any emotional threat (Sargeant & Harcourt, 2012).

Semi-structured interviews

A semi-structured interview method was used for this study. The semi-structured interview is not as systematic as a structured interview, yet the process still provides a consistent and comprehensive way of collecting data from a participant (Patton, 2002). The semi-structured interview process also has the advantage of providing the participant with the flexibility to respond according to their specific needs (Bryman, 2012), creates an opportunity to discuss a variety of topics between the researcher and the participant and allows the researcher to adapt questions to the needs of the participants and the environment at that time (Tracy, 2013). Indeed, Bryman (2012) suggests that research with an interest in a particular phenomenon benefits from the use of a semi-structured interview process with the assistance of an interview guide to focus on a study's specific subject matter.

Development of the interview questions

It is important for the researcher to guide the interview to ensure the subject matter remains closely focused on the topic to ensure the researcher obtains rich data (Patton, 2002). It was also imperative as part of my research and counselling ethics to provide an opportunity for the participants to feel safe, valued and to be heard during the interview process. With the help of a prepared interview guide, the researcher is more able to have a "conversational style" with the participant, whilst probing the participant on a particular subject relating to the research questions, particularly when there are multiple participants within the study (Patton, 2002). Therefore, an interview guide was created for the semi-structured interviews

and used to gather data related to a specific DE that occurred between the parent and child participants. Prior to formulating the interview guide, potential topics aligned with the objectives of the research were discussed with my thesis supervisors. It was important to consider the DE from a broad perspective, in other words, consider different aspects of the DE to gather rich data and provide depth to the participants' experiences for inclusion in the data analysis process. Understanding both the parent's and child's emotions; what happened, how it happened; how they perceived the event, such as fairness; and consideration of similarities and differences was imperative to help make sense of their experience and provide context to the DE environment. In other words, as I was not involved as a first-person witness to the DE, it was crucial to gather as much data from the parent and child participants to ensure their narratives and experiences were respected and that I remained sensitive to differences in their interpretations relating to the DE and interactions.

The semi-structured interviews were undertaken with participants using different communication modes such as phone, in-person or Skype. The participants' chosen mode of communication was influenced as a result of time-constraints and physical and technical availability (i.e., phone rather than Skype). Research suggests that the use of phone interviewing or similar modes such as Skype to undertake talk therapy or consulting can be an effective, convenient and an accessible system (Dennis, 2009; Youthline, 2008). As multiple modes were used for the interview process, the interview guide ensured that consistency with each participant occurred, however, my training as a child, adolescent and adult counsellor (qualified with a Master of Counselling from Massey University) was also utilised to monitor the participants' responses, to apply flexibility relating to questioning where needed and to ensure that the participants were not placed at risk. Patton (2002) suggests that it is important for the researcher to be aware that as a result of an interview process between participant and researcher, the participant can learn things about themselves that they may not have been aware of, thus can put people at risk. This is discussed further in the ethics section of this chapter.

Table 1 provides the themes and an example of the topics used for the semi-structured interviews for both adult and child participants to explore their DE experiences.

Table 1. Themes for the semi-structured interview for both parent and child participants (see Appendices B and C)

Theme	Description
The description of the environment (context)	Where the discipline event occurred, those involved in the discipline and other people in the environment.
Feeling (emotions)	How the participant was feeling both prior, during and after the DE. How the participant thought the other person involved in the DE may have felt.
What happened (events)	The participant's own description of what happened, how the discipline event started how they responded to the people involved.
Actions taken (behaviour)	The participant's own reactions to the people involved in the DE and how they viewed the response of the other people involved.
Perception of the event (perception)	The participant's own account of how they believed the other person involved in the discipline event perceived the disagreement. The participants were also queried about what they thought the other person involved in the event would say about their behaviour.
Evidence of interest in the other person's account of events (fairness)	A further theme was applied to the interview process. I was interested in whether the adult participant indicated that they were both interested in the child participant's version of events and whether they specifically asked the child participant to provide a verbal account of the events.

Parenting Relationship Questionnaire (PRQ)

Rationale for Parenting Relationship Questionnaire

This study primarily used qualitative data collection methods with the addition of a further measure. The participant's voice, particularly the child's voice, was a key element within this study. However, the study employed an additional data collection method, the PRQ (Kamphaus & Reynolds, 2006), a questionnaire that utilised a Likert scale that resulted in further understanding of the participant parents' relationship with their child from an objective or etic (where the researcher was positioned externally to the participant) approach (Killam, 2013). The objective of the PRQ (described in more detail below), was to provide an additional data collection method to further consider the DE from a more objective standpoint in conjunction with the qualitative data analysis, and compare and contrast the findings. This study's analytic emphasis was on the voices of the participants and the meanings that they attributed to their experiences therefore, I did not solely rely on the PRQ

as a tool. The PRQ tool contributed to the triangulation process (Bryman, 2012; Tracy, 2013) and was a supplementary method to help compare and consider the data collected from the primary data collection methods (semi-structured interviews and the CDE). The tool was an efficient method and provided insight into attachment orientated behaviours between the parent and child, and an overview of the parent–child relationship without having to be formally trained in the use of the instrument.

Overview of the Parenting Relationship Questionnaire

Kamphaus and Reynolds created the PRQ data collection tool to gain insight into the parent–child relationship from the parent's (or caregiver's) perspective only (Kamphaus & Reynolds, 2006). A variety of professions who work with children such as psychologists, social workers and counsellors acknowledge the importance of the parenting and familial environment on the development of the child (Eisen, Kearney, & Schaefer, 1995; Frisby & Reynolds, 2005; Kaphaus & Frick, 2005; Kendall, MacDonald, & Treadwell, 1995; Lochman, 2006; Patterson, Reid, & Dishon, 1992; Zellman & Waterman, 1998, as cited in Kamphaus & Reynolds, 2006). Kamphaus and Reynolds (2006) developed the questionnaire to offer an efficient and reliable method for researchers or practitioners to obtain data that considers multiple relational dimensions between a parent and child. The instrument contains items that assess seven different relationship dynamics (attachment, communication, discipline practices, involvement, parenting confidence, satisfaction with school and relational frustration). The categories were explored using a series of questions (each category was analysed as a result of 8 to 14 specific questions), which were then assessed against a normed value (Kamphaus & Reynolds, 2006). The PRQ test scores are not considered completely accurate. The respondents' scores lie within a "confidence interval", where the width of this interval "… is proportional to the average amount of measurement error associated with that particular scale" (Kamphaus & Reynolds, 2006, p. 9).

Kamphaus and Reynolds (2006) explain that confidence intervals can be constructed using various approaches. The confidence interval for the PRQ was devised using an established method called "reasonable limits" (Gulliksen, 1950, as cited in Kamphaus & Reynolds, 2006). The PRQ utilised four validity indexes to assess the quality of the respondent's data, measuring the respondent's tendency to exaggerate the negative and positive aspects of their relationship with their child and the consistency and pattern of their responses (Kamphaus & Reynolds, 2006). Tests and test scores, according to the *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing* (American Educational Research Association, American Psychological Association, & National Council on Measurement in Education, 1999, as cited

in Kamphaus & Reynolds, 2013) provide inferences thought to be valid as opposed to the specific test scores. Table 2 sets out information on six of the seven categories assessed within the PRQ defined by Kamphaus and Reynolds (2006). The seventh category (Satisfaction with School) was not relevant to the focus of the study, and although the participants were asked all questions in the PRQ, their results relating to Satisfaction with School were excluded from the findings and did not impact on the results of the other categories. The PRQ instrument is presented in Appendix D.

Table 2. Parenting Relationship Questionnaire categories and definitions

PRQ category	Definition
Attachment	Measures the relationship or attunement between a parent (caregiver) and child with the likes of closeness and understanding. This is assessed by considering the parent's perception of attachment, such as the closeness and understanding they share with their child.
Communication	The way in which information is shared between the parent (caregiver) and child, including how the information is received and the trust within the dyad. Communication is assessed by questioning the parents on how often their child shared "everyday information" and the parent's understanding of this information.
Discipline practices	Measures the philosophy of rules and discipline and how consistently a parent responds to a DE, or the child's behaviour. Discipline practices are assessed based on the parent's consistency and application of consequences as a result of the child's behaviour.
Involvement	Measures how often, or to what extent the child and parent interact or are involved in "common activities". Asking the parent to reflect on how often they are involved in day-to-day activities with their child assesses involvement.
Parenting confidence	Measures how confident and comfortable a parent is when making parental decisions. Measuring how comfortable and confident the parent feels when interacting with a child on parenting decisions or a daily parenting process assesses parenting confidence.
Relational frustration	Measures how a parent responds, in frequently or commonly occurring incidents to the effect of the child in relation to distress and the stressful environment. Relational frustration is assessed by asking the parent to reflect on how they feel when interacting with their child in daily parent–child interactions as a result of parenting expectations.

Participant selection criteria

Sample and recruitment

Qualitative analysis allows the researcher the ability to focus, in-depth, on small samples and gather "information-rich" data to observe a specific event (Patton, 2002). Samples for a research study can be recruited using different sampling methods. Qualitative research typically utilises purposive sampling, which is a non-probability sample type where the investigator recruits participants based on strategic objectives associated with the researchers

aims for the study as opposed to random methods (Bryman, 2012). As suggested previously, the sample size in qualitative research also tends to be smaller, therefore likely to be more manageable when working with detailed data (Greig et al., 2007; Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011). Small sample sizes allow the researcher to give attention to the rich detail of the data, for example, Yin (2003) states that even just one participant can provide rich understanding of a phenomenon. Maxwell (2013) suggests that by investigating smaller samples, researchers are also more able to protect the narrative offered by each participant. Indeed, a smaller sample provides the researcher with the opportunity to consider the nuances and meaning behind phenomena, as the goal for qualitative research is often not to generalise the findings to the wider population, but instead to understand a particular contextual phenomenon in as much detail as possible (Hennink et al., 2011; Patton, 2002).

This study utilised a combination of purposeful (Bryman, 2012) and volunteer sampling (Jupp, 2006), as I was interested in gathering data from participant children (and their parents) within a specific age group to meet the study's objectives. The participants also needed to have been exposed and involved in a phenomenon (a DE), that occurred in their current lives as opposed to providing a retrospective account of a discipline interaction. The participants' involvement in a DE needed to be relatively current to ensure their memory of the DE was less exposed to corruption (discussed in Chapter 2). The findings of this research did not propose to generalise the data to the wider population, but to highlight the need to consider DEs from a different perspective.

Participant recruitment process

Once the study design including the initial research questions and proposal were developed, ethics approval was sought and granted (discussed further in the ethics section of this chapter) and recruitment of potential participants commenced. I initially identified Auckland-based sports clubs via the Auckland Yellow Pages and an internet search as they provided a dense population of children and their parents. I contacted the appropriate personnel and after gaining permission from the official gatekeeper/administrator of the sports club, an advertisement (Appendix E) was placed in multiple Auckland-based sporting club notices that were emailed to club members, therefore reaching potential participants. Sports clubs, such as hockey, cricket, karate and tennis clubs identified were within a 20km radius of my home in central Auckland. A 20km radius was initially chosen as the geographical region as it incorporated a diverse socioeconomic and cultural population and accessed a concentrated population of children and their parents. This combination provided

an opportunity to access families and a culturally varied sample group. The advertisement was also placed on the noticeboards of the sports clubs, allowing children the opportunity to view the details of the study and request to be involved. There was a low response and uptake from this initial advertisement. Two of the participant dyads were recruited through this process. Given the difficulty of recruiting participant dyads using this process, I discussed with my supervisors the need to expand the recruitment net wider to access further potential participants. A decision was made to place a recruitment advertisement in residential housing letter boxes, again within a 20km radius of my residence. One further participant dyad was recruited as a result of this process. The same advertisement was also placed on an online New Zealand-based parenting forum with one further participant dyad recruited. Word of mouth advertising accessed seven further participant dyads. In other words, people referred potential participants to me or the participants heard about the study and volunteered their services as a result of being intrigued by the nature of the study. A further notice was placed on a friend's Facebook page and six further participant dyads (completely unknown to me) volunteered to take part in the study. Four of the six participant dyads were suitable according to the study's selection criteria (discussed in the next section). Two of the six children recruited through Facebook were outside the age criteria (discussed below) required for the study. The interviewing process had already commenced with the initially recruited participant dyads, which gave me an indication of the type of data being collected. Surprisingly, the recruitment process was extraordinarily difficult, maybe as a result of the subject matter being potentially intrusive into the lives of families, therefore I chose to work with the 15 recruited participant dyads and considered the data provided before making a decision to recruit further participants, if needed. Two of the participant dyads withdrew from the study prior to data collection (discussed further in the ethics section of this chapter). On completion of the 13 participant dyad interviews and after undertaking initial analysis, I believed that for the purposes of this study the data collected was sufficient to consider the phenomena and provide insight into a DE based on this study's aims (discussed further in this chapter).

Sample description

The research focused on biological or non-biological parent and child dyads within the same family. As discussed previously, 13 participant dyads (26 individuals) were involved in the study. The sample frame involved participant children aged between 10–11 years old. There was no specific age requirement for the participant parents. The parents varied in age between 36–52 years old. Children within this age group were chosen as a result of the

application of Piaget's cognitive development theory (Sigelman et al., 2013). As noted in Chapter 2, according to Piaget, children aged between 7 and 11 years old are considered to be in the "concrete operations" developmental phase, therefore have difficulty with abstract problem-solving, yet are still logical thinkers (Sigelman et al., 2013). Piaget's theories suggest that children over the age of 11 years are considered more able to decipher fairness and consider the other person's perspective (Sigelman et al., 2013). Children in the concrete operations phase may indicate that they would find it challenging to consider the other person's perspective in conjunction with their own. Participant recruitment could have been extended to include children aged seven to eleven, however, I wanted to narrow the focus and consider children close to Piaget's "formal operations" (Sigelman et al., 2013) developmental phase without the children being formally categorised within this phase according to Piaget's theories. This allowed me to explore the DE with participants in potentially different stages of cognitive ability, without a significant variation in development, and consider whether children within a specific developmental phase had different DE interpretations. Therefore, Piaget's model was used as a guide only.

The recruitment process did not focus on recruiting participants from a particular cultural or ethnic background, however, I wanted to provide an opportunity for anyone who met the sample criteria to be involved. The primary sample selection criteria involved the recruitment of children within the age range specified and willing to partake with their parent or caregiver. Child participants were excluded if they were outside the age range or had any significant cognitive developmental or psychological issues. This criterion was imposed to minimise any inconsistencies when comparing the data. The adult participant criteria included the need to be either a significant or primary caregiver to the participant child and if necessary have permission to participate in the study. All participants needed to be able to communicate in English and have access to Skype, phone or be available for in-person interviews.

The participant dyads involved in this study were biologically related in the form of a parent–child relationship. One dyad involved in the study lived in a single parent household (parents were divorced). Yet, the primary focus of the research was concerned with the dynamic between the participant parent and their child in relation to a DE, therefore any further extraneous data gained from other family members, unless directly involved in the DE was excluded. Table 3 provides a summary of the demographics for the participant dyads.

Table 3. Demographic data for the participants involved in the study

Dyad	Parent name[1]	Child name	Relationship between parent and child	Nationality identification	Living environment	Recruitment method
1	Linda	Cory	Mother/son	Canadian/New Zealand	Single parent house	School contact
2	Natalie	Lisa	Mother/daughter	Pākehā	Two parent house	School contact
3	Dana	Andrew	Mother/son	Serbian/New Zealand	Two parent house	Sporting club
4	Nancy	Steve	Mother/son	Pākehā	Two parent house	Letter box drop
5	Shane	Catherine	Father/daughter	Pākehā	Two parent house	Word of mouth
6	Jackie	Lucy	Mother/daughter	Pākehā	Two parent house	Word of mouth
7	Elaine	Sasha	Mother/daughter	Dutch/New Zealand	Two parent house	Sporting club
8	Diane	Greg	Mother/son	Pākehā	Two parent house	Facebook contact
9	Sally	Joshee Bear	Mother/son	Pākehā	Two parent house	Facebook contact
10	Suzie	Zed	Mother/son	Pākehā	Two parent house	Facebook contact
11	Jane	Rachael	Mother/daughter	Pākehā	Two parent house	Facebook contact
12	Carin	Susan	Mother/daughter	Pākehā	Two parent house	Online parenting forum
13	Janet	Izzy	Mother/daughter	Pākehā	Two parent house	Word of mouth

Focus and process of the study

The study focused on one DE that occurred between a child and their parent. For the purposes of this study, a DE was defined as any specific interaction between a parent and their child that included negative responses or behaviours such as shouting, non-compliance or disruptive behaviour towards a member of the family and as a result experienced negative

[1] All participant names used in this study are pseudonyms.

feelings. The seriousness of the DE was considered unimportant as the focus of the study was on the negative experience irrespective of the intensity. In other words, the DE was considered sufficient for the purposes of the study if there was a catalyst (something specifically happened) and as a result of this catalyst there was an interaction that caused conflict and involved the participant child or other members of the family, but must also include the parent.

An initial pilot interview with a non-participant, but willing child and parent was conducted prior to the commencement of the study's formal recruitment process. The pilot interview provided me with the opportunity to assess the data collection process. It became apparent that it was important to conduct the participant parent's interview before the child's interview. The interview with the non-participant child highlighted a potential concern regarding disclosure of information. The non-participant child indicated they may have been embarrassed or withheld information regarding the DE. This non-disclosure may have been for a number of reasons such as unwillingness, inability to be reflective or a sense of loyalty towards their parent. Indeed, interviewing the parent first allowed me to gently probe the child accordingly, asking open-ended questions according to themes from the interview guide in order to minimise emotional uncomfortableness and to obtain helpful data. Once the participants were recruited and assessed according to the sample criteria the following process occurred:

1. Participant Information Sheets (PIS) for parents (Appendix F) and children (Appendix G) and Consent forms for parents (Appendix H) and on behalf of their children (Appendix I), and an Assent form for children (Appendix J) were sent either by mail or delivered in-person.
2. The parents signed the Consent forms on their own behalf and on behalf of their children. Their children signed the Assent form.
3. The CDE (Appendix A) was posted or hand delivered to the participant child.
4. Once the forms were completed and returned to me the parent and child dyad identified a DE they felt comfortable enough to discuss with me.
5. The participant parent contacted me directly within 24–48 hours of the DE occurring and separate interviews were conducted, first with the parent and then with the child participants. As discussed previously, it was important for the interview process to be completed as soon as possible, but within the 24–48-hour period to ensure the recollection of the DE was relatively current therefore lessoning the risk of the study

becoming a retrospective study with the risk of altered memory perceptions (as discussed in Chapter 2).

6. As mentioned previously, the parent interview was completed prior to the child interview. My knowledge of the DE from the parent was not discussed with their participant child, however, I used it to help guide the participant child interviews, particularly if the child appeared reluctant or concerned to provide some details of the DE.

7. The participant interviews were conducted by me and used communication methods such as Skype, in-person or phone. Each interview took 20–30 minutes.

8. The PRQ was administered on the participant parent at the completion of the parent and child interviews, but within the same time period of the interview process. I administered the PRQ process after the interviews to ensure that the recall and discussion of the DE by the parent was not influenced in any way by the PRQ process. If the PRQ process were to have been conducted prior to the interview, the parent may have reflected on their own behaviour which may have influenced their responses during the interview.

9. The participant children completed the voluntary CDE form in their own home immediately after the DE had occurred. The CDE was posted back to my home address in a pre-stamped envelope. To ensure consistency between dyads the CDE was not discussed with the child at the time of the interviews as not all of the completed CDE forms had been received at the time of the interview.

10. On completion of the interview process and the PRQ, each of the participant children were given a $20 voucher from Whitcoulls, Paper Plus, the Warehouse or iTunes. The completion and return of the CDE was not relevant to receiving the voucher given the CDE was voluntary. The participant children and parents had been informed in advance that the children were to receive a $20 voucher at the completion of the interview process.

Process/Timing of interviews and ethical considerations

Interview location and logistics

The majority of the study was conducted within the geographical region of Auckland, New Zealand. However, one New Zealand born participant dyad resided in Australia, having just moved from Auckland two months prior to the commencement of the study. Further participants were situated in New Zealand, but were located outside the Auckland region. The research was conducted as a field study, where a DE occurred in the participants' own

environment, i.e., in their own residential home. The participants chose the interview time and location (the participant's own home or at an alternative location), but it needed to occur within the 24–48-hour period. The participant also chose the mode for the interview, such as Skype, phone or in-person.

Ethical Considerations

This study was granted ethics approval by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 6th January 2014, Reference Number 010645.

When undertaking qualitative interpretive research, investigators need to adhere to various codes of ethics (Greig et al., 2013). Qualitative researchers are more likely to tap into an individual's or group's personal and/or sensitive topics. Researchers need to consider how their study will impact on a person's life and whether there is a risk of exploitation (Hennink et al., 2011). In addition to ethical requirements for adults, including children and young people in research as "competent social actors" introduces a number of ethical considerations for researchers (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). Investigators undertaking research with young children need to pay particular attention to their needs prior to the commencement of any study (Tinson, 2009). Children's position within society often renders them more vulnerable and therefore powerless to act on their rights within the research field (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). It is important for researchers to be aware of any misinterpretations regarding the research environment and provide a setting that will empower young people to make informed choices (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). Therefore, researchers need to anticipate potential concerns held by young participants, such as transparency regarding the research process and outcomes, and be reflexive in their approach during and post the investigation (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). Freeman and Mathison (2009) suggests that for researchers to undertake ethical interactions with children, they need to pay attention to their needs, listen, seek clarification and enable the children to feel comfortable to ask questions and discuss concerns. The researcher also needs to ensure that data collection methods do not deliberately cause children to become emotional and need to be age appropriate (Sargeant & Harcourt, 2012). When designing this study, I was especially cognisant of the following ethical imperatives: consent and assent; informed dissent; privacy; anonymity, confidentiality; reciprocity; power and moral obligations; and the role of the researcher.

Consent and assent

Concepts and theory

Researchers need to provide potential participants with appropriate information relating to their involvement in the study (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). The governing ethos for any study is to cause no harm to those involved (Berg, 2008; Hennink et al., 2011). Individuals need to be willing participants, in other words, should not be forced or coerced and give their consent freely (Hennink et al., 2011). Consent for children, particularly younger children to participate in research is typically negotiated with adults, yet adults' beliefs regarding children may conflict with this process, for example, adults' notions that children are indeed incompetent and vulnerable may impact on their decision-making (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). Children need to be considered as competent social actors, as suggested previously, and need to be given the opportunity to provide their consent, or where applicable, assent in conjunction with the consent of their parent or guardian (Tinson, 2009). Assent is normally warranted from children aged 16 years or younger (Tinson, 2009). Prior to consent, all participants, including young people, need to be aware of what it is they are consenting to (Tinson, 2009). The consent process should also involve the researcher providing the potential participants with research knowledge pertaining to how and why their involvement is valued (Patton, 2002). It is also important for the researcher to be aware that how children perceive their involvement in research differs, for example, the consent process, or indeed the dissent process is understood differently (Freeman & Mathison, 2009).

Ethics process

Firstly, as stated previously, a PIS was provided for both the parent and child participants. If the PIS forms were mailed to the participants, the parents discussed the forms with the child participating in the study. I was also in contact by phone to discuss the study requirements. If the PIS forms were hand delivered I discussed the forms with the participant parent and child. My contact details were provided to each participant should they have had any concerns or queries relating to the study. During this initial period, and again prior to the interviews, I spent time, particularly with the child participants, explaining they could contact me at any time to discuss their thoughts or withdraw from the study. No child or parent participants contacted me with any queries. Parents consented on their own behalf and on behalf of their child and the child's informed assent was gained for this study as the participant children were under 16 years of age (Tinson, 2009). In addition to the initial consent process, as information was withheld from the participants prior to the data

collection process (with their knowledge), it was not until the interviews were completed, the PRQ was undertaken and I had received the CDE that I could explain the primary purpose of the study. I therefore needed to reconfirm (verbally) consent and assent with the participants after this explanation. No participants withdrew from the study following this process.

Permission to record the interviews was sought from the participants. All participants provided their consent to record the interviews. It was also emphasised to the participants that the recording device could be switched off at any stage during the interview, and the participants could withdraw (dissent) from the interview process, or indeed the study, at any time.

Informed dissent

Concepts and theory

Similar to assent, where children have a choice to participate, it is their right to also have a choice to withdraw at any stage during the research process (Tinson, 2009). It is important for researchers to provide this option, using the appropriate language, that children will identify with and feel empowered to withdraw from the research process without fear of judgement or any other concern (Tinson, 2009). In addition, the nature of some qualitative investigations may cause some of the participants to disclose information that could trigger trauma and/or negative feelings and as a result behave emotionally during the data collection stage. Researchers are therefore encouraged to check in with the participants to ascertain how they would like to proceed, or indeed if they would like to halt the data collection process (Hennink et al., 2011).

Ethics process

As discussed previously, 15 participant parents initially provided consent on their own behalf and that of their children, and 15 participant children initially provided their assent, therefore a total of 30 individual participants were formally recruited for the study. Two children withdrew from the study prior to any data collection. Their parents discussed their child's concerns with me. Both children indicated that they felt too shy to discuss a DE and asked to withdraw from the study. A total of two children, and therefore their parents, dissented from the research process and 13 participant dyads remained.

Privacy, anonymity and confidentiality

Concepts and theory

Protecting the privacy of research participants is a necessity (Patton, 2002). The consent and assent process also involves the researcher providing reassurance to participants that their identity and shared data will remain confidential and/or anonymous (Tinson, 2009). Anonymity and confidentiality are two different concepts (Hennink et al., 2011). Anonymity refers to the removal of any data, including names that may disclose the participant's identity even from the researcher (Hennink et al., 2011). Confidentiality, however, usually involves the researcher knowing the identity of the participant (which is common, particularly in qualitative research), but data identifying the participant to external parties is changed, for example, using pseudonyms and changing any data that might identify the participants (Tinson, 2009). However, irrespective of any prior agreement or understanding between the researcher and the participant, there are times where keeping information confidential can cause conflict for the researcher and the participant (Tinson, 2009), for example, the researcher learning that a participant, particularly a child, is being physically harmed or is in an unsafe environment. This situation becomes both a "professional and moral obligation" for the researcher to raise concerns (Tinson, 2009).

Ethics process

The participant parents' and children's identities and confidentiality were protected as much as possible. I was the only person who met with all the participants, therefore their identities were not completely anonymous. The participants could either choose a pseudonym or I provided one on their behalf with their permission. One participant child chose "Joshee Bear" as a pseudonym and the remaining participant parents and children were allocated names by me. Further data that could potentially identify the participant, such as the names of sports clubs, schools or specific geographical locations were also changed during data analysis and reporting. I discussed with the participants (both parents and children) the need to disclose any concerns relating to their safety to the appropriate agency, but this would be done with their knowledge and as a result of a transparent process. All the participants were comfortable with this knowledge.

Reciprocity

Concepts and theory

Freeman and Mathison (2009) believe that investigators should consider how to give back to, and how the research could benefit, the participants. For example, reciprocity could simply entail providing children with the opportunity to express their thoughts and feelings with someone who is interested in their perspective (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). It is also common to compensate adults for their time involved in research, therefore, children should also be the recipient of such payment or compensation (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). In addition, reciprocity is concerned with how the researcher gives back to the community, for example, sharing findings with relevant authorities or agencies and other professional sectors (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). Where appropriate, researchers are encouraged to provide the findings in a format useful to the participants such as a generalised flyer or a summary of the findings (Hennink et al., 2011). Indeed, Hennink et al. (2011) state that when the findings have been considered, it is helpful for the researcher to reflect on how they might benefit an identified group or the wider population.

Ethics process

Reciprocity for this study involved providing the participant parents, and particularly the participant children, the opportunity to share their voice and perspective on an experience (DE) they were personally involved in. At the beginning of the interviews, many of the participant children indicated that the discussion would be brief and they would only need five minutes. The children initially provided a brief description of the DE, however, all the children's interviews were at least 20 minutes long. The children were willing to discuss the DE at length, and disclosed further personal information relating to how they felt about their lives. I was also committed to providing feedback to the parents and children regarding the DE without breaking confidentiality should they request the information. On completion of the data collection with each dyad, I spent time with parents (and children if they requested) and discussed the study's primary objective (initially withheld from the participants as discussed previously). As a result, many of the parents indicated that they had not considered their child's perspective, which surprised them. Indeed, some of the parents thought about the DE process slightly differently post interview, and were aware of their lack of regard for their child's perspective during the DE. This potential insight may provide a catalyst for further understanding by the parent for their child's position or the nature and process of

DEs in general. I am also considering writing a mainstream parenting book that would provide a new parenting and discipline paradigm and model (discussed in Chapter 7).

Power and moral obligation

Concepts and theory

Children aged between 8 and 11 years, as a result of their learnt social expectations will more than likely feel vulnerable or less powerful to adult researchers (Tinson, 2009). Children in this age group are thought to have difficulty assimilating their own perspectives while appreciating alternative ones. Children in this age bracket may also misunderstand the researcher's requirements (Roedder, 1999), and it is therefore imperative for researchers to provide a safe and age appropriate environment.

Ethics process

It was important for the participant children to understand that I was not an additional adult who could reprimand or judge their behaviour and thoughts. My role as the researcher included maintaining empathic neutrality. I explained to the participants that my objective was to listen to their narrative, which would not be discussed with anyone else within the family, and if their experiences were discussed externally it would only relate to the objectives of the study and confidentiality would be kept and they would not be identified. One participant child was willing to undertake an interview with me, but appeared reluctant to disclose specific information in any detail relating to the DE during the interview process. I discussed the observed reluctance with the child and asked the child if they wanted to withdraw from the interview process or from the study. The participant child was willing to continue, however, I was mindful of the questions and the duration of the interview. I ensured that the questions were broad, i.e., required less personal disclosure regarding the DE and reduced the length of the interview. The data collected from this interview was not compromised and was included in the thematic analysis process. The remaining participant children were willing to disclose information and appeared relatively comfortable with the process of the study.

Role of the Researcher

Emotional interactions and reflexivity

Concepts and theory

Qualitative and quantitative research incorporates the role of the researcher in a number of different ways (Patton, 2002). The qualitative researcher is included as a data collection tool

and co-constructs meanings with the participant as a result of the investigators constructed meanings (Patton, 2002; Tracy, 2013). For example, within the social constructionism and interpretivism paradigm, the researcher's own personal background (cultural, historical and social influences) impacts on and shapes their interpretation of the observable phenomena (Creswell, 2013). The participant and the researcher almost play a dual role, being the observer and the observed, simultaneously (Grieg et al., 2007). Grieg et al. (2007) state that both the participants and the researcher each have their own interpretations and understanding. These perspectives are most likely shaped at an unconscious level.

Indeed, investigators undertaking qualitative research are themselves an "instrument" and the credibility of the study relies heavily on the researcher's competence (Patton, 2002) and reflexive nature both during and post data collection (McLeod, 2011). Creswell (2013) believes that the researcher is concerned with how to make sense or interpret other's environmental experiences. It is important for the researcher to be aware of their biases and goals because the researchers own frame of reference will be reflected throughout the study (Gergen, 2015). When research involves children and adolescents, the co-construction of meaning with the researcher occurs from the participant recruitment phase through to the completion of the research, and occurs within the context of the participants and the researcher's own beliefs and expectations regarding social interactions and expected normative behaviour between adults and children (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). The researcher's ability to be reflexive when working with children is even more critical to the study's outcome, as investigators need to challenge their conjecture regarding their thoughts and expectations of children (Freeman & Mathison, 2009).

Ethical process

Attachment theory (Bowlby, 1998) and person-centred therapy (Rogers, 1995) underpins my philosophies and ethos particularly within a clinical setting. Furthermore, a DE could be considered an emotional and/or a private familial matter thereby increasing the possibility of emotional responses from either the parent or the child participants, therefore reflexivity was important throughout the research process. I needed to be aware of my potential biases toward particular parenting practices that could influence my perspective during data collection and analysis stages. It was imperative to reflect on the collected data to ensure the findings were not skewed towards any specific parenting philosophies, particularly my own parenting practices and theories.

I personally undertook all aspects of the participant recruitment, data collection, transcribing of interview data, and thematic analysis interpretation, however, knowing the risks of biases and perception filters I discussed my observations and analysis with external professionals and my supervisory team, and relied and reflected on feedback regarding data interpretation from my supervisory team. Some of the participant children's narratives were difficult to listen to, as were some of the participant parents as they discussed harsh discipline methods. At times I heard about unfair and punitive parent–child interactions, yet I was not in a position to effect change, particularly in that moment. One participant child explained the parent's discipline protocols (overheard by the parent standing outside the room at the time of the interview without permission), and although the child was not in an unsafe environment I was aware that an intervention, such as parent discipline education may be beneficial to the parent–child relationship, which could potentially impact on the child's wellbeing. I was aware, however, that my immediate objective was to gather data for analysis. Thus, on completion of the data collection, I provided an opportunity for parents to discuss any concerns relating to discipline and provided contact details should the participant parent want access to further parent education or counselling. For the dyad mentioned previously, I offered the participant child and parent the opportunity to make contact should they need to discuss discipline practices or need any further assistance. The participant parent and child remained Skype contacts for a longer duration after the data collection process was completed, compared with the remaining participants. In doing so, the parent and child had access to me should they require additional information relating to discipline education or support. The participant parent and child did not get in touch with me. If the participant child had made contact, I would have discussed any relevant concerns they may have had about the study or discipline, and if necessary gained permission from the child to discuss their concerns further with their parent. Where appropriate, I would have referred the parent and child to an external advisor or agency. I also had a quick discussion with the participant child and parent well after the completion of the study to say goodbye and removed them both from my Skype contacts. The situation did not warrant any further action by me in relation to safety, it was therefore appropriate to finalise the contact.

Thematic Analysis

Gerald Holton, a German born philosopher of science first developed a thematic analysis (TA) approach in the 1970s, however, in 2006 Braun and Clarke identified, named and claimed TA as a specific qualitative method for "social sciences" (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Indeed, within the realm of qualitative research, TA is now commonly utilised for data

analysis (Bryman, 2012). Thematic analysis was considered an appropriate data analysis method for this study as it can identify, analyse and report patterns or themes and enable the researcher to interpret what might be occurring beneath the surface (Boyatzis, 1998). Thematic analysis is thought to be unique in that it can be used just as a method for data analysis and provide "flexibility" to answer almost any qualitative research question (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

Thematic analysis looks beyond simply numerically counting words or phrases, but instead captures ideas, nuances and themes and lends itself to describing complexities and meaning as told by the participants' own stories (Guest et al., 2012). Boyatzis (1998) believes that TA is a way of "seeing", for example, when a researcher identifies an emerging pattern from the data that could be described, organised and interpreted. Thematic analysis provides a systematic process, therefore rigour, for investigators to utilise when deconstructing a number of environments such as people, events and organisations (Boyatzis, 1998). This systematic process increases the potential for accuracy, while capturing nuances in a sensitive manner (Patton, 2002). Research that incorporates children's voices is thought to empower and support their wellbeing (Greig et al., 2007). Thematic analysis can prioritise and acknowledge the importance of the child's voice and offer freedom and flexibility to consider their rich account of an event when analysing the data on different levels (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The TA process enables the researcher to delve into the meaning of children's and their parents' experiences within the context of the family environment (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Qualitative research typically involves questions to be answered by respondents and these responses are coded and analysed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher codes and analyses this data across the dataset in search of patterns and meanings to identify themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis considers at what "level" the themes need to be identified. A theme may emerge from any level of data, such as the "manifest level", considered to be a direct observation or "latent level", thought to be information at the foundation of the phenomenon (Boyatzis, 1998). Braun and Clarke (2006) also describe these levels and suggest that themes can be identified at different levels and different forms such as "semantic" (explicit) or "latent" (interpretative) themes. This study worked at analysing the themes at both levels (latent and semantic) as each level was able to provide valuable insight, offering information at the explicit level and the ability to consider the potential interpretation of the phenomenon at the latent level (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Observing the data at both the latent and manifest levels allowed me to consider the participants' voices in as many capacities as possible (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

Development of thematic analysis categories

The development of patterns and themes from the data commenced on completion of both the semi-structured parent and child interviews, the participant parent PRQ, and the return of the completed CDE from the participant children. The CDE was included in the thematic analysis process and was therefore considered alongside the data from the semi-structured interviews and coded according to Braun and Clarke's (2013) thematic analysis process, discussed below. The PRQ was not included in the thematic analysis process, but was analysed following the specific steps outlined in the PRQ instruction booklet created by Kamphaus and Reynolds (2006), and included in the findings in conjunction with the thematic analysis findings.

The initial coding analysis

Qualitative research utilities a number of methods to analyse data (Tracy, 2013). The constructionist TA approach considers how people construct their experiences and meanings according to their environment and sociocultural behaviours (Braun & Clarke, 2013). A constructionist TA approach was used to identify themes from the dataset that were relevant to the research questions. The parents' and children's interviews were coded separately, prior to identifying patterns in conjunction with the PRQ results. Both the parent and child datasets undertook the following qualitative analysis process as outlined within Braun and Clarke's (2013) seven key TA steps:

1. Transcribing - Twenty-six semi-structured interviews were transcribed to enable familiarisation and consistency through the analysis process. Transcribing can be completed in numerous ways, but for the purposes of this study an orthographic transcription (verbatim) style was used (Braun & Clarke, 2013).
2. Familiarisation of transcripts – qualitative data analysis requires the researcher to immerse themselves within the transcripts, reading and rereading and critically analysing the data looking for anomalies and points of interest (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The researcher needs to consider assumptions made by the participants, what might be going on for the participant and how they interpret their experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Having transcribed the interviews, I read and reread the data and created initial themes related to my interpretative observations, such as how the children were represented (i.e., their voice) during and post the DE, and how their

interactions or behaviour may have impacted on the discipline environment. I initially looked for patterns of behaviour prior to coding. I considered the DE from a variety of perspectives and looked for alternative meanings to build on the familiarisation process.

3. <u>Coding</u> – involves one of two approaches (selective or complete coding) and is a process whereby the researcher considers patterns in the data that may relate to the research question(s) (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Complete coding was undertaken for this study where all the data, rather than specific data, were initially coded. A code could be defined as a word or small phrase that garners a relevant meaning. The parent and child transcripts for this study were analysed and coded separately, i.e., parents' interviews were coded as a group, as were the children's interviews, looking for patterns across the dataset and categorised and coded accordingly. The CDE findings were included in the child interview analysis.

4. <u>Identifying initial themes</u> – A review of the codes was completed and initial themes were identified. A theme is considered to have a common and valid thread that enables the organisation of codes and is considered to be an active process (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The parent's codes and the child's codes were considered separately. Similar codes were grouped to create a theme. Themes were formed to represent a pattern of behaviour or interpretation of the meaning of behaviour.

5. <u>Review of developing themes</u> – Once the initial themes were completed, a review was undertaken to ensure the relevancy and the appropriateness of the thematic relationships in relation to the research objectives and questions. Major themes with associated sub-themes were identified. To gain further insight and interpret the data, it was necessary to consider the sub-themes in a broader context, in other words, the relationship between each of the sub-themes. To help achieve a rigorous and systematic process, the sub-themes were grouped under the main themes (hierarchical), yet were considered as equal (lateral) components within the TA process. The themes and sub-themes were categorised into a two-tiered process, i.e., major themes were generated with one additional layer of sub-themes. The codes were discussed with my university supervisors and external advisors to ensure relevancy to the study and a continuation of the rigorous process.

6. <u>Confirming and naming themes</u> – Braun and Clarke (2013) suggest that the themes are named so they "… tell a story that 'rings true' with the data … (p. 233)". The

themes were finalised and named according to my interpretation of the phenomena associated with the theme.

7. <u>Writing and analysis</u> – Definitions were defined and created for each theme and sub-theme, to enable clarity and focus and provide comprehensible insight and meaningful patterns associated with the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2013). These findings are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Conclusion

This chapter provided a rationale for the ontological, epistemological and methodological framework for this study and how the subsequent data collection tools were utilised within this paradigm. Ethical considerations and processes were also discussed. The study utilised a qualitative, therefore emic, social constructivist and interpretative approach and utilised appropriate qualitative data collection methods with the additional etic (objective) tool (questionnaire) to provide insight into a common familial phenomenon, being a DE. A thematic analysis process in conjunction with the analysis of the questionnaire results was used to consider the data gathered from the 13 participant parent and child dyads, and to explore themes relating to the parent and child DE interactions and relational health.

Chapter 4: Dyad Vignettes

Introduction

This chapter provides vignettes based on the parent–child dyadic DE experiences. The vignettes illustrate the nature of the communication pattern or sequence of events that occurred between the parent and child pre, during and post the DE. The vignettes also provide the results of the PRQ (as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6) that was undertaken by all the participant parents, and relates to the relationship health of the dyad (as discussed in Chapter 3). The PRQ (Kamphaus & Reynolds, 2006) flagged potential issues within the dyad relationship according to different categories relating to Attachment, Communication, Discipline Practices, Involvement, Parenting Confidence and Relational Frustration. The Attachment category considers the closeness of the relationship and evaluates parental awareness. Communication explores how the parent and child communicate and is evaluated according to how and what the child communicates with their parent. Discipline Practices refers to the consistency of consequences implemented by the parents. Involvement considers the activities undertaken together by both the parent and child, and considers how often the parent participates in activities with their child. Parenting Confidence refers to how comfortable parents feel in their role, and Relational Frustration explores stress levels experienced by the parent in relation to their child's behaviour. The PRQ scores provided a percentile rating for each category. If the score was below the 40th percentile for the Attachment, Communication, Discipline Practices, Involvement, and Parenting Confidence categories, this indicated a potential issue within the relationship relating to the specific topic. Similarly, if the participant scored above the 60th percentile for the Relational Frustration category, this indicated a potential issue within the relationship relating to this topic. The PRQ results presented at the end of each vignette highlight potential issues within the particular parent–child relationship, and enable the reader to consider the dyadic DE interaction with the awareness of the potential relationship concerns. Pseudonyms, as discussed in Chapter 3, have been used in this chapter and throughout the thesis for each of the participant parents and children to protect their privacy.

Dyad 1 Vignette: Trampoline and Stick Incident

Ten-year-old Cory lives predominantly with his mother (Linda) and younger brother, and every second weekend with his father. The DE occurred at his mother's house. Cory was playing with his younger brother and friends outside, on and around the trampoline. Cory

found a long stick in the back yard and believed the stick would be a useful tool to take to the park to use when tobogganing down the grass on cardboard. Cory placed the stick on the ground and jumped on to the trampoline. Cory's intention (as indicated during the interview), was to use the stick much like a person would use ski poles when snow skiing. Cory's mother (Linda) had noted that Cory had found the stick and was concerned it would be used as a "*weapon*". Cory's mother took action while Cory was on the trampoline, and without discussion or negotiation with Cory, took the stick away, broke it into pieces and disposed of it. Cory observed this process and felt "*frustrated*" and "*angry*" and pleaded with his mother to stop. Although Linda believed that the stick would be used as a weapon and feared someone would get hurt, Cory was adamant that the stick would have been used for its intended purpose (a tool for tobogganing). Linda explained in the interview "…*I thought he was going to hit Cole* (younger brother) *with it…*". Linda believed there was a historic pattern of Cole antagonising his younger brother, however, on this occasion, Linda was unaware of the stick's intended use, as she had not asked for Cory's perspective.

Linda indicated during the interview process that she would not have changed her behaviour during the DE, as she believed she had remained calm with Cory, an attribute she valued and based her parenting performance on. Cory, irrespective of his intentions for the stick and whether his mother asked for his perspective, explained during the interview that next time he would listen to his mother. Cory also believed he behaved poorly towards his mother, however, he would have preferred his mother to have trusted him with the stick. Furthermore, Cory believed that his mother behaved in a way a parent should, and rationalised his mother's behaviour. Cory suggested that his mother was simply concerned for his wellbeing and thought something might happen to him if he kept the stick. For example, "*cause she was scared ... sort of ... that something was going to happen to me*". Cory felt frustrated and sad during the DE and mentioned, "*I told her to stop doing it because I wanted to play with it ... yeah ... and then she just kept breaking it*". Post DE, Linda explained to Cory her rationale regarding the stick. Cory went to the park without the stick, but still felt sad and frustrated.

PRQ Category Issue	Percentile
Parenting Confidence	32nd
Relational Frustration	76th

Dyad 2 Vignette: Combing of Hair Incident

Lisa is an 11-year-old and lives with her mother (Natalie), father, older sister and younger brother and sister. On the night of the DE, Lisa had just washed her hair and wrapped it in a towel. Natalie wanted Lisa to comb her hair rather than leave it in a towel wrapped around her head. Lisa preferred to leave her hair in the towel to allow her hair to dry a little more before she combed it. Natalie indicated during the interview that it was her belief that Lisa was reluctant to comb her hair because she wanted to spend more time on her iPod. In other words, Lisa had an ulterior motive. Lisa explained that it was easier to comb her hair if it was not as wet, and explained that on previous occasions her mother had asked her to leave her hair in the towel to dry further because it was easier to comb when damp and not completely wet. Lisa felt confused by her mother's request to comb her wet hair and indicated in the interview "*I was kind of confused when she said comb your hair now and I said but it's not damp*".

Natalie suggested during the interview when asked to reflect that on future occasions, if a similar event arose, she would try and compromise and allow her daughter to have her hair in the towel for a longer period of time. Natalie indicated an inherent parenting belief when she mentioned that she was frustrated with Lisa and believed that she should have combed her hair when asked. Natalie explained, "*yeah ... a bit frustrated ... and just do it cause I am telling you to*". Although Lisa had expectations based on historic experiences, and her mother did not request her perspective, Lisa also indicated an inherent belief regarding her familial position and felt she had been "*cheeky*" because she had argued with her mother. Lisa also explained that she understood her mother's directives, yet would have preferred her mother to hear her perspective.

PRQ Category Issue	Percentile
Attachment	34th
Communication	30th
Discipline Practices	26th

Dyad 3 Vignette: iPad and School Incident

Andrew is a 10-year-old boy who lives with his mother (Dana), father and sibling. The DE occurred on a school morning. Andrew was asked by his mother to get out of bed and have breakfast in the kitchen downstairs. Dana called Andrew several times before going upstairs to talk to Andrew directly. Dana was annoyed to find Andrew still in his pyjamas, in bed and

on his iPad. As a consequence of Andrew's actions, Dana took Andrew's iPad away from him and instructed him to get up. Dana explained during the interview that Andrew was upset that he did not have time to "*save*" his latest updates on his iPad before it was removed. Dana explained that she did not pay any attention to Andrew's concerns and removed his iPad regardless. Dana believed that Andrew's primary motivation for staying in bed was to play on his 'city' on his iPad, and regarded Andrew as old enough to know better. Dana explained during the interview, "… *he is 10 and he should know*". Dana did not get Andrew's perspective during or post the DE, but explained to Andrew after the DE the importance of being on time for school.

When Dana was asked to reflect on her DE response during the interview she indicated that she would not change how she behaved, but wondered whether her expectations for him, based on his age, were too high. Dana also stated that it was an appropriate way to respond to Andrew because sometimes there is very little time to do it [discipline children] any other way. Andrew's recollection of events for the DE was slightly different. Although Andrew believed and indicated during the interview that he was "*kind of naughty*" he actually did get up after his mother's second request. It was not until after breakfast, when he should have been getting ready for school, that he watched a video on his iPad. Dana, according to Andrew, asked him to get off the iPad, but he explained to his mother that he wanted to finish watching one video. Andrew also indicated that his mother growled at him and "*snatched*" the iPad off him and put it out of reach. Andrew went to the car, but remained silent because he did not want his mother to get "*angrier*" and did not want his father to get involved. Andrew explained that he did not need his mother to behave differently if a similar incident were to occur in the future. Indeed, Andrew believed that it was his behaviour that needed to change and that if a similar incident occurred in the future he would listen to his mother and do as asked the first time. Andrew was concerned for his mother's wellbeing during the DE and was sad to see his mother angry. Andrew apologised for his behaviour later in the day, yet he acknowledged during the interview that he also felt a bit angry because there were only a couple of minutes left to watch on his video.

No issues were highlighted in the Parenting Relationship Questionnaire.

Dyad 4 Vignette: Lego and Homework Incident

Steve is an 11-year-old boy who lives with his mother (Nancy), father and sibling. Steve was involved in a DE with his mother. Steve was playing Lego and reading at home when his

mother asked him to complete his school homework, which included spelling and maths. Nancy explained during the interview that she only asked Steve to complete two things at a time as he had difficulty retaining any further instructions. Nancy explained that on this occasion, Steve had only completed half of his homework before returning to play with his Lego and read. Nancy believed that Steve was only motivated to play on his computer or with his Lego as opposed to completing any of his homework. Steve had a different interpretation and indicated during the interview that he was asked to complete his homework and tidy up his clothes, which he thought he had completed. Nancy discussed with Steve that he had not completed all his homework and was frustrated with his attitude. Steve tried to explain to his mother that he had genuinely forgotten to undertake the tasks. Nancy did not ask for Steve's perspective and was not interested in Steve's explanation.

During the interview, Nancy was asked to reflect on her behaviour. Nancy mentioned that she felt bad she had shouted at Steve, but acknowledged that she did not "*agonise*" about it for too long. Nancy indicated possible inherent beliefs about the nature of children and explained that "*… homework needs to be done, he is 10 years old, he should know that*". Nancy also suggested that "*… it is reasonable that if you ask kids to do stuff that they should do what they are told*" and that she "*… expects a certain amount of compliance. I don't expect to have to repeat myself*". Although Nancy indicated during the interview that she observed Steve's emotional reaction when she shouted at him, she also indicated that it was really Steve's responsibility to deal with it by changing his behaviour. For example, Nancy explained "*he hates it when I shout at him. His little face crumbles. It does bother him, but he kind of should know it's coming ... in my mind he doesn't do enough to ward it off*".

Steve felt he genuinely forgot his homework and felt punished by his mother for simply being forgetful, as opposed to behaving in a non-compliant manner. Steve also felt very annoyed with how his mother behaved and believed that she had been unfair. Yet, Steve also demonstrated empathy for his mother's position, and explained that his mother was in a stressful situation when his father was away on business. Although Steve stated that he was happy with his behaviour, and although his perspective was not requested by his mother, he indicated that he would behave differently next time by utilising a system to help him with his forgetfulness. Steve explained that the system would involve placing a piece of Lego in a specific place or position, such as putting a piece of Lego sideways, which would serve as a reminder to complete his homework. Steve believed that by using this system it would have avoided the argument with his mother.

PRQ Category Issue	Percentile
Attachment	38th
Communication	29th
Discipline Practices	28th
Involvement	35th
Parenting Confidence	26th
Relational Frustration	63rd

Dyad 5 Vignette: Maths Homework Incident

Ten-year-old Catherine lives with her mother and father (Shane). The DE involved Catherine and her father. Catherine needed to complete her maths homework. According to Catherine, her father has particular skills in the subject of maths and Catherine needed his help. Shane indicated during the interview that Catherine had difficulty with maths and he felt a little apprehensive about helping Catherine as she found it stressful when undertaking her math homework. Shane also discussed that he had his own way for completing math equations, which according to Catherine was different to the way she was taught at school. Catherine explained that her father wanted her to complete the maths equations using his system. Catherine was frustrated with this process, which she expressed to her father. Shane believed that Catherine was stressed prior to the homework as a result of an incident at school and thought she was tired and grumpy.

While Shane was trying to help Catherine he suggested that if she didn't want to listen then he wouldn't help, for example, "*if you can't listen to me, I can't help you*". Shane explained that Catherine then called him a "*retard*". As a result, Shane left the room and muttered, "*I don't think I am the fucking retard*". Shane explained during the interview that he was concerned that Catherine overheard his response and was upset with him for calling her a retard. Catherine indicated that her frustration was a result of her father creating a different question out of the math problem as opposed to being called a retard. Catherine believed that her father was frustrated with her as he said "… *well I am sorry I am not helping you anymore cause you are getting all angry at me so don't ask me the question again and blah, blah, blah …*". As a result, Catherine "*stormed*" off. Furthermore, Catherine only called her father a "*retard*" as a result of her father swearing when he stopped helping her. Catherine explained that her father said "… *fuck I am not helping you anymore …*". Catherine did not

hear her father calling her a retard, as indicated previously. Prior to the maths homework, Catherine explained that she was in a "*normal*" mood.

After the DE, Shane expressed regret and felt sad that he had upset Catherine. Catherine expressed gratitude that her father had tried to help, yet would have preferred her father to listen to her requirements. Catherine reflected on her involvement and explained that next time she would say "*I am going to listen … but I am going to do the homework my way*". Catherine believed her father was not interested in her needs. For example, "*… it seems like he doesn't care what my way is*". Both Catherine and Shane apologised to each other. Catherine still felt annoyed, but guilty for calling Shane a retard.

The Parenting Relationship Questionnaire results indicated no issues.

Dyad 6 Vignette: TV Awards Incident

Lucy is an 11-year-old girl who lives at home with her mother (Jackie), father and siblings. Lucy and her mother Jackie were involved in the DE. Lucy wanted to watch a special TV awards programme primarily to see if one of her favourite films had won. Lucy was watching the awards on the TV in the main lounge when her father came in and switched the channel without any discussion with Lucy. Lucy responded by going to her bedroom to continue watching the awards. Lucy has a specific bedtime with lights off at 9.00pm every night. Lucy's mother came in at 9.00pm and asked Lucy to turn the TV off. Lucy had still not seen if her favourite show had won their category and refused to turn off the TV. Lucy explained that because she didn't turn the TV off at her mother's request, her mother switched it off, however, Lucy switched it back on. Jackie unplugged the TV, but Lucy plugged it back in and continued to watch the show. Her father, without negotiation or discussion, got involved and turned the TV off and told Lucy that her behaviour would result in the TV being confiscated from her room if she did not follow the directives. Lucy explained in the interview that during the DE she expressed distress and said on a number of occasions, "*please don't turn it off … it will only be a few more minutes until it's on*". Jackie indicated an inherent belief during the interview that she had anticipated that her daughter would "*muck around*", as she believed that Lucy was difficult to get into bed at night. Jackie believed that her daughter's behaviour was "*oppositional*" and "*defiant*", but apparently not as bad as other times.

Jackie reflected on her approach to the DE during the interview process and believed next time she wouldn't have a TV in her child's room. Jackie also indicated that she possibly

needed to be clearer about what her expectations were that night. For example, "*I think she said something about the awards thing, but I hadn't ummm hadn't probably realised how important it was or that she was intending to be watching it until late*". Lucy explained during the interview that the TV awards show finished at 9.15pm and her parents knew that she wanted to watch the show.

There was no negotiation during the DE. Lucy was disappointed, but she also felt a bit scared that her TV would be taken away from her and that she would be "*punished*". Although Lucy did not have an opportunity to share her perspective and her parents behaved in a threatening manner, Lucy apologised to her parents for not doing as she was told (indicating an inherent belief regarding children's familial positions). Lucy felt that she was "*naughty*" and believed that her mother and father had behaved appropriately as she should not have been up past her bedtime. Lucy also expressed that she would have preferred her parents to negotiate or discuss the situation.

PRQ Category Issue	Percentile
Discipline Practices	35th
Involvement	40th

Dyad 7 Vignette: Piano Exam Incident

Sasha is a 10-year-old who lives with her mother (Elaine), father and sibling. The DE involved Sasha and her mother and occurred at her piano teacher's house. Elaine explained that after the piano lesson, Sasha appeared unhappy and they discussed the issue. Elaine asked for Sasha's perspective. Sasha explained during the interview that her parents wanted her to practice for and sit her grade four piano exam. Sasha had to practice piano pieces and scales every day, which she found boring. Sasha explained to her mother that she missed playing her favourite piano pieces and did not want to spend all her time practicing for her exam. Elaine discussed with Sasha that it was important for her to sit the exam and proposed solutions that could incorporate Sasha's needs. For example, Elaine made further suggestions that could help to ensure practicing the piano was more enjoyable for Sasha. Sasha understood her parents' preference, as they believed it was important for her to sit the exam as it might result in a scholarship and entry into a private school.

During the interview, Elaine explained that next time a similar incident occurred she would take more time to ensure that Sasha felt listened to and that Sasha's concerns were

understood. For example, "*I would feel more rest and take even more time to make sure she knows that I listen to her ...*". Sasha withheld information from her mother, as although she enjoyed piano and explained to her mother that she wanted to practice fun pieces as well, she felt unable to share with her mother that it was her preference to not sit the exam. Indeed, Sasha preferred to just play pieces she enjoyed and did not truly understand the need to complete the exam. Sasha would have preferred her mother to ask her more questions. For example, "*… kind of ask me a few questions why and then I would've had more of an idea how I can talk to her* ". Sasha indicated an inherent belief that related to children's behaviour, and despite not having a choice whether she completed her exam, she believed that her behaviour could best be described as "*sulking*" because she was "*angry*" and "*annoyed*". Sasha believed that her mother stayed calm throughout the DE and behaved in a fair manner. Sasha also indicated that her mother would think her behaviour was a bit naughty.

The Parenting Relationship Questionnaire results indicated no issues.

Dyad 8 Vignette: Sibling Hallway Incident

Greg is a 10-year-old boy who lives with his siblings and his mother and father. Greg was involved in a DE with his mother (Diane) and younger sister (Emily). Greg and his siblings were watching morning TV, but wanted to play on the PlayStation. Greg's mother suggested that they completed some chores first. Greg and his siblings were walking down the hallway when their mother heard Emily yell out "*ow*". Diane explained during the interview that she knew Greg would be to blame and yelled for Greg to come to the kitchen. Diane instructed Greg to sit on the carpet next to her without asking Greg for his perspective and without negotiation. Diane assumed Greg was the culprit as a result of his behaviour. For example, Diane explained, "*… he hangs his head down and looks, ya know … sad and angry and guilty all rolled into one ...*". Greg's siblings were instructed not to speak to Greg while he was in a form of time-out. Diane explained during the interview that she wanted Greg to feel bad for bullying Emily, and she did not want to deal with the potential trigger. For example, "*I don't know that I was in the mood to address the underlying issue … I just wanted to stop immediately … I wanted Greg to feel bad for it ...*". While Greg remained on the floor, Diane ignored him. Greg was instructed to apologise to his sister, Emily. Diane indicated during the interview that she was influenced by a personal childhood experience and explained that she was subjected to bullying by an older child.

Greg acknowledged during the interview that he did, at times, get mad at his sister and intentionally hurt her, which resulted in being reprimanded by his parents. Greg also acknowledged that on this occasion he was mad with his sister, but only because his sister hit him on his back as they walked up the hallway. Greg's response involved putting his arm around Emily's waist, but he did not know if she had been hurt. Greg believed he touched her lightly. Initially, Greg was amused by his mother's response, for example, he indicated that he felt like a dog being told to "*sit*". Greg also expressed that he was angry when in time-out because "… *I couldn't go around free as a bird"*. Greg explained during the interview that he wished he could leave the family environment, a sentiment he did not share with his mother. One of his first thoughts after the DE incident was "… *dang, I wish I could go away … I wish I was in America already*". Greg explained he would have liked his mother to talk in a normal or even just a slightly grumpy tone. Greg would have also preferred his mother to reprimand Emily. For example, "… *growl at Emily instead because it was all her fault and not mine*". Greg preferred not to apologise to Emily because he was angry with her, yet did so to get out of time-out.

PRQ category issue	Percentile
Attachment	32nd
Communication	22nd
Discipline Practices	36th
Involvement	22nd
Parenting Confidence	26th
Relational Frustration	70th

Dyad 9 Vignette: Nerf Toy Incident

Ten-year-old Joshee Bear lives at home with his mother (Sally), father and siblings. The DE involved Joshee Bear and his mother. Sally arrived home from work and instructed Joshee Bear to put his Nerf guns and toys away. Sally also requested that Joshee Bear put his shoes away. Sally indicated during the interview that Joshee Bear's attitude was unhelpful and poor. As a consequence Sally punished Joshee Bear by sending him to his room. Sally explained that Joshee Bear was frustrated and "*shitty*" at his mother's request because she usually asks him to leave his shoes outside the house, but on this occasion, he was instructed to place his shoes inside the house. Sally explained that she had only asked Joshee Bear to tidy his toys, as his siblings were not involved and did not have any toys lying around the

house. Sally did not ask for Joshee Bear's perspective and implemented a punishment based on her assessment. Joshee Bear and Sally indicated that he apologised, but he was still sent to time-out, for example, "*umm ... I think he just said sorry, but by that time I just sent him to his room and told him to stay there until I let him out ...*".

Joshee Bear's account of the DE varied slightly from his mothers. Joshee Bear acknowledged that he had left a lot of his Nerf guns around the house. According to Joshee Bear, his mother shouted at him to pick up his toys, "*ohh ... then she yelled at me for leaving my stuff around*". Joshee Bear picked up some of his Nerf guns, but did not see the last two guns as they were situated elsewhere. Joshee Bear explained that his sister had used one of the guns and had left it on the bench in the kitchen. Sally assumed that Joshee Bear had left the gun in the kitchen and was therefore responsible. For example, "*... I left those two guns because my sister had one and she left it on the bench and my mum knew it was mine and she thought it was mine*". Joshee Bear also believed that he was sent to his room because of his attitude regarding his shoes, which he initially placed outside. Joshee Bear explained that he was confused over the expectations regarding his shoes as historically he was asked to leave dirty shoes outside the house. On this occasion his mother had different expectations that had not been communicated to Joshee Bear, for example, "*... she told me to move them inside and then she told me to move them outside and I didn't want to put them inside because she says no shoes on the carpet ...*". It was not until after the punishment (time-out) that Joshee Bear was asked by his mother to tidy up his toys.

When Sally was asked during the interview to reflect on her response, she explained that her reaction was quite calm, particularly compared with other times, and was adamant that she would not have done it any other way. Sally also believed that Joshee Bear would not have experienced her behaviour as fair. Joshee Bear indicated an inherent belief regarding his familial position, and suggested that although he was punished and was not asked for his perspective, he still believed that his mother's actions were fair because he had argued with her. Joshee Bear suggested "*… cause I don't get to make the decisions* ".

PRQ Category Issue	Percentile
Relational Frustration	76th

Dyad 10 Vignette: Idiot Sister Incident

Zed is an 11-year-old and lives at home with his mother (Suzie), father and siblings. Suzie indicated an inherent belief and suggested that when Zed was involved there usually was a problem, for example, "*... things are going settled and fine and then you put Zed in and instantly there is carnage ...*". The DE involved Suzie, Zed and Indie (Zed's younger sister). Suzie explained during the interview that she was in her bedroom and could hear an argument between Zed and his sister. Both Indie and Zed were instructed to go to their parents' bedroom to discuss the issue and to calm down. Suzie explained that Zed's father was siding with Indie, yet Suzie tried to remain neutral. Suzie believed that Zed called Indie an idiot because she had only put one piece of toast in the toaster and Indie reacted to the name-calling. Suzie explained that she reprimanded both Zed and Indie for name-calling, but did not implement any punishment on either child. Suzie believed that she was neutral and listened to both of their stories, but acknowledged that Zed would believe he had not been listened too. For example, Suzie stated, "*he would probably think I was frustrated ... possibly not really listening ...*". Suzie did reflect during the interview that should a similar incident occur in the future she would separate them and talk to Zed and Indie separately with the objective to calm things down.

Zed's account of the DE indicated a different sequence of events. Zed explained that he had walked into the kitchen and got some bread out of the cupboard. Indie "*snatched*" the bread and said, "*I want this you idiot*". Zed responded with "*... ok Mrs. Idiot ...*". Zed explained during the interview that it was Indie who initially went to their parents and complained about Zed. Zed stated that "*... mum just listened to Indie*" and that his mother said, "*Zed, don't call people names ...*". Zed also explained that his father mentioned "*all I heard was you Zed, shouting at her*". Zed believed that his mother didn't want his opinion and only wanted Indie's opinion and therefore felt unheard. Zed acknowledged that his mother commented "*Indie, if you call someone a name be prepared to be called it back*". Zed believed that his parents had a very poor opinion of him, "*... I feel like they just hate me and stuff ...*". Zed's preference was for his mother to listen to his story. For example, "*... if she could have listened to my story and what actually happened, cause if she listened to mine I wouldn't have been told off*".

PRQ Category Issue	Percentile
Involvement	39th
Parenting Confidence	26th
Relational Frustration	80th

Dyad 11 Vignette: Grandparents Incident

Eleven-year-old Rachael lives at home with her mother, father and sibling. The DE involved Rachael's mother (Jane) and Rachael. Jane had tickets to visit a daytime show with her husband and had organised for Rachael and her brother to spend time with their grandparents for the day. Rachael was reluctant to spend time away from home and wanted to stay with her parents.

The night before, Jane discussed the need for Rachael (and her brother) to spend time with her grandparents. At this point Rachael agreed. On the morning of the show, Rachael expressed to her mother that she did not want to go with her grandparents and explained to her mother that she was not feeling well and had a headache. Jane tried to discuss the issue with Rachael, but Rachael was reluctant to give any specific details to her mother other than the fact that she did not want to go and was not feeling well. During the interview, Jane was asked to reflect on her interaction with Rachael. Jane indicated that she would deal with the situation differently next time by talking in more depth with Rachael before the event. During the DE, Jane indicated a belief regarding Rachael's response, as she believed that Rachael's behaviour was immature. For example, Jane said, "*... stop acting like a three-year-old*". Rachael responded, "*… I am not a three-year-old, I just don't want to go ...*". Jane believed that Rachael would see her behaviour as "*mean*" and "*unfair*", but would understand why she needed to go to her grandparents. Jane acknowledged that she felt "*bad*" for insisting that Rachael went.

During the interview, Rachael indicated that she was reluctant to go to her grandparents as she felt tired and just wanted to stay home for the day. Rachael suggested that her mother was being a "*little unfair*", but also believed that her mother understood how she felt. Despite Rachael having to go to her grandparents and that her mother had minimised her emotions, Rachael indicated that she would behave differently if a similar event occurred in the future. For example, Rachael mentioned, "*… umm I think I would just go next time*".

PRQ Category Issue	Percentile
Communication	37th
Parenting Confidence	40th

Dyad 12 Vignette: Sports Performance Incident

Eleven-year-old Susan lives at home with her mother (Carin), father and sibling. The DE involved Susan and her mother. Carin explained during the interview that she was very competitive and was disappointed with Susan's efforts on the sports field. Prior to training, Susan had made an agreement with her mother that if she trained hard and pushed herself on the sports field (during trials) then Carin would take Susan out for pizza. According to Carin, Susan is very shy and didn't really push herself on the sports field. Carin believed that Susan really did want to do well and succeed in sport, but it was her shyness that limited her. Carin acknowledged that she could "*go on a bit*" which annoyed Susan. Carin also believed that Susan experienced a lot of satisfaction when she pushed herself on the sports field and explained that Susan had provided feedback to Carin in the past such as "*I'm glad you made me do that mum*".

Susan explained that she "*… got told off by mum because apparently I didn't try hard enough ...*". Susan believed that she maintained her field position, but simply could not react and undertake her mother's preferred instructions to not pass the ball to one of her team players. Susan explained that her mother would have preferred her to take the ball up the field herself. Susan acknowledged during the interview that she could have tried a little harder on the sports field, but was concerned that if she did as her mother expected it might have caused the other team to score a goal. Susan also indicated that she was not happy with how she played on the field.

Susan expressed some thoughts during the interview that she felt she could not express to her mother. For example, she knew her mother wanted her to do well in most things, which Susan found annoying, "*she wants me to do well at everything I do ... and pushes me to do heaps of other things ... when I don't wanna to*". Susan acknowledged that she only probably wants to do well in this particular sport, yet she feels annoyed that her mother goes on about it. Susan expressed her preference to only try some things but not everything her mother suggested. Susan was not able to express these thoughts to her mother, but instead demonstrated her disappointment and frustration using non-verbal communication. For example, "*I think I kept silent and then I slammed the door when I got out of the car*". Susan

reflected on her behaviour during the interview, and despite her needs not being heard or the environment not being conducive to communicate her concerns, she did feel "*anger*" and "*annoyance*" but she still felt "*a little bit guilty for being mean to her* (mother)" (indicating an inherent belief). Susan explained that she would try and discuss her concerns with her mother next time, yet also acknowledged that this would be difficult. Susan also indicated that she would feel powerless, because even if she did discuss these issues and how she felt, her mother would probably ignore it anyway.

PRQ Category Issue	Percentile
Communication	37th

Dyad 13 Vignette: Writing Competition Incident

Izzy, an 11-year-old lives with her mother (Janet), father and sibling. The DE involved Izzy and her mother. Izzy wanted to participate in a writing competition and requested help from her mother. Izzy was not in the mood to write, but a deadline was in place. Janet indicated during the interview that Izzy was tired and was struggling with the writing process. Janet explained that she had tried to work with Izzy, but Izzy rejected her suggestions and they were both frustrated with the process. Janet indicated that she had tried to remain calm throughout the DE, and acknowledged that once she had raised her voice she removed herself from the environment and returned once calm to work out a solution. Janet engaged in a discussion with Izzy to try and understand her perspective and behaviour. Janet also reflected on her own behaviour during the DE process, as she believed that it was important to remind herself that there was always a reason or concern for the cause of a child's behaviour. For example, "*ummm clearly there was something else going on and I just extracted myself from the situation and came back to it and sorted out what was actually underneath it so …*".

Izzy discussed that she was trying to complete some writing for a competition, and felt frustrated with her mother as her suggestions or solutions were unhelpful. Izzy also explained that she believed her mother was frustrated with her. For example, her mother said to Izzy, "*… if I am not doing it right then do it yourself*". Izzy acknowledged that her mother asked her to reflect on her own behaviour to consider what the issue was. Izzy believed that her mother stayed calm for most of the time and was fair throughout the DE process. Although Izzy felt frustrated that her mother was not providing relevant help, she felt

relieved when her mother understood the cause of the problem. When Izzy reflected on her behaviour and considered what she would change if a similar event occurred in the future, Izzy commented that she would reflect on her own behaviour at an earlier stage in the process.

The PRQ results indicated an issue in the following area: *Discipline Practices – (35th percentile).* However, the participant parent (Janet) had difficulty with the word "punish" which was used in the PRQ questions, therefore altered her response and skewed the results for "Discipline Practices" (discussed further in Chapter 3 and noted in tables throughout this thesis). Therefore this issue identified in the PRQ findings was not noted.

Conclusion

An overview of the DE dyadic context and the parent and child interactions pre DE, during and post the DE was presented in this chapter. The parent and child DE interactions outlined briefly in the vignettes illustrated a pattern of unhelpful and helpful relationship components between the parent and the child dyads. The predominant relationship components, considered unhelpful, included the parent's and child's misattuned interpretation of the DE and the child's lack of voice during and post the DE process. Although some of the participant children indicated they had a voice, many of the children described their reluctance or lack of opportunity to express their thoughts with their parent. The inherent and constructed beliefs evident in both the parent and child actions and thoughts more than likely deterred children from sharing further thoughts with their parent during the DE and impacted on the DE outcome. The helpful relationship components included empathic responses from parents towards their child, attunement (relating to the cause of the DE) and regulation assistance or discussion between the parent and child post DE. These components and other relevant issues are discussed more extensively throughout this thesis.

Chapter 5: Findings

This study identified six key themes with subsequent sub-themes from the data to consider the primary research question:

> Research Question 1: Do parents and children experience attunement or misattunement through a DE, and how are these experiences evident and expressed?

Four additional research questions (discussed later in this chapter) were devised to explore and understand the parent and child interactions and attunement experiences during and post the DE. A rigorous thematic analysis process was applied to the data collected from the semi-structured interviews and the participant child's diary entry. An additional data collection tool, the PRQ (Kamphaus & Reynolds, 2006), was utilised to provide further insight and explore the relational health of the parent–child dyads. The PRQ findings were considered alongside the thematic analysis findings to ponder any additional relevancies or patterns in relation to the attunement or misattunement within and between the parent and child dyads.

As stated previously (Chapter 3), 26 parents and their children (a total of 13 parent–child dyads) participated in the research. This chapter discusses the six key themes and their subsequent sub-themes that emerged from the data. The four additional research questions are grouped according to the associated themes and sub-themes. Theme 1 and its associated sub-themes relate to research question 1a. Themes 2 and 3 and the associated sub-themes relate to research question 1b. Research question 1c is addressed by the findings grouped within themes 4 and 5 and the associated sub-themes. Theme 6 provides findings associated with research question 1d. The first key theme considers whether the parent and child had a similar or a different understanding of the potential cause of the DE, thus attuned or misattuned in their interpretation. The second key theme is concerned with the parent's internal beliefs, their impact or relevancy on the child's voice or perspective of the DE and the child's position within the parent–child dynamic. The third key theme explores the children's position and familial power within the relational dynamic and their potential vulnerability as a result of their parent's actions and beliefs. The fourth key theme considers how children assimilate or adopt their parent's positions, irrespective of feelings, their experiences of fairness, and their rights. Children's concerns and further thoughts regarding the DE was the focus for the fifth key theme. Children evaluated their DE environment and

their behaviour irrespective of their parent's behaviour and beliefs. The sixth (and final) key theme considers the relational health of the participant dyads, and incorporates the PRQ findings with the thematic analysis. The combination of the findings provided insight into the DE experience and identified specific relational patterns that influenced whether the nature of the DE was misattuned or attuned. The sub-themes discussed throughout this chapter, under each key theme, also include whether it relates specifically to the parent or child participant. The discussion in this chapter follows the structure and reflects the following themes and sub-themes in Table 4 below.

Key Themes and Sub-themes

As discussed previously, a thematic analysis process was applied to the data from the 26 parent and child semi-structured interviews and the CDEs. Six key themes with further sub-themes were identified and are outlined in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Thematic analysis findings: Themes and sub-themes (Parent and child)

No.	Theme title	Sub-theme	
1	Attunement/misattunement and motivations for the DE	1.1	Parent/child misattuned in the cause of the DE (parent and child)
		1.2	Parent/child attuned in the cause of the DE (parent and child)
2	Parents' recognition of children's voices	2.1	Children caused trouble (parent)
		2.2	Children needed to do as they were told (parent)
		2.3	Children's perspectives are irrelevant to parents (parent)
		2.4	Parents acknowledged the child's voice directly (parent)
		2.5	Parents recognise the child's perspective, retrospectively (parent)
		2.6	Children do not have a voice (child)
		2.7	Children have a voice (child)
		2.8	Children used non-verbal communication (child)
		2.9	Parents were not proactively involved in resolving the DE (parent)
		2.10	Parents helped children resolve the DE (parent)
		2.11	Children regulated themselves (child)
		2.12	Children experienced help to resolve/repair the DE (child)
3	Children were vulnerable to adults positions	3.1	Parents experienced conflict within DE interaction (parent)
		3.2	Childhood experiences influenced parent's beliefs (parent)
		3.3	Children experienced the DE negatively (child)
		3.4	Children experienced negative reinforcement (child)
		3.5	Parents shouted (child)
		3.6	Parents were calm (child)
		3.7	Parents reflected and wanted to change their behaviour (parent)
		3.8	Parents were concerned for their child's wellbeing (parent)
4	Children assimilated adults' positions	4.1	Children reflected on their behaviour (child)
		4.2	Children rationalised their parent's behaviour (child)
		4.3	Children took responsibility (child)
		4.4	Children believed they behave poorly towards their parent (child)
		4.5	Children believed they need to do as they are told (child)
		4.6	Parents behaved fairly according to children (child)
		4.7	Parents had good intentions (child)
5	Children evaluated environments	5.1	Parents behaved unfairly according to children (child)
		5.2	Children were confused and/or unsure during DEs (child)
		5.3	Children lacked understanding from parents (child)
		5.4	Children had unshared additional messages (child)
		5.5	Children wanted change (child)
6	Dyad's relational health	No associated sub-themes	

Parenting Relationship Questionnaire (PRQ) Findings

Table 5 provides an overview of the PRQ categories and the participant parents' PRQ results. The PRQ explored different facets of the dyad relationship and provided insight and results into five distinct categories (discussed in Chapter 3). The potential issues within each dyad (identified as a result of the PRQ process) have been noted with a "Y" in Table 5. The issues highlighted in the PRQ indicate that the dyadic relationship may have been experiencing difficulty or conflict in some way relating to the specific category. The total number of issues flagged by each dyad is presented in the last row of Table 5. This study's focus was only concerned if no issues or an issue from one or all of the PRQ categories was present within the dyad as opposed to the etiology or specific nature of the issues. As can be seen in Table 5, the dyads are grouped according to whether the dyad was either attuned or misattuned (discussed in theme 1). The attuned dyads (grey columns) have a lower number of PRQ issues overall compared with the misattuned dyads, which have a variable number. Two misattuned dyads experienced issues across all the PRQ categories considered relevant for this study. The analysis of the relationship between the PRQ results and the thematic analysis findings is explored further in this chapter.

Table 5. Parenting Relationship Questionnaire (PRQ) findings

PRQ Category	Dyad												
	1	2	4	5	6	8	9	10	3	7	11	12	13
Parenting Confidence	Y		Y			Y					Y		
Discipline Practices		Y	Y		Y	Y							Y_2
Communication		Y	Y			Y					Y	Y	
Attachment		Y	Y			Y							
Relational Frustration	Y		Y			Y	Y	Y					
Total PRQ Issues	2	3	5	0	1	5	1	1	0	0	2	1	0*

Note. Grey shading represents attuned dyads.

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2 Janet (Dyad 13 parent) indicated a concern in the PRQ category "Discipline Practices" and was concerned with the term "punish" and the context of which it was used in the PRQ. Janet indicated that she preferred to work with her child as opposed to punish, therefore chose not to respond to those questions (in the discipline practices category) with this term in the content. As a result, an issue was flagged in the discipline practices category of the PRQ.

Summary of Table 5

The PRQ tool was utilised to consider the health of the dyad relationship within the aforementioned categories alongside the thematic analysis patterns. Two of the five attuned dyads and all but one of the misattuned dyads flagged issues relating to the PRQ categories. While it appears that five of the eight misattuned dyads demonstrate PRQ results that are similar to the attuned dyads, i.e., PRQ issues identified in only one or two categories, the analysis of the interview data revealed that even those with fewer issues identified in the PRQ had a higher proportion of negative components that resulted in identifying with the negative sub-themes. This contrasted with the attuned dyads whose interviews highlighted a larger number of positive components and a fewer number of negative components than the misattuned dyads. Table 6 illustrates the PRQ results in relation to the thematic analysis findings (total of sub-themes).

Table 6. Summary of the dyad thematic analysis themes and sub-themes and PRQ findings

Themes, sub-themes and PRQ findings	Dyad												
	1	2	4	5	6	8	9	10	3	7	11	12	13
Total negative sub-themes	14	12	18	17	19	18	16	14	15	8	8	10	4
Total positive sub-themes	3	4	3	7	5	2	3	1	5	9	6	8	10
Total PRQ issues	2	3	5	0	1	5	1	2	0	0	2	1	1*

Note. Grey shading represents attuned dyads. * Refer to Chapter Three for an explanation

Thematic Analysis Findings

As noted earlier, this section presents the six major themes and their relevant sub-themes which are grouped according to the four additional research questions.

Theme 1: Attunement/Misattunement and Motivations for the DE

> Research question 1a: Within each participant dyad, how is the DE interpreted or perceived regarding similarities and differences as to the cause of the DE?

The semi-structured interview and the CDE helped decipher the child's understanding of their initial recollection regarding their motivation and their subsequent reflection regarding the cause of the DE. For example, question one of the CDE asked the participant child to describe what occurred between the child and their parent during the DE. At times it was evident that the surface recollection provided by the child in the CDE did not encapsulate

their deeper reflection, intentions or concerns as to the cause of the DE. Eleven of the thirteen participant children completed the CDE. For example:

Dyad 1

> Cory (child): *My mum told me I couldn't bring sticks to the park and I wanted to*

Dyad 4

> Steve (child): *I wouldn't do my homework and I wouldn't pick up my clothes*.

Dyad 10

> Zed (child): *When I do something she will say something else and I don't like that*.

The following sub-themes consider the child's motivation and/or cause of the DE from both the participant parents and the child's more nuanced perspective. The sub-themes explore the similarities and differences between the participant parents and child's account of the DE.

Sub-theme 1.1: Parent/child were misattuned in the cause of the DE (parent and child)

Eight of the 13 dyads (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10) experienced misattunement in relation to their interpretation regarding the cause of the DE. Furthermore, all eight of the misattuned parents believed their children caused the DE as a result of the child's negative motivations. However, and importantly, all eight children in these dyads had an alternative or opposing interpretation to that of their parents, and believed that their behaviour was positively motivated. For example:

Dyad 1

Linda (parent) believed that Cory (child) found a stick in the back yard and was going to use it as a weapon and hurt others. Cory's motivation was to use the stick at the park for tobogganing—not as a weapon.

> Linda (parent): *Well, it started out in the backyard. There was Cory, his younger brother and the neighbour's kids and Cory found a big stick, and he wanted to play with it and I took it away from him because he was hitting the trampoline with it and I just said, oh that will be a danger* (Dyad 1, line 1)

> Linda (parent): *I just thought ... that is going to go through the side of the trampoline ... the net ... or ummm yeah ... I could just see him poking his younger brother with it or something* (Dyad 1, line 244)

> Researcher: *So when you found the stick how were you feeling?*
> Cory (child): *I wanted to do the ... go to the park and play on the schooner* [toboggan] [with the stick] (Dyad 1, line 129)

Dyad 2

Natalie (parent) assumed that because her child (Lisa) was not doing as she was told, she was motivated by an ulterior motive and wanted to play on her iPod. However, Lisa described her need to let her hair dry off a little more as it was easier to brush and explained it had nothing to do with the iPod. Furthermore, according to Lisa, the previous night during a similar event her mother had asked her to let her hair dry a little more before combing her hair.

> Natalie (parent): *It was like "oh goodness ... ya know ... perhaps she is on her iPod too much ... maybe that's something we need to look at ..."*
> Researcher: *So she seemed a bit more irritable, so maybe the iPod was?*
> Natalie: *Yeah ... was taking her attention from doing what she has too* (Dyad 2, line 238)

> Lisa (child): *She was asking me to comb my hair so when it was dry it wouldn't be as hard ... but I mean ... I mean because usually I just dry, I comb it when it's ummm damp yeah ... so I wanted to dry it when it was damp and it was still kind of wet ... because ummm when it's wet ... it's all dripping and when it's damp it's not so hard to comb* (Dyad 2, line 60)

> Researcher: *... for you to go and take the towel off your hair ... and comb it ... was it anything to do with the iPod?*
> Lisa (child): *No ... I was just playing on my iPod and she just told me to go*
> Researcher: *So it wasn't because you wanted to play on the iPod longer?*
> Lisa: *Ummm no* (Dyad 2, line 134)

> Lisa (child): *Cause ummm ... the night before she asked she told me she ... I ... she said once "until your hair is damp go and comb your hair" because she says it every night ... "go comb your hair" and so she said the night before "once your hair is damp go comb your hair" it wasn't ... but my hair wasn't damp last night so that was like I said "I will wait until it is damp"* (Dyad 2, line 204)

Dyad 8

Different interpretations were also highlighted in Dyad 8's interactions. Diane (parent) heard her children walking up the hallway. Emily (Diane's daughter) expressed that she had been hurt. Diane believed that her son (Greg) had hurt his sister and promptly called Greg to reprimand him. Greg described a different perspective and explained that it was his little sister who had hurt him first and he was only defending himself.

> Diane (parent): *Well they had just finished watching morning TV and they wanted to go on the computer and the PlayStation and I had told them "No ... you have lots of other things to do ... have your beds been made ... curtains open ... washing been picked up off the floor ... go and deal with all that" and they were heading down the hall way and then I heard Emily go "ow" and I heard Greg go "Eerrgghh" at her ...*

I heard him do that and I heard Emily go "ow" so I knew he had done something to her ... (Dyad 8, Line 47)

Greg (child): *Ummm ... well ... this morning I was walking up the hallway and well my sister was basically ummm annoying me like kind of hitting me at my back. I didn't really feel it ... it didn't really hurt but it was really irritating and I was like "arrgghhh ... for goodness sake ... why does this always happen?"* (Dyad 8, line 16)

Dyad 10

Suzie (parent) heard an altercation in the kitchen between her children, specifically her daughter and Zed (son). Suzie believed it was Zed who caused the problem by calling his sister an "idiot". Zed described a different scenario, and explained that it was his little sister who initiated their altercation and called Zed an "idiot" first.

Suzie (parent): *... I was still in the bedroom and Ida and Barry, the other two were in the kitchen and Zed went and joined them and they were doing breakfast and he [Zed] basically started telling people they were idiots* (Dyad 10, line 1)

Zed (child): *… well I come into my mum's room and then we kinda just have hugs and stuff and then we say "k get ready and stuff", and then we go to the kitchen and then Ida [little sister] or something might say, like this morning incident when I grabbed the toast she just snatched it off me and said "aww ... I want this you idiot", and I said "... ookkkaaayyy Mrs. Idiot ..." – I was paying it back* (Dyad 10, line 99)

Sub-theme 1.2: Parent/child attuned in the cause of the DE (parent and child)

Five of the 13 dyads shared the same or similar interpretations relating to the cause of the DE. Furthermore, four of the five participant parents and children each ascribed positive motivations for the DE (Dyads 7, 11, 12 and 13). The parents and children believed that the child was not negatively motivated or intentionally naughty. One dyad, the parent and child of Dyad 3 ascribed a (similar, therefore attuned) negative motivation or cause for the DE. The following examples discuss the dyads who shared the assumption that the children were positively motivated. For example:

Dyad 7

Elaine (parent) acknowledged that her daughter (Sasha) was having difficulty practicing for a music exam. Sasha also explained to her that she was annoyed that she couldn't practice alternative music pieces other than her exam pieces.

Elaine (parent): *It was Thursday afternoon and we went to piano lesson and arr we have recently switched to a new piano teacher ... Sasha has got a 50-minute lesson and this has been a really intense week for her so she is really tired ummm and when she came downstairs ... straight away ... I saw her and straight away ask her what's the matter ... ummm ... she will close up or blurt everything out in tears. I asked her*

to come and cuddle me because there is a waiting room where nobody is there ... about 5–10 minutes later I think ummm she moved away and there was room for her to start talking so she said "I don't want to do a grade 4 exam" and I know this is something on her mind (Dyad 7, line 3)

Sasha (child): *Well ... at piano lessons, in the waiting room, I waited for my sister to finish her piano lesson and ummm ... I'm practicing for a grade exam and it was kinda boring because as soon as she got up there I heard her play a call song and I didn't really get to do that because I had to focus on three different songs and we only got one done in each, in each practice umm lessons, so it was kinda boring to just do grade exam and not be able to do anything else* (Dyad 7, line 2)

Dyad 11

Jane (parent) identified that her daughter (Rachael) wanted to stay at home with her parents for the day, rather than go with her grandparents. Rachael shared this interpretation of the DE.

Jane (parent): *Ummm we decided last night so I texted them, the grandparents last night and told them* [the kids] *last night but then when I told them again this morning she just wanted to stay at home today so ...*

Researcher: *And did she want to stay at home with you guys or did she just want to be home?*
Jane (parent): *She said she just wanted to be at home but I think it was to be at home with us so yeah* (Dyad 11, line 1)

Rachael (child): *Ummm ... I was going out with my grandparents but I didn't want to ... I wanted to stay home* (Dyad 11, line 1)

Dyad 12

Both Carin (parent) and Susan (child) identified that the cause of the DE was based on Carin's disappointment that Susan had not tried hard enough on the sports field.

Carin (parent): *... and she got out there and she didn't do anything wrong, nothing wrong, but she didn't push herself ... she just cleared the ball in her game ... she did ok in the rest of the training part of it, but she just cleared the ball ...* (Dyad 12, line 10)

Carin (parent): *... you didn't do anything wrong, but Susan ... you are going to find yourself... it's ok not to make the A squad... it's ok of that's what you choose, but you have to choose it ... don't let it happen to you ... you just have to choose what happens to you. So probably I do go on about it a little too much and so ummm got pissed off with me quite frankly ...* (Dyad 12, line 1)

Susan (child): *Well ... I was at hockey last night...and I got told off by mum because apparently I didn't try hard enough as I could, but the hockey ball hardly ever came down my end and I always passed it to the person who was free because ummm the coach told us to pass it as often as you can and then she ground me for not being ummm ... apparently greedy enough with the ball* (Dyad 12, line 5)

Susan (child): *Because I know it wasn't my best game and … I know I should try a bit harder* (Dyad 12, line 190)

Theme 2: Parents' Recognition of Children's Voices

Research question 1b: What are the experiences of parents seeking the child's account and perception of the event that caused the DE?

The research question above is concerned with if or how the parents sought their children's perspective during the DE. The sub-themes provide further insight to consider this research question in more detail, such as children's perspectives within the familial context and their vulnerability to their parents' attitudes and behaviours.

Sub-theme 2.1: Children caused trouble (parent)

A sub-theme emerged from the data that indicated that parents believed that children caused problems. This belief was applied to either a specific child within the family or the parent's preconceived notion that their participant child or children in general would typically cause a problem. Some parents indicated that they believed their child would cause a problem even prior to the DE occurring. Nine participant parents (Dyads 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10) were categorised within this sub-theme. For example:

Dyad 3

Researcher: *What did you think of his behaviour?*
Dana (parent): *Well … I ummm … if I said that I was surprised I would be lying* (Dyad 3, line 56)

Dyad 4

Nancy (parent): *I got grumpy cause he just ignored … he was just doing the minimum possible, which is a general modus operandi for Steve* (Dyad 4, line 146)

Dyad 10

Suzie (parent): *My own personal thoughts … sigh … my own personal thoughts were … sigh … this is going to sound horrible ... thoughts were quite often things are really calm until Zed gets into the mix of things ... things are going settled and fine and then you put Zed in and instantly there is carnage …* (Dyad 10, line 251)

Sub-theme 2.2: Children needed to do as they were told (parent)

Ten of the 13 participant parents (Dyads 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10) indicated a further inherent belief that may have influenced their behaviour and attitude towards their child. The parents believed that children should simply comply with their directives without question or explanation. For example:

Dyad 4

Nancy (parent) believed that if a parent asks their child to do something simple, the child should do it regardless and without being asked repeatedly.

> Nancy (parent): *... I didn't think it was ... if you ask kids to do just simple stuff they really should do what they are told ...* (Dyad 4, line 60)

> Nancy (parent): *... but I expect a certain amount of compliance, but I don't expect to have to repeat myself constantly* (Dyad 4, line 112)

Furthermore, when children did not comply with their parents' directives, the parents labelled their child negatively. For example, some of the parents defined their children as "naughty". Parents were also frustrated at their child's lack of responding to the directives. For example:

Dyad 3

> Dana (parent): *… so I got upset ... and I said to him that's not on. I said "It's really naughty and I ummm called you 3 times and you just kind of dismissed me"* (Dyad 3, line 66)

Parents in this group also believed that they had a right to expect their children to comply with their instructions or directives. This belief was expressed in definite terms and the directives were considered final. For example:

Dyad 1

> Linda (parent): *… so I just asked him where he got it* [the stick] *and I said "No you are not playing with it and that was that"* (Dyad 1, line 289)

Sub-theme 2.3: Children's perspectives were irrelevant to parents (parent)

Ten of the 13 participant parents (Dyads 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11 and 12) did not seek their child's perspective of the DE prior to implementing a discipline consequence. Parents described the DE interaction with their children without being prompted by a specific question during the interview process. The parent's lack of interest in their child's perspective is indicated in the following examples:

Dyad 2

Although Lisa (child) seemingly had a valid point regarding her process for hair drying and she also expressed confusion (discussed later in the findings) regarding this process, Natalie (parent) did not provide Lisa with an opportunity to explain her perspective. Natalie explained that she wanted Lisa to follow her directives.

Natalie (parent): … *I wasn't listening to her … I was just saying do this and this is why* (Dyad 2, line 121)

Dyad 3

Dana (parent) was frustrated that her son (Andrew) was playing on the iPad, as opposed to getting ready for school. Dana did not ask Andrew for an explanation and removed the iPad from Andrew.

Dana (parent): … *I wasn't paying any attention to what he was saying anyways … so ummm I just took the iPad and walked away* (Dyad 3, line 75)

Dyad 8

Diane (parent) did not request Greg's (child) perspective of the cause of the DE, but assumed Greg was at fault. Diane implemented a discipline consequence without discussion that involved Greg sitting on the floor at her feet and being ignored.

Diane (parent): … *I said to him "sit there" pointing to a spot on the floor and he sat there and I put my back to him ummm and then about two minutes later … or maybe a minute Tom* [older brother] *came in and I looked up at Tom and I said "Don't talk to him* [Greg] *… don't touch him … leave him". Then Emily came in and asked me something ummm and I said … I talked to Emily … and I said to Greg "Now while Emily is in here you can apologise to her …" and he thought he was going to have to sit there until he apologised so he said "I'm sorry Emily". It was about a minute later he apologised because ummm … I just turned my back on him again and just kept ignoring him and carried on talking to the other two …* (Dyad 8, line 90)

Sub-theme 2.4: Parents acknowledged the child's voice directly (parent)

A small number of participant parents acknowledged their child's voice by either directly asking for their perspective or establishing a process where they ensured their child was heard and/or understood. In stark contrast to the previous sub-themes where parents did not request or hear their child's perspective, just three participant parents (Dyads 7, 11 and 13) acknowledged the voice or perspective of their child and valued its importance. For example:

Dyad 7

Elaine (parent) expressed on numerous occasions that it was important that her child (Sasha) had the opportunity to voice her needs.

Elaine (parent): … *important to me that she feels that I do listen to her* (Dyad 7, line 200)

Elaine (parent): … *so she said "I don't want to do grade 4 exam …" and I know this is something on her mind …* (Dyad 7, line 21)

Dyad 11

Jane (parent) specifically asked her daughter for her perspective.

> Jane (parent): … *ummm ohh I did say at one point "why don't you want to go?"* (Dyad 11, line 109)

Dyad 13

Janet (parent) didn't initially request her daughter's (Izzy's) perspective, but assumed as a result of her daughter's behaviour that there was an issue and was open to hearing Izzy's concerns.

> Janet (parent): *… ummm clearly there was something else going on and I just extracted myself from the situation and came back to it and sorted out what was actually underneath it* (Dyad 13, line 109)

Sub-theme 2.5: Parents recognised the child's perspective retrospectively (parent)

The thematic analysis findings indicated that a number of participant parents did not directly ask for their child's perspective or provide an environment for their child to share their voice. However, including the three participant parents (Dyads 7, 11 and 13) in sub-theme 2.4 who asked for their child's perspective, four additional participant parents (Dyads 3, 4, 5, 12) in addition to dyad 13 indicated at least an element of insight (whether or not these insights aligned to their children's interpretations) regarding their child's actions and/or considered their child's perspective, retrospectively, during the interview process. It is important to note that some of the parents (indicated below) made the effort, on reflection, to rationalise what they interpreted as their child's "naughty" behaviour without necessarily demonstrating an openness to the child's interpretation of what motivated the DE in the first place. Parents did not share these thoughts with their child, which may have impacted on the attunement process. For example:

Dyad 4

> Nancy (parent): *Thursdays are quite a long day for him cause he is in a running group before school at 7.00am … he may have been a bit tired and grumpy* (Dyad 4, line 256)

Dyad 11

> Jane (parent): *Ummm to start with I sort of thought it was a bit odd. I thought maybe she was tired … I wondered if it was because she doesn't spend as much time with them so she isn't totally comfortable, well, not comfortable, that's not the right word,*

cause she is comfortable with them, but not as really happy to go with them but … (Dyad 11, line 134)

Dyad 12

Carin (parent): *Susan likes to compete and she is very very, very shy and ummm doesn't like anybody to see her* (Dyad 12, line 156)

Sub-theme 2.6: Children did not have a voice (child)

As illustrated above from the parents' perspectives, the participant children generally lacked the opportunity to provide their voice or perspective during the DE. Ten (Dyads 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 12) of the thirteen participant children shared a similar experience and acknowledged that their parent did not specifically ask for their perspective during or on completion of the DE. Some of the children did at times try to engage (sometimes repeatedly) with their parent. For example:

Dyad 1

Cory (child) wanted to take the sticks to the park to use as a tool for tobogganing. Cory tried to express this need to his mother, but his mother rejected this need and responded in a punitive manner and threw the sticks away without negotiation.

Cory (child): *Yeah … but then she just ignored me and just kept saying "No, you can't bring it"* (Dyad 1, line 186)

Dyad 2

Lisa (child) initially shared (without being asked by her parent) her perspective with her parent, but her parent rejected her input. This annoyed Lisa.

Researcher: *So when she was asking you and you were trying to explain to her your reason how were you feeling?*
Lisa (child): *Kind of annoyed because I kept on telling her, but she didn't, she just kind of ignored me* (Dyad 2, line 110)

Dyad 10

Zed (child) did not have the opportunity to explain (or be heard by his parent) that his sister initiated the DE by calling Zed an "idiot" first.

Researcher: *And did mum ask you what happened?*
Zed (child): *No, Ida* [little sister] *just makes up her little fairy tales and says "yeah that's what happened" and since she's the youngest she gets most cred like if there was a fight between me and her and she starts if and I did a little thing in it I get the blame* (Dyad 10, line 81)

Sub-theme 2.7: Children had a voice (child)

On the other hand, three participant children (Dyads 7, 11 and 13) did have the opportunity to share some or all of their perspective with their parents during or after the DE process. It is important to note that the child sharing their perspective with their parent did not necessarily indicate that their parent accepted it as legitimate and/or acted on the child's thoughts and needs. This sub-theme only indicated that the parent specifically asked their child for their perspective. For example:

Dyad 7

> Researcher: *And what did your mum say to you when you started crying?*
> Sasha (child): *Well … she ummm she asked me why I was crying and I told her and she kind of explained why I was doing it* (Dyad 7, line 50)

Dyad 11

> Researcher: *… ummm did she ask how you were and why you didn't want to go?*
> Rachael (child): *Yes … she did* (Dyad 11, line 192)

Dyad 13

> Researcher: *How did you feel about your mum asking what was going on for you?*
> Izzy (child): *Ummm … oh she does that a lot of the time with me … or any one of us when we have arguments so like I knew that it works so I just, I just did it* (Dyad 13, line 137)

Sub-theme 2.8: Children used non-verbal communication (child)

Five participant children (Dyads 1, 3, 5, 6 and 12) expressed their thoughts/feelings through non-verbal communication. Children exhibited (as described by the participant children), overt non-verbal behaviour, including slamming doors, storming off and directly disobeying their parent by turning the TV back on. For example:

Dyad 5

> Researcher: *And when did you start getting angry that you had to storm off?*
> Catherine (child): *It was when there was one question and I needed help and he was trying to make a different question out of it, but he was saying … "Well … if you do this and get that answer … then all you have to do is this… to get the other answer". And I didn't get it and he was like "Well … I am not helping you anymore … you are on your own kid"* (Dyad 4, line 91)

Dyad 6

> Lucy (child): *I wanted to stay up later because there was an award show on TV and I'd heard that one of my favourite movies was gonna to get an award and I wanted to stay up to see if they did … and mum didn't want me staying up any later so she…*

turned the TV off and I turned it back on and she got really mad and then she threatened to take the TV away (Dyad 6, line 6)

Dyad 12

Researcher: *So when your mum told you off ... how did you respond ... well... not told off, but perhaps expressed that she was a bit grumpy with you, how, how did you respond to her? What did you say to her?*
Susan (child): *Mmm ... I think I ... kept silent and then ... I slammed the door when I got out of the car* (Dyad 12, line 237)

Sub-theme 2.9: Parents were not proactively involved in resolving the DE (parent)

Unresolved and misattuned DEs can cause a rupture between parent and child. Nine participant parents (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 11) were not involved in the DE repair process with their child to help them make sense of the DE outcome, either by way of apologising, behavioural action (e.g., hugs) or a discussion post DE. Parents appeared to be unaware or unwilling to help resolve the DE rupture. For example:

Dyad 8

Diane (parent): *Ummm ... ummm ... trying to think ... I don't recall saying you can ... I think I said "Right then ... I suppose that is an apology of sorts ummm… ummm ... you can get up ..."*
Researcher: *And go?*
Diane (parent): *Yeah* (Dyad 8, line 270)

Dyad 9

Sally (parent): *… I think he just said sorry, but by that time I just sent him to his room and told him to stay there until I let him out* (Dyad 9, line 70)

Dyad 10

Researcher: *So ummm they were kind of squabbling about what happened and you were trying to make sense of it and what they were squabbling about and then what happened after that?*
Suzie (parent): *Ummm ... basically they went back to making their breakfast* (Dyad 10, line 74)

Sub-theme 2.10: Parents helped children resolve the DE (parent)

However, four participant parents (Dyads 5, 7, 12 and 13) assisted their children in repairing or resolving the DE process in some form such as apologising, giving their child a hug, or discussing the DE (or a combination of methods) with their children. For example:

Dyad 5

> Shane (parent): *We both said sorry to each other and gave each other a hug and ya know ... we didn't mean it and all that stuff and ya know ...* (Dyad 5, line 234)

Dyad 7

> Elaine (parent): *... so I asked her to come and cuddle me because there is a waiting room where nobody is there ...* (Dyad 7, line 13)

Dyad 12

> Carin (parent): *… I just let myself chill for a little while, I let her chill for a little while... for about an hour ... and ummm just knocked on her door and went into her bedroom and just chatted to her and just said to her "Look, this is why I do what I do and I know what you are capable of and I just find it incredibly frustrating and I don't mean to give you a hard time about it, but I just need you to know this is why" ... so yeah ... we hugged and she was fine ...* (Dyad 12, line 75)

Dyad 13

> Janet (parent): *…"Look come and sit on my knee and tell me what is actually going on" and she came and sat and I said "What's going on?" and she said she actually had to enter the writing competition and I said you don't have to enter* (Dyad 13, line 36)

Sub-theme 2.11: Children regulated themselves (child)

As highlighted previously, many of the parents were not involved in the repair of the DE process. Seven participant children (Dyads 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 11) shared this perspective and resolved any emotional fall-out or regulated their emotions without parental assistance. For example:

Dyad 1

> Researcher: *And when you left to go to the park ... how did you feel?*
> Cory (child): *I still felt frustrated that I wasn't allowed bringing it* (Dyad 1, line 359)

Dyad 3

> Andrew (child): *She didn't say anything actually. She just walked off and put the iPad ummm ... in a high place and thought I couldn't reach*
> Researcher: *Right*
> Andrew (child): *Yeah*
> Researcher: *And what did you say to her?*
> Andrew (child): *Arr ... I said nothing. I just went in the car and you know ... kinda deal with it* (Dyad 3, line 85)

Dyad 4

> Researcher: *What did she say to you, when you talked about it afterwards?*

Steve (child): *Ummm ... I just ... I'm not really sure ... telling me to come to dinner ... telling me to get my sister to come to dinner*
Researcher: *You didn't talk about the argument generally?*
Steve (child): *Nnnoooo* (Dyad 4, line 128)

<u>Sub-theme 2.12: Children experienced help to resolve/repair the DE (child)</u>

On the other hand, some parents were involved in the resolution or repair process of the DE according to the child's perspective. Five (Dyads 3, 5, 7, 12 and 13) of the participant children experienced their parents' help with regulation and/or finding a solution post DE. Parents either apologised and/or discussed the DE with their child, or provided suggestions. For example:

Dyad 5

Catherine (child): … *I think he would have probably regretted it cause he was like ... when I said "I'm sorry dad" and he was like "I'm sorry and I know I shouldn't have used that language". I don't think he meant to do it, it's just that sometimes he gets blown off* (Dyad 5, line 224)

Dyad 7

Sasha (child): *I could just practice new songs at home ... because I have some books at home too ... from when mum was playing and then focus on the grade exam after the lesson*
Researcher: *Right, did you explain that to mum?*
Sasha (child): *Well, she said it was a good idea and I could start playing some songs once I'd done every day what I needed to do for the grade exam* (Dyad 7, line 73)

Dyad 13

Izzy (child): … *I was pretty like angry and frustrated and so and then I just kept yelling cause I didn't really know what to put in there I guess, but then ... she came back in I think and ummm ... said I should do it later and then leave it for a while, which I did* (Dyad 13, line 121)

Theme 3: Children Are Vulnerable to Adult Positions

This theme considers the child's experience of their familial position as a result of their parent's behaviours and beliefs. Parents were frustrated with their child during the DE process, and although some of the parents reflected on their behaviour (either during the DE or retrospectively, during the interview), children were ultimately vulnerable to their parents' choices, beliefs and behaviours.

<u>Sub-theme 3.1: Parents experienced conflict within DE interactions (parent)</u>

Parents, as discussed in the following sub-themes below, experienced conflict during the DE, that impacted on their behaviour towards their children. Of the 13 participant parents, 10

parents (Dyads 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12) reported behavioural and emotional conflict such as shouting at their child or experienced frustration at the need to repeat instructions during their DE dyad interaction. For example:

Dyad 1

Linda (parent) described her frustration at having to repeatedly instruct her son (Cory) not to use the stick on the trampoline. Cory finally complied, without a choice, as the stick was removed, broken up and discarded.

> Linda (parent): *I asked him (Cory) to bring the stick to me … and I did repeat myself about three times … and he said ... "No, I am going on the trampoline" and I said "You're not taking the stick on the trampoline" so he set it over by the fence and then he got on the trampoline – so I just walked over and took the stick – so we didn't have a confrontation about him giving the stick ... he just left it there and I took it*
> Researcher: *And he saw you doing it?*
> Linda (parent): *Yep, he was right there*
> Researcher: *Did he say anything?*
> Linda (parent): *Oh yeah … he was yelling at me "Don't wreck my stick, I want my stick …"* (Dyad 1, line 376)

Dyad 4

Nancy (parent) expressed her frustration as a result of having to repeat instructions to Steve (son) and yelled at Steve. Steve believed he had genuinely forgotten to complete all of his homework, and in fact described an elaborate system (refer to Dyad Vignette 4) to encourage him to remember in the future.

> Nancy (parent): … *I just got really frustrated because ya know … homework needs to be done, he is 10 years old and he should know that and I just get really tired of having to repeat myself when I ask him to do stuff and he got grumpy and said I hadn't told him that and that I had only asked him to do one thing yeah* (Dyad 4, line 29)

Dyad 8

Diane (parent) shouted at her son (Greg) to comply with her directives, yet Greg believed he was not at fault, but was punished regardless.

> Diane (parent): *... well … I yelled at him and made him sit down and then I didn't talk to him* (Dyad 8, line 233)

Sub-theme 3.2: Childhood experiences influenced parent's beliefs (parent)

This sub-theme was identified as a result of the interview process with the participant parents. Some of the participant parents referred to their own childhoods to assist in explaining their motivation for their behaviour towards their child during the DE. This left

the children vulnerable to the parents' historic experiences. For example, Carin (Dyad 12) was heavily involved in competitive sport in her youth and strongly encouraged her daughter, Susan, to also compete in the sporting arena. However, Susan indicated in her interview that her mother's persistence or pressure in regards to sport was annoying. For example, "*she wants me to do well in it … she wants me to do well in everything and try new things … and it gets annoying* (Dyad 12, line 125). Six of the 13 parent participants (Dyads 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 12) acknowledged childhood influences. These included experiences of competitive sporting activity, bullying and career opportunities. For example:

Dyad 7

> Elaine (parent): … *the fact that I did several careers shows that I think it's important for every stage of your life that you follow your passion … and I can only do that because my parents made sure that I … artistically, but also musically and academically and I developed my own sports …* (Dyad 7, line 336)

Dyad 8

Diane (parent) assumed that her older child had hit her younger child and associated this act with "*bullying*". Furthermore, Diane punished her son and instructed him to sit at her feet without an explanation.

> Researcher: *Were you bullied when you were little?*
> Diane (parent): *Arr, yes, and I also became a bully*
> Researcher: *… who were you bullied by?*
> Diane (parent): *It was ummm two girls at school … primary school … and I know their names* (Dyad 8, line 196)

Dyad 12

> Carin (parent): *Oh, I'm just competitive ... I am really sporty and I'm really competitive and quite a driven person … like I competed for my country in a sport* [when she was younger] *so I am a very driven person ... poor Susan!* (Dyad 12, line 119)

Sub-theme 3.3: Children experienced the DE negatively (child)

Similar to their parents' DE experience, 11 of the 13 participant children experienced negative emotions as a result of their interactions with their parent. Yet, the children experienced the conflict in a different manner or with a different meaning to their parents. In other words, their conflict was experienced as a result of being submissive to their parents' interpretations. Participant children from Dyads 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 ,9, 10, 12 and 13 acknowledged negative emotions during or subsequent to the DE, that included concerns over unfairness and not having the ability to voice their perspective. For example:

Dyad 8

Greg continued to feel angry subsequent to the DE as a result of his interactions with his mother during the DE. Greg indicated that his anger related to his mother not seeking his perspective of the DE and being unfairly blamed.

> Greg (child): *it was like ... it was unfair ... Emily does it all the time* (Dyad 8, line 220)
> Researcher: *So after you said sorry, how did you feel, and you could get up and go, how did you feel?*
> Greg (child): *Well ... still mad* (Dyad 8, line 242)

Dyad 9

Joshee Bear (child) was confused by his mother's directives, and could not express his concern in a way that was heard, therefore Joshee Bear experienced emotions such as annoyance and anger during the DE.

> Researcher: *And then when mum asked to put shoes outside ... when mum came home and got grumpy with you, how did you feel?*
> Joshee Bear (child): *Grumpy*
> Researcher: *And then how did you feel when you went to your room?*
> Joshee Bear (child): *Annoyed*
> Researcher: *Why?*
> Joshee Bear (child): *Cause it's kinda of annoying when she tells me to put them outside, but then this time tells me to put them inside, but I put them outside* (Dyad 9, line 154)

Dyad 10

Another participant child (Zed) also felt unfairly blamed by his parent and experienced frustration during the DE.

> Researcher: *So when it was all finished and you came out of the bedroom, how did you feel?*
> Zed (child): *I felt like arrgghhh ... why do I always get the blame? ... Sometimes I even just go to my room and I just tense up my fists and take out all my anger… or I just say arrghhh ... or I go just sit down in my room and just cover my head or something and just say blaahhh ... that's how it's gonna be* (Dyad 10, line 275)

Dyad 7

Sasha (child) expressed "*annoyed*" and "*angry*" as a result of her DE with her mother. This was communicated compellingly in her diary entry (Appendix K).

Sub-theme 3.4: Children experienced negative reinforcement (child)

Participant parents implemented punitive-orientated discipline methods (negative reinforcement) during the DE most likely designed to achieve compliance, control the environment and enforce their parenting goals. Eight (Dyads 1, 3, 4,5, 6, 8, 9 and 10) participant children experienced their parent implementing or threatening a punishment such as removal of privileges (e.g., iPad), being placed into time-out (i.e., sent to their room), or a parent removing their emotional and/or practical support from the child. The punishment was implemented irrespective of fault or fairness regarding the cause of the DE. For example:

Dyad 1

Cory (child) wanted to take a stick to the park to use for tobogganing. His mother denied the request, believing instead that the stick would be used as a weapon. Cory's mother discarded the stick without any negotiation with Cory.

> Researcher: *So ... what did your mum do with it then ... she broke it in half – what happened – she put it in the recycling bin?*
> Cory (child): *Yeah ... and then what ... I went out there and I said "Please mum" and she kept saying "no" so I kept doing it anyway ... and then she grabbed it and put it in the ummm cupboard thing* (Dyad 1, line 89)

Dyad 4

Steve (child) believed he genuinely forgot to complete his homework and discussed in the interview how he could ensure it did not happen in the future. Irrespective of Steve's forgetfulness, his mother sent him to his room.

> Steve (child): *I think I had to go to my room for a little bit and basically it just wasn't the best mood for the rest of the evening* (Dyad 4, line 65)

Dyad 5

Another participant child (Catherine) had asked her father for help with her maths homework. Catherine had difficulty comprehending her father's math explanation which she expressed to her father. Her father became frustrated and instructed Catherine not to ask for any additional help.

> Catherine (child): *he didn't call me once ... he said ... he was like "f...k I am not helping you anymore"*
> Researcher: *Ohhh right ... ok ... sort of f u c k (spelt), I am not helping you anymore?*
> Catherine (child): *Yeah ... that's why I called him a retard* (Dyad 5, line 120)

Dyad 6

Lucy, a participant child, needed an additional 10 minutes after her usual bedtime to view an awards show on TV. The awards show was an unusual occasion in that it was a yearly event and not a regular event. Lucy's parent did not want to deviate from the typical bedtime and threatened to remove her TV unless she complied with her parents' directives.

> Researcher: *What were you saying to him (dad)?*
> Lucy (child): *ummm ... I was saying ... like "Please don't turn it off ... dad it will only be a few more minutes until was on"*
> Researcher: *And he was saying?*
> Lucy (child): *Ummm he didn't really say anything ... he just turned it off and said "If you don't do as you are told" he was gonna ... "You are gonna lose it"* (Dyad 6, line 270)

Dyad 8

Greg, a participant child, believed he had not initiated the DE, yet was punished by his mother and made to sit on the floor at his mother's feet. His family was instructed to ignore him, which included his mother.

> Greg (child): *My mum told me to sit ...* [on the floor] *and like inside I was laughing because it made it seem like a dog ... yanno ... you know how people say to dogs "sit"* (Dyad 8, line 16)

Sub-theme 3.5: Parents shouted (child)

Further to the previous sub-theme that discussed negative reinforcement, three participant children (Dyads 4, 6 and 9) experienced their parent raising their voices towards them during the DE. This was irrespective of how fair they believed their parent's behaviour was during the DE. For example:

Dyad 4

> Steve (child): *Ummm mum came back in and she saw that I wasn't doing it and so she got rather frustrated and then raised her voice quite loud and told me to do it* (Dyad 4, line 7)

Dyad 6

> Lucy (child): *She was a little bit angry that I was still watching it and around the last time they were kind of, dad was kind of yelling* (Dyad 6, line 101)

Dyad 9

> Joshee Bear (child): *Ohhh ... then she yelled at me for leaving stuff around* (Dyad 9, line 36)

Sub-theme 3.6: Parents were calm (child)

Not all parents used a frustrated tone or shouted at their children. It was, however, just three participant children (Dyads 7, 12 and 13) who acknowledged that their parent used a calm or neutral tone during the DE. For example:

Dyad 7

> Researcher: *So when your mum spoke to you about doing your grade … how do you think she responded to you?*
> Sasha (child): *I think she was kind of calm* (Dyad 7, line 201)

Dyad 12

> Researcher: *So when she was talking to you how was she talking? Was she grumpy or was she … how was her tone of voice that she was using?*
> Susan (child): *ummm … her normal voice ummm because she always tells us off with her normal voice* (Dyad 12, line 95)

Dyad 13

> Researcher: *How would you describe mum's behaviour during the disagreement?*
> Izzy (child): *She stayed pretty calm for most of it …* (Dyad 13, line 166)

Sub-theme 3.7: Parents reflected and wanted to change their behaviour (parent)

The participant parents were asked during the interview process if they would do anything differently next time. Eight parents (Dyads 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12) acknowledged that they were either dissatisfied with their conduct throughout the DE process, and/or would prefer to alter their behaviour for any similar DEs in the future. The parents focused on their need to give their child some space and step back from the DE to allow the child to find an appropriate solution, as opposed to considering any of their own personal triggers that may have influenced their behaviour. For example:

Dyad 2

> Researcher: *Would you do anything differently next time?*
> Natalie (parent): *Maybe compromise and let her have her five minutes with her towel in her hair and at the end of the day it's not such a big deal really* (Dyad 2, line 157)

Dyad 5

> Researcher: *So would you do anything differently next time?*
> Shane (parent): *Ummm yeah … that's a good question. I'd probably … I would probably just leave it for a bit and just ummm yeah … not to push to quite so hard … just not be so direct … just leave her to work through it a bit on her own first* (Dyad 5, line 173)

Dyad 7

> Researcher: *Would you do anything differently?*
> Elaine (parent): *Ummm ... yes ... I think ummm ... I think I would have had more rest internally ... and take even more time to make sure she knows that I listen to her* (Dyad 7, line 276)

Sub-theme 3.8: Parents were concerned for their child's wellbeing (parent)

Participant parents rationalised or acknowledged in the interview, thus retrospectively and not directly to their children, that aspects of the motivation for their behaviour during the DE was their concern for their child's wellbeing. Seven parents (Dyads 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12 and 13) indicated either an element of concern regarding their child's wellbeing, or described their child's characteristics positively. For example:

Dyad 7

> Elaine (parent): *… making sure that I, making sure that I am looking for ways ... to keep it interesting for her so I, I bought into her memory that I took out my, that I took out my old music books and gave it to her to study ...* (Dyad 7, line 75)

Dyad 12

> Carin (parent): *… I understand Susan's shyness because even though I was competitive when I was a kid I was still fairly shy ... and I had to talk to myself to push myself out of my comfort zone as well ... I do get it. I understand ... but I don't want life to pass her by* (Dyad 12, line 138)

Dyad 13

> Janet (parent): *I thought she was tired ... sometimes she is so bright stopping and taking a moment to do some work ... you know the process of leading up to producing something she forgets that and expects it to come out ... you know ...* (Dyad 13, line 125)

Theme 4: Children Assimilated Adult Positions

> Research question 1c: How did the parent's interactions with the child affect the child?

This theme and further sub-themes below emerged from the data that indicated children's susceptibility to their environmental influences, specifically to their parents' behaviours and beliefs. The following sub-themes provide insight to consider the third research question. The findings indicated that although children reflected on their behaviour during the DE, their thought processes were aligned with potentially meeting the sociocultural (environmental) expectations and meeting their parents' needs associated with their beliefs. Children appeared to encapsulate their parents' paradigm and rationalise their own behaviour

in accordance with their parents' expectations; for example, children took responsibility for the DE, and provided explanations for their parents' potentially poor and/or unfair behaviour. Yet, the parent's interactions affected the child in a number of ways.

Sub-theme 4.1: Children reflected on their behaviour (child)

Participant children considered, retrospectively, if or how they would want to behave differently if a similar DE occurred in the future. Nearly all participant children (Dyads 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12 and 13), apart from the child from Dyad 10 (whom indicated that he would change his behaviour by avoiding his sister, as opposed to considering how he might change his own behaviour) were disappointed with their behaviour, irrespective of fairness and responsibility. For example:

Dyad 4

Although Steve, a participant child, believed his mother did not hear his perspective, he considered an elaborate strategy to ensure he did not forget his homework in the future.

> Steve (child): *I would ummm I'd either pick up a piece of Lego and put it in a specific place ... just made it standing upright and looked at it and think ah yeah ... I have to do my homework ... go over and do it and then just avoided an argument entirely* (Dyad 4, line 340)

Dyad 9

Similarly, Joshee Bear (a participant child), was confused by his mother's directive and whose voice was not heard through the DE process believed he would simply follow his mother's directive next time. For example:

> Researcher: *Would you do it differently next time?*
> Joshee Bear (child): *Listen to her ... like put my shoes inside if she said that*
> Researcher: *Right ... even though you would think they were supposed to be outside?*
> Joshee Bear (child): *Yes* (Dyad 9, line 117)

Dyad 12

Susan (a participant child), still felt guilty for her behaviour even though her preference was to not have to undertake all the sports requirements stipulated by her mother.

> Researcher: *So overall how do you feel about the response you gave?*
>
> Susan (child): *I feel guilty and wish I hadn't done it* (Dyad 12, line 322)

Dyad 13

Izzy (a participant child), was involved in a reflective process, but was initially resistant. Izzy indicated that there was a need for improvement irrespective of her level of frustration during the DE.

> Researcher: *Would you behave differently next time do you think?*
> Izzy (child): *I would probably … like answer the questions she asked me to myself earlier so I could calm down earlier* (Dyad 13, line 238)

Sub-theme 4.2: Children rationalised their parents' behaviour (child)

In direct contrast, where only some participant parents indicated their ability or motivation to consider their child's perspective all, 13 (Dyads 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13) participant children were willing to consider their parents' perspective and behaviours (irrespective of whether their insights were accurate). Their considerations included acknowledging additional stressors in their parents and supporting their parents' responses. For example:

Dyad 3

> Andrew (child): *She told me to get off the iPad ummm a couple of times. I didn't really listen to her and ya know I think it was a good idea to just take the iPad off so I can't go on it* (Dyad 3, line 116)

Dyad 4

> Steve (child): *When dad's away on a work trip … mum's the only one who does like the proper work around the house … and I guess that must get pretty stressful … and gets upset … right now dad is in America* (Dyad 4, line 290)

Dyad 6

> Researcher: *What did you think about the way they responded to you? What do you think about the way they acted towards you?*
> Lucy (child): *Ummm it kinda was … probably it was the right thing ... like I shouldn't of been up that late watching TV…* (dyad6, line 113)

Sub-theme 4.3: Children took responsibility (child)

The study's findings also indicated that seven of the thirteen participant children (Dyads 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 11) took responsibility for the cause of the DE regardless of whether they believed they were at fault. The children either felt disappointed or believed it was their responsibility to put things right. They either apologised or were directed to apologise to either the parent or sibling involved in the DE. For example, Greg (Dyad 8) was instructed to apologise to his sister, although it was his sister who initiated the DE. Lucy (Dyad 6)

apologised for being defiant, yet her parents did not negotiate alternatives or discuss Lucy's perspective with her. Andrew (Dyad 3) apologised and accepted that he was in the wrong, yet his mother didn't acknowledge her potentially poor behaviour during the DE process, such as "*snatching*" the iPad from Andrew. For example:

Dyad 3

> Andrew (child): *I knew she would forgive me at the end of the day and at the end of the day she came and gave me a hug and a kiss and I apologised and I said "I am sorry for being mean"* (Dyad 3, line 202)

Dyad 6

> Lucy (child): *Ummm they both came back and to say good night and then I said "Sorry I didn't do as I was told" ...* (Dyad 6, line 289)

Dyad 8

> Greg (child): *When Emily walked away my mum was like "Wait your brother has something to say to you don't you?" and I was like "No" cause I was so mad at Emily ... I wish I was away from her... and then probably a few seconds later I was like "Ummm sorry" and my mum just let me go ...* (Dyad 8, line 242)

Sub-theme 4.4: Children believed they behaved poorly towards their parent (child)

In addition to taking responsibility and changing their behaviour, six children (Dyads 1, 2, 3, 5, 12 and 13) were affected by their parents' behaviour and experienced feelings of guilt or sadness as a result of their actions (albeit positive or negative) towards their parent. It is important to note that the children experienced these emotions irrespective of fault or responsibility for the DE. For example, Andrew's mother (Dyad 3) "snatched" his iPad from him without negotiation, but Andrew still felt "sad" as a result of his own behaviour towards his mother. Susan (Dyad 12) was not provided with an opportunity to share her perspective with her mother during the DE, yet still felt "guilty" for her behaviour.

Dyad 3

> Researcher: *Why did you behave that way?*
> Andrew (child): *Ahhh ... I don't know ... like every single boy does a ... he's always mean to his mum or something ya know ... sometimes* (Dyad 3, line 136)

> Andrew (child): *I am more sad to see my mother angry ... I don't really want to make people angry ...* (dyad3, line 172)

Dyad 5

> Catherine (child): *... but I am still feeling a bit guilty cause I called him a retard ... like half way between annoyed with dad and then sorry for dad that I called him that* (Dyad 5, line 162)

Dyad 11

> Researcher: *So overall how do you feel about the response you gave?*
> Susan (child): *I feel guilty and I wish I hadn't done it* (Dyad 11, line 322)

Sub-theme 4.5: Children believed they needed to do as they were told (child)

Just as participant parents believed that their children needed to simply comply with parental directives (discussed in a sub-theme earlier in this section), many of the participant children also shared this belief. The participant children indicated that they didn't get to make decisions and some defined themselves as "naughty". Ten (Dyads 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 11) children experienced their parent asserting the right to make decisions on their behalf and accepted this power dynamic as a given. For example:

Dyad 3

> Researcher: *What did you think of your behaviour?*
> Andrew (child): *Arrrr ... kinda naughty actually* (Dyad 3, line 127)

Dyad 6

> Lucy (child): *They would probably ... like thinking that I was being a bit naughty and not doing what ... what they ... what I was told* (Dyad 6, line 204)

Dyad 9

> Joshee Bear (child): *I don't get to make decisions* (Dyad 9, line 65)

Sub-theme: 4.6: Parents behaved fairly according to their child (child)

Some of the participant children (Dyads 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 11 and 13) indicated that their parents behaved fairly during the DE process (irrespective of the parents' intentions and behaviour), despite in earlier sub-themes suggesting that their DE experience was negative and the communication during the DE was confusing. For example, Linda (Dyad 1) removed and discarded the stick without negotiation with her child, yet her child believed his mother behaved fairly. Joshee Bear (Dyad 9) perceived his mother's behaviour as fair, irrespective of the fact that his mother's directives were contradictory and he was punished (time-out). One of the participant children (Rachael, Dyad 11) held a mixed view regarding her mother's behaviour and offered responses that were coded in both the fairness and unfairness categories. Furthermore, five parents (Dyads 1, 6, 8, 9, 11) held the view that their child

would perceive their parent's behaviour during the DE as unfair, yet as discussed prior, four of the children believed their parent behaved fairly. For example:

Dyad 1

> Researcher: *How fair do you think your mum's actions were?*
> Cory (child): *Yeah ... cause she was scared, sort of, that something was going to happen to me* (Dyad 1, line 253)

Dyad 9

> Researcher: *Do you think her sending you to your room, do you think she was very fair?*
> Joshee Bear (child): *Hmmm ... yes ... cause I don't get to make the decisions*
> Researcher: *You don't get to make the decisions ... so do you think what she did was fair?*
> Joshee Bear (child): *Hmmm ... yeah ... cause I had an argument with her*
> Researcher: *Right ... even though you were confused?*
> Joshee Bear (child): *Yes* (Dyad 9, line 173)

Dyad 13

> Researcher: *Do you think your mum's behaviour was fair or unfair?*
> Izzy (child): *yeah ... it was fair* (Dyad 13, line 170)

Sub-theme 4.7: Parents had good intentions (child)

The participant children (Dyads, 1, 5, 6 and 9) also held the view that their parents' behaviour was motivated to some extent out of care and concern for their wellbeing. For example, one participant child (Cory, Dyad 1) believed his mother was concerned for his personal safety. Indeed, his mother had safety concerns, but in fact she stated in the interview that she was more concerned for the safety of the other children, such as Cory's younger brother, rather than having a concern for Cory. For example, Linda (Dyad 1, parent) explained, "*I just thought, that is going to go through the side of the trampoline, or ummmm, yeah, I could just see him poking his younger brother with it*" (Dyad 1, line 244). Catherine (child) explained that her father was only trying to help, even though her father was adamant the maths problem had to be solved his way, and Lucy (child) explained that her mother believed it was important for her to get some sleep so she was not tired. For example:

Dyad 1

> Researcher: *she took the stick away and broke it in half and then told you you weren't allowed to take the sticks to the park because it was unsafe. Do you think she behaved in a way that was fair?*
> Cory (child): *Yeah ... cause she was scared, sort of, that something was going to happen to me* (Dyad 1, line 259)

Dyad 5

> Catherine (child): *well … he was trying to help me which was pretty nice and when he was trying to make a different question out of it I think he wanted me to ummm ummm he wanted me to do other maths … to like try and help* (Dyad 5, line 162)

Dyad 6

> Lucy (child): *… mum didn't want me staying up any later* (Dyad 6, line 66)

Theme 5: Children Evaluated Environments

Although the data indicated that children were vulnerable to and affected by their parents behaviour (discussed in the sub-themes in this chapter) and they were involved in a hierarchical power structure, the participant children had their own insight regarding their parents' behaviour and the dynamic of the DE. This theme and further sub-themes consider the children's views regarding their parents' behaviour and their difficulties or experiences with the parent–child communication, for example their concerns about sharing further thoughts with their parent, and their preference for DE processes to change in the future.

<u>Sub-theme 5.1: Parents behaved unfairly according to children (child)</u>

As mentioned earlier, 11 of the participant children experienced negative emotions, such as frustration, anger and sadness during the DE, yet just six (Dyads 4, 5, 6, 8, 10 and 11) participant children believed that their parent behaved in an unfair manner during the DE. For example:

Dyad 4

> Researcher: *You were frustrated then because you had forgotten to do your homework?*
> Steve (child): *Yes I was frustrated with mum because she was being really really unfair*
> Researcher: *How was she being unfair?*
> Steve (child): *Ummm … basically she just … I'd forgotten to do something … a lapse of memory, yet I still get punished for doing it* (Dyad 4, line 110)

Dyad 5

> Researcher: *So would you… how fair do you think he was?*
> Catherine (child): *No… I well… he was trying to help me which was pretty nice and when he was trying to make a different question out of it, I think he wanted me to ummm… ummm… he wanted me to do other maths… to like try and help*
> Researcher: *Yep*
> Catherine (child): *So no I don't think it was very fair, cause he was just getting angry at me over me asking him not to help* (Dyad 5, line 162)

Dyad 6

> Lucy (child): *... like what they did probably was the best thing ... because it was quite late, but then it wasn't very fair that they didn't even ask me when it was finished ... like even if it only had two minutes to go they would've unplugged it anyway* (Dyad 6, line 173)

Dyad 8

> Researcher: *How fair do you think your mum was when she did what she did?*
> Greg (child): *Ummm ... she was ... ummm ... not fair at all ... I was like dang ... I wish I could go away ... like because, I was like ... I wish I was in America already* (Dyad 8, line 123)

Dyad 10

> Researcher: *So you think it was fair how your mum acted?*
> Zed (child): *No ... no not at all ... they just treat me a bit like ... bit like trash ... you know the saying "middle child gets it the worst?"*
> Researcher: *Mmmm*
> Zed (child): *Yeah, so I am the middle child in this part*

Sub-theme 5.2: Children were confused and/or unsure during DEs (child)

Some of the participant children experienced confusion and/or difficulty in understanding their parents' messages during the DE. Five of the 13 participant children (Dyads 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9) experienced confusion regarding their parents' expectations or had difficulty understanding their parents' communication. For example:

Dyad 4

> Researcher: *So the first thing she did was ask you to move your shoes?*
> Joshee Bear (child): *Outside and then I said "No"... she told me to move them inside and then she told me to move them outside and I didn't want to put them inside because she says no shoes on the carpet ... so she is telling me to put them inside*
> Researcher: *Right... so that is that a bit confusing?*
> Joshee Bear (child): *Yes* (Dyad 4, line 223)

Dyad 5

> Lisa (child): *I was kind of confused when she said "comb your hair now" and I said "but it's not damp"* (Dyad 5, line 226)

Dyad 6

> Researcher: *So you were watching TV and do you think ummm did you feel like you were allowed to do that?*
> Lucy (child): *ummm ... well they hadn't said not to ... so I wasn't really sure whether I was allowed to or not* (Dyad 6, line 80)

Dyad 7

> Sasha (child): *Well … ummm she asked me why I was crying and I told her and she kind of explained why I was doing it, but I still didn't really get it so I asked her again* (Dyad 7, line 50)

Sub-theme 5.3: Children lacked understanding from parents (child)

A further nine of the participant children (Dyads 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10) believed their parents' lacked understanding regarding their needs. The children believed the parents' expectations were either unclear or they were frustrated that their parents were misinformed regarding their motivations and/or needs. The children may not have directly voiced these concerns to their parent, but they certainly experienced it. For example:

Dyad 6

Lucy (child) wanted to watch if one of her favourite TV shows had won an award. Lucy's bedtime was 9.00pm and the award was being presented within 5–10 minutes after her usual bedtime. Lucy was instructed to turn the TV off by her mother before she could view the awards show. Lucy was angry that her mother did not understand her motivation, but more importantly, Lucy thought her father had agreed to the delayed bedtime.

> Lucy (child): *… like dad knew that I wanted to stay up and watch that specific TV show get an award, but mum did not really know* (Dyad 6, line 213)

Dyad 7

Sasha (child) also expressed that her mother may have been confused as to what was causing her frustration in relation to her music exam.

> Sasha (child): *… I think she might have been a bit confused why I was finding it annoying doing that grade*
> Researcher*: What do you think she was confused about?*
> Sasha (child): *Like why I thought it was boring and why I didn't think the lessons were as much fun as they could be … she might have thought ummm about how ummm she could make a bit more fun every day for me to practice*
> Researcher: *What were you thinking?*
> Sasha (child): *Like … that could just do … ummm… just do a bit shorter grade practice … a bit more fun*
> Researcher: *so her fun ... her thing of making it a bit more fun was different to your thing of making it more fun?*
> Sasha (child): *Yeah* (dyad7, line 198)

Dyad 8

Greg, a participant child, also explained in the interview that his mother did not understand that his little sister had initiated the DE, before he was reprimanded.

Researcher: *Do you think your mum understood why you did what you did to Emily* [little sister]*?*
Greg (child): *No, not at all, I don't think ... all she did was hear it* (Dyad 8, line 229)

Sub-theme 5.4: Children had unshared additional messages (child)

Children withheld additional messages from their parent, yet the messages contained some relevant information that indicated how the child emotionally processed the DE. Indeed, aspects of the unshared messages were indicative of the children's inner feelings, their frustration and/or sadness, yet they felt unable to share these thoughts with their parent. Four participant children (Dyads 7, 8, 10 and 12) were involved in this sub-theme. For example:

Dyad 7

Similar to Susan's experience below, Sasha's mother believed she had provided her daughter with an environment to speak freely. However, Sasha still withheld additional information from her mother.

Researcher: *So when you are practicing at home do you want to be practicing ... even if it is the fun pieces?*
Sasha (child): *Sometimes ... sometimes not really*
Researcher: *What would you want to do if you were not practicing?*
Sasha (child): *Ummm ... I would quite like reading or practicing my cricket* (Dyad 7, line 184)

Dyad 8

Greg (child) felt frustrated with his sister and the predicament he found himself in, and he expressed a need to get away from his familial environment.

Greg (child): *I wish I could go away ... like because, I was like ... I wish I was in America already* (Dyad 8, line 123)

Dyad 12

Although Susan's parent indicated that she understood Susan's perspective, Susan withheld additional information from her mother as she believed it was too difficult to share these thoughts.

Susan (child): *... she wants me to do well at everything I do and pushes me to do heaps of other things... when I don't want to*
Researcher: *What would you like to do if it was your choice?*
Susan (child): *I would probably try new things that I want to, but not everything that she* [mum] *wants me to do. I would probably want to get my homework finished cause I haven't really got time for that I never hand it in on time and I get into trouble for that* (Dyad 12, line 213)

Regardless of who they believed was at fault during the DE, not all participant children needed the DE process to change. Only eight of the thirteen participant children (Dyads 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, and 13) held strong positions indicating their preference for the DE process to change in the future. As already acknowledged in this chapter, most children had difficulty with some elements of the DE, particularly the tone of voice used by their parents and their frustration with their parents not listening to their perspective. The children's focus for change was concerned with their experience of the DE and their interactions with their parent, as opposed to asking their parent to reflect on their beliefs or interpretation of the DE, which may have influenced their behaviours. For example:

Dyad 6

Although Lucy (child) wanted to watch TV for a further 10 minutes past her bedtime, her preference for the DE process to change focused on her parents' attitude as opposed to any unfairness she experienced or being heard by her parents. For example:

> Lucy (child): *... like dad could've been a little bit nicer about it* (Dyad 6, line 116)

Dyad 7

Sasha (child) requested that her mother seek additional information from her.

> Researcher: *What would you have wanted mum to have done?*
> Sasha (child): *Like ... kind of ask me a few questions why and then I would've had more of an idea how I can talk to her ... in which way ... and what... what I could say*
> Researcher: *Sooo, she would have inquired more?*
> Sasha (child): *That's easier for me to start up a conversation with someone else asking me something because I have more of an idea about what we are talking about* (Dyad 7, line 258)

Dyad 8

Greg (child) did not initiate the DE, yet his request for change related to his mother's tone of voice. Greg wanted his mother to use a less grumpy voice, as opposed to asking his mother to listen to his perspective. After further prompting, he suggested that his mother should have reprimanded his sister and not him.

> Researcher: *How would you like your mum to have responded when that happened with you and Emily? What would you have liked her to have done?*
> Greg (child): *It was like ... she was like ... just talk in her normal voice ... just grumpily*
> Researcher: *Yeah, and then what would you have liked her to have done?*

Greg (child): *Aahhhh mmmmmm dunno ... growl at Emily instead ... because it was all her fault, not mine* (Dyad 8, line 123)

Dyad 10

Zed (child) requested to be listened to, and believed the DE outcome would have been more productive for him as a result.

Zed (child): *Ummm, I would've liked if she could listen to my story and what actually happened ... cause if she listened to mine I wouldn't have been told off* (Dyad 10, line 241)

Theme 6: Dyads Relational Health

Research question 1d: What factors can be identified in these accounts that contribute to attunement/misattunement in the parent–child relationship?

This final key theme considers the thematic analysis findings alongside the PRQ results to ascertain the potential elements within a parent–child interaction that may influence whether the DE experience was an attuned or misattuned process. First, Tables 7 and 8 provide a summary of the dyad's positive and negative sub-themes identified from the thematic analysis process. Table 7 has been prioritised according to the number of positive sub-themes experienced by the attuned dyads. The order descends from the highest to the lowest total number of positive sub-themes experienced by the attuned dyads. Likewise, Table 8 has been prioritised according to the total number of negative sub-themes experienced by the misattuned dyads. The order descends from the highest to the lowest total number of negative sub-themes experienced by the misattuned dyads. The tables enable the reader to scan the findings and see the pattern of sub-themes for both groups.

Table 7 is presented according to the total number of positive themes experienced by each dyad in descending order.

Table 7. Summary of the dyads' positive sub-themes

Positive sub-themes	Misattuned dyads								Attuned dyads				
	1	2	4	5	6	8	9	10	3	7	11	12	13
1.2 Parent–child attuned in the cause of the DE (parent and child)									Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4.1 Children reflected on their behaviour (child)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2.12 Parents helped children repair/resolve the DE (child)				Y					Y	Y		Y	Y
2.4 Parents acknowledged the child's voice directly (parent)										Y	Y		Y
2.5 Parents recognised the child's perspective, retrospectively (parent)			Y	Y					Y			Y	Y
2.7 Children had a voice (child)										Y	Y		Y
2.10 Parents helped children resolve the DE (parent)				Y						Y		Y	Y
3.6 Parents were calm (child)										Y		Y	Y
3.7 Parents reflected and want to change their behaviour (parent)		Y		Y	Y	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y	
3.8 Parents were concerned for their child's wellbeing (parent)		Y	Y	Y	Y					Y		Y	Y
4.6 Parents behaved fairly according to children (child)	Y	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		Y
4.7 Parents had good intentions (child)	Y			Y	Y		Y						

Table 8. Summary of the dyads' negative sub-themes

Table 8 is presented according to the total number of negative themes experienced by each dyad in descending order.

Negative sub-themes	Misattuned dyads								Attuned dyads				
	1	2	4	5	6	8	9	10	3	7	11	12	13
1.1 Parent–child misattuned in the cause of the DE (parent and child)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
2.1 Children caused trouble (parent)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y				
2.2 Children needed to do as they were told (parent)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			
2.6 Children did not have a voice (child)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			Y	
4.2 Children rationalised their parents' behaviour (child)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4.5 Children believed they needed to do as they were told (child)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y		

Negative sub-themes	Misattuned dyads								Attuned dyads				
	1	2	4	5	6	8	9	10	3	7	11	12	13
2.3 Children's perspectives were irrelevant to parents (parent)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y		Y	Y	
2.9 Parents were not proactively involved in resolving the DE (parent)	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y		
3.1 Parents experienced conflict within DE interactions (parent)	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
3.3 Children experienced the DE negatively (child)	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y
3.4 Children experienced negative reinforcement (child)	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y				
5.3 Children lacked understanding and clarity from parents (child)		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			
2.11 Children regulated themselves (child)	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y	Y			Y		

Negative sub-themes	Misattuned dyads								Attuned dyads				
	1	2	4	5	6	8	9	10	3	7	11	12	13
4.3 Children took responsibility (child)			Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y		Y		
5.1 Parents behaved unfairly according to children (child)			Y	Y	Y	Y		Y			Y		
3.2 Childhood experiences influenced parents' beliefs (parents)			Y	Y	Y	Y				Y		Y	
5.2 Children were confused and/or unsure (child)			Y	Y	Y		Y			Y			
5.5 Children wanted change (child)		Y			Y	Y		Y	Y	Y		Y	Y
2.8 Children used non-verbal communication (child)	Y			Y	Y				Y			Y	
3.5 Parents shouted (child)			Y		Y		Y						
4.4 Children believed they behaved poorly (child)	Y	Y		Y					Y			Y	Y

Negative sub-themes	Misattuned dyads								Attuned dyads				
	1	2	4	5	6	8	9	10	3	7	11	12	13
5.4 Children had unshared additional messages (child)						Y		Y		Y		Y	

Sub-themes and key differences between attuned and misattuned dyad groups

Although many of the attuned and misattuned dyads identified with most of the sub-themes, a pattern emerged between the attuned and misattuned dyads. The misattuned dyad group appeared to experience a structured and hierarchical pattern of power. As discussed, all eight of the misattuned parents, but just one attuned parent, believed that children caused trouble. Seven of the misattuned and just two of the attuned parents believed that children should do as they are told and comply with their directives. The perspective of the child involved, in any form, albeit verbally or non-verbally, was irrelevant to the parents in the misattuned dyads, and the parents enforced their directives with the use of negative reinforcement and tone of voice. The misattuned children believed it was their role to do as their parents told them, and believed their parents' actions were a result of care and concern for their wellbeing. Yet, many of the misattuned children found the communication between themselves and their parent difficult and confusing, and they lacked parental understanding for their position or motivation. The misattuned parents' views also impacted on their ability or motivation to acknowledge the child's emotions both during and post the DE. Importantly, the misattuned parents were not involved with their child in the repair or resolution of the DE.

On the other hand, as indicated in the themes and sub-themes, the attuned dyads generally had a different DE experience. However, although most of the attuned parents (except Dyad 3) did not hold similar beliefs as the misattuned parents (children caused trouble and should do as they are told), the attuned children were still somewhat involved in a "structured and hierarchical pattern of power" with their parent. Indeed, all of the misattuned and attuned children were unable to influence the final outcome of the DE (parents dictated the outcome and had the authority). The attuned children, regardless of parental fairness, often viewed their behaviour toward their parent as poor. Importantly, however, some patterns of difference between the attuned and misattuned dyads emerged as a result of the thematic analysis. The attuned parents acknowledged and viewed their child's perspective as relevant, and although the children couldn't alter the outcome of the DE in any real way their parent's acknowledgement at least allowed them to meet some of their needs. Most of the attuned parents did not behave in a punitive manner (i.e., utilise negative reinforcement) towards their children, but instead adopted an inductive (negotiation) approach using a calmer tone throughout their interaction. The parent of Dyad 3, however, did use a punitive method to obtain compliance. The parent and child of Dyad 3 differed in their approach, as they both believed that the child's motivation for the DE was negative, whereas the remaining attuned

dyads believed their child's motivation was positive (as discussed above). Indeed, the attuned parents' beliefs appeared to impact on their responses towards their child throughout the DE process.

Thematic analysis and PRQ findings

Most of the attuned and misattuned dyads flagged issues associated with the PRQ categories (refer to Table 9), and the PRQ results also aligned or demonstrated a similar pattern to the thematic analysis findings. For example, Table 5 illustrates that the attuned dyads had a higher number of positive sub-themes and a lower number of negative sub-themes and fewer PRQ issues flagged than the misattuned dyads. The misattuned dyads, however, illustrated a higher number of negative sub-themes and a lower number of positive sub-themes with more PRQ issues flagged. Dyad 13 exhibited behaviours during and post the DE that identified with a high number of positive sub-themes and a low number of negative sub-themes. This dyad is discussed as an archetype below. Dyad 13 flagged a PRQ issue, but as a result of the participant parent's concern with one word, the issue was not considered a legitimate result (discussed in Chapter 3). Although two further attuned dyads (Dyads 3 and 7) did not flag any PRQ issues, Dyad 3 identified with a lower number of positive sub-themes and Dyads 3 and 7 had a substantially higher number of negative sub-themes than Dyad 13. Dyad 4 (also discussed as an archetype) exhibited behaviours during and post the DE that identified with a high number of negative sub-themes and a lower number of positive sub-themes than the attuned dyads. The dyad also flagged all five PRQ issues. Although one further misattuned dyad (Dyad 8) flagged all five PRQ issues, the dyad had a similar number of negative sub-themes and one less positive sub-theme than Dyad 4.

Attuned and misattuned archetype dyads

As a result of the parent and child interactions, two particular dyads (Dyad 4, misattuned and Dyad 13, attuned), provided relevant examples that illustrate the pattern according to the thematic analysis findings and the PRQ results. The dyads' patterns of behaviour during and post the DE highlighted the components that most likely influenced whether the DE and outcome was an attuned or misattuned process. Table 9 provides an overview of the positive and negative sub-themes for both the dyads and illustrates, as examples, the communication process within an attuned and misattuned dyad.

Table 9. Positive and negative sub-themes – Dyads 4 and 13

Positive sub-themes	Dyad 4	Dyad 13
1.2 Parent and child attuned in the cause of the DE (parent and child)		Y
2.4 Parents acknowledged the child's voice directly		Y
2.10 Parents helped children resolve the DE (parent)		Y
3.8 Parents were concerned for their child's wellbeing (parent)	Y	Y
2.5 Parents recognised the child's perspective, retrospectively (parent)	Y	Y
2.7 Children had a voice (child)		Y
3.6 Parents were calm (child)		Y
4.6 Parents behaved fairly according to children (child)		Y
2.12 Parents helped children repair/resolve the DE (child)		Y
4.1 Children reflected on their behaviour (child)	Y	Y
Negative sub-themes		
1.1 Parent/child misattuned in the cause of the DE (parent and child)	Y	
3.1 Parents experienced conflict within DE interactions (parent)	Y	
3.2 Childhood experiences influenced parent's beliefs (parent)	Y	
5.3 Children lacked understanding and clarity from parents (child)	Y	
5.2 Children were confused and/or unsure (child)	Y	
5.5 Children wanted change (child)		Y
2.3 Children's perspectives were irrelevant to parents (parent)	Y	
2.2 Children needed to do as they were told (parent)	Y	
2.1 Children caused trouble (parent)	Y	
2.9 Parents were not proactively involved in resolving the DE (parent)	Y	
2.6 Children did not have a voice (child)	Y	
4.5 Children believed they needed to do as they were told (child)	Y	
3.4 Children experienced negative reinforcement (child)	Y	
3.3 Children experienced the DE negatively (child)	Y	Y
5.1 Parents behaved unfairly according to children (child)	Y	
4.3 Children took responsibility (child)	Y	
4.4 Children believed they behaved poorly towards their parent (child)		Y
2.11 Children regulated themselves (child)	Y	
4.2 Children rationalised their parents' behaviour (child)	Y	Y

Summary of Table 9

The participants of Dyad 4 (Nancy, parent and Steve, child) experienced a conflicted and misattuned DE process. Nancy and Steve were misattuned in their understanding of the cause of the DE. Nancy and Steve both held the philosophy that children should do as they are told, and Nancy believed that children caused trouble. Nancy did not request Steve's perspective of the DE and was not involved in helping to repair the DE rupture. Nancy and Steve both experienced the DE as a conflicted process, and although Steve believed his mother behaved unfairly and was punished, he took responsibility for the DE and reflected that he had behaved poorly towards his mother. Furthermore, unlike Izzy (Dyad 13, discussed below), Steve did not want the DE process to change in the future.

The participants of Dyad 13 (Janet, parent and Izzy, child) indicated an attuned pattern both in their understanding of the cause of the DE and in their further communication and behavioural patterns during the DE. Janet acknowledged Izzy's voice with her, and asked for her perspective, whereas Nancy only acknowledged aspects of Steve's experience, retrospectively, during the interview process and not directly with Steve during the DE. Both Nancy and Janet indicated a concern for their child's wellbeing, however Izzy believed that her parent behaved fairly and remained calm throughout the DE. Janet, was also involved in the repair process post DE. Izzy and Steve both reflected on their involvement in the DE.

Summary of Attuned and Misattuned Dyads

As discussed in this chapter there were a number of distinct components that influenced the likelihood of the DE being an attuned or misattuned process. Those elements primarily focus on the participant parents' beliefs, which were shared, at times, by their participant child, and the nature of the relationship, being hierarchical and a dynamic based on a structure of power between the parent and the child. Although all dyads had a hierarchical element, the nature of this component appeared to manifest itself in a more obvious or prevalent way within the misattuned dyads, as illustrated by the sub-themes. Also, notwithstanding that nearly all dyads (attuned and misattuned) identified with some of the positive and negative sub-themes, a pattern did emerge, that related to the thematic analysis findings and aligned with the PRQ results and indicated a number of distinct differences between the attuned and misattuned dyads. These patterns can be summarised in three main points.

Firstly, the interpretation of the DE separated the attuned and misattuned groups. The parents and children within each misattuned dyad had different interpretations regarding the cause and the child's motivation for the DE, whereas the attuned dyads shared a similar

understanding. Nearly all the attuned parents acknowledged that the child had a voice. The parent's tone of voice was another indicator that separated the attuned and misattuned groups. The attuned parents kept calm, whereas the misattuned parents either raised their voice or communicated in a way that indicated that they were frustrated with their child. Surprisingly, the misattuned and attuned groups were differentiated as a result of the misattuned children believing that their parents' responses were well intentioned. In other words, they believed their parent were motivated in the DE by their care about them. The attuned children did not share this notion.

Secondly, although there may have been a couple of attuned or misattuned dyads within the sub-groups related to the following themes, there was still a distinct pattern that distinguished the two groups. Most of the misattuned parents indicated in some way that the child's perspective was irrelevant compared with the attuned group. The misattuned and attuned groups were also differentiated as a result of the repair process of the DE. The findings from the attuned group indicated that either the parent demonstrated their willingness and/or the child experienced assistance from their parent with regulation or resolving the DE. The misattuned parents and children, however, did not share this experience. A further distinction between the two groups related to the parent's and child's beliefs. Parents within the misattuned group typically believed that children caused trouble and should do as they are told. The misattuned children also shared the belief that they should do as they are told. Except for one or two dyads, the attuned group did not hold these philosophies. The use of negative reinforcement was a further component that distinguished the two groups. All but one of the misattuned dyads utilised punitive methods, compared with just one attuned dyad. Communication was another component—the misattuned dyads experienced confusion, such as altered expectations, or put simply, the changing of rules. The children also felt misunderstood by their parents, yet the misattuned children also experienced their parents behaving unfairly during the DE, more so than the attuned children.

Finally, a number of components were shared by the misattuned and attuned dyads. All of the attuned and misattuned children rationalised their parents' behaviour and some of the children from both groups took responsibility for the DE and believed their parents behaved fairly. Both the misattuned parents and children experienced the DE negatively, or with an element of conflict and some of the attuned and misattuned children used non-verbal communication to share their concerns with their parents. Some of the attuned and misattuned parents reflected on the child's perspective, retrospectively. Importantly, the

attuned parents tended to involve their children's voice in the DE directly, whereas some of the misattuned parents considered their child's perspective after the DE and only when asked. Nearly all (except for one child) of the participant children reflected on their behaviour either during or post the DE, whereas only some of the attuned and misattuned parents reflected on their behaviour. Both the misattuned and attuned parents also shared childhood experiences that may have influenced their responses during and post the DE, however, a combination of attuned and misattuned parents believed they were motivated out of concern for their child's wellbeing. The findings and what they could mean are discussed further in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Introduction

The DE between parent and child involved a number of well-established, normative and co-constructed processes. The thematic analysis findings and PRQ results highlighted differences in the relationship dynamics between the attuned and misattuned dyads. However, the two groups shared some beliefs and communication patterns that impacted on their DE experiences and outcomes. The objective of this chapter is to consider the findings (outlined in Chapter 5) in context of the wider literature (discussed in Chapter 2), and discuss the discipline interactions of the participant parents and children to provide further insight and understanding of their experiences. This chapter firstly discusses the thematic analysis findings in relation to the DE which is organised into three sections: the dyads' hierarchical, normative and misattuned processes; the child's visibility; and finally, a discussion on the consequent need for the child to moderate and manage their dyadic relationship with their parent. Secondly, the chapter considers the thematic analysis findings and the DE process alongside compelling results from the PRQ. This section focuses on two dyads (4 and 13) that emphasise the main differences between the misattuned and attuned group's interactions and beliefs. Further discussion provides an overview of the remaining dyads, and in particular, considers dyads whose experience while similar to the dyads in their group, still experienced slightly different interactive processes and PRQ results.

The Misattuned and Hierarchical Relationship

The dyadic relationship throughout the DE process was principally a misattuned, hierarchical, well-established, and normative practice. Most of the parent–child dyads were misattuned in their interpretation of the cause of the DE, and the parents undertook a position of authority throughout the DE interactions with their child. Indeed, the DE process was predominantly based on a welfare and/or paternalistic approach (as discussed in Chapter 2), where children were more than likely considered by their parent as incompetent based on life experience and age. Many of the children were not participants in the DE outcome as their parents were not motivated to obtain their child's perspective or even considered that the child offered a valid narrative or interpretation regarding their own motivation and subsequent behaviour and perspective of the DE. A number of influences determined the parent's (and their child's) responses, for example, their unconscious and historic processes and experiences that helped shape their inherent and socially constructed beliefs pertaining

to the role of the child. Indeed, the DE that was the subject of each dyad's work in this study occurred in a relational and social context in which the communication patterns and power dynamics had been well-established.

Parents dominated and were misattuned

A number of parents were misattuned with their children in their interpretation of the cause of the DE, yet they still governed the DE process and maintained their position of authority believing their hierarchical role was their familial right. Eight of the thirteen parent and child dyads (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10) were misattuned, leaving just five dyads (3, 7, 11, 12 and 13) sharing the same or similar interpretation, therefore were attuned in their understanding of the cause of the DE. The parent's hierarchical role was unquestioned by all the children whom assumed a subordinate position. Parents based their decisions and dictated the DE outcome because of their interpretation of the DE, assuming their perspective or understanding was the correct or only version to respond to. Unsurprisingly, some of the participant children had difficulty in expressing their interpretation of the DE, and initially recited to the researcher their parent's dominant version. Some of the children could articulate a "minority opinion" when probed further given the time and space to do so.

Atwool (2013) suggests that children need to have clearly defined boundaries to help establish emotional and physical safety, which most likely helps rationalise the parents' authoritarian position during interactions with their children. The attuned parents shared a similar interpretation of the DE as their child, which is thought to be a helpful element in the DE process (Hastings & Grusec, 1997), yet joined the misattuned parents in certain behaviours, such as presuming that their interpretation governed the DE process and expected their child to listen and abide by their rules and preferred DE outcome. On the one hand, this might appear to be a reasonable position—after all, most parents recognise their responsibility to guide and socialise their children towards becoming well-adjusted adults, yet it does not recognise the child's position in the current environment. Parents instead inadvertently or normatively marginalise their child's position when they perceive their child as "becoming" (Verhellen, 2015) as opposed to "being", leaving little room to recognise the child's need in that moment. Furthermore, for a DE to have a productive outcome, children need to internalise their parents' values (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). The parents' hierarchical position and need for compliance may be underpinned by their concerns regarding raising children to become regulated and socialised adults. However, the role that the parents assume during the DE process stifles the child's rights to provide their

perspective, which causes a misattuned process to occur and makes it more difficult for children to adopt their parents' values (Furstenberg, 1971). Although most of the children either undertook or were assigned a subservient role during a DE where their perspectives were considered irrelevant, some of the attuned children's perspectives were acknowledged and consequently did sway the DE outcome, but only to a small degree. The "parent knows best and is in charge" appeared to be the guiding and habitual principle for all parents in some form, however, this normative DE environment was also co-constructed (discussed later in this chapter) by both the parent and the child irrespective of their power imbalance.

Children's voices were irrelevant to parents

Most of the parents' hierarchical practices during the DE were founded on the notion that their child's perspective was inferior to their own interpretation and decision-making processes. The child's voice, for the most part, was irrelevant or invalid. Indeed, none of the misattuned children experienced their parent seeking their perspective directly, and seven misattuned parents did not even consider that their child had a perspective. On the other hand, all five of the parents who shared with their child some understanding of the cause of the DE recognised their child did have a perspective, although two of these attuned parents did not crosscheck their interpretation with their child. Furthermore, all the misattuned parents, as well as one attuned parent, assumed that the cause of the DE was a result of their child's negative intent (motivation). Simply put, their child intended to cause trouble through their actions. Parents were also frustrated at the need for repetitive instructions to enforce compliance (see Dyad 4). Indeed, parents shared similar constructs to the participants of studies conducted by Loeber et al. (1990) and Phares (1996). These studies suggested that children were not considered accurate or valid informants even on their own internal states, with the exception of worry, yet the mothers, fathers and teachers thought themselves to be superior observers of the children's own internal states and behaviours. Possible reasons for this could relate to the competency issue discussed by Hanson (2012) in Chapter 2.

Hanson (2012) suggests that one of the main challenges for adults is their perception of children and their ability to participate. Indeed, adults feel conflicted about children's sense of agency (Hayward, 2012) as children are often perceived as incompetent and their voice deemed irrelevant (Smith, 1998). Yet, Burton and Mitchell's (2003) study involving 47 children argued that children aged 10 years old believed that their self-knowledge was superior to others if the questions were specific. The wider literature also suggests a number of other reasons for parents to be largely indifferent to their children's perspective, for

example, fear that their authority will be challenged or undermined (Davie, 1996, as cited in Smith, 1998) or concern that children would take complete control as opposed to just participating in processes, as evidenced in Borland and colleagues' (1998) study.

The findings of this study add weight to the findings of earlier studies reviewed in Chapter 2, highlighting the importance of the parents' ability to understand their child's perspective, which encourages a harmonious relationship (Hastings & Grusec, 1997) and the likelihood of children adopting their parents' socialisation goals as their own (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Similarly, Davidov and Grusec (2006) believe there is a correlation between a mother's ability to accurately assess their children's perspective regarding a variety of discipline strategies and their ability to consider their child's voice during a DE. The attuned parents did have an accurate understanding of the cause of the DE and were more aware of their child's perspective.

Children's perspectives were both legitimate and crucial to the understanding of the DE. If parents had listened to their child's viewpoint and taken it seriously, a different outcome could have resulted in many cases. Most participant children (attuned and misattuned) were often frustrated that their voice wasn't heard or they were misunderstood. When some of the children did attempt to provide an explanation, the parents (as previously discussed), typically misinterpreted, misunderstood or ignored their child's voice. This scenario is not ideal, because for children to internalise their parents' discipline goals they need to be willing to accept their parents' directives as their own (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). However, when children experience negative emotions (i.e., dissatisfaction) during a DE they are less likely to hear the parents' discipline goals (Furstenberg, 1971).

Parents constructed negative beliefs

Participant parents' negative constructs pertaining to their children influenced their responses during and post the DE. The literature suggests that each individual interprets and assigns a unique perspective to a situation (Howe, 2011), yet this study found that many of the parents shared similar beliefs. Expressed in a variety of ways, two distinct beliefs, which influenced the parent and child dynamic, emerged from the findings. Parents internalised beliefs regarding the hierarchical nature of the distribution of power, and this was reflected in their responses, fundamentally believing that children hold an inferior position to adults and believing that children (and, specifically, their child) cause trouble and should do as they are told. Indeed, the link between these foundational beliefs and the misattuned parent and child's DE experiences was palpable. All the misattuned parents and one attuned parent

believed that children generally were intentionally naughty and their children wilfully caused the DE. Those same parents, including one further attuned parent expected immediate compliance as a result of their directives. Comparatively, although they still dominated the DE outcome, less than half of the attuned parents shared these notions. However, although two of the attuned parents believed that their child should do as they are told, the attuned parents at least acknowledged, in some way, the child's right to a perspective, therefore appear to have approached the DE with some form of awareness. Those negative parental assumptions were contradicted particularly by the misattuned children in the study. However, all of the children with the exception of one attuned child (Dyad 3), believed they had a logical and reasonable explanation for their behaviour (positively motivated) and that they did not set out to cause trouble intentionally.

Many parents (both attuned and misattuned) experienced conflict or negative emotions such as frustration during the DE process. The participant children's behaviour may indeed have caused a momentary disruption to the household. For example, Dyad 10 involved warring children in which the conflict was initiated without parental involvement, or if the child in Dyad 6 had just gone to bed at the prearranged time, the DE would not have occurred and therefore would not have caused an unnecessary conflict. Yet, these parental notions presuppose that familial environments run perfectly or, at least uneventfully all the time, assuming that human behaviour is consistent and without the influence of unhelpful or negative belief patterns. Avoiding ruptures (disagreement between parent and child) is unrealistic. Conflict is considered a normal and common occurrence within parent–child interactions, especially when adolescents are involved (Moed, et al., 2015; Smetana & Gaines, 1999). Indeed, the normative DE process experienced by the dyads is a part of everyday life, but how people respond to that conflict is an important practice that influences outcomes and developmental factors for children (Siegel, 2013).

Children understand their environment, their sense of self and their roles through their discourses and the assimilation of their parents' beliefs. Kastner and Russell (2013) explain that much of children's internalised self-knowledge is based on their perception and constructed meanings because of their interactions with their parents and others, particularly in their early years. The patterns of behaviour (discussed below) between parents and children are, however, considered to be co-constructed and bidirectional where the behaviours of both parent and child impact on and influence each other's beliefs and responses (Richardson, 2005; Smith, 1998). Children, according to most of the parents' beliefs, are in a subordinate role, most likely as a result of communication patterns

established in the child's early years. It is therefore little wonder that 10 (misattuned and attuned) participant children believed it was their role to follow their parents' directives regardless of their own needs or perspectives.

Influences on parental responses

The participant parents appear to have assumed that the current environment and their overriding concerns for their child's wellbeing informed their interpretation of the DE. Yet, the parents' responses, interpretations and knowledge of both their child's behaviour and the DE were informed and influenced not only by their beliefs, but as a result of unconscious processes (as detailed in Chapter 2), for example, the parents' use of defense mechanisms (Davies, 2004) such as their rigid and punitive responses (Tsabary, 2014), established dyadic patterns of behaviour, and sociocultural expectations. The implicit memory and historic dyadic communication patterns also prime parents' interactions with their children. Indeed, many of the participant parents misinterpreted their child's behaviour as a result of their own very early childhood experiences. Implicit memory typically occurs outside of the person's awareness and influences their filter or lenses through which they perceive and interpret their environment (Hughes & Baylin, 2012; Grusec, 2006). Indeed, the parents' interpretation appeared to be the result of accumulated and repetitive processes as a person's implicit memory categorises their past experiences to predict future interactions to help create predictability and patterns of communication. In other words, patterns of interrelating in current or new relationships are based on the way in which people's implicit memory has interpreted and formulated their past experiences (Grusec, 2006; Lollis & Kucynski, 1997; Music, 2011). As discussed in Chapter 2, Bowlby (1998) suggests a person processes and discards information outside their conscious awareness, which is typically associated with their ego as opposed to the current environment. A parent will therefore often evaluate an environment such as the DE utilising unrelated and fragmented memories that are potentially inaccurate and have risky consequences (Grusec, 2006).

Amongst the participant dyads, parents appeared to interpret the DE instinctively. As a result, Linda *knew* that Cory's stick was going to be used as a weapon; Jackie *knew* that Lucy was deliberately defying her command to go to bed; Sally *knew* that Joshee Bear was defiant in leaving his shoes at the door. Each of these children had compelling alternative accounts, but the parents' interpretations of the DEs had been already pre-constructed, as if merely waiting to be used at an appropriate time.

Historical (childhood) experiences help form a person's implicit memory (Siegel, 2014), which influences their beliefs and their environmental expectations (Smith, 2013b). As a result, constructed meanings are created that impact and govern parents' decisions and behaviour towards their child (Cozolino, 2013; Howe, 2011; Music, 2011; Siegel, 2013). The specific origin of childhood experiences was not the subject of this thesis, however, some parents explicitly linked their childhood experiences to their current beliefs and responses. Although participant parents believed they consciously recalled their childhood memories during the interview, the specific recalled memory was indeed a reconstructed version of the original memory with additional data included, thus corrupting the memory further and altering it to include unconscious fragments (Schiller et al., 2010). By their own account, childhood experiences helped determine six of the participant parents' responses, yet more than likely the parents were recalling reinterpreted and corrupted memories that had been influenced by a number of other historic experiences arising out of other contexts. Elaine (Dyad 7), for example, indicated the need for her daughter to have similar opportunities as she had experienced throughout her childhood, yet she could well have constructed a meaning relating to the importance of exposure to different experiences that was unrelated to her daughter's needs at that time. Likewise, Carin (Dyad 12) was a competitive sports person and wanted her child Susan to have a similar sporting exposure, irrespective of Susan's own preferences.

A parent and child's patterns of interaction, as discussed earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 2, impacts on the child's self-knowledge and learnt expectations. A sociocultural perspective claims that children learn about and understand their environment as a result of their interactions with others (Smith, 1998). Though by no means balanced in terms of power according to this study's findings, the child's interactions with their parents are bidirectional (Smith, 1998) therefore the contextual understanding of the DE is a co-constructed process. The participant children, like their parents, responded in that moment in ways that were authentic to their role in the DE. The participant parents' misattuned DE accounts indicated that their pattern of interaction with their child and the DE outcome was as result of their own beliefs and not a self-aware response to the current DE interaction. The participant parents' communication with their child provides insight reaffirming their constructed beliefs and interpretation of the DE as opposed considering their child's voice or needs.

Children's Needs were Invisible

In addition to silencing the child's voice, the DE process resulted in the participant children's underlying needs being rendered invisible. Children adopted communication strategies during the DE process in an attempt to not only assert their perspective, but also to encourage their parents to consider and meet some of their concerns or wishes. Many of the children experienced punitive consequences as an established, normative and patterned communication, they therefore may not have felt safe to verbalise their perspective during the DE. Accordingly, some participant children also withheld additional and crucial information from their parents, which would have provided valuable insight into the child's affect (emotion) rather than risk greater punishment.

Children's needs were irrelevant, yet they suffered consequences

Indeed, the participant children assumed their subordinate role within the hierarchical dynamic that caused difficulty in vocalising their unmet needs to their parents. Most of the misattuned and two of the five attuned children in this study believed their parents misunderstood their primary needs. The misattuned parents, in their position of authority, ignored or vetoed their child's needs and prioritised their own parenting goals. Even sharing an attuned perspective of the DE did not protect children from having unmet needs. As described in Chapter 5, two of the attuned children attempted to negotiate with their parent directly to have their concerns prioritised, however, this did not influence any meaningful change to the DE outcome.

The participant parents indicated they were motivated out of concern for their child, however, their interest in their child's wellbeing, their parenting goals and their need for compliance were difficult to distinguish during the DE. For example, three of the attuned and four of the misattuned participant parents indicated that their DE responses related to their child's welfare only when prompted during the interview process. In other words, the parent didn't offer their concern, transparently, to their child during the DE process or as an overriding motivation for their behaviour. Instead, many of the participant children were victims of inconsistent parental expectations and often caught in a double-bind situation. For example, some of the participant children initially behaved in accordance with their understanding of their parents' expectations, only to find themselves punished as the rules had changed without their knowledge. Parents are often motivated to achieve their parenting goals and socialisation processes without ratifying their objectives with their children (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994), and consequently their goals can change on a parent's whim.

Indeed, many of the participant parents changed their expectations to achieve their parenting goals without the child's prior knowledge and without transparent communication during the DE with the child. For example, Joshee Bear (Dyad 9) placed his shoes outside of the house (in line with previous expectations) as opposed to inside the house (the new expectation). Five of the 13 children (one of whom was an attuned dyad) were confused by their parents' expectations, a frustrating experience for many of the children given their preference for parents to be clearer with their intentions in order to reduce any ambiguities and miscommunication (Dobbs et al., 2006). Not all participant children experienced confusion. Nearly all of the attuned children did understand most of their parents' requirements even if they did not necessarily agree with them. The DE for the attuned children, when compared with the misattuned children, involved a more transparent process (even if some of their needs were unmet), leading to a more comprehensible conclusion.

A further difference between the misattuned and attuned groups, as mentioned previously, included the type of response the children experienced from their parent(s). All but one (Dyad 2) of the misattuned parents and one attuned parent (Dyad 3) utilised punitive methods against their children to help achieve compliance, irrespective of the children's perspective and experience of fairness as a result of their parents DE decisions. Yet, although nearly all children believed their motivation for the DE had a positive intent, many of the children still believed their parents had a right to enforce compliance, being further evidence of the normative, hierarchical roles in play. Parents' use of punitive consequences place children at risk, as Davies (2011) suggests that punitive and inconsistent parental behaviours negatively impact on the child's IWM as discussed in Chapter 2. Indeed, parents who are punitive and controlling, or even just invalidate their child's feelings increase the risk of their child developing psychopathological disorders such as depression, anxiety and identity issues (Arden & Linford, 2009). This would suggest that the participant children who experienced unfair and punitive consequences were more likely or at further risk than the attuned children in developing disorders or dysregulation later in life.

Communication methods and the discipline environment

The participant parents' lack of interest in their child's perspective and needs compelled some of the participant children to adopt non-verbal communication to encourage their parent to recognise their valid perspective and needs. Some of the participant children also withheld additional information that alluded to their emotional state as a result of the DE. Five of the 13 children (both attuned and misattuned) utilised non-verbal communication

during the DE and four (misattuned and attuned) children withheld additional thoughts from their parents, therefore their unshared messages were left unattended. Children withholding additional information and/or using non-verbal communication was unsurprising, given the hierarchical and contentious nature of the DE environment. Davies (2011) explains that a child can often believe that their contribution is irrelevant when a parent does not encourage verbal expression to resolve conflict within the familial environment. Furthermore, when middle childhood and older children are dysregulated, i.e., experiencing difficulty managing their emotions, their behaviour can be misinterpreted and perceived by their parents as "bad" (Kastner & Russell, 2013). Given the participant parents' beliefs, discussed earlier in this chapter, it appeared that the parents, in particular the misattuned parents, interpreted their child's non-verbal communication as further evidence of their child's defiant and non-compliant behaviour as opposed to the child's frustration with their lack of voice. In other words, a normative DE cycle, particularly for misattuned children involves:

a) Children's behaviour being interpreted by parents as misbehaviour;
b) Parents' intervention and discipline;
c) Children's needs going unmet;
d) Children attempting to negotiate;
e) Children experiencing and demonstrating non-verbal frustration; and
f) The parent interpreting these responses as petulant behaviour.

However, explicit non-verbal communication may have been unnecessary for three of the attuned children, even if their predominant concerns or needs were unmet as their parent acknowledged their perspective in some manner. Yet, children's needs did not govern whether non-verbal communication was adopted. Some of the misattuned children, for example Greg (Dyad 8) did not demonstrate overt non-verbal messages, even though some of them believed their parents behaviour was unfair. Greg, for example, could reasonably believe, based on his DE dynamic that indicated expected patterns of communication, that if he exhibited any form of non-verbal behaviour, which would more than likely be perceived as defiant behaviour he would have been further and unfairly punished. Greg had potentially learnt that communicating any of his needs, verbally or non-verbally was pointless. Despite the attuned and misattuned participant children's hopeful intentions, the non-verbal communication had little impact on the parents' position or the DE outcome.

In addition to non-verbal communication, some of the children withheld additional, yet important concerns or thoughts from their parents. Parents did not probe their children about

any deeper concerns, yet the children proffered the additional information during the interview. For example, although Greg (Dyad 8) did not overtly display non-verbal communication, he explained during the interview some vital information alluding to his emotional state. Greg indicated that he wanted to live away from his family as a result of his experience of the DE. Almas et al. (2011) suggest that children will only divulge inner thoughts and feelings when the environment is conducive to do so, for example, when parents respond empathically to their child's communication. Greg's response was unsurprising as he was not a recipient of an empathic response from his mother and was punished unfairly. Indeed, many of the participant parents did not provide a suitable environment for children to disclose their inner thoughts even though some of the attuned parents spoke calmly during the DE. The attuned children still had unshared messages, for example, Sasha (Dyad 7) was still unable to share further concerns with her mother. This may have been the result of needing to manage her relationship (discussed below) with her mother and not wanting to disappoint her parent(s).

Although parents play an important role in establishing a DE environment conducive for children to share their voice and information without their need to adopt non-verbal communication that indicates their dissatisfaction, this study's findings suggest that a productive DE environment was rarely available. Furthermore, despite parents not providing an environment conducive to children disclosing their thoughts, Smetana et al. (2006) suggest that parents of adolescents have higher expectations for children to disclose or discuss information that exceeds their adolescents' intentions. Importantly, parents may have expectations for their child to share information, yet they need to consider their crucial role in that process.

Children Stabilised the Dyadic Relationship

The participant parents' beliefs relating to their child and the hierarchical DE processes also manifested post DE. Many of the participant children had to regulate their own emotions and, surprisingly, their dyadic relationship post DE. To help regulate their dyadic relationship, children adopted a number of strategies to encourage acceptance and harmony with their parent. Some of the children also indicated that rather than change the DE in the future, their preference was to retain the current DE process, no doubt as a result of their co-constructed beliefs and dyadic patterns of behaviour.

Children self-regulated

Children were often left to regulate their emotions and were also unaware of their parents' availability post DE, irrespective of the level of conflict and their experience of fairness, or lack of it, during the DE. According to Kerns et al. (2005) children can experience anxiety if they believe their parent is unavailable during stressful periods or at times of conflict. Given the age of the children involved in this study, the children were more able to regulate their own emotions. As children mature, particularly towards middle childhood, they begin to take more responsibility for their own regulation of behaviour (Bosmans & Kerns, 2015; Brumariu, 2015; Goldberg, 2000; Kerns, 2008; Lieberman et al., 1999). Children aged nine or 10 years old can feel multiple emotions at one time and evaluate situations from both a positive and a negative point of view that enables them to regulate and contain their emotions as opposed to acting impulsively (Davies, 2011).

Yet, the child's perception of parent availability to help resolve a rupture (disagreement) and regulate emotions is an important relationship and attunement component (Kerns et al., 2005). This study's findings, however, indicated that most of the misattuned participant children had to rely on their own strategies to resolve residual emotions such as anger, frustration and feelings of guilt. Their notion of self-worth may have equated to being unworthy of assistance. Whereas Hersenberg, et al. (2011) suggest that children with a secure sense of self have expectations that parents will meet their needs when required. This suggests that the attuned children could either self-regulate or had the knowledge that parental assistance was available should it have been warranted. A study conducted by Vinik et al. (2011) involving 140 participants aged 10–12 years and their mother's, yielded similar findings to this study. The authors found that the mother's attunement with their child correlated with their child's confidence to regulate their emotions. For example, although Susan (Dyad12, attuned) was frustrated with her mother and had unshared messages, she could still regulate her own emotions with some self-chosen time-out. Indeed, post DE the attuned children had processed and accommodated their parents' position (even if reluctantly), whereas the misattuned children still appeared aggrieved.

Children reflected, took responsibility and rationalised parents' behaviour

Despite many of the children's unfair DE experiences, all children regulated their dyadic relationship in some way with their apparent goal of retaining equilibrium and preferably a harmonious relationship with their parent. The attachment relationship is paramount to children's development and wellbeing (Goldberg, 2000; Siegel, 2013), yet it is the children

in times of stress or conflict who modify their behaviour to meet their parents' needs to help maintain functioning familial systems. Saarni (1999) suggests that as children develop they tend to manage their emotions discreetly to maintain equilibrium within their relationship with their parent. The participant children adopted a variety of methods to help achieve a regulated dyadic relationship such as taking responsibility for the DE, rationalising their parents' behaviour, and reflecting on their own DE behaviour. Yet, the child's need to protect their parent and stabilise the rupture as a result of the DE can increase the child's risk of externalising behaviours and depression in later adulthood (Schier et al., 2014). Moed and colleagues' (2015) study considered the participant perspectives relating to who initiated and ended conflicts. The authors' findings indicated that the adolescent concluded the argument if a conflict lasted for a longer period of time. Importantly, Moed et al. (2015) also found that children were likely to end the conflict to reduce the risk of any negative impact to their relationship with their parent. Indeed, the seven participant children (attuned and misattuned) involved in this study who took responsibility for the DE, such as apologising to either the participant parent or their sibling, indicated that they did so only to reduce contention, irrespective of their emotional state or residual negative feelings post DE. Therefore, their apology could be seen to be part of an ambivalent process that theorists refer to as internalising, where the child dismisses their own needs and thoughts to ensure the parent–child relationship is harmonious (Saarni, 1999).

All participant children (misattuned and attuned) rationalised their parents' DE behaviour in some way, which appears to have included two processes. First, the child's ability to rationalise their participant parent's position from an alternative perspective could simply be aligned with their developmental phase according to Piaget's cognitive model (Smith, 2008). Children aged 10–12 years old can hold opposing views whilst monitoring or reflecting on their own internal processes (Mayseless, 2005; Raikes & Thompson, 2005). In addition, the participant children, in particular the misattuned children, may have rationalised their parents' behaviour in order to internally reconcile their parents' unfair and/or punitive behaviour to help regulate and manage their dyadic relationship. For example, half of the misattuned children believed that their parents' behaviour was motivated out of good intentions towards their child. Cory (Dyad 1) believed that his mother, Linda acted out of care and concern for *his* wellbeing, yet Linda indicated during the interview that her concern was directed towards the other children being hurt by Cory. Some of the children also considered their parent's position. Steve (Dyad 4) rationalised his mother's behaviour by explaining that his mother had a lot of responsibility running the household while his father

was away, therefore she was most likely stressed. Steve probably defended his mother's actions to regulate his dyadic relationship and reduce any confusion or discomfort he was experiencing.

A further example of children rationalising their parents' behaviour related to fairness and children's self-reflection. The literature suggests that a child's involvement in a DE does alter their perception of fairness (Davies, 2011), as described in Evans and colleagues' (2001) study, discussed in Chapter 2, where children were prepared to tolerate unfair behaviour and punitive discipline rather than speak out. Three of the attuned children in the current study believed their parents' behaviour was fair, and although half of the misattuned children were not involved in a constructive DE process (where parents' goals were transparent, the child's perspective was heard and the child's needs negotiated and met), they still evaluated their parent's behaviour as fair. Lucy (Dyad 6) apologised for her behaviour, yet her immediate needs were silenced as a result of her parents' fear-based discipline strategies. The participant children also reflected on their own behaviour and, although many of the parents responded punitively towards their child, caused confusion and were at times unfair, nearly half of the participant children in this study (attuned and misattuned) assessed their own behaviour as poor. Bandura (1997) explains that school aged children do reflect on their behaviour and feel remorseful if their behaviour differs to that of their internalised values. This analysis helps explain Susan's (Dyad 12) behaviour and subsequent reflection. Susan was disappointed with her own behaviour towards her mother as her mother remained calm throughout the DE, despite being denied the opportunity to express her honest thoughts and having unmet needs. Children assuming responsibility for the DE and their relational dynamic appeared to be a seamless and normative process, despite the fact that all but one child (Dyad 3) believed their motivation for the DE was well intentioned, thus had valid perspectives and rights.

Children cannot effect change

A further interesting finding related to some of the children's lack of need to change the DE process in the future. One attuned child and, surprisingly, half (four) of the misattuned children indicated their preference for the DE process not to change in the future, irrespective of the fact that all but one child experienced negative emotions such as sadness and frustration during the DE. The child's familial position, co-constructed beliefs and their lack of evidence or experience that their needs could not only be heard, but also acted on inevitably influenced their choice. The misattuned children believed that they were

powerless to effect change in the future as a result of their DE experiences. On the other hand, most (four of the five) of the attuned children who expressed their need for the DE to change, despite their shared understanding of their DE and their parent's calm manner, did so most likely believing that their opinion or preferences mattered, regardless of their unmet needs during the DE. DeRoma and colleagues' (2004) study found that if parents dictate DE outcomes, their warm manner may strengthen communication, but did not necessarily ameliorate the negative feelings experienced by children during a DE.

Children also believe that their parents maintain their authoritative familial position well past the middle to adolescent age group. Smetana (1988) explains that preadolescent children accept that parents have the authority to make the final decision. Indeed, Braine et al. (1991) found that children believed it was appropriate for parents to "force" them to abide by family rules because parents were the adults and were responsible for their wellbeing. This notion was shared by many of the children involved in this study. Although the children were at an age where they, according to Smith (2008) could evaluate alternative perspectives, the participant children still accepted their parents' role and right in dictating the DE outcomes, and in doing so, confirmed their subordinate familial role. In addition, as a result of the participant parents' constructed beliefs, this study's findings indicated that five of the participant parents (attuned and misattuned) were not compelled to reflect on their role in the DE process despite some of the parents' misattuned DE interpretations. Furthermore, parental reflection tended only to take place during the interview and when prompted by specific questions directed to the participant parents. In other words, when the parents were requested to engage in a reflective process. When the participant parents did reflect on the DE process and their thoughts on future change, they were concerned only with *allowing* their children more time to find a solution as opposed to seeing it as their right and reflecting on their *own* beliefs and triggers (discussed previously) that influenced the DE outcome. It is important to point out that an attuned parent (Janet, Dyad 13) didn't believe it was necessary to reflect on her behaviour as her DE processes involved reflection as a normative practice. Comparatively, Nancy (Dyad 4) believed it was unnecessary to reflect on her DE responses irrespective of the misattuned outcome and flagging all possible PRQ categories (discussed later in this chapter), indicating potential issues within their parent–child relationship. Indeed, it is vitally important for parents to reflect on their own triggers and responses and make any necessary changes to incorporate their child's perspective based on the current environment in order to increase the likelihood of attunement (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). Without parental reflection, unhelpful beliefs continue to influence parental behaviours and

influence misattuned dyadic communication patterns, and if repetitive, result in a normative pattern of parent–child interaction (Siegel & Hartzell, 2004) as evidenced in this study.

Children who indicated their preference for the DE process to change held similar beliefs as their parents and considered the process in a pragmatic way. For example, the participant children wanted the parent to use a gentle tone, but maintain discipline boundaries and consequences. Some of the children did acknowledge their preference for their parents to listen to their perspective, however, this appeared to be a secondary consideration. The wider literature outlines children's preferred preferences. For example, children want the ability to negotiate outcomes, therefore incorporating their perspectives, and for parents to acknowledge their feelings (Davidov et al., 2012). Children prefer the DE process to be transparent and for their parents to discuss their goals and negotiate outcomes (Barnett et al., 2001; Davidov et al., 2012; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Siegel & Cowan, 1984). In contrast, the parents involved in this study maintained their position of authority and their children's perspective was predominantly marginalised. Children explained their DE preferences during the interview, which did not appear to include an awareness regarding their rights to participate in matters relating to their wellbeing such as the DE process and outcome.

The PRQ and the Misattuned and Attuned Dyad Patterns

The PRQ provided specific insight into the dyads' potential relationship issues associated with a variety of categories. Combined with the thematic analysis findings, the PRQ results identified further differences between the misattuned and attuned groups. The number of flagged PRQ categories, indicating evidence of a potential issue within the dyad, corresponded with the pattern relating to the total number of negative and positive themes within the two dyad groups. A pattern, which included a high number of negative themes and a low number of positive themes in addition to the majority of flagged PRQ issues was associated with the misattuned group. On the other hand, the attuned dyad group's pattern indicated a high number of positive themes and a low number of negative themes with fewer associated PRQ relational health issues flagged. Two particular dyads (Dyad 11, attuned and Dyad 5, misattuned) were dissimilar to their associated group in their communication patterns. For example, Dyad 11 flagged two PRQ issues and Dyad 5 flagged no PRQ issues. These examples, as discussed below illustrate that being attuned in one's understanding of the DE may not necessarily protect one from relationship issues. It may simply be the way the rupture (a breakdown within the attachment process caused by conflict) is repaired or

communication process is experienced that determines or influences the health of the relationship.

Attuned and misattuned dyad archetype examples

The participant parent–child dyads (discussed in Chapter 5), were categorised as either a misattuned or attuned dyad on the basis of having either a similar or different interpretation of the DE. A further pattern emerged (outlined in Chapter 5) between the misattuned and attuned dyads, where each dyad identified more with either the negative or positive sub-themes, though some dyads experienced both negative and positive components to a more limited degree. The following section discusses the dyad's DE interactions further and in particular focuses on two dyads (Dyad 13, attuned and Dyad 4, misattuned) that emphasise these patterns of interaction.

Dyad 13 – Attuned

The analysis of Janet (parent) and Izzy's (child) pattern of interaction, as recounted in their interviews, resulted in a high number of positive themes and a low number of negative themes. Janet did flag one PRQ issue (discussed further in this chapter and in Chapter 3). Janet and Izzy experienced conflict during the DE, yet had the ability to discuss and reconcile their differences and understand each other's perspective. The way in which parents repair any misattuned experiences (even briefly) involves the parent recognising where they may have performed unhelpfully during an interaction (Howe, 2013; Siegel & Hartzell, 2004; Zeman et al., 2006). Indeed, Janet reflected on her own behaviour during the DE, and as a result, acted on Izzy's preferences, providing an environment conducive for Izzy to share her perspective and concerns. Janet also included Izzy in negotiating a constructive DE outcome. Yet, the DE interaction between Janet and Izzy was not always constructive. Janet was initially involved in an interaction with Izzy that generated frustration for Izzy, however, Janet's ability to recognise her own unhelpful behaviour and reflect on Izzy's position encouraged a helpful DE outcome. A punitive response to enforce parental directives was not part of Janet's parenting toolkit, instead, Janet's parenting philosophy involved a partnership with her children, acknowledging their rights to a perspective and being involved in finding workable and constructive solutions. Janet and Izzy's philosophies did not explicitly involve the understanding that children should do as they are told, and Janet did believe that children caused trouble. Janet helped Izzy regulate her emotions when appropriate, therefore helped resolve the DE and minimise any residual negative feelings. Izzy still indicated to the researcher her preference for the DE process to

change in the future. Izzy was frustrated with her mother for not listening to her initial concerns, therefore, although Janet reflected on her own behaviour, Izzy's preference may have been related to her need for her mother to listen to her perspective from the outset.

Dyad 4 – Misattuned

In contrast, Nancy (parent) and Steve (child) were misattuned in their interpretations and their DE experience was markedly different to the majority of the attuned dyads, particularly Dyad 13 (above). Nancy and Steve flagged all possible PRQ issues indicating a problematic relationship. Furthermore, their communication pattern yielded a high number of negative themes and a low number of positive themes. Steve experienced the DE negatively, lacked an opportunity to share his perspective, and although he believed that his mother behaved unfairly and punitively, he was left to reconcile or regulate his own emotions. Steve was confused by his mother's expectations and believed his mother did not understand his perspective. Despite Steve's experience, he was reluctant for the DE process to change in the future. Indeed, Steve believed he should have followed his mother's directives and accepted responsibility for the DE, thereby adopting the parent–child hierarchy, irrespective of his experience of fairness during the DE. As a result of entrenched dyadic behaviour patterns, Steve appeared to believe that any request or preference for the DE to change in the future would be futile. Steve's mum (Nancy), alluded to her childhood and indicated that it most likely influenced her DE decisions. Nancy firmly believed that children should do as they were told and caused trouble and was annoyed at Steve's supposed inability to listen and she experienced the need to use repetitive instructions. When prompted during the interview Nancy considered Steve's perspective, yet during the DE his voice was largely irrelevant. Although Nancy indicated that her motivation for her behaviour was well intentioned, she also believed that Steve's behaviour was intentional and as a result did not provide Steve with assistance with regulation of emotion post DE. Nancy also believed there was little need for her to reflect on her own behaviour.

The remaining dyads

The remaining dyads further illustrate the complexity of the parent–child relationship with inconsistent responses from parents towards their children and the child's conflicted DE experience. As discussed above, although the dyads were identified as either misattuned or attuned, they shared communication elements that identified with either the positive or negative sub-themes. However, two attuned dyads (11 and 12) flagged some relationship issues and just one misattuned dyad (5) did not flag any relationship issues. For example,

Dyad 11 (attuned) flagged two PRQ relationship issues, yet their DE experience identified with more of the positive sub-themes comparative to the misattuned dyads. Therefore, Dyad 11's and 12's unhelpful DE interactions, illustrated in the thematic analysis, may have been mitigated as a result of their more constructive exchanges and responses. Similarly, Dyad 5 (misattuned) experienced a higher number of negative sub-themes when compared with the attuned dyads, but did not flag any PRQ issues. The dyads' negative interactions may have been ameliorated as a result of more constructive processes indicated by a higher number of positive themes when compared to the misattuned dyads. Although there were a number of unhelpful elements involved in Dyad 5's interactions, simply being misattuned in the interpretation of the DE did not necessarily equate to fundamental relationship issues. Dyads 5, 11 and 12 illustrate that although parents and children experience misattunement or indeed attunement in their understanding of the DE, this does not necessarily equate to experiencing relationship issues, or conversely not experiencing relationship issues (highlighted in the PRQ), in the case of Dyad 5. Rather, it may be how different communication elements are experienced, such as the repair of the rupture, that according to Siegel (2013) is vital.

Effective parenting is not produced by simply adhering to formulaic parenting strategies as every child perceives strategies differently, and even perceive similar strategies in a variety of ways at different times (Grusec et al., 2014). This thesis did establish however, that while the attuned and the misattuned groups shared a number of similar behaviours, distinguishable patterns of interactions (evidenced by the thematic analysis process and the number of PRQ issues flagged) between the two groups also occurred that impacted on the DE experience and outcome. The primary differences between the two groups included the degree to which the parent's hierarchal processes impacted on the child expressing their voice and the child's experience in their familial role. These processes, as a result of the parent's beliefs and the child's co-constructed notions, dictated the DE from the outset and influenced many of the parent's and child's behaviours. Furthermore, as a result of entrenched beliefs, none of the participant children were able to effect any significant changes to the DE outcome and all typically acquiesced to their parents' expectations. As a result, the children were less likely to exhibit or feel respect toward their parent through the DE according to Grusec et al. (2014) due to their lack of involvement in the DE negotiations and outcomes.

Conclusion

Elements that have influenced and impacted on the parent's and child's DE experience and outcome have been discussed. The attuned and misattuned dyad groups demonstrated distinct patterns of behaviour that corresponded to the thematic analysis findings and PRQ results. Although the attuned group utilised constructive processes throughout the DE process, a number of unhelpful and potentially damaging interactions were still evident. This suggests that the attunement between parent and child regarding the interpretation of the DE likely alleviated some potential conflict for both parties, but did not nullify potential relationship issues, as evidenced in the PRQ. According to the findings of this study and the wider literature, reflection (discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 7) is a fundamental process during any parent–child interaction. Parents need to consider their beliefs and triggers in order to reduce conflict; change the communication pattern; minimise psychopathological risks for the child in the future; and establish a positive parent–child relationship. In response to the identification of these elements, the following chapter proposes a reflective parenting paradigm that considers and changes the DE for both parent and child. This paradigm change focuses on the child's participation, therefore a liberation as opposed to a paternalistic approach (as discussed in Chapter 2), and increases the likelihood of the DE experience becoming a productive and attuned process, reducing the risk of developing relationships issues in the future.

Chapter 7: Reflective Parenting Discipline Models

Introduction

This chapter outlines a proposed parenting discipline model referred to as the Best Practice-Reflective Parenting Discipline Model (BP-RPDM). It also presents the Interim-Reflective Parenting Discipline Model (I-RPDM) that could be used by parents during a DE as a replacement for the BP-RPDM. The I-RPDM is designed for those parents are who challenged by the notion of reflection or as a provisional method for parents working towards adopting the BP-RPDM. Both models increase the likelihood of achieving an attuned and productive outcome, and have been devised as a response to the wider literature (Chapter 2), the thesis findings (Chapter 5), and the brief analysis of some of the more commonplace New Zealand-based parenting discipline approaches (NZPDMs) being Latta (2012), Levy (2002, 2007, 2010), The Parenting Place programme (2015) and The Triple P Parenting Program (Triple P Parenting Program, 2015). The proposed I-RPDM requires parents to consider their child's perspective without the need for the parent to delve into possible causes or the origin of their own behaviour. The BP-RPDM recommends that parents consider their child's perspective *and* self-reflect, therefore recognise and examine their own triggers and the possible etiology of their beliefs as a result of their earlier childhood experiences and their sociocultural attitudes. These earlier experiences and cultural influences, as discussed in Chapter 2, invariably impact on the adult's interpretation of a DE that influences their behaviours and emotional responses and inevitably the DE outcome. Importantly, the I-RPDM and the BP-RPDM considers the parent–child conflict process (DE) and the implementation of parental based boundaries and the role of children from an alternative paradigm.

Discipline Overview

Conflict between parents and their children occurs on a regular basis (Moed et al., 2015) and according to this study's findings, the parents and their children tend to experience the DE process negatively and more often than not differed in their interpretation of the cause of the DE. Parent–child inter-relational dynamics have also been recognised to influence both the child's developmental trajectory and the parent–child relational health and attunement process (Bowlby, 1989; Howe, 2013; Siegel, 1999). Indeed, the findings from this study indicate that children can adopt or imitate their parents' beliefs and their expectations for their children. Parents cannot perform perfectly all the time (Howe, 2013), and when parents

misinterpret or ignore their child's perspective the child is often left in an unregulated and misattuned state. Variances in children's temperaments, parental beliefs, and environmental and cultural influences make it difficult to pinpoint specific, helpful or productive parenting behaviours that, again, influence the health of the parent–child relationship (Grusec et al., 2014). A number of theorists (discussed in Chapter 2) have considered various helpful parenting components to assist with the parent–child relationship. Attunement and understanding, for example, are crucial for a productive parent and child relationship (Bowlby, 1988), yet establishing attunement between parents and children requires a number of traits or conditions, such as the parent's ability or willingness to listen, consider and act on their child's perspective (Bowlby, 1988; Siegel, 2013). Awareness of the other person's perspective, a similar theme to attunement, is also considered important according to Thompson and Goodman (2011). For a parent to be attuned and aware they need to be flexible in their responses towards their child's needs (Bowlby, 1988), which reduces antagonist responses from the child (Bowlby, 1988; Brumariu & Kerns, 2010; Siegel, 1999). Children also value the opportunity to participate in decisions relating to their wellbeing and behave in a defensive manner if they feel ignored or neglected (Goldberg, 2000; Hughes, 2009). Indeed, if children feel respected by their parents they are more likely to respond productively (Siegel & Payne Bryson, 2014). As discussed, DeRoma and colleagues' (2004) study indicated that adolescents valued the opportunity to be involved in negotiation and decision-making processes, and felt more positive towards their parent(s) as a result. The use of punitive measures by parents to achieve compliance tends to place the child at greater risk of developing depression, learn combative communication patterns and decrease the likelihood of developing empathy (Davies, 2004; Hughes, 2009). This study's findings concurred with the literature in many aspects, for example, a division between the misattuned and attuned participant dyads occurred with evidence suggesting that components such as the child's voice or perspective being valid to the parent (attuned dyads) and the manner in which the parents responded to their children, for example, calmly (attuned) rather than raised voices (misattuned). These and further components are discussed throughout this chapter. Productive and attuned outcomes within the DE environment need to include parents; listening to the child's perspective and responding and working with their children to find solutions to the DE; being flexible in their approach in order to respond and adapt to their children's needs, eliminating punitive methods to control outcomes, and incorporating a warm and calm approach when working with their children. The following section outlines the proposed BP-RPDM and the I-RPDM's alongside the NZPDM models

(discussed in Chapter 2) and some of the key findings of this study. The terminology used within the discipline models will also be described in more detail to enable the reader to gain an understanding of the context and required behaviours and attitudes from parents.

Proposed Discipline Models Compared to NZPDM Behaviourist Models

Firstly, an important difference between the NZPDMs and the BP-RPDM and I-RPDM is the inclusion of the child's voice and, in the case the BP-RPDM, the need for the parent to reflect throughout the DE process on the cause of their own potential triggers. There is an element of reflection required by parents during the I-RPDM, however, they are only required to acknowledge and seriously consider the child's perspective and their reactions to the DE process. The findings of this study suggest that both parental reflection and the acknowledgement and inclusion of the child's perspective during the DE process were not common practice. Indeed, although non-verbal communication dominates interactions (Schore & Schore, 2008), the use of verbal communication between parents and children during a DE is an important tool (Dwairy, 2005). Yet, environmental conditions can influence the child's ability to feel safe enough to share their perspective. Lundy (2007) explains children have specific requirements in order to express their voice. Children need space and facilitation, for example assistance, to freely express and describe their perspective. Children also need an audience—in other words, adults need to be willing to listen to the child's perspective and, finally, children need to believe that their voice will not only be heard, but also acted on (Lundy, 2007). Dwairy (2005) also explains that when an adult approaches the child in an empathic manner, the child is typically less defensive and likely to discuss their concerns more freely. Indeed, this study's findings suggest that many of the participant children did not have the opportunity to share their perspective and some of the children had additional concerns that they were unwilling to share with their parent at that time. The child's further thoughts would have provided their parents with some additional key messages and a strong indication regarding how the DE process was affecting the child at that time. This could have been another opportunity for the parent and child to respond, experience attunement, find solutions and achieve a productive DE outcome. The BP-RPDM and the I-RPDM emphasise the importance of the child's voice and provide an opportunity for children to discuss their interpretation or perspective and negotiate outcomes with their parent(s). It is also important to note that the discipline models do not advocate a form of permissive parenting, where boundaries do not exist within a DE environment. Davies (2014) suggests children need a secure environment to assist with their development, and according to Siegel and Hartzell (2004), boundaries are a part of that process. The

format for the two models includes the implementation of transparent and rational boundaries negotiated between parent and child, but governed by parents where necessary.

The NZPDMs being Latta (2010, 2012), Levy (2002, 2007, 2010), The Parenting Place (2015), and The Triple P Parenting Program (Triple P Parenting Program, 2015) initially advocate for the child and their perspective in some form (discussed in Chapter 2). However, the practical discipline methods advocated by these authors and agencies tend to neglect or minimise the child's voice and their interpretation of the DE. The parents' role within the NZPDMs' discipline process takes more of an authoritarian role discussed by Baumrind (1971), and they are not required to negotiate solutions with their child or reflect on their potential triggers, which impact on their interpretation of the DE and responses. It is worth noting that although Baumrind (1971) promoted the use of some helpful parenting behaviours, the unhelpful parenting components were similar to the NZPDMs' behavioural approach. For example, Baumrind (1966, 1971) recognises the child's perspective and voice within the discipline model, however, Baumrind does not suggest for parents to consider their sociocultural influences or emotional triggers that impact on their perception of a DE (Davies, 2011; Howe, 2013; Music, 2011; Thompson, 2015). Baumrind (1971) states that the authoritative as opposed to authoritarian process acknowledges the need for parents to listen to the child's perspective, yet advocates what is most likely a normative process where the parent judges the appropriateness of the child's behaviour without first considering their own interpretation biases. Unless a parent/caregiver is aware of the need to consider their triggers and challenge their core beliefs or interpretations, simply listening to the child's perspective may not be sufficient. For example, this study's findings indicated that many of the parents believed that children cause trouble and should do as they are told, which may then form the basis for normative processes during a DE. Indeed, the parent's interpretive filter will influence the DE outcome, evidenced in this thesis and result in an unproductive conflicted DE process where the children and most likely the parents are left feeling misunderstood and frustrated.

Why Should Parents Change Discipline Strategies?

A paradigm shift from a behaviourist to a reflective and inclusive DE approach between parent and child would likely reduce or minimise risk to the emotional health of the parent–child relationship and help form a productive familial environment, whilst establishing constructive patterns of communication. Parents utilising the behaviourist model (Chapter 2) are still able to engage with their children in an authoritative manner to some degree, for

example the use of a calm tone and/or transparent boundaries, yet the children's role, as presented in the NZPDMs (Chapter 2) is still marginalised, subservient to that of the adults, which places children at risk. Importantly, the child, as a result of being involved in a constructive DE process, would be less likely to develop psychopathological disorders in the future (Barber, 2001). Furthermore, the level of conflict within the familial environment can be determined by how parents interpret and respond to their child's behaviour (Siegel, 2013). The parenting role advocated within the NZPDMs does not encourage the parent(s) to assist their children to regulate or repair the DE. Indeed, this study's findings suggest that often parents were not involved in the DE repair process. As noted previously, many of the parents in this study inherently believed that children caused trouble, which implicitly suggests that their child was negatively motivated and should do as they were told. These parental thought patterns may have influenced the parent's motivation or awareness regarding the requirement to resolve the DE. Indeed, many of the participant parents in this study (discussed in Chapter 5) relied on punitive mechanisms to achieve compliance, yet as suggested by practitioners, the use of punitive consequences can impact further on the familial environment and cause conflict on a more regular basis (Duffy, 2014; Tsabary, 2014). Parents who rely on shame to discipline their children can cause children to feel anxious and "dysregulated" (Cozolino, 2006), and children who feel dysregulated or misunderstood (ashamed) rely on the use of defiant behaviours to communicate their needs (Bernstein, 2015). Whereas parents who communicate empathically and are attuned with their children's perspective, engender a calm familial environment (Hastings & Grusec, 1997; Howe, 2013).

The BP-RPDM and the I-RPDM (discussed below) provide a number of terms identifying behaviours and thought processes that some parents may find challenging. The BP-RPDM model proposes that parents explore their own beliefs and expectations as a result of their childhood experiences and the wider sociocultural influences alongside their children's perspective. On the other hand, as mentioned previously, the I-RPDM only requires parents to acknowledge that their child has a perspective, which, with time may eventually become a normative and reflexive process. The need for parents to reflect on the origin of their triggers has less of an emphasis with the I-RPDM, however, it would be helpful if parents acknowledged that internal triggers exist as it may be difficult to accept that children have a valid perspective unless they challenge some of their possible beliefs. The terms used within the discipline models will be discussed in more detail below.

"Interim" (I-RPDM) and "Best Practice" (BP-RPDM) Parenting Discipline Models

The proposed interim (I-RPDM) and best practice (BP-RPDM) discipline models place parents in an authoritative type role and include an element of reflection in relation to their beliefs. The BP-RPDM also requires parents to reflect on their triggers, perceptions and meaning-making and how these influences might impact on their interpretation of the DE and their child's perspectives. According to Dwairy (2005) adults are either often unaware of the child's perspective or ask for the child's perspective in an "accusatory" manner. Theorists (Grusec, 2011; Richardson, 2005; Smith, 1998) also acknowledge that the relationship between parent and child is considered bidirectional, however, the NZPDM's processes considers the parent's actions and involvement only as a response to their child's behaviour. They also do not account for a child's specific temperament. The I-RPDM and the BP-RPDM processes support variances in children's temperaments and allows for the bidirectional nature of the parent–child relationship, whilst promoting the ability to work towards an attuned understanding and constructive solution.

Parenting discipline model terminology for BP-RPDM and I-RPDM

The following section describes the terminology used within each stage of the BP-RPDM and the I-RPDM process. The terminology discussed in the two discipline models provides guidance to help parents navigate through a DE, and outlines thought processes for parents to consider until they develop confidence in the discipline models and the process becomes reflexive and normative. These parental considerations have been outlined within 'Reflective Process for Parents' boxes that have been produced from a parent's viewpoint, and discuss what and how they might need to consider each aspect of the discipline process.

Reflective process (Pause/Reflect) – BP-RPDM Process 1 and 3

One of the most important attributes within the discipline models, being a reflective practice, is a continuous process, which needs to be undertaken by parents, particularly throughout the BP-RPDM process. Silvia and Phillips (2011) suggest that the reflective process includes an individual's ability to look internally and consider their emotions, behaviours and cognitive processes. Reflection, as part of the process in the discipline models, requires parents to explore their possible motivations and consider the origin of their responses and behavioural choices. As discussed previously, this study's findings indicated that most of the parents were misattuned with their children in their understanding of the cause of the DE. Yet, nearly half of the parents did not reflect on their involvement in the DE, whereas nearly all

the children reflected on their behaviour. Reflective practices therefore may not be considered a normative process for many parents, irrespective of the fact, for example, that many of the parents discussed their childhood experiences in relation to the DE. The parents also indicated explicit beliefs (mentioned previously) that most likely influenced their expectations for their children. The literature (in Chapter 2) suggests that an individual's triggers are rarely associated with the current environment, but instead environments, such as a DE, have been assessed as a result of unconscious processes (implicit memory) that helps formulate interpretations even prior to any conscious decisions being formed.

Reflective Process for Parents
<u>**Pause/Reflect**</u> **– BP-RPDM Process 1 and 3**

Parents will need to ask themselves questions. For example, parents were asked to consider why they may have initially interpreted their child's behaviour in a particular way and what may have influenced this interpretation.

- What is my immediate reaction to the DE? Why?
- How have I reacted to my child's response? Why?
- Have I placed the child in a subordinate position and without respect?
- How do I perceive the environment now? Am I stressed?
- Is there something else going on for my child?
- Have I already decided who is to blame? Why?
- Am I really open to hearing my child's interpretation or perspective of the DE? If not, why not?
- Am I feeling angry and judgemental? If yes, how I do I silence, or at least reduce my feelings that have been triggered, in order to listen to my child?
- What is the origin of my initial thoughts/feelings?
- Am I placing my own experiences/fears/concerns on to my child?
- Am I reacting to my historic experiences or the current situation?
- What are my historic experiences based on, for example, fear?

(Parents may need to incorporate external methods, for example, breathing methods to help mindfulness, where they remain in the present and become mindful of their current environment before they approach the DE).

Open communication – BP-RPDM Process 2 and I-RPDM Process 1

Open communication in this context refers to the parent's ability to explore and consider another person's perspective without conscious judgement. This study's findings, again, indicated that most parents did not consider their child's perspective without being prompted during the interview process, with just a small number of parents recognising and responding to their child's voice. Furthermore, many of the participants involved in this study were not

only misattuned in their understanding of the cause of the DE, but most of the parents assumed that their child was negatively motivated, whereas most of the participant children regarded their motivations for the DE as positive (rational and understandable). It is important to achieve an attuned understanding between parent and child, even if it is simply to ensure the probability of the child accepting the parent's discipline or socialisation goal (discussed in Chapter 2). Understanding the child's perspective (discussed previously), also increases the likelihood of a positive and productive relationship between parent and child. However, only some of the parents expressed, during the interview process, insight regarding the possible reasons for their child's behaviour, that they did not share with their child during the DE. In other words, the child was unaware that their parents had observed any aspect of their need or perspective. The participant children generally experienced a lack of understanding by their parents, and some of them used non-verbal communication to express their unshared voice and/or feelings of frustration.

Reflective Process for Parents
<u>Open Communication</u> – BP-RPDM Process 2 and I-RPDM Process 1

Parents will need to consider the following questions to ensure the DE is a productive process:

- Have I stopped and asked the question – "*Hey, I see that from my perspective something* (name it) *has just happened. This may be wrong. Could you chat with me about what is going on?"*
- Have I really heard my child's perspective? Do I need to repeat back what my child has said to me to ensure I have a full understanding of the situation?
- Have I asked my child questions in a warm (for example, utilising a calm tone and an open and engaging manner) and accepting way, without judgement?
- Have I come to an agreement with my child as to the cause of the DE?

Further considerations for the BP-RPDM process:

- How have I interpreted my child's response? Has their response triggered some of my core beliefs, negative experiences, hurts from the past or cultural influences? Am I reacting to their perspective in the current environment or am I reacting to my own beliefs?
- How have I initially responded to my child's perspective?
- What might be going on for my child after hearing their perspective?
- Have I immediately engaged in blaming and are my beliefs governing or clouding my judgement?

Negotiate outcomes/consequences – BP-RPDM Process 4 and I-RPDM Process 2

Negotiating outcomes in this context refers to the parent's ability to discuss possible solutions, using open communication and to hear and respond to their child's ideas. Consequences refers to the notion that should the agreed tasks not be completed, it will result in the implementation of an outcome that does not equate to a punitive response given it is negotiated and transparent. The literature (discussed previously and more extensively in Chapter 2) suggests that the environment plays an important role in the children's ability to share their perspective. As mentioned previously, this study's findings suggested that some of the children had additional messages to share with their parent that related to their unheard and unmet needs or additional and valid information regarding the DE. Some of the participant children were also confused by their parent's directives, yet found it difficult to clarify their parent's instructions as a result of a contentious environment. Negotiation or even just a discussion within the participant parent and child dyad during the DE did not appear to be a normative process.

Reflective Process for Parents
Negotiate outcomes/consequences – **BP-RPDM Process 4 and I-RPDM Process 2**

Parents will need to consider the following questions:

- I need to ask my child how they would like the issue to be resolved and the steps they would like to take to ensure that a resolution is achieved.
- If my child has difficulty with providing problem-solving ideas how can I assist my child with this process? I may need to ask open-ended questions, for example, "*What is it you would really like to do*?" and "*How would you like to see that happen?*"
- How do I propose suggestions to help resolve the issue?
- I will need to discuss, transparently, why the issue needs to be resolved (from my perspective).
- What might be going on for my child now that I have further information?
- How do we reach an agreement?
- I need to ensure we have an agreement about what needs to happen. I need to ask my child what they think of my solution and provide feedback with what I think would work from their suggestion. I might need to proffer some alternative suggestions and ask my child how they feel about the ideas.
- What timeframe is appropriate to resolve the issue? I need to ask my child how long they need to resolve the issue.
- If necessary I may need to discuss with my child what should happen if our agreed plan does not come to fruition.
- It would be helpful for me to also explain why it is important for the DE to be resolved and check in if to see that my child understands this reasoning.

- Have I thanked or given positive feedback to my child for engaging in this
  process so that I model constructive behaviour and communication and reaffirm
  the positive relationship with my child?

Further considerations for the BP-RPDM process:

- How have I interpreted my child's response? Has their response triggered some
  of my core beliefs or cultural influences? Am I reacting to their perspective in
  the current environment or am I reacting to my own beliefs?
- How do I feel at the moment? If I feel dysregulated in some way I need to
  consider how to be kind to myself, recognise the trigger as an old pattern and
  practice some form or mindfulness.
- How have I reacted to their suggestions?
- Do I believe they have the right to make those suggestions?
- Why does this issue need to be resolved?

Request – BP-RPDM Process 5 and I-RPDM Process 3

Request within this context refers to the parent respectfully asking their child to complete the
agreed and negotiated task, thus a less hierarchical version of a directive. As discussed in
this and previous chapters, many of the participant parents in this study believed that
children should do as they were told and at times used a frustrated tone of voice, or shouted
at their children to achieve compliance. The literature (Chapter 2) suggests that children
respond productively or feel more respected when parents involve them in the DE solution
(outlined in the negotiation process above) and Bombèr (2008), for example, suggests that
the environment in which children will respond involves adults using gestures that indicate
reciprocity, such as a warm tone.

> **Reflective Process for Parents**
> **Request – BP-RPDM Process 5 and I-RPDM Process 3**
>
> - Now that we have an agreement I need to request for my child to complete the
>   task.
> - Have I used a warm but firm tone?
> - I need to give my child some space to complete the task.
> - Have I let my child know that they can come and check in with me if they are
>   confused by anything?
> - Have I made my directives clear?
> - Have we discussed an agreed time frame?
>
> Further considerations for the BP-RPDM process:

- How have I interpreted my child's response? Has their response triggered some of my core beliefs or cultural influences? Am I reacting to their perspective in the current environment or am I reacting to my own beliefs?
- What tone do I want to use? Why?

Respond – BP-RPDM Process 6 and Instruct – I-RPDM Process 4

Respond or responding in this context refers to the need for the parent to take further action that may include the implementation of a consequence or further negotiation with their child. Instruct in this context is a step-up from responding and places the parent in a position where they respectfully tell their child to complete the agreed task. The pattern of communication between the participant parent and their child within this study was hierarchically based, and parents governed the outcome irrespective of the child's perspective and the fairness of their processes and decisions. Many of the children within this study experienced their parent implementing a punitive-orientated method to achieve compliance. Although Instruct, as used within the I-RPDM model, places the parent in a hierarchical position, this step undertakes a different process than proposed by the NZPDMs as illustrated in the parenting considerations below. As mentioned previously, some of the participant children experienced being shouted at by their parents or unfairly blamed. Only some of the participant children experienced their parents remaining calm during the DE process. Therefore, parents within this stage of the process need to consider the following.

Reflective Process for Parents
Respond – BP-RPDM Process 6

- How do I feel and what are my initial thoughts to my child's response?
- Has my child made any effort to follow the initial request? If not, is there something else going on that is limiting my child's ability or motivation to complete the request? How can I assist my child in identifying any further concerns? This would typically involve an environment where my child feels safe to discuss thoughts.
- I need to ask my child directly if there is a problem completing the request.
- How have I responded (emotions and thoughts) to my child's response to the above question?
- I may need to discuss with my child again what their expectations are, as agreed earlier.
- I may need to ask my child if they need further information or are confused about anything.
- Have I placed my child in the "naughty" category? If so, why?
- Is the need for my child to complete the task more about my own concerns or needs based on historic experiences or cultural expectations and not my own?
- Am I comfortable with my rationale regarding this task?

- I need to discuss again with my child what the outcome will be if the task is not completed.

Reflective Process for Parents – I-RPDM
Instruct – I-RPDM Process 4

- How do I ensure that my tone/manner remains calm, yet ensure that the transparent boundary has been put in place?
- I need to ensure that the process is transparent and rational before implementing any consequence.
- I need to provide my child with a further instruction (as agreed earlier), using a calm, non-threatening and clear manner, using language they will understand.
- I may need to explain again, briefly, why it is important to complete the task.
- I need to ensure that my child and I are on the same page with regard to when the task needs to be completed by – so I may need to reiterate the time available.

Reflective Process for Parents
Respond – I-RPDM Process 5

- Have my expectations been too high?
- I need to ensure I respond in a calm manner to increase the likelihood that a constructive outcome will be achieved. What do I need to do to calm myself?
- I need to establish the boundary, as the task needs to be completed. I need to communicate this with my child in a respectful manner.
- I may need to acknowledge that I feel frustrated. How do I separate out my child's unwillingness from how I feel about my child?
- How do I acknowledge my right to feel frustrated while maintaining a constructive environment?
- How do I implement the consequence, respectfully, to ensure that it is logical and transparent?

Repair – BP-RPDM Process 7 and I-RPDM Process 6

Repair refers to resolving the rupture or conflict caused by the DE. This may include the parent responding in an empathic manner and assisting their child to regulate their emotions and/or providing further clarity regarding the DE. The DE repair process, as a result of the conflict, further distinguishes between the authoritarian and authoritative parenting roles. This study's findings indicated that most of the parents' involvement in the DE repair process was limited. Many of the participant parents' inherent beliefs may have influenced their motivation to assist their children post DE. Some of the children experienced assistance

from their parent post DE, but only in the guise of an apology or discussion that related to how they responded during the DE, as opposed to misinterpreting the DE and not giving weight to their child's needs or preferences. Some of the participant children experienced unfair parental behaviour and punitive responses. To counteract these parental responses and assist their own regulation processes, many of the children rationalised their parents' behaviour and took responsibility for the DE. As discussed in Chapter 2, children are at risk of internalising their experiences and may form negative meanings, for example, have a poor sense of self, that could impact on their development and developing psychopathological issues later.

Reflective Process for Parents
Repair – BP-RPDM Process 7 and I-RPDM Process 6

- Have I separated out my feelings of frustration to ensure that my child understands there is support if he needs it?
- Have I been transparent about my availability should my child need regulation assistance and support?
- Do I need to take some responsibility for this process?
- Is there anything I need to apologise for?
- Do I need to clarify with my child to ensure they have full knowledge of the DE process so it makes sense?

Further considerations for the BP-RPDM process:

- How do I feel and what do I think as a result of this DE process?
- What other factors could be going on for my child?
- How did I behave? Could I have done anything differently? How could my behaviour have impacted on my child?
- What about the DE triggered my response?
- What did it mean for me that my child completed this task?
- Am I frustrated? Does my child get frustrated? Do they need to perform perfectly all the time? Do I perform perfectly all the time?
- Why do I need my child to apologise or resolve the DE?
- Did I have any concerns, fears? If so, where could they have come from? What evidence do I have that suggests these fears may come to fruition?

Benefits of the BP-RPDM and the I-RPDM

The BP-RPDM requires significant parental reflection (both prior to their initial response and during the DE, to ensure they have created conscious awareness regarding their process) and a more extensive time commitment than the I-RPDM. However, parents who provide a supportive, empathic environment and relay emotional availability are more likely to

encourage high self-esteem within their child (Harter, 2008). The BP-RPDM and the I-RPDM changes the discipline model paradigm from one where the child has few rights and lack of voice, evident within the NZPDMs and indicated in this study's findings, to an environment where the child's voice and perspective is considered alongside that of their parents, yet still within the context of a secure environment with appropriate, but negotiated parental boundaries when needed. The proposed BP-RPDM may be a challenging paradigm for parents, therefore the interim model (I-RPDM), outlined below still incorporates helpful parenting elements and traits (discussed in Chapter 2) and encourages attunement between parent and child without the need for more in-depth parental reflection. The I-RPDM process still maintains parental boundaries and unchallenged inherent parental interpretations and beliefs may still govern the DE environment. However, the format of the two models encourages a supportive and safe environment for children to share their perspective, negotiate with their parent, and where necessary, allows for logical and transparent consequences and solutions. When parents (using the I-RPDM) shift or align their discipline paradigm and observe and experience productive changes during their DE interactions, they may begin to consider how or why their beliefs influence their responses towards their children. It is therefore not inconceivable that parents who were initially resistant (or lacked understanding) of the reflective aspect of the parenting paradigm may adopt the more involved BP-RPDM and recognise its value. The following section outlines the BP-RPDM and I-RPDM processes and provides a case study illustrating each of these models.

Best Practice-Reflective Parenting Discipline Model (BP-RPDM)

Process 1: **Pause/reflect** (*if no danger, parents pause to consider their initial feelings and possible interpretations*)

Process 2: **Open communication** (*parent calmly asks for input and perspective from the child involved*)

Process 3: **Reflect** (*parent questions their own interpretation of their child's response, or at least seriously consider the child's perspective on its own merits*)

       i. **If parent has misinterpreted** (*therefore reacted prior to hearing child's perspective, discuss with child and close down*)

Process 4: **Negotiate outcomes/consequences** (*parent empathically and calmly discusses their concern with the child, allowing the child to talk and be heard. Parent and child would also negotiate potential outcomes or appropriate consequences, where necessary*)

Process 5: **Request** (*parent calmly asks the child to complete the action required that is fair and reasonable. Transparent understanding of required next steps, if appropriate*)

a. **If child follows through** (*parent acknowledges child's efforts*)

Process 6: **Respond** (*parent discusses the need to respond with consequences*)

a. **If child does not follow through on requests**
   i. (*parent calmly responds with transparent consequences*)

Process 7: **Repair** – (*DE completed – parent or child requests discussion. Empathic listening and acknowledging each other's point of view required*)

Case Study for BP-RPDM and I-RPDM DE Process

Dyad 4 – Lego and homework incident – Nancy (parent) and Steve (child)

One distinctive archetypal example, Dyad 4, which illustrated an unhelpful pattern of interaction between parent and child during their DE (refer to vignette four, Chapter 4) is discussed below. The following DE process utilising the BP-RPDM illustrates how a different outcome, which includes negotiated boundaries could be achieved between the parent and child.

Original DE scenario – Dyad 4

After school, Steve immediately played Lego and read as opposed to completing his homework (his mother's preference). Nancy explained to Steve that he needed to complete his homework. Steve only completed half of his homework and continued playing with his Lego and computer. Nancy was frustrated and expressed her irritation towards Steve. Steve was also frustrated with his mother as he believed he genuinely forgot to complete all of his homework and suggested that his mother behaved unfairly. The repair process of the DE was not evident. Although Steve believed his mother behaved unfairly, he rationalised her behaviour and suggested that she was stressed as a result of his father being away. The PRQ indicated issues between the parent and child in all four categories. Nancy had clear beliefs that related to children doing as they were told and caused trouble, and believed it was unnecessary to incorporate the child's voice into the DE process.

Case study for BP-RPDM process – Nancy and Steve (Dyad 4)

Context: Steve is playing with his Lego and not completing his homework.

Process 1: Pause and Reflect – Parents consider their initial interpretation

Nancy would stop and consider why she was frustrated and her interpretation of Steve's behaviour, and what elements of Steve's behaviour were triggering her (as a result of historic experiences and constructed meanings). Nancy reflected that she was stressed as a result of working long hours during the week. Nancy had many tasks to complete throughout the rest

of the afternoon/evening and was irritated that Steve was not completing his homework without being instructed to do so. Nancy's philosophy included the notion that children should take responsibility, but were inherently naughty. Nancy believed that Steve was old enough to remember to complete his homework, however, believed his underlying motivation was to avoid his homework. Nancy would also consider that Steve was tired as he recently had some early starts in the morning.

> Parent education: With further understanding and reflection, Nancy would recognise that Steve, as a child, would experience tiredness, similar to adults, and with further information or education would consider that Steve's prefrontal cortex was developing (discussed in Chapter 2) and as a result of being tired, would make it difficult for Steve to remember his homework. Nancy would therefore understand that Steve would have difficulty remembering his homework.

Nancy would also reflect on the fact that it was her need to get things done in a time-efficient manner to reduce her stress. However, although Steve needed to complete his homework there was time to negotiate, acknowledge and work with his needs in conjunction with the needs of the family. Nancy would realise that it would be unfair to project her own stressors and expectations onto Steve without firstly discussing her concerns and working with Steve. Nancy would also recognise that she felt anxious and that her fear relating to Steve's academic performance was also impacting on her concerns and need for Steve to take responsibility for his school work. Nancy's parents pushed her to achieve academic excellence at school and she wanted the same outcome and opportunities for Steve. Nancy would understand that it was her beliefs and fears that governed the outcome, as she believed that unless Steve took responsibility for his homework, he could fail at school. Nancy would reflect on this notion and accept that her fear was irrational and as long as Steve completed his homework and his academic performance was not being hindered, the homework did not have to be completed in the next 10 minutes—a time frame required by Nancy.

The BP-RPDM process allows a parent to consider if their beliefs were appropriate or misplaced, for example, whether children were deliberately naughty, non-compliant or irresponsible. Parental reflection supports the child in a familial role that prioritises equality during the DE process. In other words, rather than the child being subordinate to the parent, based on, for example, the parent's concerns or fears, the parent and child would work together to resolve the issue, as illustrated below.

Process 2: Open Communication – Parent requests child's input

Nancy would approach Steve with an open mind and in a calm manner, being mindful of the fact that she was feeling stressed, tired, irritated and concerned for Steve's future.

> Nancy: *Steve, I have noticed that you have homework to complete and I can see you are enjoying Lego. When would you like to do your homework, keeping in mind that you have a couple of other things to do around the house and it's getting late?*
>
> Steve: *Mum, I am playing with my Lego and I am trying to find an important piece of Lego for my model. I can't stop until I have found it. I will do my homework later.*

Process 3: Reflect – Parent considers child's response

Nancy would consider the importance of Steve's need to find a Lego piece, and consider if providing Steve with more time to complete his task would alter the rest of the day's activities and stop him from achieving academic excellence at school. Nancy would realise it was her fear and stress that were driving her need for Steve to complete his homework within her timeframe, and would therefore respect Steve's need to have a rest from school and some down time and then:

Process 4: Negotiate outcomes/consequences – Parent and child discuss

> Nancy: *Yes Steve, I appreciate that, and I can imagine that it is frustrating for you to stop. When would you like to complete your homework? Could we organise a time that you stop what you are doing and complete your homework?*
>
> Steve: *Mum, I would really like to find my Lego piece and then start my homework.*
>
> Nancy: *Yes I can see that is important to you. I would like to put a time limit on the Lego though as I am concerned it is getting late and there is a lot to do. What do you think?*
>
> Steve: *Hmmm ... okay, can I have 30 minutes to finish my Lego and I will start my homework?*
>
> Nancy: *Ok Steve, I will let you know when 25 minutes is up and then it will give you 5 minutes to wrap up and start your homework. Does that work for you?*
>
> Steve: *Sure mum.*
>
> (25 minutes later)
>
> Nancy: *Steve, you have 5 minutes to finish up and start your homework.*
>
> Steve: *But mum I haven't found the piece of Lego I am looking for yet. I need 15 more minutes.*
>
> Nancy: *Steve, we agreed on 30 minutes because there is a lot to do, but I can see that this is important to you. What if we compromise and you start your homework in 10 minutes? I also want to discuss with you what might happen if you don't start your homework. I would like to put a consequence in place now so you understand because unless the homework is finished now you will need to do it later and you will*

be tired. If it is not done you might get into trouble at school tomorrow. I would love for you to keep playing Lego, but homework is important.

Steve: *Ahhh mum … that is not fair, I just need more time than the 10 minutes to look for my Lego piece.*

Nancy: *Yes I know Steve. It is frustrating for you. I would like to put a consequence in place if the agreement is not followed through on. I would prefer not to but, I also don't want you to get in trouble at school tomorrow when you don't need too. Would you like to consider a consequence or shall I put one in place?*

Steve: *Ahh … alright, how about if I don't do my homework in 10 minutes then I am not allowed to play with my Lego for the rest of the day (after homework and chores are completed)?*

Nancy: *Ok Steve I will let you know when 10 minutes is up. Thank you.*

(10 minutes later)

Process 5: Request – Parent asks child to complete task

Nancy: *Have you found the piece of Lego? Could you please stop playing with your Lego now and do your homework?*

Steve: *No mum, I haven't found it. Can I **please** have 10 more minutes?*

Nancy: *I am sorry, that must be frustrating for you Steve but, you need to complete your homework as we agreed as it is getting late and you have other things to do to get ready for school tomorrow.*

Process 6: Respond – Parent discusses the need for a response

Outcome A: *Steve continues to play Lego.*

Nancy: *Steve, I will need to put the consequence in place unless you start your homework now.*

(Steve continues his Lego)

Nancy: *Steve, I am sorry, but there is no Lego, as agreed, for the rest of the day.*

Steve: *(Grumpily) begins his homework, but with the loss of Lego for the rest of the day.*

Process 7: Repair (outcome A)

Steve: *(Still grumpy) I have completed my homework. Here you go.*

Nancy: *Thank you Steve. I am sorry that you can't play with your Lego anymore today. I know that is frustrating for you. Agreements are important and I really want you to consider how helpful it would have been to follow through with that agreement. If I have time tomorrow I will help you look for the piece of Lego. Is there anything you would like to discuss with me?*

Outcome B: *Steve begins his homework.*

> Nancy: *Thank you Steve. I appreciate you following through on our agreement. Let me know when you have finished your homework and I will come and spend five minutes with you to help find the piece of Lego.*

Process 7: Repair (outcome B)

No repair necessary unless Steve comes to discuss any concerns.

Interim-Reflective Parenting Discipline Model (I-RPDM)

Process 1:   **Open Communication** (*the parent asks for the child's perspective and they form an understanding as to the cause of the DE*)

Process 2:   **Negotiate/Discuss Consequences** (*if necessary the parent calmly and empathically discusses requirements and outcomes/consequences with their child*)

Process 3:   **Request** (*the child is calmly asked by the parent to follow a directive*)

Process 4:   **Instruct** (*the parent calmly instructs their child to follow the directive*)

Process 5:   **Respond** (*the parent respectfully and calmly enforces the directive with the agreed and transparent consequences*)

Process 6:   **Repair** (*post DE the parent and child discuss to reinstate equilibrium*)

The I-RPDM, as discussed previously does not require the parent to reflect and consider the etiology or possible causes for their beliefs and behaviours. This model acknowledges that parents need to be aware that as part of the normative DE process children are entitled to a voice. This model incorporates the child's voice/perspective and includes negotiation between parent and child to help achieve a productive and transparent DE outcome. This model also includes the repair process as the final DE stage between parent and child that is often not part of the parent–child DE interactions as illustrated by this study's findings and in the NZPDMs.

Case Study for I-RPDM process – Nancy and Steve (Dyad 4)

Process 1: Open Communication – Parent asks for child's perspective before reacting to the DE

Nancy would approach Steve with an open mind and in a calm manner, being mindful of the fact that Steve deserves to voice his perspective and also with the awareness that Nancy may have internalised beliefs that could influence the DE process.

> Nancy: *Steve, I have noticed that you have homework to complete, but you are playing Lego. What are your thoughts?*

> Steve: *Mum, I am playing with my Lego and I am trying to find an important piece of Lego for my model. I can't stop until I have found it. I will do my homework later.*

Nancy: *So have I got this right? You are struggling to find a piece of Lego so you need some time to look and you will do your homework after some more time?*

Steve: *Yes mum that is right.*

Process 2: Negotiate/Discuss Consequences – Parent negotiates with child to find a solution

Nancy: *I appreciate that you need more time Steve and I can imagine that it would be frustrating for you to stop, but homework needs to be completed. Could we organise a time that you stop what you are doing and complete your homework? How about you look for the Lego piece for another 10 minutes and then do your homework? You could come and check with me to ensure that all of your homework is done and I can come and help you look for your piece of Lego for 5 minutes if you haven't found it and if I have some time? It is getting late, is 10 minutes long enough or do you need a little more time, like 15 minutes?*

Steve: *Mum, I would really like 15 minutes because my model is nearly finished. I will start my homework in 15 minutes.*

Nancy: *Ok Steve, I will let you know when 15 minutes is up and you need to start your homework. I trust that you will start your homework, but I do want to discuss with you what might happen if you don't do your homework in 15 minutes. I would like to discuss a consequence now should you not start your homework because unless the homework is finished you might get into trouble tomorrow at school and you will be too tired later to complete it. So what do you think the consequence should be if you are not starting your homework in 15 minutes?*

Steve: *Ummm how about if I don't do my homework in 15 minutes then I am not allowed to play with my Lego for the rest of the day?*

Nancy: *That sounds great Steve. Thank you. I will let you know when 15 minutes is up.*

(15 minutes later)

Process 3: Request – Parent asks child to complete directive

Nancy: *Have you found the piece of Lego? Would you please start your homework now Steve?*

Steve: *No mum, I haven't. Can I have 10 more minutes?*

Nancy: *I am sorry, that must be frustrating for you Steve, but could you please get on with your homework now as it is getting late and you have other things to do to get ready for school tomorrow?*

Outcome A: *Steve continues to play Lego.*

Process 4: Instruct – Parent tells child to complete directive

Nancy: *Steve, please start your homework now. I will need to put the consequence in place as agreed if you do not start your homework. You have a couple of minutes to put the Lego away and start your homework.*

Steve: *Steve continues his Lego.*

Process 5: Respond – Parent acts on the agreed and transparent consequence

> Nancy: *Steve, I am sorry, as discussed and agreed there is no Lego for the rest of the day.*

> **Outcome A:** Steve: *begins his homework (feels grumpy), but with the loss of Lego for the rest of the day.*

Process 6: Repair (outcome A)

> Steve: (*Still grumpy*) *I have completed my homework. Here you go.*

> Nancy: *Thank you Steve. I am sorry that you can't play with your Lego anymore today. I know that is frustrating for you. Agreements are important because they build trust and help people understand expectations. I really want you to consider how helpful it would have been to follow through with that agreement. If I have time tomorrow I will help you look for the piece of Lego. Do you have anything you would like to discuss?*

> **Outcome B:** *Steve begins his homework.*

> Nancy: *Thank you Steve. I appreciate you following through on our agreement. Let me know when you have finished your homework and I will come and spend five minutes with you to help find the piece of Lego if you need me too.*

Process 6*:* Repair (outcome B)

No repair necessary unless Steve comes to discuss any concerns.

Conclusion

The two proposed discipline models, the I-RPDM and the BP-RPDM, consider the role of the child, and according to Smith (2013b), their right to a voice and participation in decisions on matters that concern their wellbeing. The NZPDMs discuss components relating to the child's position, yet ultimately use a behavioural model founded on an authoritarian and hierarchical parenting approach where the child's perspective is not taken into consideration. There is a behavioural element within the BP-RPDM and the I-RPDM's in regards to consequences, for example, should a child not fulfil their task, however, an important distinction between these and the NZPDMs relates to how the consequences are negotiated, in this case they are logical, transparent and agreed on by both parent and child. The BP-RPDM, in particular, also requires the parent(s) to consider their own triggers and underlying meanings, that influence their interpretation of the environment and their child's behaviour and impact on the way they respond to the situation. The I-RPDM has an element of reflection, however, the reflective process is considered alongside the current environment as opposed to exploring potential causes and etiology of the parent's responses and beliefs. Self-reflection encourages parents to consider their children's perspective and potentially interpret the child's motives differently. The two proposed discipline models also encourage

attunement between parent and child, which in turn becomes part of a "virtuous circle", where attunement and respect become the foundation of behaviour and expectations and impacts on the scope of the bidirectional nature of their relationship. The NZPDMs position parents in an authoritarian parenting role, a term discussed by Baumrind (1971), whereas the two proposed discipline models encourage an authoritative type parental role with the opportunity for parents to reflect on their processes and consider how those processes may influence their interpretations of the DE (Baumrind, 1971). As evidenced in this study's findings and discussed earlier in this chapter, for the most part, parents had a different interpretation of the DE compared with their children. The reflective and inclusive process offered by the proposed discipline models supports the children's right to provide their perspective and for the parent not to assume their initial interpretation is correct or appropriate or that the child was naturally defiant. The I-RPDM does undertake a more traditional authoritative role where the parent is not required to consider the origins of their beliefs, but includes the need for parents to consider their child's perspective and empathically and respectfully negotiate outcomes and consequences with the child without the need for punitive discipline. The process of the two proposed models may not reduce discipline incidences in the familial environment in the short-term, but will more than likely increase the parent's and child's ability to respond in a manner that reduces contentious environments and the risk of children developing psychopathological issues in the future. Importantly, the two models encourage an attuned DE (and familial) environment based on mutual (parent and child) respect and responsibility, supports parents being involved and assisting children to develop the capacity to self-regulate (through modelling of behaviour by parents) and encourages children to develop empathic and self-regulation capabilities.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Introduction

This study explored the nature of a DE that occurred between predominately New Zealand-based[3] parents and their children. The research questions (see Chapter 3) considered elements arising out of that DE such as attunement, interpretation, affect and interpersonal experiences. The primary research question focused on parents' and children's experience of misattunement and/or attunement throughout the DE process and how this was expressed. Four further sub-questions were created to explore how attunement and/or misattunement was expressed through the similarities and differences in participants' perception and recollection of a DE (attunement/misattunement); what the experiences were of parents seeking the child's account and their perception of the DE event and its causes (voice/hierarchy); how a parent's interaction with the child affected that child (affect); and finally, what factors were identified in parents' accounts that contributed to the attunement/misattunement experience taking place within the parent–child dyadic relationship at the time of the DE (parenting components).

While this study provides insight into a DE as a commonly occurring phenomenon within a family setting (Konner, 2010; Riediger & Klipker, 2015), and considers the attunement process and experience taking place between parents and children, the findings are not able to be generalised to the wider population as a result of the sample size and lack of cultural variation (discussed below). However, this study does contribute to the wider literature as it focuses on the discipline interaction from a new paradigm, namely the similarities or differences between the parent's and the child's interpretation of the DE and their experiences of the relationship processes that occur around the DE. This approach differs from more commonly researched topics relating to discipline, such as a child's ability to understand and accept parental messages and socialisation goals. This study's primary focus has rarely been investigated and considered within current literature. Chapter 2 discusses other studies that focus on a parent's interpretation of the cause of the DE as the dominant narrative, but considers other facets of the DE process. There is also limited research that

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[3] One participant parent and child dyad had recently moved from Auckland to Australia just prior to the data collection process commencing.

explores parents' reflexive practices regarding their personal triggers and how these might influence and impact on their interpretative abilities concerning their children during a DE.

This chapter discusses a number of contentions based on the research findings and the wider literature. The primary contention of this thesis is that the parent–child DE experience was predominantly a misattuned and hierarchical process, where children were generally not given an opportunity to give their perspective and participate in a DE in any real or meaningful way. As a result, the DE tended to be experienced, by both parent and child, as unproductive and frustrating, rather than as an opportunity to strengthen communication and attachment bonds and to help the child to develop the prosocial skills that discipline is intended to do. The normative nature of the parent–child DE process was found to be underpinned by the notion that the adult's voice and interpretation of the DE was superior or dominant to that of the child, as a result of historic, cultural, political, and psychosocial practices and philosophies. Yet, attunement, an understanding and synergy between parents and children as discussed in Chapter 2, is imperative to the health of the relationship and lessens the future risk of children developing psychopathologies such as anxiety and depression (Barber, 2001). Further contentions discussed in this chapter are the influence of numerous triggers that impact on the parent's DE interpretation and the DE outcome, that encourage the hierarchical process, and affect the dyadic relationship and the familial environment. Indeed, an adult's conflicted attitude and their perceptions relating to the child's voice and participation rights underpins and impacts on their beliefs and responses towards their children in a material way. As a result of this research and the wider literature, a "best practice" parenting discipline model (BP-RPDM) was developed and is outlined in Chapter 7. This new discipline model proposes an alternative, or preferably, a replacement parent–child discipline paradigm. The model was created to encourage an attuned DE process where adults consciously seek out the child's voice and acknowledge the child's right to be a participant in decisions relating to their wellbeing, a process that in time will hopefully become normative. An interim (I-RPDM) discipline model was also established (Chapter 7) to cater to parents/caregivers who have difficulty with the reflective (identifying their own triggers and influences) process. This model ensures that the child's participation is still acknowledged and actioned throughout the discipline process. This chapter also presents a summary of the key findings from Chapter 5 in respect to the research question's themes (in brackets, above) and is designed to provide a context for this study's main contentions. In addition, consideration is given to the limitations of this thesis, implications

for practice in counselling, and possible future directions for ongoing research and social policies.

As a precursor to a discussion of this study's main findings, some general background on children's rights will be discussed to provide an important context that underpins an adult's ability to acknowledge their child's competency, right to participate, and be able to advance their perspective in respect of a DE.

Children's Rights and Participation

This study considered a number of factors that influenced the familial discipline environment and process, with the primary focus being concerned with the interpersonal and psychosocial dynamics taking place between parents and children. Yet, importantly, other processes also underpin and impact on an adult's beliefs and perceptions concerning children's participation rights and competencies. Children's rights have been a contentious issue for adults for a significant period of time (Smith, 2013a). The Western ideology for children tends to be based on protection rather than competency and adults' perception of children as "becomings" (Verhellen, 2015). This study contends that the rights disparity and the hierarchical nature of parent and child relationships (confirmed in this study's findings), has been influenced by historic and current legal processes. Children's rights to self-determination were (and still are) subject to ongoing debate with a number of legal reforms occurring pre and during the 20th century, with these reforms laying the foundation for the adoption of the UNCRC in 1989 (Hart, 1991) under which children were acknowledged as fully-fledged citizens (Twum-Danso, 2009). The UNCRC's overarching policies relating to children's protection, provision and participation (Verhellen, 2015), provide aspirational guidelines, however, leave it to individual States to implement these guidelines in a specific way (Te One et al., 2014). For example, Article 12 of the UNCRC acknowledges children's participation rights and discusses States' obligations to establish policies and procedures to give effect to those rights (Te One et al., 2014). Sgritta (1997) has suggested that since many countries ratified the UNCRC, children's rights and participation have not improved, but in fact have worsened. According to Jones (2009), children are "silenced" and have limited participation in matters relating to their wellbeing. Although many children in the Western world live in democratic societies, they are more protected, less visible, and still largely ignored within their familial sphere (Qvortrup, 2005), which reinforces that adults are essentially ignorant of child's rights to a voice and participation in a DE and other processes. Smith (2013a) suggests people's collective beliefs govern children's positions within society

and influence the development of policies. Although there are numerous schools of thought that consider various rhetoric (discussed in Chapter 2) relating to children's rights (Verhellen, 2015), Hendrick (2000) suggests that children's perspectives will continue to be marginalised if their voices are only visible through adult's narratives. The summarised findings below contend, as mentioned previously, that the DE is a hierarchical process between parents and children where children are marginalised, lack participation and are highly vulnerable to their parents' positions.

Research Findings

The parent–child relationship is bidirectional (Richardson, 2005), and children co-construct their environment (Smith, 2016). Children interpret and construct meanings as a result of their interactions with, and the influence of, their parents and their wider community (Smith, 2016). This study's findings suggest that children position themselves in a subservient role to their parents, most likely as a result of inherent communication patterns established years earlier during early childhood. While children need boundaries to feel secure (Davies, 2014), how these are established and maintained is paramount to the health and wellbeing of the dyadic relationship (Siegel, 2013). Indeed, common New Zealand-based parenting discipline models (Latta, 2010, 2012; Levy, 2002, 2007, 2010; The Triple P Program, 2015, & The Parenting Place, 2015), as discussed in Chapter 2, provide little opportunity in their practice for parent and child to form an attuned understanding in their interpretation of the DE and establish collaborative DE processes. A summary of this study's findings indicates how and why the DE was a misattuned, hierarchical and combative process.

Attunement/Misattunement

This study's parents and children were largely misattuned in their understanding or interpretation of the DE. The majority of the parents interpreted the cause of the DE differently from their children's version of events. Furthermore, most of the parents believed that their child caused the DE as a result of their negative intentions (intended to behave inappropriately), whereas their children believed that their behaviour was rational and understandable, therefore positively motivated. The remaining parents who were attuned with their child (with the exception of one attuned dyad), believed their child had a rational explanation for the DE, therefore were positively motivated. The attuned parents' children shared this perspective. Importantly, however, parents and caregivers respond and implement boundaries to address their interpretation of the DE based on unconscious

processes that often have been determined by past experiences and learnt cognitions and expectations, as opposed to the current environment (Hill et al., 2003, Siegel, 2013).

This study provides insight into the processes and experiences of attunement or misattunement relating to a DE from both the parent's and the child's perspective, and considers the accuracy of the parent's interpretation of the DE in comparison to their child's perspective. A number of studies have explored different elements of the interpretative processes in relation to a DE, but have not considered in detail the accuracy between the parent's and child's interpretation relating to their child's behaviour and the possible triggers that impact on these interpretations. This study notes that children tended to initially recall their parents' likely interpretation of their behaviour, rather than elucidate on their motivation that caused the DE. Given the need for children to moderate the parent–child relationship (discussed below), and the unconscious communication patterns at play, it is necessary to consider the accuracy of the parent's interpretation, as was the focus of this study.

Researchers such as Richardson (2005), Smith (1998) and Grusec (2011) suggest that because the parent–child pattern of communication is co-constructed and bidirectional, children reflect back their learnt expectations based on RIGS (representations of interactions that have been generalised) (Lollis & Kuczynski, 1997) as discussed in Chapter 2. For example, Grusec and Goodnow (1994) considered the child's perception of their parent's discipline message, and found that more were likely to accept their parent's response and goal in the DE if they believed their parent's behaviour was appropriate for the DE. As discussed in Chapter 2, prior research provides an evidence base relating the productivity of a DE to parents' ability to accurately interpret their child's affect and to respond appropriately. These studies suggest that the onus is primarily on the children to either interpret their parent's DE message to assimilate their socialisation goal, or requires the parent to accurately interpret their child's thoughts and to implement the appropriate discipline strategy—as opposed to considering the accuracy of the parent's interpretation regarding their child's behaviour and what might influence these processes. Davidov et al. (2012) acknowledged that children feel more positive if parents accurately interpreted their feelings and were more able to respond to their child's emotions.

Voice/Hierarchy

Most of the parents were not motivated to seek the child's perspective during or post the DE. This is not surprising, given that adults experience anxiety and fear losing control if they

provide children with an opportunity to participate (Davie, 1996, as cited in Smith, 1998). This study contends that the participant parents were predominantly governed by well-established beliefs that impacted on their responses and attitudes towards their child during the DE. Most of the parents held the belief that children cause trouble and should, due to a lack of age and maturity, simply do as they are told. Chapter 2 referenced further probable parental influences, such as childhood experiences that impact on the wiring of the parents' brain and helps shape their experiences, sociocultural and relational expectations and responses later in life. Indeed, Hughes and Baylin (2012) suggest parents with unresolved childhood issues will more likely respond punitively towards their children when confronted with non-compliant behaviour during a DE. An adult's punitive response directed at children is typically the result of an activated right brain (core brain) based on the parent's interpretation (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). Some parents indicated that their own childhood experiences swayed their responses, and many of the parents relied on punitive measures to achieve compliance from their child, with just a few children experiencing calm responses from their parent during the DE. Furthermore, it is thought that the parents' beliefs and triggers influenced their lack of motivation to allow their child to participate in the negotiation of the DE process. The child's perspective, for the most part, was not considered, not sought and often ignored and many of the children were placed in a vulnerable position as a result of their parents' DE interpretation and their subsequent responses. The parents in the study did not demonstrate reflexive reflective parenting practices; many (with the exception of one attuned parent) of the parents reflected on their DE responses only in their interviews (as opposed to reflecting during the DE process) as a result of direct prompting. Although half of the parents indicated they were motivated out of concern for their child's wellbeing, the discipline interaction was a difficult and combative process for most of the parent–child dyads.

The combative and predetermined environment (based on historic experiences and parental beliefs) influenced the children's ability to voice their perspective during the DE process. Most of the children felt they could not share their perspective with their parent, with some of the children using self-protection mechanisms, for example non-verbal communication, that can often be missed by adults (Kellet, 2009) to express their thoughts and emotions. The parents' preconceived beliefs appeared to have governed the post DE repair or regulation process. Many of the parents were not involved in supporting their children in the repair process for the DE rupture, appearing to believe that if their child had not caused trouble and had done as they were told in the first place, the repair process, in terms of the parent's

assistance, would not have been necessary. Indeed, many of the children experienced a lack of parental support and had to regulate their own emotions because of their DE experiences. The literature points to the notion that as securely attached children mature, they become increasingly capable of emotion regulation (Bretherton & Munholland, 2008), yet children in middle childhood (this study's age group) also rely on the awareness of the parents' availability should they need assistance and feel anxious if they believe support is unavailable (Kerns et al., 2005). Children involved in this study experienced uncomfortable and overriding constructs that they needed to regulate themselves. For example, Zed (Dyad 10) suggested that "*they just treat me a bit like ... bit like trash*". As mentioned previously, this appears to be a result of their parents' beliefs and dyadic communication patterns established in the child's early years (Howe, 2011; Lollis & Kucynski, 1997; Siegel, 1999).

Affect

The participant children generally experienced the DE and their parents' responses negatively. Yet, children tend to adopt and assimilate their parents' beliefs (Hart, 2008) and assume responsibility for discipline interactions to manage and regulate their dyadic relationship (Hart, 2008). Unlike their parents, and irrespective of fairness and their parental beliefs and responses, nearly all children reflected on their behaviour and believed they should do as they were told. While nearly half of the children took responsibility for the DE and nearly half of them believed that they behaved poorly towards their parent, all children rationalised their parents' behaviour, with some of the children suggesting that their parent was motivated out of good intentions—despite how their parents' behaviour made them feel. Indeed, the DE was fraught with conflict, with some of the children confused by their parents' directives, but only some of the children acknowledged that their parent had behaved unfairly and most of the children doubted that their parent understood their concerns or needs. Unsurprisingly, some of the children were reluctant to disclose additional thoughts (discussed below) with their parent that was relevant to the DE and their state of mind.

Parenting components

The following section contends that a pattern of interaction emerged between the attuned and misattuned dyads. In other words, a number of parenting components that could be classified as helpful or unhelpful processes were identified. A number of theorists agree that parenting is not a formulaic process (Grusec et al., 2014), yet the literature suggests (as discussed in Chapter 2) that various parenting components influence or encourage the process of

attunement and positive interaction between parent and child. This study's findings, similar to the literature, identified a number of parenting elements, therefore establishing a pattern of interaction between parent and child dyads that aligned with either a misattuned or an attuned DE experience. In other words, a number of parenting and environmental processes were more readily linked to either the misattuned or the attuned dyads' DE experience (as outlined in Chapter 5). However, all dyads demonstrated or experienced some behaviours that were not aligned with their dominant (attuned or misattuned) group. In other words, although the dyads' predominant pattern of behaviour placed them in one group, most of the dyads shared some elements that identified with the opposite group in some form, i.e., attuned dyads had a higher number of positive sub-themes, yet a smaller number of negative sub-themes were evident in many of the dyads with the opposite experience for the misattuned dyads. The PRQ, completed by the parents, identified dyadic relationship specific issues (as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4). The misattuned dyads identified with a higher number of negative sub-themes and a lower number of positive sub-themes, and all but one dyad flagged various relationship issues established as a result of the PRQ process. The attuned dyads, on the other hand, identified more with the positive as opposed to the negative sub-themes, and fewer dyads indicated underlying relationship health issues signalled by the PRQ.

While most of the misattuned parents experienced the DE as a conflicted process, they failed to acknowledge and reflect on their part in that process, without being prompted during the interview. The misattuned parents held predetermined beliefs that children caused trouble and should do as they were told (assuming a strongly hierarchical power relationship), and, importantly, these beliefs may have influenced their willingness to consider or even acknowledge that their children had a perspective. They utilised punitive discipline methods (such as shouting or using time-outs as described in Chapter 2), and did not involve themselves with the regulation or repair of the DE. The misattuned children also held the belief that they should do as they were told, a construct no doubt developed because of the patterned communication (as discussed in Chapter 2), that appeared to have underpinned their responses during the DE. For example, the children felt misunderstood and experienced punitive consequences because of their parents' interpretation. Many of the children also regulated their own emotions post DE, and some of the children believed their parent's response was based on good intentions, for example, concern for their wellbeing. Misattuned children also acknowledged that their parents behaved unfairly and denied them the opportunity to share their voice. On the other hand, although the attuned dyad group's DEs

still experienced conflict, they were less fraught. Ordinarily the attuned parents used a calm tone, did not rely on punitive consequences (with the exception of one attuned parent) and acknowledged their child's perspective either directly or indirectly. The attuned children experienced the opportunity to share their perspective irrespective of their ability to influence the DE outcome. The attuned parents and children also experienced, to varying degrees, a dual repair process. In other words, the attuned parents tended to assist their children with some form of regulation and the attuned children experienced parental assistance.

Parenting styles or responses are important, as attuned relationships enable children to develop a strong sense of self, build resilience, and the ability to self-regulate (Donath et al., 2014). Yet, children are vulnerable to their parents' beliefs and interpretations, and although they co-construct their environment with their parent, they are generally powerless to effect any real change when involved in DE incidences. To reiterate, the majority of the children experienced misattuned and hierarchical interactions with their parent(s), without the opportunity to share their perspective. Joshee Bear (Dyad 9) provided a succinct insight with his poignant statement during his interview which reflected his experience and those also of the many other children. Joshee Bear stated, "*I don't get to make decisions*" (Dyad 9, line 65).

Proposed Reflective Parenting Models

This research suggests the need for a paradigm shift in the way parents interact with their children during a DE. While the NZPDMs (discussed in Chapter 7) emphasise a paternalistic, and to some degree, a welfare-oriented approach (discussed in Chapter 2) in the form of an authoritarian and hierarchical parenting process, a role for children's participation in any DE has largely been overlooked most likely due to being perceived by adults as incompetent (age related or lacking maturity). If a movement away from an authoritarian dynamic towards a more reflective, integrative and collaborative discipline model (outlined in Chapter 7) can be achieved, children's participation in a DE will be recognised and respected and in time this latter approach could become a normative process.

Leibel and Saadi (2012) suggest that one of the primary challenges for adults is based on the existing paradigms governing the perception of children and their rights. As mentioned previously, the current NZPDMs maintain children as passive participants, silenced by adults as described by Jones (2009), and reinforce paternalistic attitudes of a type discussed by Hanson (2012) in Chapter 2. As discussed previously and in Chapter 2, children co-construct

their environment based on their experiences and rely on their main caregivers to achieve an optimal development. To reduce the risk of children developing psychopathological disorders in the future and to increase the likelihood of experiencing an attuned relationship with their parent(s), the way in which parents interact is imperative. The discipline models outlined in Chapter 7 encourage adults to listen to their children and children's participation, therefore aligning more with the liberationist approach, where children are recognised as "being" (rather than "becoming") and perceived as competent, as discussed by Hanson (2012). While children's participation is a strong component within both two models, there still is a hierarchical element where parents to some degree govern the outcome of the DE, albeit in the context of a collaborative process. The BP-RPDM recommends a reciprocal communication process between parent and child with a strong reflective parenting element, and as a result the child is less likely to experience misplaced responses based on a parent's reconstructed meanings and memories (as discussed in Chapter 2). The I-RPDM increases the parent's awareness and the need to incorporate the child's voice, without the degree of parental reflection outlined in the BP-RPDM. This process acknowledges the importance of the child's voice while recognising that some parents may have difficulty with the reflective practices. In summary, the two discipline models practice, as a normative process, the understanding that adults perceive or acknowledge children as competent, and expect and value their participation within the dyadic and/or familial DE process and environment.

Limitations

This study has some limitations. The current study's sample was predominantly New Zealanders of European descent and there was an under-representation of various ethnic, cultural and socioeconomic groups. As noted in Chapter 3, the recruitment process was more challenging than predicted. This may have been because of the topic or the general population experiencing apathy or concern regarding participation, as it was clearly a sensitive topic. The age group of the participant children was a further limitation. This study's focus was concerned with children in the 10–11-year age bracket, it would therefore be difficult to generalise the findings to children of all ages. The study's focus was purposefully narrowed to consider children in a similar developmental stage, reducing further possible variations, to avoid clouding the data analysis process. Additional factors, such as children's developmental stages may have determined different outcomes making it more difficult to consider or draw consistent conclusions. The sampling process used was purposeful, and voluntary, therefore, to some degree there was an element of participants self-referring. The parents and children who chose to participate may have been motivated

because of experiencing more challenging relationships or living in a particularly contentious environment. For example, the participants' familial environment may have been more combative than other families who chose not to participate. Therefore, the findings of this study, and in particular the PRQ results that highlighted potential relationship issues, may have resulted in a more skewed outcome due to the participants' contentious living environments. Conversely, the parents may have been associated with a less contentious environment and were not concerned they were going to be judged during the research process. Therefore, the findings may not have indicated a greater prevalence of misattuned DE processes amongst parents and children.

A further limitation of the current study is related to the data collection techniques. I had to rely on the participants' recall and descriptive abilities to access rich insights regarding the DE. In other words, I did not observe the DE process first-hand to garner a more contextual understanding of the discipline environment or indeed the parent and child relationship. Yet, it was crucial that I accessed the participants' versions of the DE and relied on and probed their experiences, to ensure that I captured their personal narrative as opposed to my interpretation based on observations assessed during the collection and analysis process. The PRQ data collection tool provided insight into parent–child relational health, however, the format and text used within the PRQ was highly structured. As a result, while it provided a consistent measure, the participants were required to respond within the descriptive parameters of the PRQ as opposed to their own descriptions. For example, the participant parent of Dyad 13 (discussed in Chapter 3) had difficulty with some of the vocabulary, in particular objecting to the word "*punish*" that affected her ability to respond to certain questions in the way intended by the PRQ's designers. These limitations and their management in relation to future research are now discussed.

Implications for Practice

This study found valuable information not only for the parent–child dyad, but any other relationship where the child is involved, for example, therapist and child, teacher–student, and sports coach and player. Grusec (2006) suggests that clinicians and researchers need to consider how parents, when triggered, can learn to perceive environments in a different way and respond more productively. Furthermore, therapeutic interventions that focus on one partner within the parent–child relationship do not make allowances for the complex, historically formed, patterned communication within the dyad (Kindsvatter & Desmond, 2013).

Approaching a therapeutic session where the child is considered the "identified (problem) client", the therapist needs to consider not only the child's narrative, but also crucially, the adults. The findings of this study suggest that the parent's interpretation will significantly influence the child's narrative as a result of sociocultural expectations, patterned communication and unconscious processes. It would therefore be vital for any therapist or teacher to include or consider and unpack the parent's narrative to fully understand the context of the identified concern regarding the child. Indeed, it could be argued that it may often be unnecessary for the child to be included in the therapeutic process, as the identified problem is often likely to have been generated from patterned communication based on the parent's historic experiences and their interpretation, which in turn impacts on the way they respond towards their child.

On the other hand, excluding the child from the therapeutic (or education concern) process may be unwittingly marginalising their narrative and perspective and aligning with the welfare/protection schools of thought discussed in Chapter 2. Consequently, to ensure children are involved with the participation process (the liberationist perspective in Chapter 2), the therapeutic process may need to include the child, yet refocus on the child's "experience" as opposed to being the identified client – in other words, the child being potentially labelled as the problem. The child's role in the therapeutic process may simply be to describe how their experience and their co-constructed role plays out in accordance with the patterned expectations. For example, if the child has been diagnosed with depression, the therapist may need to consider how this role was constructed for the child based on the parent's IWM and expectations as the child may be experiencing depression and, yet may not be innately depressed. Hart (2008) explains that children moderate their behaviours to regulate their attunement and adopt the parent's mannerisms, thoughts and feelings to reduce anxiety. While parenting is challenging, unresolved childhood issues of the parent can impact on communication between parents and children (Hughes & Baylin, 2012). This current study identifies the crucial role of the parents, both in terms of their interpretations, their beliefs and their expectations for their child.

Future Directions

The findings of this study have relevance and implications for policy makers, researchers and practitioners. Children's competency has often been an issue of contention (Smith, 1998), and, yet children are complex and considered thinkers and have insight into their own and other's behaviours (Raikes & Thompson, 2005). One of the main focuses of this study

was on the parent and child's interpretation of the DE based on their recall. Although a pattern emerged from the findings that identified misattuned or attuned dyadic groups (and the predominant pattern indicated that parents were typically misattuned with their children in relation to a DE), the size of the sample was too small to generalise to the wider population. In order to reduce the impact of the limitations (discussed previously), several suggestions are proffered below. Further research with a larger sample could include participants from different cultural and ethnic groups to consider how prevalent misattunement is across a number of discipline interactions within each dyad. In addition, it would be valuable to conduct a study involving children in the role of co-researchers, where the main researcher primarily becomes the observer. A practical example is as follows: a DE occurs within the familial environment, the participant child in a conjoint role as the co-researcher would interview their parent regarding their interpretation of the DE directly after the DE occurred. The child would also provide their account of the DE directly to their parent with the primary researcher observing the process. This may have a two-fold effect. Firstly, children's narratives regarding the DE are explained directly to their parent at the time of the DE and the parent is required to listen to those narratives as part of the research. Secondly, further insights regarding the DE interpretations are made transparent, highlighting any potential misattunement and assisting in creating parental or adult awareness.

Further studies could consider the impact of gender and/or how different ethnicities interpret a DE. Children do not belong to one specific or uniformed group, and the likes of gender, ethnicities and religion impact on their interpretations (Montgomery, 2013). For example, in relation to gender, the current study focused on male and female children within a specific age group (10 and 11 years old), yet parents construct gender differences by indoctrinating gender-specific behaviours from birth (Slee, 2002). Children up to two years of age have a gender-constructed role and, in most cultures, gender behaviours have been well-established by age three (Murachver, 2011). Cultural behaviours influence gender responses, for example, parents' interaction with boys is less nurturing and sensitive than their responses to girls (Brazelton & Cramer, 1990). It would be advantageous for future research to consider discipline experiences and interpretations from children of different age groups and specific genders (both for parents and children). In other words, research might consider just paternal or maternal caregivers with both boys and girls. The purpose for this research would be to consider the prevalence of misattunement between parents and children across multiple age

brackets and ethnicities and consider or identify patterns of gender influenced interaction and interpretation between parents and their children.

Further research might consider a longitudinal study, involving multiple DEs between child and parent/caregiver. Hughes and Baylin (2012) explain that when parents are stressed, their prefrontal cortex switches off and they are more likely to make uncompromising decisions, from the limbic region of the brain, and accordingly interpret their child's behaviour negatively. It would be valuable to ascertain the prevalence of misattunement, to consider the parent's state of mind just prior to the DE and how this may impact on their interpretation and similarly, the child's state of mind, given they experience stress akin to adults (Slee, 2002). A further study could consider and how their state of mind affects their interpretation and impacts on their parent's behaviour, given that dyadic relationships are bidirectional and co-constructed (Grusec, 2011; Smith, 1998).

Attunement is crucial to the health of the parent–child relationship to reduce children's risk of developing pathological disorders in the future, and to establish a productive and positive relationship that enables children to develop regulation abilities and empathic skills. Future research to obtain further insight into this common parent–child experience (Konner, 2010; Riediger & Klipker, 2015) could provide practitioners, policy makers, and researchers with information concerning the prevalence of misattunement and how this impacts on the children's future development and their relationship with their parent(s)/caregivers and with society. Indeed, the implementation of policies, further education relating to family processes and potential influences, and awareness of the importance of the child's voice and relevance, is imperative for future policy decisions. It would be beneficial for children to advocate for their own positions, describe their experiences, and be heard by the appropriate policy makers. Policies need to advocate for the recognition of the child's involvement, not as passive receivers, but as co-constructors, influencers, and as integral and equal participants involved in any DE environment.

Appendices

Appendix A: Semi-Structured (Paper Version) Child Diary Entry (CDE) for Children

(This is not compulsory for you to complete, but it would be very helpful if you choose to do so)

Thank you for taking the time to provide your thoughts and feelings on an argument that happened between you and your mum or dad (or some other person caring for you).

You can draw a picture or use words using things like crayons, stickers, paints, felt pens etc. to help describe and answer the questions below.

You can use any other paper you want.

Use the questions below to help get you started.

If you want to, please add any other thoughts/feelings you want to share.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact Anna Martin (on 021 248 3414 or anna.martin@auckland.ac.nz). She will help however she can.

1. Describe what happened between you and your mum or dad or another person caring for you.

2. How did you feel about the disagreement between you and your mum or dad (or another person caring for you)?

3. How did you feel about how your mum or dad (or another person caring for you) reacted when they were cross with you?

Thank you so much for your help with this project.

Appendix B: Semi-Structured Interview Guide for Parents

Adult Interview Form   **Sheet no. (corresponds with child)**

Date:

Name:

Child's name (involved in the discipline event):

Geographical Location:

Age (not compulsory):

Occupation (not compulsory):

Male/female:

Questions	Themes / Points / Topics
Tell me what happened? (Context)	- Who was around? - Who was involved? - What was the context (location etc.)? - Relationship with the person involved?
How were you feeling? (Emotions)	- Feelings prior to the discipline event? - Feelings during the discipline event? - How do you think your child was feeling? - Feelings after the discipline event?
What actually happened? (Events)	- The sequence of events? - How did it unfold? - What were your thoughts about the behaviour of your child?
Actions taken? (Behaviour)	- How did you respond? - In hindsight how did you feel about the response? - Would you want to do it differently next time? How? - Recollection of other thoughts about the event?
Perception of the event? (Perception)	- Why do you think your child behaved the way they did? - How do you think your child will describe what they did? - Do you think your child would understand your choice of actions and verbal discussion? - Discuss if you think your child would perceive your action as fair?

Appendix C: Semi-Structured Interview Guide for Children

Child Interview Form   **Sheet no. (corresponds with adult)**

Date:

Name:

Adult's name (involved in the discipline event):

Geographical Location:

Age:

Male/female:

Questions	Themes / Points / Topics
Tell me what happened? (Context)	- Who was around? - Who was involved? - Where did it happen? - How do you know the person involved?
How were you feeling? (Emotions)	- How were you feeling before you had the argument? - How were you feeling during the argument? - How do you think the person was feeling at the time of the argument? - How were you feeling after the argument?
What actually happened? (Events)	- Tell me how it all happened? - How did the argument happen? - What did you think about the adult's behaviour? Why? - When the person involved told you off, how did you respond to them? - What did you say to them?
Actions taken? (Behaviour)	- How did you respond to the adult's actions? - Looking back on it how did you feel about your response? - How did you feel about the adult's response? - Would you behave differently next time? How? - What sorts of other things were you thinking about when the argument happened?
Perception of the event? (Perception)	- How do you think your parent or caregiver would describe their actions around the discipline event. - Do you think your parent or caregiver understood why you behaved the way you did? - What do you think your parent or caregiver would say about why you behaved in the way you did? - How fair do you think the adult's actions were, as a result of the argument?

Appendix D: Parenting Relationship Questionnaire (PRQ) (Completed by Parents)

Child and Adolescent
Hand-Scored Form

PRQ–CA
Ages 6–18

PRQ

Parenting Relationship Questionnaire
Randy W. Kamphaus, PhD, and Cecil R. Reynolds, PhD

Instructions:

On the pages that follow are statements that describe common feelings, thoughts, beliefs, and situations a parent may have or experience when caring for his or her child. Please read each statement, and mark the response that best describes your recent experiences (over the last several months).

♦ Circle **N** if the statement **never** describes your beliefs about or experiences with your child.

♦ Circle **S** if the statement **sometimes** describes your beliefs about or experiences with your child.

♦ Circle **O** if the statement **often** describes your beliefs about or experiences with your child.

♦ Circle **A** if the statement **almost always** describes your beliefs about or experiences with your child.

Please mark every item. If you don't know or are unsure of your response to an item, give your best estimate.

How to Mark Your Responses

Use a sharp pencil or ballpoint pen; do not use a felt-tip pen or marker. Press firmly, and be certain to **circle** completely the letter you choose, like this:

N   Ⓢ   O   A

If you wish to change a response, mark an X through it, and circle your new choice, like this:

N   ⊗   Ⓞ   A

Before starting, be sure to complete the information in the boxes on the right-hand side of page 3.

PRQ Parenting Relationship Questionnaire–Child and Adolescent

REMEMBER: Indicate how frequently each statement describes your beliefs or experiences by circling
N – Never   S – Sometimes   O – Often   A – Almost always

PRQ–CA
Ages 6–18

1. My child and I play games together.   N S O A
2. I know when my child will become upset.   N S O A
3. My child is getting a good education at school.   N S O A
4. It is difficult for me to communicate clearly with my child.   N S O A
5. I enjoy spending time with my child.   N S O A
6. Children should do what parents tell them to do.   N S O A
7. My child knows the house rules.   N S O A
8. I know what my child is thinking.   N S O A
9. Our family eats together at the dinner table.   N S O A
10. My child's school meets his or her emotional needs.   N S O A
11. My child and I argue.   N S O A
12. It is important for a child to follow family rules.   N S O A
13. My child tells me about his or her day at school.   N S O A
14. I remain calm when dealing with my child's misbehavior.   N S O A
15. I find it hard to talk to my child.   N S O A
16. My child's school seems to spend its money wisely.   N S O A
17. I punish my child if he or she talks back to an adult.   N S O A
18. My child and I plan things to do together.   N S O A
19. My child tells me about activities at school.   N S O A
20. My child and I do arts and crafts together.   Ñ S O A
21. I listen to what my child has to say.   N S O A
22. I can sense my child's moods.   N S O A
23. My child tells me about his or her problems.   N S O A
24. I allow my child to use the Internet without supervision.   N S O A

25. I teach my child how to play new games.   N S O A
26. I know when my child wants to be left alone.   N S O A
27. My child's school meets his or her educational needs.   N S O A
28. During the last year, my child has been difficult to take care of.   N S O A
29. When my child is upset, I can calm him or her.   N S O A
30. It is my responsibility as a parent to punish all of my child's misbehavior.   N S O A
31. I have the energy that I need to cope with my child.   N S O A
32. My child enjoys spending time with me.   N S O A
33. My child and I work on projects together.   N S O A
34. Teachers seem to understand my child's needs.   N S O A
35. I lose my patience with my child.   N S O A
36. I punish my child if he or she shows disrespect to an adult.   N S O A
37. My child tells me about the things that he or she is doing with friends.   N S O A
38. It is easy for me to make decisions about what my child should do.   N S O A
39. My child and I get into arguments.   N S O A
40. People at school seem to care about my child.   N S O A
41. I punish my child if he or she destroys someone else's things.   N S O A
42. I am in control of my household.   N S O A
43. My child tells me, "I love you."   N S O A
44. My child and I go on outings together.   N S O A
45. My child is hard for me to handle.   N S O A
46. I know what my child is feeling.   N S O A
47. My child tells me who his or her friends are.   N S O A
48. My child's school does a good job of controlling its students.   N S O A

49. My child and I take walks together.   N S O A
50. I know what to say to calm down my child.   N S O A
51. I am happy with the services my child's school offers.   N S O A
52. My child complains about how I treat him or her.   N S O A
53. I know how my child will react in most situations.   N S O A
54. I punish my child so he or she learns the proper respect for others.   N S O A
55. I make good parenting decisions.   N S O A
56. I have confidence in my child's school principal.   N S O A
57. I overreact when my child misbehaves.   N S O A
58. My child's school is run well.   N S O A
59. My child and I get into heated discussions.   N S O A
60. I insist that my child follow the rules of the house.   N S O A
61. I talk to my child's teacher(s).   N S O A
62. My child and I agree on most things.   N S O A
63. My child tests my limits.   N S O A
64. The classes offered by my child's school meet his or her needs.   N S O A
65. I punish my child when he or she misbehaves.   N S O A
66. I am confident in my parenting ability.   N S O A
67. I tell my child, "I love you."   N S O A
68. My child and I do things together outdoors.   N S O A
69. I lose my temper with my child.   N S O A
70. When upset, my child comes to me for comfort.   N S O A
71. My child tells me what he or she has learned that day.   N S O A

Child's Name _____
First   Middle   Last

Date _____   Birth Date _____
Month Day Year   Month Day Year

School _____   Grade _____

Sex: ☐ Female   ☐ Male   Age _____

Other Data _____

Your Name _____
First   Middle   Last

Sex: ☐ Female   ☐ Male

Relationship to Child: ☐ Mother   ☐ Father

☐ Guardian   ☐ Other _____

Please be sure you have marked all items.

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Appendix E: Sports Club Advertisement

Invitation to participate in a research study

My name is Anna Martin. I am a PhD student at the University of Auckland. I am conducting a study on discipline and how parents and children communicate with each other during a disagreement.

I am looking for parent and child dyads. The child needs to be either 10 or 11 years of age. The parent's involvement in the study would take approximately 1-½ hours. The child's involvement would take approximately an hour. The information you give would be treated with utmost respect and provide further insight into how children and their parents feel about discipline.

If you have any further queries or would like to take part in this study please do not hesitate to contact me on 021 248 3414 or anna.martin@auckland.ac.nz

Thank you for taking the time to read this advertisement. I hope to talk with you soon.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 6 JANUARY 2014 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 010645

Appendix F: Participant Information Sheet (PIS) for Parents

School of Counselling, Social Work and Human Services

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The University of Auckland
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Auckland 1035, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

ADULT PARTICIPANT

Project Title: Transgression, Discipline and Child/Parent Relationship Dynamics

Name of Researcher: Anna Martin, Doctoral Student

Researchers background and invitation

My name is Anna Martin. I am a PhD student at the University of Auckland and have a background working in attachment and other related areas. I am conducting a research study primarily looking at how an adult and a child interact during a discipline event. The objective of this study is to explore how a parent and their child experience a discipline event. The study will also consider how communication impacts on the relationship between the parent and child.

If you fit the criteria to participate in this study I would like to invite you to take part in this research. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time, without explanation. You will also have the opportunity to withdraw any of your data up to one month after the interview has taken place. If you do choose to withdraw your data please be aware that the data provided by your child participating in the study will also be destroyed as this study relies on both parent/caregiver and child participating.

Participant criteria

A dyad (parent/caregiver and a child) is sought to participate in the research. The child needs to be aged between 10-11 years of age and for the purposes of this research have reached their developmental milestones and attend a mainstream school. There is no age criteria for the adult, but the adult needs to be related to the child who is participating in the study. The participants also need to be English speaking.

Research description

Participation in this study will involve a discipline event occurring between you as the parent/caregiver and your child. This does not have to be serious in nature and may just include a verbal disagreement regarding a small matter. Once the discipline event occurs, both the child and the adult agree that this event is the one they want to address with me.

Within 24-48 hours of the discipline event an interview is conducted with me. The adult also completes a questionnaire. The child participant is involved in a separate interview with me and is asked to complete a diary entry (as discussed in the Child's Participant Information Sheet). The total amount of time the adult is involved in the research is approximately one hour for the person-to-person interview. The completion of the questionnaire will take approximately 20 minutes. The interview and the questionnaire (both completed with me) would take place at location convenient to you in Auckland. If helpful and requested by either you or your child I would spend time with your child initially to discuss any concerns they have or answer any questions. The interview will explore topics such as your involvement in the discipline incident, how you responded to the

behaviour of your child, how you felt about the discipline event. The questionnaire will involve topics such as attachment, relationships and interactions.

Privacy and confidentiality

The interview will be audio taped (with your consent) using a digital recorder and will be transcribed by me only. You can request for the digital recorder to be switched off at any time. All information provided by you or your child will be treated with respect. To ensure you and your family's identity are keep anonymous. Any information which may identify you or a member of your family will be changed and a pseudonym will be provided for any further published material. Please also note that the diary or any other information completed or provided by your child will also be kept private and will therefore not be shared with you as the caregiver unless your child gives permission or requests the information to be shared with you.

The digital file of your data will be deleted immediately. The transcribed data will be locked away in a filing cabinet and stored for 6 years and then destroyed according to standard research practice.

Although I will respect your privacy in all other respects, I am obliged to break confidentiality if there is an awareness of any harm or illegal practices taking place within the context of the family environment. I will discuss any concerns with the appropriate people involved prior to an incident being reported. Although the research is focused on obtaining information both you and your child feel comfortable to disclose, should either person feel any discomfort and wish to seek counselling, I will provide appropriate contact details at your request.

You and your child are welcome to have a support person present at the interview or questionnaire.

How were you identified to participate in the research and what are the advantages of participating?

You have been asked to participate in a research study via an advertisement in a notification or publication through your sports club.

As a result of participating in this research you will help provide valuable insight into the interactions as a result of a discipline event between a parent and a child. This information will be used to explore areas such as attachment and relational matters. On completion of the study I will provide to you a summary of findings that may provide insight or further understanding into your own relationship with your child. Children participating in the study will be provided with a $20 dollar voucher to thank them for their time and energy.

Topic disclosure

The primary focus of this research is with the interaction between a child and an adult as a result of a discipline event. I am also concerned with an additional focus relating to discipline. However, for the purposes of this study it is important that the specifics of this particular topic are not disclosed to you until the completion of the data collection. Too early disclosure of the topic may prejudice the quality and response of the information provided and jeopardise the study. It is important for you to know that the information I am seeking falls under the general topic of discipline interaction and communication, and that I will provide to you a full disclosure of this focus on completion of the interview and questionnaire. The 'hidden' topic is not designed to cause emotional or physical harm, but instead it is hoped that the information will provide important understanding regarding the dynamics involved in the discipline interactions.

How do I agree to participate in this study?

If you would like to participate in this study or have any further questions, please contact me by email or phone (details below). If you would prefer to text me please do so and I will call at a convenient time for you. Contact details are:

Anna Martin
Tel: 021 248 3414 (mob)
Email: anna.martin@auckland.ac.nz

For any further enquires please do not hesitate to contact either:

The Head Supervisor: Dr Allen Bartley, School of Counselling, Human Services & Social Work, The University of Auckland, Private Bag 92601, Auckland, Tel. 09-623-8899, extn 48140.

The alternative supervisor: Dr Matt Shepherd, School of Counselling, Human Services & Social Work. The University of Auckland, Private Bag 92601, Auckland, Tel. 09-623-8899, extn 46368.

The Head of Department is: Phil Harington, School of Counselling, Human Services & Social Work. The University of Auckland, Private Bag 92601, Auckland, Tel. 09-623-8899, extn 48562.

For any queries regarding ethical concerns, you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373 3599, extn, 87830 / 83761. Email, humanethics@auckland.ac.nz

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 6 January 2014 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 010645

Appendix G: Participant Information Sheet for Children

INFORMATION ON THE STUDY (PIS)

CHILD PARTICIPANT

Project Title: **Transgression, Discipline and Child/Parent Relationship Dynamics**
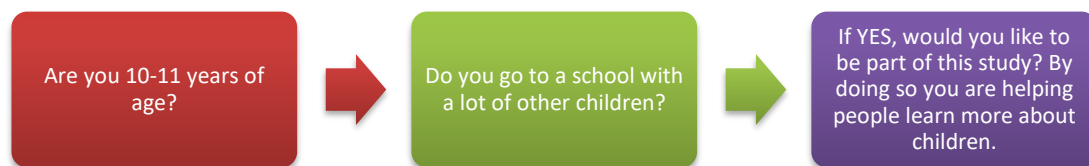
Name of Researcher: **Anna Martin, Student at the University of Auckland**
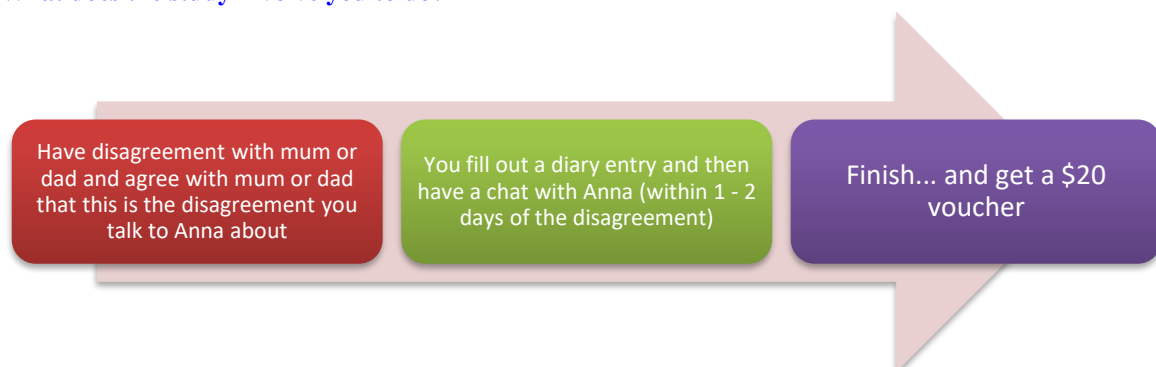
Who is Anna (the researcher)?

Hello, my name is Anna Martin. I am a student at the University of Auckland. I have worked with children and their parents for a while so I am use to chatting to children and hearing what they have to say. I am doing a study on discipline. I am interested in how you talk with your mum, dad or another adult who cares for you when you are cross with them. The reason I want to know this information is so I can understand more about how you feel and what you think when mum and dad (or another adult) are cross with you and you may be cross with them. I am talking with other children about the same thing as well. The information I get from this study will hopefully give adults more information about how children feel when they are being told off.

You don't have to take part if you don't want to. If you do want to but then change your mind at any time during the study you can choose to stop. This is completely ok and no one will be upset by this. You can pull out one month after you and I have chatted at the interview. If you pull out then we will not use your information or your parents or caregivers information either as we need both you and your parent or caregiver to be involved in the study. The $20 amount is given only if you stay in the study.

Invitation and what do you need to be part of this study?

Are you 10-11 years of age?	Do you go to a school with a lot of other children?	If YES, would you like to be part of this study? By doing so you are helping people learn more about children.

What does the study involve you to do?

Have disagreement with mum or dad and agree with mum or dad that this is the disagreement you talk to Anna about	You fill out a diary entry and then have a chat with Anna (within 1 - 2 days of the disagreement)	Finish... and get a $20 voucher

Your mum, dad or other adult who cares for you will also have a chat with me, but this will be done separately. Nothing will be repeated to your mum, dad or any other adult who cared for you. The chat with me will only take about 30mins and you can take as long as you want to fill out the diary entry, using whatever you want such as crayons and stickers etc. The information in the diary will also not be shared with your parent or caregiver unless you would like me to show them and give me permission to do so.

I will tape your voice when we have the chat. But, I will ask you if you are ok about this first. You can also ask to have the tape turned off at any time. No one but me will hear the tape. I will then listen to the tape and type out what you have said so I can look at it. No one will see that information as well. Any information you give me that might tell someone that it could be you (or anyone in your family) will be changed. This stops anyone from finding out what you have said.

Once I have typed up your answers from the tape recording I will get rid of the tape and the written down information will be stored and locked away for 6 years. After 6 years it will be destroyed.
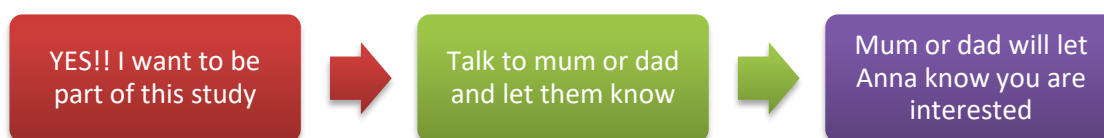
Why were you asked to be part of this study?

Your mum or dad or another adult caring for you would have seen a notice in a newsletter from your sports club asking if they wanted to take part in this study. If they have asked you it most likely means they are happy for you to be involved and they want to be as well.

Another area of interest

There is another area that I am interested in as well. This is about discipline, but I can only tell you what this is once I have chatted with you about the argument. As soon as I finish my chat with you I will tell you what I was interested in and you can pull out of the study at this stage as well. This new information is not scary at all. It is mainly about how you and your mum, dad or other adult who is caring for you talk with each other when you are cross. This information will be very helpful for the study and for adults to learn more about discipline.

How can I say yes to be part of this study?

YES!! I want to be part of this study → Talk to mum or dad and let them know → Mum or dad will let Anna know you are interested

If you have any questions I am happy to answer them for you. My contact details are below.

Anna Martin - Ph: 021 248 3414 (mob)
Email: anna.martin@auckland.ac.nz

Thank you for reading this and being interested in this study!

Appendix H: Consent Form for Parents

School of Counselling, Social Work and Human Services

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Auckland 1035, New Zealand

CONSENT FORM
ADULT PARTICIPANT
THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: Transgression, Discipline and Child/Parent Relationship Dynamics

Name of Researcher: Anna Martin, Doctoral Student

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research.

- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time, and to withdraw any data traceable to me up to one month after the interview is completed.

- I agree / do not agree to be audiotaped.

- I wish / do not wish to receive the summary of findings.

- I understand that a third party who has signed a confidentiality agreement may transcribe the tapes.

- I understand that data will be kept for 6 years, after which they will be destroyed.

- I understand that there is a topic relating to the subject of discipline which is not disclosed prior to the information being gathered, but will be fully disclosed immediately on completion of all information gathering procedures.

- I understand that should a situation arise where the researcher needs to follow the New Zealand Counselling Association Code of Ethics, the researcher will need to follow appropriate procedures. I also understand that the researcher will endeavour to discuss this with me prior to any action being taken.

Name _____

Signature _____   Date _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 6 January 2014 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 010645

Appendix I: Consent Form for Parents on Behalf of their Children

School of Counselling, Social Work and Human Services

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Auckland 1035, New Zealand

ASSENT FORM

CHILD PARTICIPANT

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: Transgression, Discipline and Child/Parent Relationship Dynamics

Name of Researcher: Anna Martin, Doctorate Student

I have read the information sheet given to me which tells me about what the person (researcher) from the University is looking at. When I read the information sheet and talked about it with the researcher, who is Anna Martin and also talked about it with my mum, dad or other adult caring for me I understood what Anna was looking at and getting information for. I also understand why I have been chosen to be part of this study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered so that I understand why I am involved.

Knowing this:

- I agree / do not agree to take part in this study.

- I know and understand that I don't have to take part in this study and can pull out at any time. I can also ask for my information to be deleted or thrown away.

- I know I can get my information back that I give to Anna up to one month after I have a chat/interviewed by Anna. After one month I know that my information will be stored safely, so no one else can listen to or read it and know it is about me.

- I agree / do not agree that when I am talking to Anna my voice can be recorded on a digital recorder or audiotape.

- I want to / don't want to look at what Anna finds out about this study after talking with me.

- I understand that another person, who might type out the conversation that I have with Anna, from the audiotape will sign a piece of paper saying that they cannot share any information they hear with anyone else except Anna.

- I understand that the information Anna finds out from the diary or interview will be kept for 6 years. After 6 years the information will then be destroyed.

- I also understand that the information will be put away safely so no one can see it or read it and know it's me.

- I also understand that Anna is looking at a topic that I don't know about, but it is on arguing or things like helpfulness or how my mum or dad or another person looking after me talk with me when they are cross. I also know that Anna will tell me what the topic is as soon as I finish talking with her and give her my diary entry.

Name _____

Signature _____   Date _____

Appendix J: Assent Form for Children

School of Counselling, Social Work and Human Services

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CONSENT FORM

CHILD PARTICIPANT

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title: Transgression, Discipline and Child/Parent Relationship Dynamics

Name of Researcher: Anna Martin, Doctoral Student

I have read the information sheet given to me which tells me about what the person (researcher) from the University is looking at. When I read the information sheet and talked about it with the researcher, who is Anna Martin and also talked about it with my mum, dad or other adult I understood what Anna was looking at and getting information for. I also understand why I have been chosen to be part of this study. I have had the chance to ask questions and have them answered so that I understand why I am involved.

Knowing this:

- I agree / do not agree to take part in this study.

- I know and understand that I don't have to take part in this study and can pull out at any time. I can also ask for my information to be deleted or thrown away.

- I know I can get my information back that I give to Anna up to one month after I have a chat/interviewed by Anna. After one month I know that my information will be stored safely, so no-one else can listen to or read it and know it is about me.

- I agree / do not agree that when I am talking to Anna my voice can be recorded on a digital recorder or audiotape.

- I want to / don't want to look at what Anna finds out about this study after talking with me.

- I understand that another person, who might type out the conversation that I have with Anna, from the audiotape will sign a piece of paper saying that they cannot share any information they hear with anyone else except Anna.

- I understand that the information Anna finds out from the diary or interview will be kept for 6 years. After 6 years the information will then be destroyed.

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- I also understand that the information will be put away safely so no-one can see it or read it and know it's me.

- I also understand that Anna is looking at a topic that I don't know about, but it is on arguing or things like helpfulness or how my mum or dad talk with me when they are cross. I also know that Anna will tell me what the topic is as soon as I finish talking with her and give her my diary entry.

Name _____

Signature _____   Date _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 6 January 2014 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 010645

Appendix K: Child Diary Entry: Dyad 7, Participant Child – Sasha

Response to question 2: "*I felt annoyed and angry*"

Response to question 3: "*I felt annoyed and angry*"

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