

# Cultural Justice & Ethics

Proceedings of a symposium held at the Annual  
Conference of the New Zealand Psychological Society,  
University of Victoria, Wellington, 23-24 August 1993

Edited by

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**National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues**

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## Acknowledgements

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Na reira, tenei te mihi atu kia koutou. Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa.

Waimarie

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## Preface

The National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI) is a standing committee of the New Zealand Psychological Society (referred to as the Society). Formed in 1991, the primary aims of the NSCBI are to:

- a) Initiate social changes which will facilitate recognition and development of Maori psychology
- b) Influence the theory, teaching and practice of psychology in Aotearoa to recognise the plurality of cultural perspectives, knowledge and practices.
- c) Assist psychologists working in Aotearoa to acknowledge their obligations to the Treaty of Waitangi and, accordingly, to develop appropriate teaching and practice.

As part of fulfilling the above aims and contributing to a better understanding of ethical standards, the NSCBI initiated discussion and debate focussed on Cultural Justice and Ethics by organising plenary presentations and a symposium within the Annual Conference of the New Zealand Psychological Society held in Wellington, 23rd-24th August, 1993.

In the words of Ray Nairn,

*Cultural justice embodies an understanding of justice that requires that things are tika (just, right) and not merely legal. It should not be understood in a passive or reactive sense - as a criterion for identifying or legitimating grievances - but as a positive quality reflected and enacted in all activities within society. Our professional activities as psychologists are not exempt from this, if we are not ensuring that the way in which we work is culturally just then we are supporting a culturally unjust and destructive practice.*

*(Ray Nairn, This book. p. 37)*

Within the psychological profession, Cultural Justice is about ensuring that all facets of the profession and discipline are conceptualised, structured, delivered and practised in a fashion that maintains a balance of justice and rightness for all groups involved. Due to the diversity of cultural backgrounds that individuals spring from, and the continually changing nature and patterns of cultural meanings and behaviours, cultural justice cannot be about finger pointing, but it can serve as foundation from which ethical standards of practice and discipline spring from.

That non-dominant groups in Aotearoa are expected to challenge and point out the inadequate nature of the psychology profession (of which a huge majority of psychologists are non-Maori) is unjust. In addition, many are challenging from positions of relative powerlessness. Some are clients, students and those few with sufficient stamina left over and the desire to do so, make it to becoming psychologists. Yet for the Maori psychologist, it is insufficient to just be a psychologist. Maori psychologists are forced to also be strategists, advocates, mediators, negotiators, politicians, historians, theorists, analysts, the cultural expert.... purely because they are Maori! This is a culturally unjust situation and demands that a sense of balance be restored.

The responsibility for ensuring that the discipline of psychology is culturally just, is not only that of Maori or some other non-dominant group - the responsibility belongs to all involved in psychology. That there are many more Pakeha people in all facets of the psychology profession indicates a responsibility for ensuring that cultural justice permeates throughout the discipline so that a balanced approach to psychological understanding and wellbeing is achieved.

This is what this collection of papers is about. It is about questioning and challenging the psychology that has been adopted from other settings. It is about nurturing and valuing the development of local and indigenous psychologies. It is about developing psychological tools and methods of application that are culturally compatible. It is an invitation to become excited about and instrumental in building a profession and practice in Aotearoa, for Aotearoa.

This collection of papers is divided into four sections. The first section contains those papers that were presented in the opening plenary section of Conference. Plenary papers by Charles Waldegrave, Kiwi Tamasese and Donna Awatere-Huata present perspectives on cultural justice and what it means for psychology, from three different angles. Charles identifies a number of limitations of western psychology in understanding and being effective in non-dominant communities, noting various areas for improvement and development. Both Kiwi and Donna pick up on the theme of limitations, particularly in relation to those barriers experienced by Maori, and those peoples of Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa (the Pacific).

The second section contains those papers presented in the first session of the Cultural Justice and Ethics symposium. This first session of the symposium was designed to identify issues relevant to cultural justice as related to research, practice and teaching of psychology. Brian Dixon, as convenor of the Society's Ethical Issues Committee provides an outline of the structures that determine and shape ethics in the Society and the relationship of ethics to the political systems of the profession. A paper by Kerin Garner follows where she reflects on what it means to be both Maori and Pakeha. The three papers that follow by Fiona Cram, Averil Herbert and Ray Nairn focus on cultural justice and ethics as relevant to those respective areas of research, practice and teaching.

Section three contains a variety of papers on various topics. Two papers relate to the training of Clinical Psychologists. The paper by Helen Yensen and Tim McCreanor documents their pro-Treaty analysis approach in working with Pakeha students. Keriatia Paterson provides an insight into her experiences as a Maori woman engaged in Diploma level training for clinical psychology. In the last paper in this section, Ted Glynn and colleagues from Maungatapu School report on their research which trailed Maori language, reading and tutoring procedures.

Section four contains two papers, neither of which were presented at the symposium, but have been considered as important to include due to their content. The paper by Richard Sawrey summarises the results of a survey that he completed as part of his thesis work. In his work he surveyed the opinions and behaviours of psychologists' on aspects of Maori mental health. He found what to me are alarming results with regard to how competent psychologists perceive themselves to be in relation to working with Maori people.

In addition to organising plenary sessions and the symposium, the NSCBI submitted the following remit that was adopted by the Society at its 1993 Annual General Meeting.

*Rule 3. In giving effect to the objects for which the Society is established the Society shall encourage policies and practices that reflect New Zealand's cultural diversity and shall, in particular, have due regard to the provisions of, and to the spirit and intent of, the Treaty of Waitangi. (Constitution of the New Zealand Psychological Society, 1993)*

Following that meeting, the NSCBI was asked to develop an implementation plan for this remit. A 'proposed' implementation plan has been developed and the NSCBI is in the process of seeking feedback and generating discussion on those suggestions made in the plan. As an attempt to disseminate this proposed plan to a wider audience, it has been included at the end of this document. Comments and questions are welcomed and can be sent to the Convenor of the NSCBI.

There were some papers presented in the symposium that are not included in this collection. They were papers by Gary MacFarlane-Nathan; Hineuru Timutimu-Thorpe and Cathryn Love. Some time in the future, it is hoped that these papers will be published elsewhere.

Naku noa,

Linda Waimarie Nikora  
Editor





**Section 1:**

**Open Plenary Presentations**

**Open Plenary Panel Presentation  
to the New Zealand Psychological Society's  
Annual Conference.2  
Victoria University,  
Wellington.**

**The challenges of culture to  
psychology and post-modern thinking**

**Charles Waldegrave  
The Family Centre<sup>1</sup>**

Kororia ki te Atua.

Nga Rangatira ma, tena koutou. Mihi nui kia koutou. Tena koe te whaea, Donna. Talofa lava Kiwi. No reira tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa.

Thank you to those people who are responsible for this invitation and this symposium. I'd like to congratulate the Psychological Society for choosing to address this whole area of cultural perspectives, so centrally, in this conference. One could say that it has been quite a long time coming. Many other groups in the social science professions have begun to work on these issues a lot earlier. Nevertheless at this conference, the subject is being addressed very formally and very openly.

This is really a dangerous thing for psychologists to do, because most of the cultural analyses confront the social sciences very substantially. They confront the claims the social sciences, and thus psychology, make in terms of independence, neutrality, objectivity and verifiability. Furthermore, the cultural analyses challenge the claim to an international body of knowledge that is inter cultural.

Take clinical psychology for example, and note the language and the metaphors that are used. The medical metaphors with their words like diagnoses and cures, the biological metaphors with their systemic focus, and of course social science itself, is a metaphor modelled on the physical sciences, and positivist thinking. These all combine to create practitioners who search for objective diagnoses, objective causes, objective explanations, and objective cures. So attached, in fact, have many clinicians become to the scientific metaphor that it is no wonder that psychiatry, psychology, and nursing for example, often rely primarily on the so called objectivity of chemical therapies to heal. They often diagnose only to sort out which chemistry to use. But even when therapy is not that of chemistry, it so often relies on category diagnoses, such as those set out in the DSM III, and the so called scientific medical explanations and cures.

It is post-modern thinking in the European world that has challenged all that. Of course there has always been scepticism outside the European world to the cold positivist metaphors. Maori and Pacific Island people in this country have seldom voluntarily used the services of therapy or clinical work. Normally, it is only when they were directed by the Departments of Social Welfare, Justice, or a psychiatric hospital, that they have fronted up. On the whole, these processes have been imposed on them. Faith in the system amongst poor Pakeha has been rather questionable also. But the real challenge to the so called objectivity of the scientific approach within the European world, is with the post-modern developments and particularly critical post-modern thinking.

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Post-modernism basically states that events occur in the physical world, and people give meaning to those events. In this paradigm there is no objective meaning, and no objective explanation. For example, I could walk over to Kiwi, who I work with as a colleague and is a friend, and put my arm on her shoulder. We could take this as an event that has occurred in the physical world. Different people will give different meanings to that event. Some people might say its a friendly gesture. Other people might say it is a patronising gesture. Some might say it is a racist gesture. Another person might say it's cross-cultural comraderie. Another person could label it as violent. Another person could say it's intrusive. Someone else might say it's connecting closely, and so on. The point is that there's no objective reality in terms of the explanations of events that occur in the physical world.

There are problems with this view, though, as it can suggest that all explanations are simply of equal value. But that is often not the case. The Jewish and Polish experience and explanations of the Second World (European) War offer quite different meanings than the Nazi explanations and meanings of those same events, and we would want to treat them differently. The victim/survivors of abuse would give different meanings to the physical events of their abuse than many perpetrators would. We would want to talk critically about the difference in those meanings.

So critical post-modernism talks about preferred meanings. Meanings that emerge out of values. For example, we may want to say that gender equity is preferable to male dominance, or that cultural self-determination is preferable to monocultural dominance. Whatever position we take flavours our view of the world. If there is no objective meaning, simply explanations of meaning, then we have to start assessing our values and ethics, particularly when we work with individuals, or a family, or in some experimental project. The issue of our values becomes essential.

The contribution made by post-modernism is the view that all constructions of reality are simply that. They are *constructions*, and that includes the social sciences. In fact, we could go further and assert that the social sciences simply offer one *cultural* description of events that occur in the physical world. That particular cultural explanation springs out of a world view that centres around concepts of individualism and secularism. There are in fact many other cultural explanations and descriptions of events. This sort of perspective is a critical post-modern stance, and the sort of stance that we are very involved with at The Family Centre.

Do you remember the days when sexual and violent abuse was looked upon by psychologists, and other therapists, in clinical terms within the old medical, biological, and social science metaphors. Causes were sought, symptoms were treated, but the abuse was often ignored or considered outside the clinical arena. Numbers of women politicised the issue however, and clarified the meaning they gave such events. Psychologists and therapists can no longer act as they did before. The word *'abuse'* and the meanings we now give it have changed our practice and our explanations, not to mention the law. The tired old positivist metaphors were simply inadequate to the task. In fact, they contributed to a lot of unethical behaviour. It is the change of meaning, to a preferred meaning, that has made the difference.

Bearing all this in mind, social scientists and clinicians should be more humble in their claims to knowledge. There is very little that we actually know. Take for example, schizophrenia, we don't know what it is, or how to treat it, but we're very good at labelling people with it. We know very little in the social sciences about mental health. We've had few successes, in real terms. Failure is more characteristic of our work in mental health institutions, in prisons, and in welfare. The record is quite appalling. In fact, there is no evidence to show that exorcism, traditional healing, or faith healing is any less successful in its work within the communities that embrace such practices.

With that backdrop, let's look at some of the issues that cultures bring. Cultures are all about the meanings people give events. They raise critical issues for psychologists, issues like identity and belonging. And I want to speak here, (as I've been asked to) as a Pakeha (European) psychologist, who works in an agency alongside people from two self-determining sections, a Maori, and a Pacific Island section. I'm speaking from my experience when I've been called in to work on projects with them, to help identify differences, collaborate on Pakeha meanings, and share social science knowledge. These are some of my learnings, which won't be news to people of those cultures, but may be helpful to some of the Pakeha here.

All cultures carry with them history, beliefs and ways of doing things. Cultures particularly carry meanings. We experience practically all the most intimate events in our life, within a culture or cultures. Within our families or intimate groupings, we learn the rules and the accepted ways of doing things. Public life is also determined by the meanings created by cultures.

This is very significant and indicates that anyone working with people from a culture, different from their own, requires at least a qualitative appreciation and informed knowledge of that culture. Normally the only way you get that is by being a part of that culture, or at least being extremely familiar and under some supervision from someone of that culture.

I think this is something that is often misunderstood by Pakeha people. I think it is misunderstood, because we seldom reflect on our base values, and how much our culture is permeated with the concepts of individualism. Most of the psychological theories, for example, have been developed in western Europe, and white North America. In those cultures, as with Pakeha New Zealand, individual self-worth is very important. Indeed, for practically all clinical psychological and psychotherapeutic theories, the primary goal of therapy is that of *individual self-worth*. That is because destiny, responsibility, legitimacy, and even human rights, are seen to be essentially individual concepts. Concepts of self, individual assertiveness and fulfilment are central to most of these therapies.

If, on the other hand, you come from a communal or extended family culture, questions of self-exposure and self-assertion are often confusing and even alienating. I remember when I was involved in a project with the Pacific-Island section. We were talking and debating about the whole concept of *self* in psychotherapy and psychology. One of the workers said: "You don't realise what it's like for me as a Samoan, when I'm asked a question like 'what do *you* think?', about something in therapy. It is so hard for me to answer that question. I have to think, what does my mother think, what does my grandmother think, what does my father think, what does my uncle think, what does my sister think, what is the consensus of those thoughts - ah, that must be what I think." That is the way he described it. He explained that for him it was an unnatural question, and an extraordinarily intrusive question.

Questions relating to self often alienate people. They crudely crash through the sensitivities in communally based and extended family cultures. Among individually based cultures, such questions can be quite appropriate. Outside these cultures, however, the questions are often experienced as intrusive and rude. They can rupture cooperative sensitivities among people, and destroy the essential framework for meaning which should be drawn upon for healing.

Some examples in our own practice may help illustrate this. At The Family Centre, when the Maori section first decided to develop a Maori therapy, they invited me to dialogue with them. Early in the project, there was a situation where a couple were referred from the Family Court. The issue concerned a custody and access dispute. In those days at The Family Centre there was one Maori worker, Warihi Campbell. He was working as a Maori consultant behind a one way mirror. That has all changed now, and there is a whole Maori section that does all their own work, but these were the early days.

Warihi and I worked behind the mirror. There was a Pakeha therapist in front with the family. We had all met and been introduced before the interview. It became clear that the mother (and wife) in this family had left, and the father (and husband) was in the family home with their children. The issue of dispute centred around the mother wanting to get back into the house with her children, and wanting the father out.

As we began to talk, it became clear that the father was quite happy for that to occur. Both of them had a lot of experience in the parenting of the children, and both were considered responsible and capable in those areas. The therapist, after discussion for quite some time, discovered that there was one hitch. The maternal grandmother did not want that to occur. The maternal grandmother wanted the children and the father to stay in the house together. As the discussion continued, the therapist operating from a Pakeha, individualistic perspective, said “well, if you two agree for this shift, then why don’t you (to the father) just move out, and you (to the mother) can move in with your children. Then you can sort of explain it to your mother.”

When the therapist made that move, Warihi became very concerned and tapped on the window to bring the therapist behind with us. He stated, that in Maoridom the primary relationship traditionally is between grandparent and grandchildren, not between parent and child as in most Pakeha cultures. “If in fact you go against the grandmother’s wishes, and she will have reasons for wanting this, then you run the risk of alienating this family from the extended family. She is not here to give her reasons. You must not do that.”

We had agreed in this project from the earliest days, that there would be no questioning of any of this sort of cultural direction. So, the therapist was sent in to say what Warihi had said. As soon as that was said, the couple agreed, because they understood the wisdom behind it. They were Maori and it made sense to them. The custody-access situation was solved from that moment onwards. In fact, in time things changed and the grandmother, a year or two down the track, was quite supportive of a variation in that arrangement.

After the interview, we reflected on what had happened, and the psychologists among us realised that we were never taught anything like this in our clinical training. We recognised that had we gone against that grandmother’s wishes, it would have been very disruptive for that family. It may well have alienated them from members of their whanau. We had never thought of that before. It would have caused much the same problems for them, as if we disregarded the wishes of a parent in a Pakeha family, and simply agreed to a grandparent’s view. For most Pakeha that would be experienced as extremely inappropriate and insensitive. We then began to think of how many times that must have happened. If you’re not part of the culture, it’s something you know nothing about, normally. If you are part of it, it’s quite natural.

We then began to think how many times this must have happened in the Justice Department’s psychological work, in the mental health area and so on. How many times, with the best of intentions, these sorts of things must have occurred. This is because the cultural knowledge has not been seen to be significant in clinical work.

Another aspect that has stood out in these projects has been the different notions of respect in therapy. I think amongst most educated Pakeha people, there’s a feeling that everyone is the same. There is a liberal approach. We actually don’t treat everyone the same, but we try to in therapy. We often avoid attaching respect to status in an obvious way. For example, parents with teenagers or adolescents often come in for help, and are really upset about what’s happening at home, or what perhaps the young person is doing. It’s quite common in a Pakeha situation to hear the parents’ concerns respectfully, and then turn to the young person, and say, “well, Johnny or Jenny, you heard what your Mum and Dad have said, what are

your views?”. I have noticed whenever that same question is asked of a Maori or Pacific Island young person, they just lower their eyes and become silent. This is because they are being asked to comment and evaluate what the generation above them has said. This individualises them and discourages the respect they are taught between the generations. If a young person’s opinion on these matters is wanted, there are different processes for gaining that information.

The whole issue of communal shame, especially in areas of abuse, is also a major issue. For example, the process of identifying a person who has been a perpetrator of abuse in a family is quite different. If this is approached directly with a family, the whole whanau experiences the shame, including the victim/survivor. As a result, the whole family often becomes silent. Although this can be quite an appropriate process in the Pakeha world, because it is acceptable to individualise blame, in Maori and Pacific Island families it can further victimise the survivor of abuse. Where identity is experienced collectively, the implications of many therapeutic probes are quite different.

Spirituality is another important aspect that stands out. Social science prides itself in being a secular science. It is suspicious of anything other worldly. Families in these other cultures often share dreams, prayers and numinous experiences that are important to the life of the family and the issues of health and wholeness. When violations are being talked about, there is often a need for spiritual rituals of protection. Those important things that are considered sacred, tapu or the like, are often totally disregarded by social scientists and psychologists.

We often illustrate some of the significant differences between Pakeha (European) fundamental values and Maori and Pacific Island values in the following way.

From an ecological perspective, people’s relationship to the environment is very different if they see Mother Earth in terms of who they are and where they stand, as opposed to an investment to be exploited. Although many Pakeha people are environmentally conscious, the values of consumerism predominate. Currently the pressures of consumerism, and privatisation are increasingly influencing our health services, for example.

In the Pakeha world we often underestimate how confrontational the institutions of our society are. Our political party systems are set up, so that one party puts up a thesis, and the others knock it down. The arrangement in the work places, between employers and employees, is confrontational also. This is quite different from Maori and Pacific Island consensual decision making institutions and structures, like the marae.

The social sciences have grown in an environment where these were central values. Naturally these values permeate the theories and training. Nowadays, nations and cultures, who have quite different values, are expected to qualify their clinicians and research personnel in the western approach. In countries like New Zealand the Accident and Rehabilitation Compensation Corporation (A.C.C.) expects people from cultures that relate to communal, spiritual, ecological and consensual values to gain qualifications in academia that emphasise opposite values. This is quite absurd. It is particularly absurd when you consider that people in western cultures are actually searching for many of these values at the moment.

In summary, from our perspective at The Family Centre, the social sciences are about one cultural way of describing events. I don’t mean to suggest that Pakeha people are never communal, spiritual, ecological or consensual, but that the

Communal	versus	Individual
Spiritual	versus	Secular
Ecological	versus	Consumer
Consensual	versus	Conflictual

predominate values in our culture are individual, secular, consumerist and conflictual. These are also patriarchal values. That is because, until recently, men alone controlled the developments of science, technology, colonisation and capitalism.

Cultures differ greatly from each other. People from different cultures have different histories. They can have different experiences of immigration or war trauma. The languages of different cultures promote certain concepts and reduce others. Definitions of what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour differ from culture to culture. Associated concepts of respect and shame differ. Patterns of thinking and communication (ie. linear patterns, circular patterns and so on) differ from culture to culture. The degree of affirmation and the degree of subjugation that a culture has experienced impact very differently on the feelings of belonging, identity and confidence that the people from such cultures have. Family structures, boundaries, and decision-making differ from culture to culture. Culture probably is the most influential determinant of meaning that exists. That is because cultures express the humanity and cooperation of large groups of people over long periods of time. As such, they are sacred and worthy of the greatest respect.

Therapies and psychological practices that do not address cultural meaning webs in informed ways are racist. This may not be intentional, but the dominant values, from the group that controls all the other institutions in society, predominate in a manner that simply continues the process of colonisation. It is important to remember that we don't colonise, these days, through the barrel of a gun, but through the comfortable words of those who change the hearts, minds and spirits of people. Therapists and teachers have a huge responsibility here. Psychologists, especially those in clinical practice, need to take note.

Finally I'd like to say that we, in the social sciences, should know this. We were taught that belonging and identity are the essence of health and human potential. It has been convenient for us to deny this, but the results have been tragic. Those most in need of the health and welfare resources in our society come disproportionately from cultures that are dominated. They deserve, at the very least, sensitive professional work that allows them to feel culturally safe.

Someone at a workshop in the Waikato once said to us, "You know a Maori, if they want to, can always learn to be a psychologist, but a psychologist can't learn to be a Maori". Cultural knowledge may or may not be accompanied by social science knowledge. Cultural knowledge can stand on its own. Those who possess it, and choose to work in the institutions we are associated with, have gifts this country desperately needs. All our organisations require such people, and they need to be properly resourced, have employment security and control over their work. Their own work away from our organisations also requires adequate resourcing. They can heal their own in ways that we will never be able to. They will almost certainly offer the field rich alternative metaphors and meanings that can free us from the tired old medical, biological and social science ones. This also has implications for those in other branches of psychology, including research, experimental and industrial psychology.

There is perhaps a unique opportunity for psychologists in this country of Aotearoa/New Zealand to recognise other ways of describing events, which will lead to creative practices and enable the health and welfare resources to get to those who most need them, on their own terms. It would also enable other people, other workers from other cultures to develop new paradigms, and new shifts in our field. This will not lead to the abandonment of social science, but it will enable that body of knowledge, to sit appropriately along side other realms of knowledge such as gender knowledge, and cultural knowledge, without dominating. A new experience for the social scientists, but I suspect a liberating one!



**Open Plenary Panel Presentation  
to the New Zealand Psychological Society's  
Annual Conference.  
Victoria University,  
Wellington.**

**Interface of gender and culture**

**Kiwi Tamasese  
The Family Centre<sup>1</sup>**

E muamua ona ou ta le vai afai ae ou faatalofa atu ile paia lasilasi.

I greet you in the soothing waters of the Pacific. The birth waters of Hawai'i to the North, island of the dream time, and Aotearoa, to the south. Papua New Guinea to the West and Marquesas to the East.

These islands are the gathering places of the world's largest Continent, the Pacific. We of this continent know that her birth waters are our connection. We also know that she is woman identified.

It is no surprise therefore that from Hawai'i to the north to Aotearoa in the south the positioning of women in each of these societies bears a different story to that of the women of the continent of Europe.

This reality lived out in Hawai'i means women shared with men the ultimate leadership of peoples. This location of women power is named Kuhinanui. Many remarkable women of Hawai'i occupied this position. From times of peace throughout to the first clash with imposed new culture, women of Hawai'i led, bled, struggled, defied and kept the kukui of self belief burning. Genealogically Hawai'i is connected to her other sisters throughout the Pacific. The story of Kuhinanui Liliuokalani is poignant.

The American administration with it's insistence on a capitalist culture imprisoned her. Their logic being, if Hawai'i is leaderless the people would be scattered and would be easier for takeover.

While she was under house arrest, United States took over Hawai'i. She was the last of the Hawai'ian monarchs. Her continual writing of songs and chants to her people to keep remembering the land and their umbilical cords to it, despite stringent controls on her, is a reminder to us all. Women birth generations and therefore cultures. Their imprisonment leaves generations and cultures vulnerable for takeover and therefore debasement.

Kuhinanui Liliuokalani did not give up Hawai'i, so haven't all our Pacific women of the various cultures given up. The continuous struggle for families, communities, peoples and countries waged by women is a statement of this. You well know that these struggles are waged from within a new positioning among Pacific women symbolised by Liliuokalani's house arrest. House arrests are not only physical limitations, they are also psychological and spiritual limitations. They are enforced politically, legally, clinically and socially. When did our own house arrests, within our own homelands, begin?

Our largest continent, the Pacific, and her tempting sensuality became pursued by the men of Europe. Beginning in the 16th Century and by the 20th Century, Pacific women have firmly been placed under house arrest. The story of how this

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<sup>1</sup> Correspondence about this article can be sent to the author at The Family Centre, P.O. Box 31-050, Lower Hutt. Phone (04) 569-7112, Fax (04) 569-7323.

became our reality is devastating. However, we all have survived and therefore have a story of strength to tell. It has not devastated us; therefore, bear with us as we tell it to you.

The so called explorers came beginning in the 16th Century. They arrived in the Marshalls and murdered villagers. The villagers' intestines were to be a cure to crew's scurvy. This has continued to the present day with the latest onslaught on whales of the sea to cure modern man's scurvy of profit.

The traders followed shortly. The lands were fertile and as in the Marshall Islands, land ownership is through the women line and so for all generations prior to European contact. These same lands would provide for the traders plantation and pastoral places. The indigenous populations would be a sure market for their goods. Hawai'i to the north right throughout to Aotearoa to the south, the lands were taken in exchange for guns and laws. Just so Pacific people could see their own ravaged faces, the traders also gave over some mirrors. This continues to the present day. Diets have changed, clothing has changed, Pacific women, once Kuhinanui, become the night cleaners of the trader's complex.

The missionaries came hand in hand with the traders. Their values of purity, chastity, humility and subservience ensured that Pacific women no longer shared with their brothers the leadership and guardianship of cultures. John Williams, a missionary to Samoa, stated that the missionary was a close ally to the traders, - "who ever is interested in the commercial prosperity of his country can be none other than a close ally to the missionary cause".

The traders and missionaries found the Pacific's social arrangements a block to their cause. Complicating this was the individual needs of separate governments of Europe. They brought in their men of war to fight it out amongst themselves. They also brought in their men of war to kill the local populace and therefore remove the blocks for takeover. From Hawai'i to the north right through to Aotearoa to the south this was our experience.

The administrators were the last on the scene. The ravages of war needed to be systematised and devastations needed to be made polite. Centralised administrative systems brought in laws that would legitimise the forced taking of lands, minimise life losses and ensure that Pacific women, through policies and regulations, could not share the leadership and guardianship of peoples and cultures, and so it continues today. The abuser or user pay system has never allowed or enabled the abused to have a say or define their needs and how best they can be met, and so our house arrest continues in this year of the indigenous and women's suffrage, 1993.

House arrest was thus ensured for us as Pacific women within our own homelands. Like Liliuokalani of Hawai'i we view the events sometimes with despair. The forced taking of lands, the imposition of laws, the deliberate breaking of cultures and their ownership of our psyches, all the while placing us under house arrest, limits and frustrates our capabilities to bring about settlement. No doubt you as Pacific women who are here today, witness sometimes with despair, the ensuing break up of families as a result of this history.

How many times have we seen our own non-belonging in those therapy rooms? How many times have we seen our children not knowing who and what they are? How many times have we seen them finding closeness on the cold dark streets? How many times have we seen our women beaten, raped and brutalised? The mirrors that they gave break in our hands, reflecting only fragments of our ravaged faces.

Though the dual forces of racism and sexism force us only to witness this pain, our continual endeavour to treat these problems in context of history, of racism and sexism makes the difference. We know that these families come from stories of devastation and debasement, to treat them in the absence of these stories is to make

them responsible for their own rape. We know that to treat this as only a familial or individual problem continues self blame of peoples and cultures.

In the same therapy rooms we see many of our women present under various psychological referral categories as depression, schizophrenia, paranoia and suicidal feelings. Any peoples living in a situation of house arrest would of course display these symptoms. To treat them in the absence of history would be to incriminate them, and exacerbate their self-blame.

Moreover, the essence of psychology and mainly in these cases clinical psychology, is social construction. This is the definition of normality or abnormality that for so long was taken as universal, however, we have always known that these are culturally bound definitions and there are no universal norms. Behaviours are expressed in ways that are culturally defined. Each culture has its own sense of normality and abnormality. The domination of western science and thought throughout the Pacific ushered in western norms to which people are forced to adjust. We as workers all know the many families whose behaviours and values had been judged on these norms.

The institutionalised new social location for Pacific women denies the matrilineal, matriarchal nature of this continent. The covenant relationships between men and women and the land of this continent have been made subservient to the gender arrangements of Europe. It is not new, that we have the vote. In fact it is quite patronising that we are told to celebrate a lesser position. We not only had our votes, we were the guardians and leaders of our peoples.

These models of our gender arrangements, be they from Hawai'i, Aotearoa, Marshalls or Samoa provide us with a foundation of women power and women truths. These gender arrangements bear a different story to the positions of our men. They give light to a different manhood out of which we can build new social relations.

These social relations begin at the familial level. We as therapists are pertinent in this rebuilding. It is not enough that we participate in the continual house arrest of women and their families, through ignorance of history or limiting our clinical focus. Psyches are what people remember, our conversations in therapy rooms should open up remembering for women and for their families. This remembering is about their history of strength.

More recently at the Family Centre in Lower Hutt, families have sought help from us because their women, their mothers, wives, and sisters, have been under police house arrest. These women, according to immigration, have over-stayed their permits and therefore are under forcible removal to their homelands. One such woman is close to us. She has been married for two years. She has a three year old child. Immigration came and took her away. All the time her child clawed at the officials to stop them taking her mother away. She was kept in the cells and released for the courts to decide her fate. She was sent home. Her family awaiting her had no support. Her husband became suicidal. Her daughter ended up in the hospital. Doctors could not diagnose what was wrong with her. Physical symptoms were lethargy and she would not eat. Her paediatrician report stated that she had depression. At three years old this woman child had already started her house arrest. Her mother has rejoined the family under Special Direction from the Minister of Immigration. The husband has had a second experience of suicidal feelings. The onset of this was the break up of the family by officialdom.

Just last week an eight month pregnant woman was arrested by immigration and the police. She left at home a child and a husband. The child, while visiting her mother at the cells, kept clawing at the glass to be with her. She at 18 months is learning a symptom of house arrest. The desperate clawing.

At the time of seeing this family, this woman and her husband had lived in intense fears for over a period of two years. They were afraid that the police would come and take her away. There were times when they both considered suicide. This

woman and her family's experience is a culmination of house arrests that began a long time ago. One only wonders at the level of terror these women live through. All in the year of women's suffrage.

House arrests for these families mean continual opening of curtains to check out on people coming to the house. It means hiding in bedrooms and not trusting anyone. For women and their children and their husbands, the experience of intense loneliness and isolation become a norm.

In our conversations with these families, their courage and defiance is noted and voiced. Their survival through these harsh conditions needs to be underlined and respected.

After all, we are all family therapists in this conference. We create or block spaces of conversation. We create normality in families. All the more reason for us to name abnormalities in the society in which these families live. We are the guardians of family therapy models and we can create models that make a difference to house arrests.

Pacific women's vulnerability to house arrests gives no excuses for people to rationalise, personalise, and diminish our sacredness and our places of belonging. Categorisations and normalisations increase the experience of house arrest, if these categorisations and norms are not defined by Pacific women themselves.

Gender and culture are not two opposing polarities. These two intersect in the lives of Pacific women. They so far have defined the experience of house arrest beginning in the period of colonisation. Gender arrangements too are culture specific and the common mistake has been the regard of all these gender arrangements as similar.

The differing cultural arrangements of the Pacific bear a different truth. The patriarchy is not universal. Colonisation universalised aspects of this patriarchy. Family therapy models for the future that are both gender-just and culturally-just can only be based from an experience other than the western scientific rationality.

Remember their times of resistance, make note of the time and their actions of defiance. Give voice to their histories of resistance, note their continuation of their history of defiance. Know that a scream, be it silent or loud, is an act of refusal to collude with house arrest.

**Open Plenary Panel Presentation  
to the New Zealand Psychological Society's  
Annual Conference.  
Victoria University,  
Wellington**

**Challenges to Psychology in Aotearoa**

**Donna Awatere-Huata**

Kia ora tatou. I thought I'd begin by giving you some background into how I became a psychologist. As I was the first one, in my day it was a bit of a quirky thing. It was considered, not unique, but weird.

I was born and bred at Ohinemutu Pa which is in Rotorua, and my mother was of Ngati Whakaue descent. As you go into the pa these days our house is the brick house on the right as you go up towards the pa, and I still stay there. When I was eight I was sent up to Tokomaru Bay to live with my father's eldest brother.

It was a tremendous experience for me because Ngati Porou was experiencing the revival of the Te Kotahitanga movement, that flourished after WWII. Two of its great leaders, Ngoingoi Pewhairangi and Tuini Ngawai, renown composers at that time, were leading the movement and writing all of these waiata about the Treaty. That's where I learned about the Treaty, although I didn't know that I'd learned it at the time. I knew all these incredible waiata and it must have infused into me, so that later, when the activist movement was beginning in Auckland in the early 70's, all the learnings that I had about the Treaty came to fore.

A serendipitous event occurred when I was twelve years old. My mother came over from Rotorua to visit me in Gisborne and Kiri Te Kanawa was singing there. Kiri had a Pakeha mother. She been adopted by a Maori father and a Pakeha mother. Kiri sang, and had a wonderful voice. I had a very loud voice because I, like many Maori of my generation, was part of choral groups, haka parties or concert parties. We used to play a game in our haka team at Tokomaru Bay of seeing who I could drown out. My mother thought that because I had a loud voice, it meant that I could have a great voice. Kiri was five to seven years older than me. She was about seventeen then and had a great voice. My mother found out from her mother where she was learning singing, and it transpired that it was at St Mary's Convent in Auckland. So my mother the next year took me out of school in Tokomaru and we went to live in Ponsonby.

I went to St Mary's Convent. I sort of plunked away playing these witches and hags. They were all dreadful women murderers. I just played them all: murderous, incestuous, women with no teeth. You name it. All these beastly demon-like women. And of course I was stuck in control of *For*te so there was no way I ever got to a *Mezzo*, or get the high parts. So when I left school, Sister Leo from St Mary's Convent, sent me to university to do psychology because she wanted me to understand the intricate psychic nature of these beastly women. She thought that psychology was about Jung and Freud, and that I would learn about human nature and wouldn't be so distressed as I was. I wasn't as innocent as she thought, by the way. But while I was at university, I actually did fall in love with psychology.

It just fascinated me that you could predict behaviour, so they said, from clocking pigeons! The first year I just did psychology and I really had a thoroughly enjoyable time. The other thing that I really fell in love with was sensation and perception. I know people hate sensation and perception, but I loved it. To think that you could actually measure these. It just sort of explained a lot about life to me.

All that knowledge that has been gifted to us by generations of psychologists has come from a great tradition. I remember a woman who taught history of experimental psychology. It was with her that I started to twig to the cultural

limitations and the linear models of psychology, especially when her husband who had all these racial theories congratulated my husband on marrying me (I was married to an Austrian at the time), because he thought that it was only through intermarriage that Maoridom would be exposed to the intellectual genius of the western world! I've not seen it anyway.

That's when I began to get a few doubts about psychology. In 1969 I went over to Vienna and studied at a school that specialises in my voice. Now, I actually did my BA in secret. Sister Leo didn't know this. I was actually a full time music student, and I was being paid by the Maori Education Foundation to actually only study singing, not do a degree in psychology. I knew that if they knew that I was doing a Degree, they might cut my benefit. I guess like many others, I did it in secret anyway. I managed to get through and finished my BA without my parents knowing. And when I eventually came time to graduate and get the piece of paper, I asked my mother if she would like to come, and she said to me "oh, is that like School Cert?" I'd actually finished a BA, but they didn't know what that meant. I decided the year after to go back to university. I gave up music all together for a number of reasons. The major reason being my political background and the fact that I had some roles to play here in this country. If I had continued as an opera singer, these roles would have been denied to me.

So I decided I'd go back and do an MA. I remember being quite proud of myself and how I had done in my papers- that I had done okay. In those days it was just a great thing just to pass.

I finished the degree and didn't know what to do. I suppose I thought like most of you when you've finished your BA or MA, now what? In my day there was only educational psychology, that was about it. And in my day you had to go teaching first. So I dutifully went off and did my years postgraduate teaching. I did a thesis as I went back to do a Dip. Ed. Psych. By this time I was a full flight activist. I was involved in Nga Tama Toa, which was a movement that began in 1970 that was based around the Kotahitanga aims and objectives. They were two-fold then, that is: "Not a single acre more" and "Hold fast to the Maori language".

I have never forgotten; I did a paper about psychotherapy, and it was the first time that I'd actually come up against just the strength of the concept of individualism that you talk about. The therapy that we were studying was all about 'one to one'. I couldn't get comfortable with that notion. It just seemed to me that one to one wasn't a very good idea. In fact if you go 'one to one', then it precludes you going 'group to group'. It precludes you thinking about the big issues that got you into trouble in the first place.

So I have to say they failed me - can you believe that! I did what I believed was the genesis of some really great work about what Maori culture was all about and about the therapeutic roles that we had in our culture. Failing that paper really got my back up. I simply learned that if you want to pass you just give them what they want. Don't be clever. Don't be smart. Don't try to develop new models. If that's what they say, that's what they get back. Except, there is a little bit of your soul that goes with it every time you make those compromises. It's like a wife that gets beaten. Every time you say "...yes, darling I will have you back" you lose a little bit of your soul. I think that's what happened to me.

Eventually I finished my degree and they sent me to see the District Psychologist. I was the first Maori to ever have a discussion with him, can you believe that! He was nearly dead when he confessed that to me. He was actually dying. I had a soft spot for this old man because I was the first Maori and he stuck up for me. He sent me to Remuera as my first posting because he said I had a 'chip' on my shoulder about Pakeha people. Well, you can imagine that I went to Remuera with a 'forest of chips'. When I finally was sent out to Otara everyone was happy.

In those days, Otara consisted of 40-50% Maori and about 30% Pacific Islander. It was a Maori-Pacific community that was really in difficulty. It was a very stressful time actually being a psychologist. I never identify as a psychologist any more and part of it was just the trauma of trying to develop alternative models, and to do things that made sense to me as a human being, not as a Maori, but as a human being. So I tried to develop these alternative models that I got suspended for. I was charged with working "...contrary to our accepted mode of functioning". That would be the charge. This was because I'd like to have hui, and I'd like to call in everybody. I didn't like to do things according to their direction.

I was even charged once with "misuse of a building", which was for having a hui in a building. Thank God that Pakehadom has moved some what since then. But I can tell you I have just really bad memories of my eight years or so, as a psychologist. I finally got out.

I met this chap who insulted me one night about being a flunky of the state. That means being a psychologist and having my wages paid by the government. He wanted to see me one weekend. When I couldn't go because I had to work, he said "...ah you're just a flunky of the state, just like all the other beneficiaries. Do nothing." I was trying to explain to him what I did, and he wasn't a bit impressed. And I was thinking "Jesus, what do we do? What do we get paid for?" It was later that I came to see that really psychology is just part of the last big rip off of the state. We're able to do that because we've still got a little bit of the witch doctor status. We've got enough of the status of elderly white men that still spout the old words that seemingly give us respectability. But you know, they're going to die soon.

I'm no longer a practising psychologist, and I actually think that this is in-house business. I think it's time that psychologists cleaned up their act. I'm reminded of the haka party incident in Auckland: where the engineering students would do the haka. For years they were doing this mockery of the haka. They would get drunk and then they'd run off with women. They were just having a "good time" it was called.

But we had a women's group. One of the great things that I did do when I was at Otara was actually run women's groups. I used to call them 'family therapy', and that's how I got away with it. But they were actually black women's consciousness raising groups.

One of them actually had two women of whom you may have heard, Zena Tamanui, and Hilda Halkyard-Harawira. They were just tremendous organisers who just threw away my assertiveness gunk and how to be assertive with your husband about housework. They took it all into a whole new dimension. It was twelve women who actually went one night when the engineers were drinking and stopped them by force. Now that's the bad news. The good news is they never did the haka again. Sometimes you've got to take direct action.

What I have to say to psychologists, and why I'm not actually going to address the issue of your practice and your day to day functioning is that it shouldn't be necessary for a Maori like me to come in with force to change you. At some point you've got to take responsibility. You're not students. Those engineers were students, a lot of them came from a rural background. In those days blatant racism was fashionable. But it's no longer that fashionable, so you've got to take responsibility. It's you that has to take the responsibility for it, which is why I'm not going to do that.

We always say, us activists, you're either part of the problem, or you're part of the solution. And how true it is. At the end of the day you either are part of propping up a political system, with economic advantage to one group at the expense of the other, or you're actually part of deconstructing that system. You've got to choose which side of the line you're on. For some of you older people I don't expect you to make radical changes because I respect old people. If you're brought up in traditional psychology that has great value to you, and you're secure in it, and

you've been working in it for forty years, then I think it's a bit much for us young ones to expect you to suddenly turn around and start doing things radically different.

But I do say to many of you middle-aged people here and, especially for the young ones, that there is no excuse. You really have to get it together and start developing some models that are based on the tangata whenua.

I think that Pakeha have to become more like Maori, not the other way round. Now that may seem a little strange for you, especially the less you know about Maoridom. I had a very rural upbringing. Out in the sticks. I went from that experience to St. Mary's Convent where they sent all the elegant young Catholic girls in my day. It was a very elegant school. There were only 3 Maori. I learned in a very shocking way. One of the reasons why I am confrontational is because I learned this at school. I can honestly say that for five years I never had lunch with anyone. I can't actually remember a conversation with any girl that I did not initiate, and they did not carry on. I was never invited to parties. I was definitely an outcast. And yet I was part of a Maori concert party in Auckland, and I felt really part of the community. But at St. Mary's Convent I was really an outsider. It taught me to hold firm to a set of ideas and to be myself in the face of social opposition, or to decide that it doesn't matter what you say. I've got to hold true to that thing inside of me. And that was a very, very important lesson. When I became an activist, I was arrested 18 times. I spent three years in courts, six of them have been court cases involving jury trials, seven of them involved court cases which carried 7-14 years maximum sentences. I have been beaten in prison, I have had six internal searches. I've had the lot. It was much to endure, however much you can trivialise the radical experience. It is quite hurtful now to look back on what we went through as radical activists for the period of 1970 to 1981, 82, 83, and to look at the sort of gains that we have made, ...and they are miniscule.

An important question: Is psychology value for money? I was part of a review committee that looked at psychological services. The way I saw it is definitely that the consumer is not getting value for money. That includes Pakeha consumers. As for Maori consumers, it is definitely not value for money. So I think that there is a ripple happening in psychology and your day is going to come.

Now to the key issue of the Treaty, which to me is about sovereignty. I think we have to remember what the Treaty is all about. To me the Treaty was actually about the economic cartel that developed based on race. It's an economic and political cartel that continues today, and dismantling that, deconstructing that cartel is something that I believe concerns all New Zealanders. It's about the Maorification of New Zealand. It's about Pakeha becoming more Maori and not about Maori becoming any more Pakeha.

In our own minds we need to be very clear on the status of the Treaty. There is only one Treaty, the Maori text Treaty. Under this Treaty Maori keep their Tino Rangatiratanga, their sovereignty, and agree to governance by Her Majesty's government over her subjects here. To suggest that Maori on behalf of 100,000 fighting-fit people willingly ceded their sovereignty when there were only 1000 or so settlers here at the time is wishful thinking. But that is exactly what the Court of Appeal judgements would have us believe, what the Crown principals would have us believe, and what the Waitangi Tribunal would have us believe.

If there are two things that Maori debating the Treaty has reiterated since 1840 they are firstly, getting sovereignty, the right to exercise absolute authority on its own resources and its own people in their own way. In other words, by the tribe, for the tribe, and of the tribe. And secondly, that tribal rights can only be extinguished by explicit consent and by our active participation in this extinction. If this is so, you ask, how is it possible that you are all brought up on the English text Treaty under which Maori ceded sovereignty for ever. This was already possible through the acceptance by the courts of the English text Treaty. And this occurred in



1847 with the **Regina vs Symonds** case. Basically the justice in their judgement cited the English text Treaty as though it was the Treaty. And that judgement basically brought the English text Treaty into the courts at the expense of the Maori text Treaty. The economic impact of that judgement was that massive profiteering by the government was possible. In seven years 32.5 million acres was bought for 62,000 pounds and was sold at hugely inflated prices. The profits funded more immigration, stronger government, and further purchases of Maori land.

The significance of the Prendergast decision in 1877 was to bury even the English text Treaty. The economic advantage this created for Pakeha was that Maori rights to traditional lands, fisheries and forests which the English text Treaty purported to protect were deemed to be held at the sufferance of the Crown. The rationale for this, that in the case of primitive barbarians their rights must be subsumed under the rights of government, sealed the lid of the coffin of Maori economic and social prosperity, a lid which Ngata in the 1920s and 30s tried to lift and which the Labour government also made some efforts to lift, both with the Waitangi Tribunal established in 1975 and in 1984 with Hui Taumata and the development decade. Apart from these two attempts, and maybe the Councils Act of 1900, governments have made no serious attempts to redress the Maori economy.

The assumption of sovereignty made in the Regina vs Symonds case took the final step of the Constitution Act in 1852. The Act in theory made no distinction between the two races. However, in practice Maori were denied the right to vote. Voting rights were invited to men over the age of 21 who had freehold estate valued at 50 pound, who leased the estates with an annual value of 10 pound. The criteria were based on individual title, and Crown grants were the only land title accepted for voting purposes. Since most Maori property was held communally and was unregistered, few Maori males qualified to vote. Many others were excluded outright because electoral boundaries did not cover some large areas of Maori population.

The Constitution Act is the primary breach of Maori Treaty rights and throughout the 19th Century this was clearly identified by Maoridom. In 1860 Ngarongomai addressed a gathering called by Land commissioner McClean and Governor Browne at Kohimarama to discuss the Waitara dispute. He said:

*...If in the past days the Maori chief had been taken into the European councils to frame the laws for the land, there would not have been any separation into two sides.*

With the establishment of self government, the settlers in New Zealand had realised a powerful means by which to acquire the land, the fisheries, the waters, the minerals, the forests which would become the basis of the enormous wealth that would project New Zealand into the hierarchy of the wealthiest nations in the world.

Tony Simpson in 1979 accurately summed up the position of the settlers and Maori in terms of the economic potential of the establishment of Parliament:

*...the effect of the 1852 Act was to hand power over the land to precisely those who had a vested interest in dispossessing the people who owned it and at the same time to disenfranchise those who stood at risk of being disenfranchised.*

This advantage was secured in 1867 when the four Maori seats were created because Maori voters outnumbered Pakeha voters.

The economic advantages of the lands Pakeha have accrued have come not only through what has been taken from the Maori owners and used for themselves, but also in the loans, grants, various incentives and support for business growth. Not only was the land taken through Native Land Acts, NZ Settlement Act, The

Native Lands Rating Act, the Public Works Acts, Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act, and hundreds of others, but governments made available loans and grants for development that were for Pakeha only. No money was made available at all for Maori land development until Ngata's time.

Similarly, Pakeha gave themselves enormous economic advantages in fishing. The Oyster Reserves Act of 1866, banned Maori from trading in oysters, and from then until 1900, Maori only, not Pakeha, were banned from commercial fishing in every other species. In the three periods when government has assisted commercial fishing in the 1880's, 1920's and 1960's, only Pakeha were given grants, loans and support. In fact the situation had deteriorated to the point where in the 1960's round of grants, Maori were not considered because, to quote the Chairman of the particular Fishing Committee, "...we had no idea Maori people knew how to fish". This is an unconscionable remark. But entirely understandable given that the objective of settler governments has been to create economic advantages for immigrants, without regard to the disadvantages this has created for Maori people.

Even today, there are entire cities built on land taken dishonestly from Maori. There are an entire electricity business, a television and radio business using Maori resources without consent. There is a large percentage of farmland which was also taken without explicit consent and without appropriate compensation. There is a network of roads, the land for which has never been paid to this day. There are businesses being run on our mountains, in our waters without any compensation being paid. Forests are grown mainly on Maori land. Major housing estates on Maori land were taken against the wishes of the owners. Maori land was taken and leased out to Pakeha at rentals set by the government, not the owners.

When we consider the enormity, and face the tragedy of the effects of these accumulated acts, it is easy to see why the property rights issue looms so large over us. There is also an infrastructure, the Waitangi Tribunal which supports the sorting out of these property matters. The Constitutional issue falls into the too hard basket right now. Given the Waitangi Tribunal's timidity on such blatant and obvious cases as Orakei, Te Reo, Muriwhenua, the coast is not clear for a serious, fearless discussion of this matter.

Now why can we not get changes? My business is about educating Pakeha people about Maoridom and understanding of Maoridom, especially for chief executives and senior managers. I work with them 15 at a time. We have them normally for a minimum of 3 days, a maximum of 5 days. It's really about getting them just to understand where Maoridom is coming from and to give them more confidence in dealing with Maori issues in a way that is going to be helpful for Maori people. Working with them, I see that their ideas about Maoridom are rooted in Victorian, colonial experiences and they really haven't got up to date.

Part of reason the why we're stuck back in those Victorian ideas derives from the capture of our economy into a Victorian mould. We have, until the last 9-10 years, been captured in a Victorian colonial economy. The trauma that you've experienced in the change over of our economy has been because we were beset with laws that had come from Britain. I mean, anyone with half a brain could make a connection between the decolonisation movement throughout the world and a decolonisation of the economy that we needed to get on with.

Britain sent us very strong signals throughout the 1950's and 60's that it no longer wanted to be mother Britain. And yet in 1981, Muldoon said "...around this table you can have people whose first loyalties are to the mother country". And then we wonder why we've had to put up with so much pain for a lot of our people in the last 10 years. That's because we've had to make the transformation from a Victorian economy locked into mother Britain, to one where we have diversified our markets and our product list.

The ideologies that promote individual Pakeha superiority and the superiority of the Pakeha culture that came over from Britain are misplaced. Not only has it

harmed our economy, but it's actually holding up the works in terms of Maori getting on with life, in terms of Pakeha actually identifying with this land.

I love looking at the art. But it's only recently that Pakeha have got brave enough to actually put a few Pakeha in their landscapes. Sooner or later we'll get Maori and Pakeha all in the picture and that's when we will know that we've come home.

Pakeha, the notion that you have to get through is that there's no mother Britain. And what's great about the younger generation is that they're being born at a time when the economic underpinning's of the new theology have already been set in place. And I hope that it moves and develops swiftly.

Muldoon represents that colonial mind set that allowed Pakeha to shut out reality at all costs; borrow and bank rather than face the facts that mother Britain was casting us adrift. It is also important to note that the economic decolonisation of the past 10 years was also the beginning of an identity crisis for many Pakeha. Pakeha have had to come to terms with Maori assertions of tangata whenua status. The Treaty, their cultural needs, Maori rejection of the superiority ideology, and Maori increased presence in government and business activities provide a stimulus to this.

Finally, I want to mention a project I'm involved with. I've been asked to critique the "parents as first teachers" programme that's been imported with the explicit intention of assisting Maori parents bring up children who will fit in better and be better at education and schooling. To me it is the last attack on Maoridom. It assumes American norms without any tailoring to any Maori or Pakeha norms. The whole 560 pages is a vicious attack on the remnants of the Maori whanau system. It is a determined effort to pull that apart and to force us into the nuclear model. It's offensive because it makes the assumption that we have nothing within our own culture that can heal our own trauma.

Two notions based on the ascendancy of Pakeha rights have sprung up recently. One is the argument that no-'one' must be made to suffer over what has happened in the past, the one that is referred to as a Pakeha. Heaven forbid that a Pakeha must be made to suffer. Maori are already suffering. Forget the statistics, just put your finger up to the ear and catch some blood. This dictum assumes that if the choice between a Pakeha suffering and a Maori suffering can be made well, then the Maori can be made to suffer just a little bit longer. And Maori leadership isn't complaining, probably because they are not suffering personally hard enough. The other notion is that Maoridom will bankrupt the country by our Treaty claims, as if Pakeha haven't already done that on their own. How about \$2 billion spend on a capital reconstruction of Marsden Point Refinery, or a \$2 billion propping up Synfuel. Eight hundred million to PetroCorp, the DFC and the Rural Bank write-offs, or the Meat Board and it's \$1 billion write-offs for farmer's debts or even \$600 million to the Bank of New Zealand. Let's put what's been considered as full and final settlement in perspective here. One hundred and thirty five million for the current commercial fisheries is an insult, even if consultation had been done appropriately, which it wasn't. The only other settlement is Ngati Whatua, and their \$3 million for 700 acres for the best real estate in Auckland. You can only think that Maoridom can keep on suffering, and that Maoridom is going to back up the country if you pay them a pittance. If you actually think that they are inferior and aren't worthy of anything, you still hold on to the Victorian mentality. And I'm afraid that's where a lot of Pakeha are, and I'm afraid that's where our politicians are, and I'm afraid (whisper) some psychologists.

Maori people are putting up with a lot right now. If governments can transfer \$20 billion in the past ten years for hand outs and write offs to Pakeha people who have endured little, then they can do a lot better than the \$150 million they've transferred to our people that have endured so much for 150 years.

The big issue is still the Treaty, and the need to re-negotiate this nation's management. The challenge is to design a political system that is based on Maori ways of doing things rather than Pakeha ways of doing things. To achieve this requires relinquishing colonial patterns of thinking and the certainty that pakeha people and their ways are superior to Maori. For psychologists the issue is their role in maintaining Pakeha economic and political power. It may well be that psychologists provide lousy value for money from the Maori point of view, but provide excellent value for money from the government's point of view. Kia ora.

**Section 2:**  
**Cultural Justice and Ethics Symposium - Part 1**

## Ethics Systems in the New Zealand Psychological Society

**Brian Dixon<sup>1</sup>**  
**Convenor - Ethical Issues Committee**  
**New Zealand Psychological Society**

### **Introduction:**

Tena koutou katoa.

I appreciate having been invited to speak in this Cultural Justice and Ethics symposium in a session that focuses on bicultural issues in psychological practice, teaching and research.

I am certain this year will be remembered in the Psychological Society as a critical turning point at which bicultural issues for psychology first really began to be addressed seriously in professional circles. While occurrences such as the special issue of the Bulletin devoted to Biculturalism and this symposium are only starting points, they are significant events that will inspire debate and change, change that will be influential in shaping the future of psychology in New Zealand. The work that has gone into organising these efforts is a credit to the NSCBI. I look forward to working with the committee in areas where the efforts of the Ethical Issues Committee and NSCBI need to be combined to give effect to required changes.

I have been asked to speak on the nature of ethics in the Society. Despite my experience in the Ethical Issues Committee (EIC), that is a daunting task amongst the line up of speakers today. What I am able to provide is an outline of the structures that determine and shape ethics in the Society and the relationship of ethics to the political systems of the profession. This may provide insights into the systems and rules that might need to be used to achieve change or that might themselves need change. While I convene the EIC and have a role on Council, neither that nor my presentation of the ethical framework should be construed as promotion of the status quo. In fact, if those who know me start accusing me of being an apologist for the system I will know its time to give up unless so much has been achieved that the system really is worth apologising for.

### **Ethics systems in psychology:**

*Ethics and values ..... They concern what ought to be, having sometimes very little to do with what is. (Davison and Neale, 1990)*

It is important to remember that the Psychological Society does not exist in isolation. It is part of a wider society and must be accountable to and responsive to the needs of the public, its clients and changes occurring in the community. Ethics largely arise out of the public's expectations of the profession and implied in that is compliance with the law. Psychologists are obviously answerable to the Courts when their actions transgress the law; no one can legally claim that inclusions or omissions from a code of ethics permit them to act outside of the law. Fortunately, there are seldom conflicts between ethical and legal obligations as certain statutory provisions now reflect some of the more important of our ethical standards. Any consideration of ethics in the Society must take account of the wider societal context within which psychologists operate.

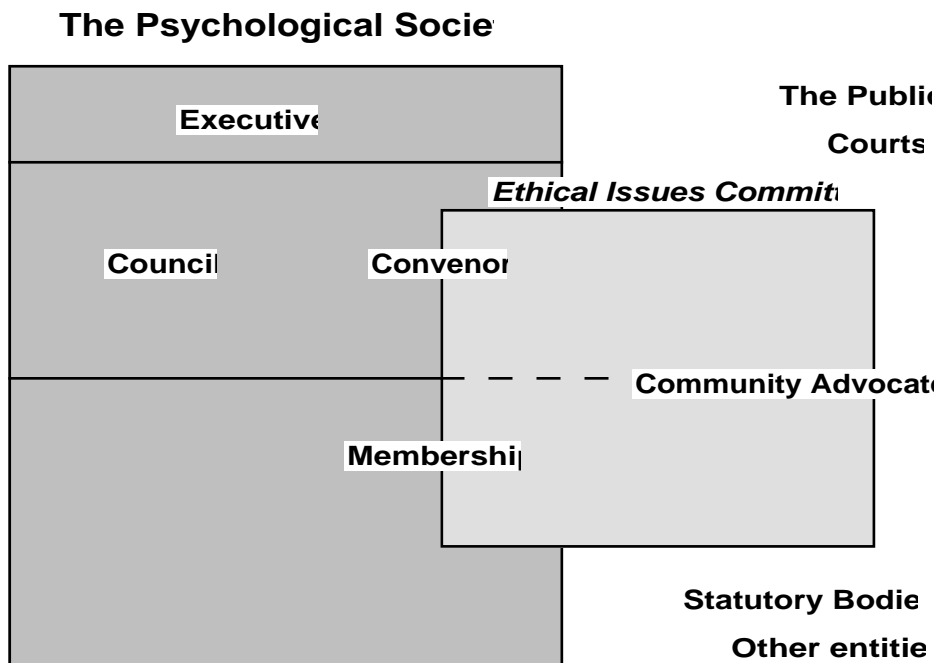
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<sup>1</sup> Correspondence about this article can be sent to Brian Dixon at Justice Department Psychological Services, P. O. Box 5440, DUNEDIN

The Society and its members also have relationships to statutory bodies (such as the Family Court, employing authorities, and the Psychologists Board). These bodies demand adherence to certain rules, sometimes explicitly stated (e.g., as in the Department of Justice's *Corrections Group Code of Practice* or the *Health Code*). Psychologists can also belong to organisations other than the Society which require compliance with rules and codes. The College of Clinical psychology is a notable example, which, like the Psychologist's Board has adopted the Society's Code of Ethics, helping reduce the potential for confusion caused by differing expectations of a variety of professional groups.

Within the Society itself, the major decision-making bodies are: the members (through branch and divisional structures, Council and the AGM), Council (elected by and representing members and their interest groups), and the Executive (representing Council in the management of the Society).

**Figure 1: Groups involved in ethical enforcement**



**The role of the Ethical Issues Committee:**

The Ethical Issues Committee is appointed by Council to carry out on Council's behalf certain prescribed functions that include the following:

- (a) promotion of the ethical practice of psychology
- (b) development and promotion of the Code of Ethics
- (c) provision of advice on ethical issues to Council and others
- (d) investigation of complaints about the conduct of Society members
- (e) advising Council on appropriate responses to breaches of the Code of Ethics

The Ethical Issues Committee convenor is co-opted onto Council to ensure it can receive advice on serious cases referred to it for decisions. The committee consists of two other psychologist members and a community advocate. Outside expertise can be co-opted to assist the committee in particular cases (for example, cultural experience in psychology is not well represented in the committee's membership, so such expertise would need to be brought into the EIC at times). Those coopted may include non-members who represent a relevant area of public or professional interest in the EIC matter.

### **The Code of Ethics:**

The Code is simply a set of "moral" rules which exist as standards for psychological practice. It is "owned" by the Society and its members (not the EIC) and therefore reflects membership and Council expectations. It is not intended to be absolute and prescriptive, but rather to encourage and guide responsible decisions in the application and practice of psychology, and to provide a mechanism of accountability for those actions/decisions. The EIC has been given some responsibility for the Code's development, maintenance and application/enforcement. The objectives and status of the Code of Ethics are as follows -

*The Code has three main purposes:*

- *to unify the practices of the profession;*
- *to guide psychologists;*
- *to present a set of guidelines to inform the public of the professional standards of psychologists.*

*It establishes a standard against which psychologists' professional behaviour may be evaluated. Behaviour contrary to the advice of the code amounts to behaviour against the best advice of the profession. The code is used by the society to decide on complaints about the ethical behaviour of members.*

It is highly likely that a complaint regarding culturally inappropriate practice could be referred to the EIC, though it would not deal with such a matter by itself (assistance would be sought from the NSCBI and appropriate consultants coopted to the EIC for the purpose). An individual psychologist could be held to account under the sections identified by Marewa Glover (1993) - particularly sections 1.0, 2.1 and 1.5, which state:

#### *1.0 Responsibility*

*Psychologists are expected to maintain professional objectivity and integrity; to apply professional knowledge and skills to all psychological work undertaken; to support actively the objective of advancing psychological knowledge; and to respect the cultural environment in which they work.*

*1.5 Psychologists are sensitive to cultural and social diversity. They recognise that there are differences among people, such as those that may be related to age, sex, or socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds and, when necessary, they obtain training,*



*experience or advice to ensure competent service or research relating to such persons.*

*2.1 Psychologists recognise the boundaries of their own competence and provide only services for which they are qualified by training and experience. They refer matters outside their areas of competence to appropriately qualified persons.*

It is easier for psychologists to apply the Code to their own practice than to try to use it to evaluate the profession as a whole - the Code simply does not easily lend itself to application as an absolute set of global requirements. It is also possible for psychologists to claim the Code defends their actions (as in the example cited by Glover of the intervention being the only help available). While that may worry some, it is not difficult to imagine the situation where a psychologist (perhaps a member of a cultural minority) has worked with a client of another ethnic group; that psychologist might validly challenge a colleague's complaint (that there was a cultural mismatch) on the grounds that the client was in crisis and might not have survived while other arrangements were made.

### **Problems with the Code of Ethics:**

The Ethical Issues Committee and Society and other users of the Code freely admit the Code has major flaws and faults (as must be expected of a document of its type that was developed a decade ago). While it still adequately caters for most situations, there are complex questions of bicultural accountability (and others) that severely test the Code. Marewa Glover has identified some of those in her 1993 article in the Bulletin. The question is, do we amend the existing Code (thereby increasing confusion for psychologists and the public because of the plethora of variants of the Code) or put efforts into a complete overhaul or replacement? The EIC has argued for the latter and sees the direction taken by the Canadians as a useful model for reference. It is the EIC's view that a new Code should:

- be easy to teach, learn and apply, requiring conceptual clarity and portability of concepts and principles
- be easily understood by clients and practitioners, requiring simple language and structure
- be responsive to needs and rights of ethnic and cultural groups in New Zealand society
- be adaptable to the needs of an evolving profession and have relevance to new developments in psychology (sports psychology, family court)
- clearly identify principles rather than necessarily providing a detailed prescription attempting to anticipate all eventualities
- address professional obligations and responsibilities (such as ongoing education, peer review, and accountability)
- focus on preventive ethical practice

Clearly, we would see the NSCBI as having an important part to play in the review of the Code of Ethics, together with other parties who use the Code and can contribute resources to a consultative review process.

### **Cultural Justice and Ethics:**

There is a danger inherent in relying on the Code itself to be an instrument of change. In some ways it can be that (e.g., in 1984-85 the specificity of informed consent provisions of our Code guided the drafting of law that was to affect psychologists and their clients), but for the most part codes are reflective of the expectations of society, clients and the profession, and define minimum standards. Codes do not necessarily lead opinion and, where they do, as opinion changes the code can itself become outdated. Fortunately, those who developed the NZPsS 1985 Code to some extent envisaged this and included in it a little-used section on "Decisions of Council", giving those binding status under the Code of Ethics. Any interim development of ethical principles relating to cultural justice are probably best dealt with under that section, unless they involve radical change to the basis of the Code.

Accordingly, the best short and medium term avenues for change are through the political structures of the Society, seeking Council decisions that are supported by members and can be given authority under the Code. Simultaneous longer term efforts are best directed at education of the membership and those involved in deciding how the Code and Rules of the Society should develop. However, what will make a real difference is not what is in the Code, but what is in the hearts and minds of Society members, psychologists in other organisations and those who operate the Psychologists Board. This point was well made by Professor Jim Ritchie in his article in the Bulletin:

*But the Treaty alone, and even the considerable body of modern interpretation, will not specify in what ways a scholarly and service organisation like the Psychological Society, as a body or as requiring standards of its membership or in practice, must do.... The wider object is cultural understanding and respect....So just doing a workshop, making statements about Treaty recognition in charters or codes of practice or ethics will not be enough. Carefully extending our understanding of other ethnicities here, working with their scholars and practitioners, understanding their wisdom must become part of the ongoing life-long learning of us all.*

(Ritchie, *Beyond the Treaty*, 1993)

I wish the NSCBI well with this symposium and look forward to some interesting and challenging exchanges of viewpoint and, hopefully, some emerging solutions to issues that are significant to the evolution of psychology as a profession. I know that through the process of which this meeting is a part we can arrive at a professional philosophy that is of more value to New Zealand society than is now the case.

***Tena Koutou, Tena Koutou, Tena Koutou Katoa.***

## Cultural Justice and Ethics: From within

Kerin Garner

Community Advocate - Ethical Issues Committee  
The New Zealand Psychological Society

I didn't really prepare something to speak about today because, when I was asked by Brian to talk about something to do with ethics, a whole lot of things went through my mind. I thought oh no! I don't want to talk about ethics. This is because when I talk about ethics I have to read and learn about it, and then try and remember it. Today, I want to talk about something that's more personal, about something that's coming from a space within me, that means something to me and will maybe mean something to other people.

As a community advocate or as a person that seeks to bridge gaps, I started to think about my own life. I started off first coming to Wellington as a PPTA as Te Reo a Rohe delegate, which is a little ironic as I can't speak Maori. Being born in 1951, I wasn't brought up in the Maori culture, but perhaps brought up through similar social times to that of Donna [Awatere-Huata].

When I was three, my parents split up. Although she doesn't speak much about it, my mother has said to me that she wanted to give us a 'better' life. She remarried and she gave us a 'better' father, and we then had a 'normal' family. I heard that over and over that I was 'normal', we had a 'better' life, right from 1954, through until I went to university in 1969. I had this 'better' father and I should be grateful. I was. I was very grateful.

My mother's father (talk about Victorian ethos!), was born in 1871. He was 60 when my mother was born. He came from Ireland and there are stories in the family of him getting off the ship and calling for a boy to carry his luggage - that was to one of the Maori that were walking passed. But we're not a *racist* family - I used to think.

I had a Maori father but I didn't know what that really meant. I didn't actually really think about it, although I knew it. But my grandfather asked for a boy to carry his luggage? I started thinking. Was I racist, or wasn't I? I don't know.

I got to university and I left my 'normal' family and came here to Victoria. First time I'd ever come to university and it was dislocating for a start. I came from a working class background and I found that it's not like that at University. I felt marginal, whatever that means. I never felt like I fitted in here. I couldn't lay claim to being Maori and to being able to say "okay I'm Maori and that's what it's all about".

So, my journey became an inward journey. I started looking for self-realisation, you know, self-actualisation. I started going to psychotherapy. I stood up there outside the counsellor's office feeling deeply, deeply ashamed, frightened that somebody might see. This prospect was too awful. After many attempts, although I didn't intend to, I eventually ran.

I met my father. He had come to Victoria University as he knew people here and he rang me up. Here was this voice from the past saying, "hello dear". (I thought, who's this?) "Hello dear, this is your father". Thinking it was my father that I had known since age three I said, "oh Dad, what are you doing here?". It was my real father.

He came around and he stood on the door step. I just started shaking, my whole body shook, and he cried, and cried and cried. He said to me, "oh I just love you to pieces", and I thought, well, that's pretty accurate about how I'm feeling!

At the time there were a lot of feelings there and my mind started dividing. What if mum knew? She'd be so upset. And what if Dad knew! How could I get rid of this man? But my heart was saying this person was real. Part of me was

becoming real and I was really terrified. So, I got rid of him. I hated doing it, but I got rid of him.

I was engaged. I broke my engagement, ran off with a guy I hardly knew and married him. It didn't work out very well and I shifted to Dunedin. There I was in Dunedin, still thinking, god I need psychotherapy. I needed something. So I went to see a psychotherapist and I saw him for years and he was wonderful. He was like a signpost in my life and he really did help me a lot.

Anyhow, I never addressed the issue of being Maori. It never occurred to me that what was happening to me was part of being Maori, until I went to work for Social Welfare. I worked for them as a front line interviewer and they always gave me the Maori people that came in because I was a nice person. I was kind. These Maori people complained to me saying that they didn't want to be interviewed as individuals and I said well I'm part Maori so I'll understand this. My spirit understood, I didn't know much about it. I started learning the language and that was when I discovered there were some fatal flaws in my personality. My lecturer in history said to me, there's something wrong with your personality, and I thought, 'oh god'. Anyway, when I started learning the language every time I stood up to say anything in Maori I'd start crying. I didn't know why until a psychologist suggested that it might be shame that I was feeling.

I went to Training College and stood up on a marae (never been on one before) and I didn't just cry that time. I fell flat on my face and lay there on the floor feeling that I didn't ever want to get up again. Anyway, I was okay speaking at school. I could speak to Pakeha audiences in Maori. That I learned in my head. But when it came to Maori people, I couldn't even speak. I suppose it must have been an immense grief from way back that was overwhelming me. You might know better than me, but that's what I thought.

In 1985 Puaote-ata-tu came out. We were going through a lot of consciousness raising in social welfare and there was hostility from everybody, including a hostility from within myself. I had to start challenging what it was to be Pakeha; what it was to be Maori; what it was to be racist.

I was teaching. I started teaching tentatively about where our mono-cultural society was at. I thought, oh my god, can I say this? Now it's easier to say that we are a mono-cultural society as there have been so many processes that we have gone through. Though I think it's probably dangerous to extrapolate from the specific or the personal to the general, I feel like my experience of having to find some sort of unity within myself, is what has to happen in New Zealand. For me becoming Maori has been important, but it isn't easy. It's painful, it's difficult, and it hurts.

Where I eventually got a lot of support, awhi, aroha, was from the PPTA when I became a member of Te Huarahi and they helped to see me through the tears and the confusion. It wasn't because I was Maori, it was because I was a human being. I think the process I have gone through is a process of becoming human, and becoming real in thinking; yes, my experience is valid. I'm not just Maori, I'm Pakeha too. I want both of them, I am both of them. I don't have to get up and speak fluent Maori right now. Perhaps it will come. I hope it does because I want it to, and I'm going to work on it. But I do feel that people like me, and there are many of us, are not marginal. We are bridges between cultures. This diversity has to be acknowledged, honoured and respected.

## Ethics in Maori Research: Working Paper

Fiona Cram<sup>1</sup>

Department of Psychology, University of Auckland

When we think about what we are doing as researchers, one of our main tasks is to acquire knowledge. For some researchers their task begins and ends there. Knowledge is viewed as cumulative, that by adding to some knowledge pool we will one day be able to put the component parts together and discover universal laws. Many researchers also assume that the knowledge they have collected is objective, value-free and apolitical. This is part of psychologists' 'physics envy'.

A Maori view of knowledge is very different from this. For Maori the purpose of **knowledge** is to uphold the interests and the mana of the group; it serves the community. Researchers are not building up their own status; they are fighting for the betterment of their iwi and for Maori people in general.

*The Maori did not think of himself, or anything to do with his own gain. He thought only of his people, and was absorbed in his whanau, just as the whanau was absorbed in the hapu, and the hapu in the iwi. (Makareti, first published 1938)*

Because of the strong oral tradition in Maori society, knowledge was never universally available. The tapu nature of knowledge also meant that when it was entrusted to individuals it was transmitted accurately and used appropriately. This ensured the survival of the group and maintained its mana (Smith, 1992).

Colonisation has not necessarily eroded this tradition. Many Maori believe "that there is a uniquely Maori way of looking at the world and learning" (Smith, 1992). However the dominance of Pakeha history and culture means that Maori forms are often seen to lack 'mainstream' legitimacy. We saw this with the movement of many Maori children into Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori - Maori were challenged about the appropriateness of schooling children solely in the Maori language and how this would fit these children for life in the 'Pakeha-lane'.

One product of colonisation, however, has been the stream of Pakeha social scientists who have seen Maori communities as research prospects. Maori now recognise the political implications of this research. That even when 'scientists' claim that there are no biases in their research, it is the scientists who have constructed the research questions, who have decided how the data is to be collected, who have decided which statistical tests to apply to the data, and, in a lot of cross-cultural research, it is Maori who are constructed as deficit when compared to a Pakeha population. It is Maori who are informed that they do not quite come up to scratch on what are described as universal, objective norms.

Many Pakeha researchers have built their careers on the backs of Maori, their research satisfying the criteria set by Pakeha institutions but offering nothing back to the Maori community in return. Linda Smith (1992) talks of Pakeha researchers as "...willing bedfellows of assimilationist, victim-blaming policies." Is it any wonder then that Maori communities are wary and weary of Pakeha researchers, perhaps especially psychologists? Maybe this is one reason why Maori have been unwilling to enter our profession, aside from all the structural difficulties evident.

Much research about Maori is also merely descriptive, telling us what we already know, yet not proposing any solutions or action that can be taken for change. We know about the low socio-economic status of Maori, the high crime and

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<sup>1</sup> Correspondence about this article can be sent to Fiona Cram, Psychology Department, University of Auckland, Private Bag, Auckland.

imprisonment rates, the high unemployment and low educational attainments. We now need research that informs solutions.

We must begin to ask meta-questions about research such as those proposed by Linda Smith (1992):

1. Who has helped define the research problem?
2. For whom is the study worthy and relevant? Who says so?
3. Which cultural group will be the one to gain new knowledge from this study?
4. To whom is the researcher accountable?
5. Who will gain most from this study?

These questions are similar to those now asked by granting bodies such as the Health Research Council in their assessment of Maori research proposals. This is pleasing because it means that we no longer have to rely on the internal ethics of a researcher, we have granting bodies and ethics committees who screen researchers for us.

So who should now 'do' Maori research? Evelyn Stokes (1985, p.9) writes, in her report to the Social Sciences Committee of the National Research Advisory Council, that "such researchers may be Maori or Pakeha. That racial or biological origin or skin colour is less important. What is important and essential is that the researcher can operate comfortably in both cultures, is bicultural and preferably bilingual." Naturally it will be easier for a Maori person to fulfill these criteria as biculturalism is essential for their survival. In addition, there is a lot of debate about whether it is appropriate for Pakeha researchers to 'research' Maori.

Graham Smith (1990) addresses this issue by proposing four models whereby Pakeha have been able to carry out culturally appropriate research:

1. **'Tiaki' model** (Mentor model) Where the research process is guided and mediated by authoritative Maori people (e.g., Jim Ritchie and Bob Mahuta<sup>1</sup>).
2. **'Whangai' model** (Adoption model) The researcher becomes one of the whanau who just happens to be doing research (e.g., Ann Salmond and the Stirling Whanau).
3. **Power Sharing model** Where community assistance is sought by the researcher so that a research enterprise can be developed in a meaningful way.
4. **Empowering Outcomes model** Where the research supplies answers and information that Maori want to know (e.g., Richard Benton's language research which informed concern about the survival of the Maori language).

We also have a good model for the ethical conduct of researchers in Maori communities in the work of Ngahua Te Awekotuku (1991, p.17). She warns us that:

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<sup>1</sup> The examples given are taken from Smith (1990).

*...the relationship between ethics and research is of vital importance, as the demand for responsibility and accountability has become inevitable. Denial of this results in distrust in the community studies, impaired or obstructed future opportunities, irreparably damaged relationships, and the questionable validity of research findings.*

The most obvious example of this last point being the construction of the “great New Zealand myth” of the “Great Fleet” of canoes which supposedly journeyed to this country in 1350 AD (Stokes, 1985).

So the undertaking of Maori-centred research is demanding and it places a challenge before psychologists that many of our colleagues have been loathe to accept. Sometimes psychologists are not very interested in people, let alone a resurgent and angry minority group. This is often exacerbated by an institutional structure which individualises knowledge and does not necessarily reward community involvement and social change. Yet we can no longer claim that there are no widely available models informing us about Maori research ethics. The cynic in me now wonders what our next excuse will be.

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<sup>1</sup> Many of these papers are available in The issue of research and Maori. Monograph No. 9, Research Unit for Maori Education, University of Auckland, August, 1992.

## Cultural Justice, Ethics and Practice: Summary of presentation

Averil Herbert<sup>1</sup>  
Waiariki Polytechnic

The following cases and remarks are based on my employment over six years in the Department of Social Welfare in Rotorua Specialist Services. I would like to discuss definitions that relate to the topic of cultural justice, ethics, and practice and our awareness and understanding of the issues; and to present three case studies from practitioner experience.

Mason Durie includes age, socio-economic status, gender, urban/rural, ethnicity and religion in the definition of culture. Justice may simply be defined as 'fairness'. Cultural justice must therefore be 'fairness in relation to cultural and demographic information'.

For psychologists' bound by the New Zealand Psychological Society's Code of Ethic, they have a responsibility to:

1. *...respect the cultural environment in which they work.*

In addition,

- 1.5 *Psychologists are sensitive to cultural and social diversity. They recognise that there are differences among people, such as those that may be related to age, sex, or socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds and, when necessary, they obtain training, experience or advice to ensure competent service or research relating to such persons.*

The important of understanding the articles and principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in acknowledging Maori as tangata whenua and the process of partnership and consultation is not explicitly mentioned in the Code of Ethics or practice. Psychologists should therefore be concerned that processes and training should establishes a fair and equitable relationship for Maori clients.

A summary of the processes which occur in a clinical consultation, and an assessment and/or a therapeutic intervention would include:

1. An understanding of the context of the client by the professional. For Maori, these issues may be socio-economic, and an understanding of colonisation, of tangata whenua and taurahere status, and tribal areas which provide the essential background to an assessment.
2. Agreement and understanding of the language used in the referral and in the description of the problem. An understanding of the socio-economic as well as ethnic differences which can contribute to problems in interpreting language correctly.
3. A fair process of assessment of the client and fairness in subsequent written report. Psychologists rely on presenting information and descriptions of behaviour. Minimising cultural differences should increase the rapport between client and professional.
4. A sense of the client having control and responsibility in the consultations and assessments. An understanding of the reasons for the referral and a sense of feeling genuinely assisted by the referral. Awareness of concepts of power

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and control in an assessment of therapeutic relationship should examine equity in a cultural sense - it may include issues around age, gender, dominant ethnicity versus non-dominant ethnicity. Within an institutional setting the power and control are clearly in favour of the professional.

5. Initial and subsequent compliance by the client is indicative of the commitment or otherwise of the client. In most government agencies clients are 'sent' rather than self-referred. Many clients will only present once or the minimum number of times.
6. An accommodation and understanding of whanau and institutional philosophies should include discussion and sharing information. Often whanau and institutional philosophies conflict. We have a responsibility to the institution and the employing agency and the family as the client.

I have selected three cases to illustrate cultural and social factors which test our knowledge of cultural fairness and skills in providing a service. The cases presented are labelled as: sexual abuse, an adoption and domestic violence.

### **Case Study: Sexual Abuse**

*In 1992, a four year old child in kohanga reo, brought up in a totally Maori speaking environment disclosed to his mother that sexual touching had occurred at the kohanga reo.*

*A video-taped evidential interview in te reo Maori was requested by the family. Under the Treaty, and with Maori having the status of an official language, the family are within their rights to request such an interview.*

There is currently no facility to acknowledge or reward professionals who have such knowledge or skills, and very few professionals could respond. The Code of Ethics advises that we should "...obtain training, experience or advice" to provide a competent service in cultural situations.

### **Case Study: An Adoption**

*In 1991, a kuia requested an assessment of a mokopuna, born to her son and his Pakeha girlfriend when both were teenagers. The birth mother exercised her prerogative under the Adoptions Act of not naming the father, and she was within her legal rights in signing the adoption papers.*

*The grandmother had repeatedly experienced dreams of a blond grand-daughter and eventually the existence of this mokopuna was confirmed. A final adoption by a Pakeha mother and Maori father was about to go through the Court.*

*Issues for the grandmother included whakapapa and manawhenua. Evidence included Maori legal opinion on the above and evidence from Maori on whaangai and formal adoption experiences.*

The psychological consultation included a discussion of opposing philosophies as well as statistics on adoptions and development of identity. There was recognition of whakapapa and manawhenua.

### **Case Study: Violence**

*In 1992, a social worker requested an assessment by a Maori psychologist of a woman who was 6 months pregnant with her 4th child. The woman was 31 years old. She had cared for her first child for 3 years, but had relinquished him for adoption because her future husband's Samoan family did not want him in the family because the birth was the result of a gang rape. After she married they had two more children.*

*Under severe financial, social and cultural stress, she was frequently seeking help from health and Social Welfare agencies. Over five years contact with welfare agencies, almost all the agencies workers were Pakeha and male - including a referral to a male psychologist who included her in group sessions. Transport difficulties (three bus changes across the city) meant that she could not attend regularly. Eventually she was diagnosed "personality disorder with anxiety" and was admitted to a psychiatric ward. Over the years, with increasing build up of problems, she battered the older child to death. The Samoan family gained custody of the younger child and subsequently, against the birth mother's wishes, he was sent to live in Australia with relatives. They failed to keep access arrangements while the woman completed a prison sentence. A year after her release she was pregnant again to her Samoan husband and the Department of Social Welfare requested an assessment of her suitability to keep the child.*

*Cultural adjustments included traditional rural upbringing with her grandparents, to urban Maori, to Samoan culture through her marriage.*

During her assessment there was an incorrect assumption that this woman had only one tribal affiliation. She had at least one other significant affiliation. Being married to a Samoan, her children would be half Samoan. There were therefore, three factors. Two ethnic affiliations and the Pakeha culture in which they were living were additional factors. Inappropriate and inadequate responses from agencies in the past had contributed to the tragedy. the assessment focussed on the individual, but the contexts had contributed to events.

In the three cases described, the processes and decision-making lay within legal and institutional systems in which the client was effectively powerless. The institutions and workers are all governed by statutes. The institutional and 'cultural' philosophies are often in opposition and as professionals we may be unable to fully observe even the professional ethics of confidentiality, let alone the status of the client.

We are required to be "...sensitive to cultural and social diversity" but this is not yet reflected in the training programmes, the range of personnel, or in the systems in which we work.

## Cultural Justice, Ethics and Teaching

Ray Nairn  
University of Auckland

### **Cultural Justice:**

Te Tiriti o Waitangi provides both a basis for cultural justice in this society and an explication of the term; each of the articles identifying a significant aspect of cultural justice. First, there is the guarantee to the Maori signatories that the Crown would protect their independence - tino rangatiratanga, (also read as authority, autonomy or self-determination) [Article II]. In Article III Maori are promised that they will also have the "Rights and Privileges of British subjects". Finally, in Article I, Maori cede to the Crown the right to govern, to make laws to protect all peoples from the evil consequences of lawlessness. The 1835 Declaration of Independence located legislative authority in the Wakaminenga (the gathered rangatira meeting in Congress); and in 1840, in the context of the Crown promises, Maori authorised the Crown to exercise that authority.

For Maori Te Tiriti specifies cultural justice for interactions between Maori and settlers in the new society. Maori are guaranteed the right to self-determination (and the economic and social resources to make that practical) in their relations with New Zealand society. They are also entitled to the same opportunities as other citizens. The latter rights, embodied in local legislation and international covenants to which we are signatory, are not alternatives to the prior right of Maori people to their (cultural) autonomy. The exercise of legislative and organisational authority must be exercised in a manner consistent with the promises which clearly requires consultation and negotiation with Maori.

Historically, this has not been true and this generation has the task of restoring the cultural justice that was denied by the colonisers and their spiritual descendants. Cultural justice embodies an understanding of justice that requires that things are tika (just, right) and not merely legal. It should not be understood in a passive or reactive sense - as a criterion for identifying or legitimating grievances - but as a positive quality reflected and enacted in all activities within society. Our professional activities as psychologists are not exempt from this. If we are not ensuring that the way in which we work is culturally just, then we are supporting a culturally unjust and destructive practice.

### **Ethics and Teaching:**

Apart from Section 7 - Teaching and research using animals - the following is the only reference in the NZ Psychological Society Code of Ethics (1986) to teaching.

*1.2 Psychologists engaged in teaching help students acquire knowledge and skill, to achieve high standards of scholarship, and to develop independent thought.*

It appears unexceptionable. We would all wish students to attain knowledge and skills, to develop their capacity for independent thought and produce work - whether academic or professional - of high standard. But closer inspection shows that each term in the statement is problematic. For example, if we look critically at the idea of "knowledge" that students are to be helped "acquire", we can probably see that similar arguments could be presented for "skill", "standards", "scholarship" and "independent thought".

The OED provides several understandings of **knowledge**:

*theoretical or practical understanding (of subject, language etc), certain understanding as distinct from opinion.*

Uses of the term **knowledge** in other sections of the code emphasise the “certain understanding” usage. For example:

1.9 *...current knowledge of scientific, technical and professional information...*

6.1d *...right to knowledge of the use to which the data may be put...*

8.0 *...accurate and objective in reporting data ... have satisfactory knowledge...derived from research findings and theory.*

This usage presupposes that knowledge exists in its own right, independently of the knowers or those who define it to be knowledge rather than opinion. Such an “objective” understanding of what knowledge is underlies both lay or common sense and positivist views. Yet such a view of knowledge is incompatible with the socially constructed character of knowledge demonstrated in the sociology of science (Ashmore, Mulkay & Pinch, 1989; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Latour & Woolgar, 1979; Mulkay, 1985). These and other researchers have described the processes by which “facts” are generated from “opinions”, how discoveries are negotiated or contested, and how dependent such processes are on the theoretical and sociocultural framework within which observations are given meaning. From this perspective all that we currently treat as knowledge, irrespective of whether there exists a core (certain) understanding of behaviour that would be accepted as such by all psychologists, should be presented within the historical, cultural and theoretical framework that we rely on to distinguish this “knowledge” from “opinion”.

If we read the Code from this perspective, the ethical requirement is akin to “truth in advertising”. The teacher must not misrepresent the contingent nature of the knowledge being presented. This becomes particularly important when we are considering teaching those who do not share significant elements of our sociocultural (read “scientific”) framework. This argument obviously raises some unwelcome questions about the authority of psychology - the accuracy of our depiction of human (or other) behaviour - and can create an alarming sense of insecurity if we acknowledge that this knowledge is our (discipline’s) interpretation of observations made within a particular framework.

The Canadian Code of Ethics for Psychologists was born, in part out of a recognition of the “reality of a different cultural configuration” (in Canada) but, from inspection of the code, that recognition does not appear to have affected statements of teacher responsibilities (II-20, III-17, III-21). They do however introduce the notion of moral rights of individuals that is not explicit in our Code. These rights include “equal justice” and “self-determination and autonomy”, both of which are pertinent to who, what and how we teach.

### **Access and Participation:**

Equal justice implies, as a minimum condition, equal access. This is not a new issue for the society (NZPsS) and the discipline. In 1975 Jules Older presented his conference paper Maoris and the professions with special reference to the psychological profession, at this university. In that paper he sought the Society’s support for an active recruitment of Maori students into psychology. Despite initial enthusiasm the effect of this effort was negligible. When Abbott & Durie (1987)

reported on their 1985 survey of medicine, social work and applied psychology courses they concluded that;

*...applied psychology courses are probably the most monocultural, in terms of Maori representation, of all New Zealand professions.*

They reported that the courses did not operate affirmative action programmes or actively seek to enlist Maori students. The primary reason given was that few Maori graduated in psychology.

There is still barely a trickle of Maori graduates in Psychology. As part of a longer term project, the National Standing Committee has been surveying first year teaching of Psychology and has found that some undergraduate courses clearly state that they operate a form of affirmative action or seek to enlist Maori students. Departments that offer courses in Colleges of Education - who may offer up to 30 of their places to Maori students - vary in the extent to which this access to a wider range of students appears to modify courses or teaching. But it is clear that some departments are taking steps both to enlist Maori students and improve their retention rates.

Access is an aspect of the "Rights and Privileges" of citizens guaranteed to Maori, the Canadian Code provides an ethical foundation for such affirmative action programmes. In our universities the Charter statements about the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi can be cited in support of such programmes, but do not appear to have compelled departments to action. I have argued that there is an ethical obligation to ensure access although I cannot justify that conviction by reference to our current Code of Ethics. In terms of cultural justice such programmes must be the fruit of negotiation between Maori and teachers/teaching departments. The importance of this negotiation is underlined by the critical voices raised by Maori within existing programmes.

### **Recognition:**

It follows from the earlier argument that knowledge is identified as "certain understanding" within a particular sociocultural context that, as teachers of psychology in this country, we have been enculturating our students. We have empowered one set of categories, values or processes as "right" or "natural" by presenting our theories and explanations as universal truths. Rothenberg (1992) summarises this aspect of teaching;

*...curriculum effectively defines its point of view as 'reality' rather than as a point of view.*

This is inconsistent with the ideal of cultural justice, and, if this is not acknowledged, then Maori people who are enlisted into psychology will be subjected to a further colonisation. There is an obligation on teachers to respect the right of Maori students to their self-determination and autonomy. I feel this raises the hardest question for psychologists and the university - will they be doing psychology, or science, or medicine? Part of the difficulty arises because we have believed the universality of our own knowledge, that there is (a) psychology - the science of behaviour. Yet the evidence is that there are multiple psychologies. Not only do psychologists, in the universalised sense, find it difficult to agree, but also understandings arising within different sociocultural contexts will constitute different psychologies.

Theorists like Kim (1990, p145) argue this position strongly, particularly for indigenous psychology which is defined;

*Indigenous psychological knowledge is that which is native, i.e., not transported from another region, and it is designed for its people. It is an understanding that is rooted in a particular sociocultural context.*

Sociocultural contexts have played little part in psychological theorising but it is becoming increasingly clear that our individualised, universal understandings of human behaviour lead to practice that is irrelevant if not oppressive.

At last year's conference Marewa Glover (1993) looked critically at psychology teaching. She identified the ongoing colonisation, the spiritual deprivation and loss of identity, that followed from the assumption that our knowledge was authoritative and relevant to Maori. From her reading of our Code of Ethics she issued three challenges:

1. Assuming they [psychologists] recognise such differences [between Maori and other students], then before working with Maori they will "*obtain training, experience or advice to ensure competent service ..*" (Code of Ethics, Section 1.5).
2. Assuming the psychologist has not accessed [such support].. Does he or she subsequently decide they have reached "*the boundaries of their own competence*" (Code of Ethics, Section 2.1).
3. ...do they conclude that under the particular circumstances" .. they will use "the most effective intervention" regardless of "all known undesirable side-effects" (Code of Ethics, Section 2.2).

I suspect that the majority of us have barely begun to think about the first challenge. The NSCBI cannot claim to have surveyed all teachers, but the impression we have from the data obtained to date is that few departments have assimilated the evidence of undesirable side-effects being provided by Maori people. While some individuals or programmes have begun to take the evidence seriously institutional practice shows much less change. Clearly we need to get over our own hang-ups and become involved in negotiation of a planned implementation of a more appropriate teaching of psychology. It is a necessary step to cultural justice.

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**Section 3:**

**Cultural Justice and Ethics Symposium - Part 2**



## **Pakeha students and a Pro-Treaty analysis: Teaching issues in a Diploma of Clinical Psychology Programme**

**Helen Yensen<sup>1</sup>**  
**Pakeha Treaty Action**

**Tim McCreanor**  
**Pakeha Treaty Action**

*Helen Yensen:*

Though with a distinct Dutch accent, we are both speaking as Pakeha. We hope to briefly report on what we do with students and staff of the Diploma of Clinical psychology at the University of Auckland. We hope that in the coming days this will be opening lots of questions and challenges and perhaps extra contributions.

We ran Treaty/biculturalism workshops for the Diploma on an ad hoc basis in 1990, 1991, and 1992. This year we have contracted for a fuller package which involves work with first and second years and staff. Next year this will continue with third year students.

We believe biculturalism training for non-Maori has two major aspects and, although they overlap in various ways we think that it is useful to separate them: the first one is awareness of Maori cultural practices, values, etc, which can perhaps be called 'cultural sensitivity training'. This needs to be under the control of Maori and have major input from Maori.

The second aspect is where our focus is, and that is awareness of the effect on the Maori world of the loss of sovereignty by Maori; of their marginalisation over the last one hundred and fifty years by Pakeha; of their oppressed status; loss of economic base, and the implications for change that flow from those events. We believe that, at least initially, Pakeha have the responsibility for educating themselves and other pakeha in this area.

There are several reasons for this. The first one is that the main change has to take place on the Pakeha side. We have to take responsibility for depowering ourselves and for honouring the Treaty. We should not use Maori energy for this. Then too, the work involves confronting our personal racial prejudices and power hang ups. We question whether Maori should have to be faced with this. Also, Pakeha participants often do not express their real feelings and opinions if they are faced by Maori facilitators. In addition, as Pakeha facilitators we can talk in terms of "we" have to change rather than "you" have to change, and that is more effective in terms of lowering barriers to learning.

Our main aim is to introduce students to pro Treaty analysis of historical and contemporary issues, and then to encourage and support them in the practical applications of this analysis to issues of relevance to the theory and practice of psychology generally, and clinical psychology in particular.

The programme is an evolving one, based on ongoing experience, evaluation of the impact, and feedback from the participants. We would like to just share a little about both the content and the process of what we do.

*Tim Creanor:*

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If I could just talk about the issues of content and then Helen will pick up and talk about some of the process issues.

As Helen said in her introduction, this is the first year that we have taken a larger responsibility for this input into the programme. The work that we've been doing has so far reached year one and two students for the first time and we've been doing some work with staff as well. Towards the end of this year (1993), - basically after it ends - we will work with next year's year 3 students to negotiate the kinds of projects that they'll be doing for their third year so at that stage we'll be reaching all the way across the programme as well as working with staff.

But I just want to go back to talk about what we do with year one students. Our main goal in year one is to lay or consolidate a foundation for a pro-Treaty analysis and what it means for the Pakeha position in Aotearoa. Basically, that means coming to grips with the meaning of Maori sovereignty as guaranteed in the Treaty of Waitangi within our current situation. So our course with year one students looks especially at the evidence from pre-Pakeha times and times of early contact between Maori and Pakeha. It looks at the colonial process to round out the historical perspective. It then moves into the more contemporary setting to look at the language that Pakeha use to talk about Maori-Pakeha relations; the role of science, and then specifically the role of psychology and clinical psychology, in order to really try to lay a very solid foundation.

For the year two students, when they move into a more practical stage of their training, they complete two placements in which they work with an agency. For year two students, this was the first year (1993) that we worked with them. We negotiated with the diploma and the students that rather than their course work consisting of a case study of their two placements, that the first placement case study be replaced by an observation based on a pro-Treaty analysis. It was to look at the hierarchies, the power relations, the resource divisions, down to client base and the physical environs of the placement that they're working in. All of that was to be a structural analysis and based in the pro-Treaty ideas of year one.

As I said earlier, we haven't worked with the year three's at this stage, but our prospective idea is to shift from them making a pro-Treaty observation to an intervention based in this analysis and the kinds of observations that flow from it. So the challenge will be to negotiate with them ways in which they can actually do something within their internship that will actually lay it on the line as to where they are coming from and how their analysis works.

That's the outline of the work that we do with the students. When we made the proposal that led to the work that we're doing, one of the things that we included in it was a segment of work to be done with the staff on the Diploma. Our basis was that it was inconsistent, or not sensible, to work with students and assume that the staff are up to speed. We have negotiated with the staff a role in which we guide and facilitate them to shift from a reactive stance to a proactive stance on Treaty issues. That process is still in train and I can report at this stage that the work that we have done has covered areas such as coming to an agreed version of the Diploma's history and actions on bicultural and Treaty based issues. They are moving towards a shared vision of where they want to go in the future and how they're going to do it. Also, the beginnings of a discussion as to how structures and resources for accountability and consultation with the Maori community can now begin to be put in place. This is still under negotiation, but it will be valuable to articulate, in consultation with the Maori community how these processes can be implemented. That is the content of what Helen and I have been doing.

*Helen Yensen:*

We consider the process very important. One of our major goals on the process side is getting the students trusting each other and trusting us so that they can work in a collaborative fashion and develop a supportive group process.

In year one we encourage work in pairs and in small groups both within the workshops and in doing the assignments. In year two we rely heavily on peer feedback and peer review. Our reason for this is that when participants do our workshops they think they've learned a lot, but when they go out into the real world they come up against some really tough challenges. We hope that this group building method will allow them to support each other, not just during the course, but also in the future so that they will have one of their peers to contact when they feel overwhelmed, hopeless and helpless. We find indeed this is happening already with the second years. We found that lecturing is not really effective, that it needs lots of interaction and so we use a workshop format. One in which participants have an opportunity to express feelings and opinions, explore stereotypes and racial prejudices, and share experiences and learnings in a safe environment.

We consider grading and assessment inappropriate. For a "pass", the participants commit themselves to full and active participation in the sessions as well as in doing the assignments. With grading and formal assessment there is a danger that students do not voice their real feelings and opinions, fearing that they may not be politically correct! They may also worry about challenging facilitators, and so acquire a superficial patina of jargon and acceptable opinions and none of that is very useful.

We spend considerable time trust building between the students and ourselves. For that we use a non-judgemental approach accepting the many prejudices etc., as that is where participants are at. At the same time, of course, we subject these to analysis and challenge. Also, we share our own vulnerability and our learning process, and that it is painful and it is ongoing. Most importantly, we guarantee confidentiality. Both of what is said during the sessions and of the written assignments.

The effective participation by students requires small groups and in terms of time we find that 3-4 hours is a minimum. We have run full day 9-5 workshops That is okay if shorter sessions can't be timetabled close together. At present we have been using about 20 hours each for the first year and the second year.

Feedback from our current first years suggests that we need an increasingly negotiated approach to this and what we do in our course, because many Diploma students are older and have a lot of work experience behind them.

**Note: Waikato Contact - Evolution of a conversational style.**

In 1994 we have expanded our work with the year three student of the Auckland Diploma and embarked on a comprehensive programme for students, staff and clinical associates with the Clinical Psychology Diploma at Waikato University. As a result of our commitment to negotiation, we have also developed what we call a "conversational" style of working which covers the same content but in a naturalistic, informal way which has been enthusiastically received by the group we have worked with so far.

# **Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi - Hei awhina tamariki ki te panui pukapuka: some preliminary findings**

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The Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi reading tutoring procedures have been adapted from the procedures known as Pause, Prompt, Praise, first developed in Mangere in 1977. The first author offered the procedures as a koha at a Special Education Service hui at Poho o Rawiri in 1991. The second author took up the koha and obtained the support of kaumatua and kuia at Hairini marae Tauranga Moana, and the support of senior Maori staff of the Special Education Service National Office to produce a Maori language video and training booklet. This began an important bicultural journey through the processes of producing instructional materials and trailing and evaluating them in ways that are biculturally appropriate. This paper reports on that journey and presents some preliminary data on the implementation of Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi by seven tuakana - teina pairs in a bi-lingual classroom.

Coming from a background of research within an applied behaviour analysis paradigm, I have been concerned at the slowness of this paradigm to engage the interest of Maori educators, and to contribute to the learning of Maori children. I do not believe the problem is necessarily inherent within the paradigm. Rather, I believe it stems from the ignorance of many non-Maori researchers of the language, cultural values and practices, and educational aspirations of contemporary Maori. Non-Maori researchers need to address this ignorance so that they are better able to understand Maori perspective's on learning, to listen to the educational questions being asked by Maori, and to contribute research skills and research technologies in culturally appropriate ways.

Over the past two years, I have been invited to attend national hui for Maori staff of the New Zealand Special Education Service (S.E.S.). One important kaupapa raised at these hui was the need to develop focused training programmes in Maori language and reading skills for delivery to Maori parents and whanau by S.E.S. Maori staff. My response to this kaupapa was to consider adapting, for use in Maori educational contexts, the reading tutoring procedures known as Pause Prompt Praise, developed by myself and former colleagues at the University of Auckland, (Glynn, McNaughton, Robinson & Quinn, 1979).

Research and development of the Pause Prompt Praise procedures began in Mangere in 1977-1978, with Maori and non-Maori families. A booklet and video were developed to introduce a set of tutoring strategies to be used at home by parents of 10 to 12 year old children who were experiencing reading difficulties. An evaluation of the procedures was reported in a research monograph (McNaughton, Glynn Robinson and Quinn, 1981; McNaughton, Glynn & Robinson, 1987). The Mangere study was replicated in the U.K. (Glynn, 1980) and was reviewed in detail along with ten further studies of the procedures, (Glynn & McNaughton, 1985). Continuing research with these procedures, for example, Wheldall & Mettem (1985);

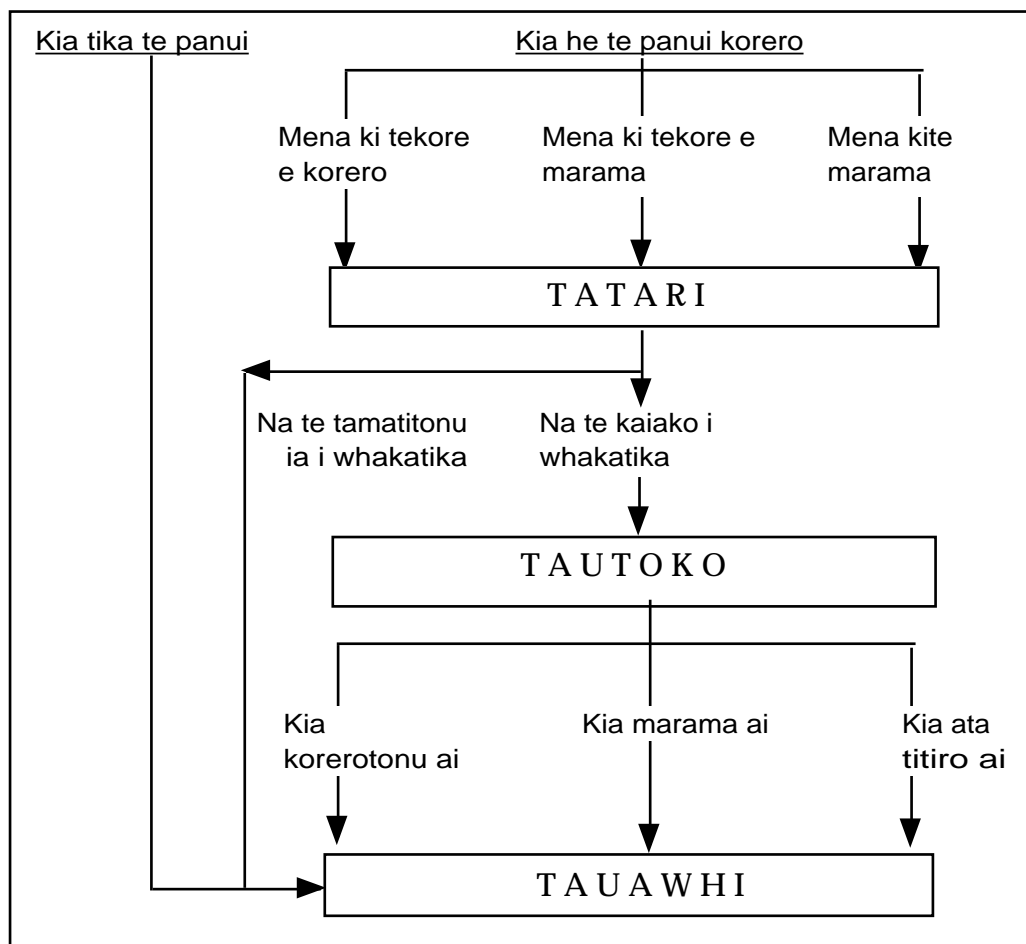
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Wheldall & Glynn (1989); Wheldall, Colmar, Wenban-Smith, Morgan & Quance (1992), has resulted in the production of an updated version of the Pause Prompt Praise tutoring booklet (Glynn, Dick and Flower, 1992) and training video (Dick, Glynn & Flower, 1992).

It seemed that Pause Prompt Praise may have something to offer in the context of children's learning to read in Maori, particularly through suggesting specific strategies for parents and whanau to use, within the supportive context of oral reading on a one-to-one basis. However, working on this task depended first on whether Maori educators recognised it as worthwhile educationally, and second, on any trial and evaluation being carried out in Maori-controlled educational settings by an appropriate research whanau, or "whanau of interest" (Bishop & Glynn, 1992a). I shared these concerns with Maori colleagues in senior positions within the S.E.S. and was invited to present my take at a subsequent S.E.S. hui at Poho o Rawiri.

**Figure 1: Tatari, tautoko, tauawhi**



Preparing for this hui was a major challenge. Both the procedures themselves as well as my case for trialing them in a Maori context needed to be presented in te reo. I prepared a brief explanation of the kaupapa of Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi, and how I thought it might help children learning to read in Maori, and their parents. The essential features of this kaupapa are shown in Figure 1.

I acknowledged that a trial and evaluation should be carried out in a Maori controlled context under the direction of Maori staff, and that the training video and booklet would need to be reconstructed from within a Maori framework, and not simply translated from English. This kaupapa was put down as a koha. There was an immediate response from S.E.S. Maori staff from Tauranga Moana, who undertook

to discuss this kaupapa with their own iwi, and sought a commitment from me to work with them if iwi approval were given.

Within a few weeks, I was invited to join with S.E.S. staff and iwi from Tauranga Moana (Ngai Te Rangi, Ngati Ranginui, Ngati Pukenga) at Hairini marae. Jointly we submitted plans and requests for funding to the S.E.S. national office and the Ministry of Education. On receipt of funding, the University of Otago A-V team visited Tauranga to record the on-site material for the video. We were welcomed formally onto Hairini marae. We acknowledged the mana whenua of Tauranga Moana, and stated our commitment to the kaupapa of helping children learn to read in Maori. I cannot overstate the importance of supporting the kaupapa through the medium of te reo in receiving the blessings and guidance of the kaumatua and kuia at Hairini.

Several weeks later, these kaumatua and kuia, together with Maori staff from S.E.S. Tauranga came to Dunedin to edit the material we had recorded and to offer comments. They worked with Huata Holmes, the Pou Here Tangata of the Education Department at the University of Otago, and with Russell Bishop and Colin Durning who have a strong commitment to bicultural education initiatives. They assisted in preparing the video script and draft material for the accompanying booklet. Together, this whanau of interest saw that the mana whenua of Tauranga Moana and Otepoti and the mana of the two Kairarunga of the S.E.S. national office was respected throughout the process and in the final product. One of these Kairarunga, Waiarani Harawira, who was the presenter of the video and the first author of the booklet, made additional visits to Dunedin to work on transforming Pause Prompt Praise into Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi. Her expertise in te reo was absolutely vital to this process.

The completed video (Atvars and Glynn, 1992) was taken by the Otago team, under the support of our Pou Here Tangata for presentation back to the people at Hairini. This was a very special educational and bicultural event. Kaumatua, kuia, children, teachers and whanau from Maungatapu school were invited to view and comment on the video. It was most important for us to listen carefully to this comment, and to respond to any concerns which arose, before going on to develop the printed booklet (Harawira, Glynn and Durning, 1993).

When the video was accepted, the research process continued with the handing over of Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi to the teachers at Maungatapu school for them and their students to try out in a tuakana-teina (peer-tutoring) context. The fourth author was then appointed to collect and collate the audio taped data on children's tutoring presented in this study, which is a preliminary investigation of the implementation of Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi by seven tuakana-teina pairs working in a Maori immersion context.

## METHOD

### **Participants:**

Twenty two children from the Maori language immersion classes at Maungatapu primary school took part. All children had previously attended kohanga reo. Seven were tuakana (tutors) aged between 10 and 12 years, who had been in the immersion classes for six years, and whom their kaiako regarded as competent readers of Maori. Seven were teina (tutees) aged between 6 and 8 years and were selected by their kaiako being most likely to benefit from additional tutoring assistance. A further eight 6 to 8 year old children, whom the kaiako considered were making good progress in reading formed a comparison group of non tutored readers.

### **Setting:**

All children participated in their regular classroom Maori language reading programme incorporating a wide range of individual, small-group and whole-class reading activities. These included shared book reading, word study activities, cloze activities, reading aloud of poems and stories, and writing and illustrating stories related to topics covered in reading texts. The classroom environment was stimulating and challenging with displays of charts, pictures, books and other materials, all in te reo.

### **Design:**

This was a preliminary trial of the procedures during a five week period at the end of term 3, 1993. Measures of tuakana tutoring behaviour from three sessions before and from six sessions following tutor training, were obtained from tape-recordings. Teina children (tutees) and non tutored children were not randomly assigned to tutored or non-tutored groups, but were selected by kaiako such that readers judged in most need of assistance became teina while those judged as more competent remained in the non tutored group. Pre- and post- intervention measures of reading from current classroom texts were obtained from children in all three groups.

### **Tutor Training:**

Tuakana were given three 20-minute training sessions by the trainers. These sessions involved carefully viewing the video demonstrating Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi, with frequent stops to discuss the examples of tutoring provided. Trainers also role played readers making different types of errors so that tuakana could practise using the procedures. Trainers provided tuakana with feedback on their choice and implementation of each procedure, according to the diagram.

### **Tutoring Procedure:**

Tuakana-teina pairs spent approximately three 10-15 minute sessions per week working in a separate room. Reading texts were provided by kaiako from among books currently being read in class. Prior to training, tuakana were asked to try to help their teina to read as best they could. Following training, tuakana were asked to try to implement Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi, using the diagram supplied, and with regular feedback from the trainers (kaiako and the second author) between sessions. The tuakana-teina reading interactions were tape recorded for later analysis by the researcher.

### Measures:

**Tuakana implementation of tutoring:** Pre-training and post-training measures were taken of tuakana tutoring behaviour. These measures comprised:

1. **total error attention** - this is the percentage of all reader errors to which tuakana gave any form of attention.
2. **tatari** (pause) - this is the percentage of those errors attended to for which the first tuakana response was tatari (pause).
3. **tautoko** (prompts) - this measure records the percentage of errors to which tuakana responded with each type of prompt, namely:
  - a) **tautoko kia panui tonu /haere tonu /whakahokia** (prompts to read-on or to go back and read again)
  - b) **tautoko kia marama ai** (prompts about the meaning of the word)
  - c) **tautoko ahua** (prompts about letters or sounds in the word).
4. **tauawhi** (praise) - there are four praise measures. The first three involve the percentage of errors where the tuakana gave praise specifically contingent on:
  - a) **kupu orite** (close attempt)
  - b) **whakatika na te tamaiti ano** (self correction)
  - c) **whakatika na te kaiako me te tamaiti** (prompted correction)

The fourth praise measure is general, supportive praise which aims to reinforce readers for their efforts.

  - d) **whakanui i te mana o te tamaiti**
5. **whakatika na te kaiako ano** (the tutor supplies the correct word) - This measure records the percentage of errors where tuakana supplied the correct word. It does not differentiate whether this was done before of after attempts to provide the reader with prompts.

**Pre- and post-measures of reading:** There are as yet no standardised reading assessment tools available in te reo. This may well be quite appropriate from the perspective of past history of mainstream school assessment practices which have not led to the betterment of teaching programmes for Maori students. From this perspective it is more important to show that individual readers have made measurable progress over time than to relate their performance to that of some normative group.

The number and range of Maori language reading texts currently available for Maori students is limited because of costs of production and distribution, and by the availability of resourcing within schools. Consequently, it was not possible to measure progress in terms of the number of successive book levels read to a criterion accuracy level.



For these reasons, and because the study spanned only three weeks of tutoring, the reading measures adopted in this study were **reading accuracy**, measured in terms of the percentage of words read correctly, **correct rate and incorrect rate**, measured in terms of the number of words read correctly and the number read incorrectly per minute. These measures were taken from current classroom texts. Both measures were adopted since it was important to show that the tutoring programme did not result in increasing the overall rate of reading at the cost of increasing the number of errors. The percentage of reader errors that were **substitutions**, rather than non-attempts, was also recorded.

## RESULTS

### Tuakana Implementation of Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi.

Table 1 summarises the pre and post training data from the seven tuakana. These data suggest that within three weeks of tutoring tuakana were learning to implement Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi with considerable skill.

**Table 1: Summary of tuakana use of Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi procedures during untrained and trained tutoring.**

	Untrained tutoring 3 sessions %	Trained tutoring 6 sessions %
1. Errors attended per session	8.6	31.8
2. Tatari (pause)	25.3	54.4
3. Tautoko/Haere Tonu (Read on)	27.9	73.0
4. Tautoko/Marama (Meaning prompts)	7.9	13.7
5. Tautoko/Ahua (Letter/Sound Prompts)	9.3	21.3
6. Tauawhi/Mana Tamaiti (General praise)	67.3	58.9
7. Tauawhi/Whakatika kaiako (Praise/prompted correction)	10.9	28.0
8. Tauawhi/Whakatika tamaiti (Praise/self correction)	19.0	10.4
9. Tauawhi/Kupu orite (Praise/close attempt)	0.0	0.0
10. Prompted Correction	12.3	32.9
11. Supplying the word	16.4	31.3

Both the quantity and quality of tuakana response to teina reading errors changed considerably. First, the mean number of teina errors attended to per session increased from 8.6% to 31.8%. Despite this marked increase in the number of errors attended to, the tuakana-teina interactions remained consistently positive. The very positive pre-training rate of general praise comments (67.1%), remained high (56.4%) following training in Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi. However, following training, tuakana increased in addition their use of targeted, specific praise for prompted corrections. This type of praise increased from 12.3% to 32.9%. Praise specifically targeted at teina self corrections showed a small decrease from 19% to 10.4%, but these percentage data should be regarded with caution, as they are based on very low incidences of errors, and hence few opportunities for teina to self correct. This point will be addressed later.

Table 1 shows also that tuakana doubled their rate of pausing (tatari) from 25.3% to 54.4% of errors attended. Tuakana use of different types of prompt shows important pre-training to post training changes. The least intrusive form of prompt, aimed at keeping teina in touch with meaning embedded in sentence and story

context, tautoko kia haere tonu/whakahokia (read-on or re-read) increased from 27.9% to 73.0%. Prompts which specifically drew teina attention to the meaning of words in terms of story context or previous experience (tautoko kia marama ai), increased from 7.9% to 13.7%. This type of prompt is particularly challenging because of the demands it makes on Maori language skills. Prompts which drew teina attention to letter or sound information within errors, (tautoko ahua), increased from 9.3% to 21.3%.

The percent of teina errors that were successfully corrected following tuakana tautoko increased from 12.3% to 32.9%. There was also an increase in the percentage of errors following which tuakana supplied the correct word, from 16.4% to 31.3%. However, due to the way the analysis was carried out, these data include all instances of tuakana supplying the word after first trying to tautoko.

### **Reading Outcomes.**

First, it is important to note that all children were reading their classroom text material at a very high level of accuracy, both at pre and post testing. The mean pre and post test reading accuracy levels for tuakana were 98.4% and 99.1%. The corresponding figures for teina were 89.4% and 92.3%, and for non-tutored children, 91.6% and 91.7%. This high level of reading accuracy would have imposed a “ceiling” by limiting the number and range of errors available for tuakana to practice on, and in particular would have limited their opportunities to detect and praise teina self corrections. However, Table 2 provides some suggestive information in terms of changes in correct rates, incorrect rates and substitutions.

Table 2 establishes, as expected, that tuakana displayed a far higher correct rate at pre-test and post-test than both teina and non-tutored children. Similarly, the pre-test correct rate for teina (38.4 words per minute) was lower than that for non-tutored children (54.3). However, teina showed a small increase in correct rate from 38.4 to 43.4 while non-tutored children did not. Table 2 also establishes that the Pre-test incorrect rate was lowest for tuakana (1.6 words per minute), and was lower for non-tutored children (2.1) than for teina (2.4). This was expected since teina were selected by kaiako as those most likely to benefit from additional support. However, at post-test, teina incorrect rate had dropped to 1.8, whereas the incorrect rate for non-tutored children increased to 3.2. Interestingly, the incorrect rate for tuakana as well as that for teina decreased from pre-test to post-test, from 1.6 to 0.6 incorrect words per minute. This suggests there is some benefit to be had from acting in the tuakana role. The data on the percentages of errors which were substitutions rather than non-attempts, are also suggestive of benefits for teina. Both tuakana and non-tutored children displayed higher rates

**Table 2: Summary of data on correct rate, incorrect rate and percent of substitution errors at pre and post test for non tutored, teina and tuakana groups.**

		Pre-test	Post-test
<b>Correct Rate</b>	<i>(words per minute)</i>		
	Non-tutored	54.3	54.5
	Teina	38.4	43.4
	Tuakana	92.1	92.7
<b>Incorrect Rate</b>	<i>(words per minute)</i>		
	Non-tutored	2.1	3.2
	Teina	2.4	1.8
	Tuakana	1.6	0.6
<b>Substitution Errors</b>	<i>(%)</i>		
	Non-tutored	73.7	68.8
	Teina	43.1	55.6
	Tuakana	69.2	64.4

of substitution than teina. The pre-test figures were 69.2, 73.7 and 43.1 respectively. Teina pre-test substitution percentage (43.1), increased to 55.6 at post test, while the corresponding figures for non-tutored children showed a slight decrease from 73.7 to 68.8. This is further evidence suggestive of benefits for teina from the Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi tutoring interactions.

## DISCUSSION

In this preliminary study, there is evidence to suggest that tuakana were quite successful in implementing Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi, after a limited trial over three weeks of tutoring. Tuakana attended to four times more teina errors, and doubled their rate of pausing. They more than doubled their use of read-on or read again prompts, and they increased their use of specific prompts about word meanings. They maintained a high rate of general supportive praise, and they more than doubled their praise for prompted corrections.

All these tutoring procedures were implemented i roto i te reo rangatira. Although the tutoring gains were not quite as marked as those reported in studies of Pause, Prompt, Praise implemented by tutors and tutees whose first language is English, (Glynn & McNaughton, (1985) they are however consistent with the trends and directions reported in those studies. Given that these tuakana were learning Maori as a second language, this is a considerable achievement. Delivering tautoko kia marama ai prompts, for example, requires a high level of Maori language competency. That tuakana were beginning to implement this type of prompt within approximately six sessions of training speaks well of the Maori language learning context provided in these immersion classes.

The scope for assessing reading progress was limited in this study because of the high level of accuracy of all students on classroom reading texts and because of the brief trial period. Nevertheless, data do suggest a lower incorrect rate, together with a slightly higher correct rate for teina children, in contrast with non-tutored children. These data are consistent with the type of gains reported in other studies of peer tutoring with Pause, Prompt, Praise, (Wheldall & Mettem, 1985, Houghton & Glynn, 1993). The suggestion of benefits to tuakana, in terms of reduced incorrect rates following tutoring with Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi is also consistent with reading gains reported for peer tutors using Pause, Prompt and Praise (Medcalf, 1989, Medcalf & Glynn, 1987), and with tutors using a technique known as paired reading (Limbrick, McNaughton & Glynn, 1985). Experience in the present study suggests that Maori preferred pedagogical practices, such as tuakana teina learning

contexts, may also yield support for claims of mutual leaning gains for tutor and tutee in an interactive peer tutoring context.

These preliminary data are quite encouraging, and confirm the need for further trials with Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi. These trials should address the need to promote teina to even more challenging text material once they attain criterion accuracy levels. Reading measures will need to be expanded to include measures of progress across books of increasing difficulty and measures of comprehension, possibly through the use of cloze techniques administered in oral or written form, and based on both seen and unseen text materials.

The tuakana in this preliminary study were all very competent readers. It may be worthwhile also to trial Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi with tuakana who themselves may be experiencing difficulty in reading books appropriate to their age level. This would enable a more powerful demonstration effects for the tuakana as well as the teina.

The project has been very much a bicultural journey, leading to sharing of information and skills between Maori and non-Maori. It has been characterised by a near-total removal of the distinction between 'researchers' and 'researched'. The reduction of the distance between 'researcher' and 'researched' us a major requirement for the conduct of successful cross cultural research (Bishop, 1992a; Bishop & Glynn, 1992b). Achievements thus far reflect, I believe, the strength of commitment of both parties in this research to the kaupapa of improving the reading skills of Maori children i roto i te reo rangatira.

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## Life in a Clinical Diploma Course

**Keriata Paterson**

**Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toa, Ngati Maru, Ngati Tamatera  
Te Whare Wananga o Waikato**

This paper focuses on the author's experience of a Clinical Diploma programme. The author is a Maori woman who is in her second year of a three year post-graduate Clinical Diploma programme. The paper includes comment on the cultural focus of content, culture conflicts and areas where the programme might be improved for Maori students.

As indicated by the title and the abstract, this paper is necessarily personal. However for a Maori student, particularly in an insular programme such as the Diploma of Psychology (Clinical), where we are so few, what happens to one of us has implications for us all. Therefore where I illustrate my korero, it will be with specific anecdotal examples (with the permission of the Maori students concerned), as well as a number of experiences we have witnessed and shared.

I began the Diploma in March 1992 with mixed feelings. On the positive side, I had a vision that if I achieved the Diploma, I would be in a position to best serve the needs of the disproportionate number of Maori people who make up our client population (Durie, 1985). I had the support of friends and whanaunga, and had been awarded a bursary by Justice Department Psychological Services, for Maori students to undergo clinical psychology training.

The negative aspect of entering the programme related to the "mythology" which has developed among Maori people in the Psychology Department about the Diploma course: what happens when students attempt to incorporate a Maori way of working into the clinical methods taught in the curriculum; or how a lone Maori predecessor managed to survive the monocultural nature of the Diploma programme by adopting a "bite the bullet" strategy. The mythology acts to oppress Maori students even prior to entering the course.

The external facade presented by the programme is that efforts towards a bicultural perspective are sincere. The Psychology Department graduate handbook describes the course as being "committed to producing graduates who can function effectively in bicultural human services", and where "topics and experiences relevant to taha Maori and biculturalism will be covered in the training". A Maori person is present on the selection committee, an indicator to Maori applicants that the opinions and needs of Maori are taken into account.

The promise ends there. More than half-way through the three year course, (excluding student input), my year group has had two lectures with Maori content intended by the course co-ordinator (one lecture per year).

The most common ways in which cultural components in the Programme have been fulfilled, has been through the voluntary or involuntary contributions of Maori students. Voluntary contributions were often at times when it was necessary to take the role of "cultural watchdog" over course content and comments made in class; to challenge instances of misunderstanding, ignorance or prejudice implicit in staff members' or students' remarks, in an attempt to protect the well-being of those people's future Maori clients.

Involuntary contributions were made at times when, in the middle of a lecture, one of us would be asked direct questions about Maori, such as "What do Maori people do in this situation?" or "How do Maori people react when they're depressed?" The anomaly of such a question would be obvious if the situation were reversed. We would not consider asking lecturers, "How do Pakeha people react when they're depressed?" We recognise that Tauwiwi are diverse in characteristics, tastes, personal styles, and political orientation.

The intent of a lecturer who asks such questions may well be an effort to acknowledge that there are cultural differences in behaviour. In acknowledging this, and in view of the many Maori people receiving psychological or psychiatric treatment, a lecturer in a Clinical Diploma programme surely owes the subject a more serious consideration than a sudden impulsive curiosity in the classroom setting. Such questions indicate a failure on the lecturer's part to fulfil his or her own responsibilities in researching the areas discussed, and in recognising the importance of addressing for the Clinical trainees, the significance and implications for assessment and therapy these cultural differences hold.

One effect of asking a particular Maori student questions about all Maori, is that it places undue responsibility and pressure on the student asked. A student should not be obliged to be, and can not comfortably assume the role of being spokesperson for Maori. Further, when a Maori student pays her or his not inconsiderable tuition fees, there is no recognition that that student will be obligated to fulfil the role of cultural educator to her or his lecturer and peers.

The deliberate singling out of a Maori spokesperson by lecturers also has an unseen effect on other students who also identify as Maori but do not yet feel comfortable publicly discussing Maori issues or their own political stance, or who feel whakama about their lack of knowledge in these areas. By continuously asking one particular Maori student for opinions about tikanga Maori or Maori manifestations of symptomatology, a lecturer simultaneously publicly identifies these other Maori students present, as lacking in that knowledge.

There is an invisible *mamae* (pain) and *whakama* (shame) many young Maori feel at the loss and ignorance of their own *tikanga*, and the devastation of having, over generations, become alienated from their own *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi*. The processes of colonisation and acculturation have to a greater or lesser extent affected all Maori. Jackson (1988), Gilgen (1991), Paterson (1992), and others have documented the damage which manifests itself in many Maori who find themselves in the lower ranges of the socio-economic and educational spectrum. What is less well understood is the high price paid in emotional and spiritual well-being of those Maori whose *whanau*, through the processes of cultural and socio-economic "adaptation" and "assimilation", have arrived at the point of *pakeha* "success".

It has been argued that perhaps the primary pre- and co-requisite for Maori to achieve academic success is extreme acculturation. While there are a number of *wahine* and *tane rongonui* who make a lie of that theory, in the case of some Maori Clinical Psychology students, the *mamae* is clearly present. Some students I know have coped by avoiding attention to their Maori heritage, or felt obliged to explain the recent historical circumstances by which they arrived at their self perceived cultural ignorance and alienation; yet others of us become rabidly political and work to bridge any gap between our *whanau/hapu/iwi* and ourselves, to learn *te reo rangatira* if we don't already speak it, and otherwise heal the wounds colonisation has wrought in our identity as Maori. Maynard Gilgen has spoken of the extra, unrecognised stress some Maori students undergo as they attempt to keep up with both their academic workload and their *whanau/hapu/iwi/community* commitments (Gilgen, 1991).

Wherever on the continuum Maori students lie, no matter how we are perceived by *pakeha* staff and fellow students in the programme, Maori students are Maori because our *whakapapa* makes it so. I find it necessary to make this point when I recall first-hand experiences of a Clinical staff member making judgement on the "Maoriness" of another Maori student, or another psychology lecturer in the department asking a student "how much Maori have you got in you?" Such comments and questions speak volumes about the misconceptions held by our *taiwi* teaching staff, about what is needed to "qualify" us as Maori.

I'll turn now from the apparently innocent remarks, attitudes and occurrences which detrimentally affect Maori Clinical students in our academic setting, to the

content and issues of our practical training. This has been unashamedly and uncompromisingly monocultural. An example of the attitude of our primary first year lecturer was the following: "Some people say that to work successfully with Maori clients you have to work with the whole whanau, but that's a load of garbage". Our arguments for a culturally adapted mode of clinical assessment and treatment were responded to by this lecturer with suggestions that if we didn't like the way things were taught in the Clinical Diploma programme, we should "go and join a Maori counselling course".

Despite such comments, and in response to the lack of input regarding non-tauwi cultural styles, the other Maori student in the class and I on one occasion role played a clinical interview with a Maori clinician and client for the class. We employed the interview format we had been taught, but introduced the following obvious differences: we kissed or hongi'd, shook hands and the "clinician" carried out whakawhanaungatanga with the "client" and her imaginary whanau members. Having established whakapapa connections, we were told by the lecturer that the clinician should disqualify herself from further contact with the case. We explained that in many cases, a link between a Maori client and clinician would go far in increasing trust and rapport. The lecturer concerned said "Interesting...". He subsequently informed me that if the model we had demonstrated was used in practice, we would fail the course. On remonstrating, I was told "This is a pakeha programme. We have a set way of doing things".

This was yet another confirmation of the mythology. We knew that a student in a senior year group had been reprimanded by Clinical staff for "wasting time" during an initial interview, by first carrying out whakawhanaungatanga with a client. Whilst viewed in isolation in terms of a fifty minute interview, the time the process of whakawhanaungatanga may take could indeed be viewed (by a pakeha clinician) as excessive. However, in comparison with the possible alternative of a stultifyingly slow establishment of rapport and trust (or with complete failure in this regard), surely even in tauwi terms, whakawhanaungatanga is time well spent.

From the mock clinical interviews we conducted in our first year class, to the experimental component in our second - the years of "placements", the mismatch between my clinical training and the way my puku tells me to behave has increased. We are taught that if a client should tangi, don't awhi, pass tissues! It feels cold, negligent. To act in a professional manner, we must "control" the aroha. Working "under the auspices" of an agency, we are compelled to confine our offer of tautoko to set appointment times.

These rules of professional behaviour undoubtedly sound reasonable to many practitioners. However there is a lack of recognition that many Maori people have a different expectation of the professional manner of a Maori practitioner from that of a pakeha practitioner in the same position. The discrepancy is hard to define. It may consist of a set of subtle behaviours such as differences in tone of voice, a glance, a smile, the way a phrase is expressed, comfort and familiarity with a cultural style. The establishment of trust and rapport with a Maori client are based on such subtleties. And the growth of these elements is dependent upon active caring, interest, follow-up: on "walking the talk".

The Maori trainees' placement supervisors have commented on that "indefinable something" which occurs when we interview our Maori clients. They call it "a connection", "a bond". Catherine Benland might call it the "S-factor - taha wairua". (Benland, 1988). One of our trainees has recounted that while she was observing her placement supervisor conducting an interview, the Maori clients replied to her. Regardless of whether such experiences are gratifying, mystifying, or embarrassing to us as trainees, we are well aware that in response to the greater trust and openness our Maori clients show us, we in turn have a greater responsibility not to betray that trust, and the expectations which underlie it. For those trainees who fully acknowledge the role that colonisation has played in



rendering them incapable of delivering their services in the culturally appropriate manner expected (if indeed that is possible), this discrepancy causes great anxiety.

A Maori trainee currently working as an intern in a public institution, relayed to me her feelings of inadequacy and fear upon being approached by Maori mental health workers there. They expressed relief that finally there was a Maori psychologist to whom they could refer their many Maori clients. The trainee, feeling that she could not fulfill their expectations, yet too whakama to tell them, avoided further such requests, and they are no longer forthcoming. She says she feels ashamed, and that the experience has increased the pressure in an already difficult year. She intends to develop her knowledge of tikanga Maori, but says "...I can't devote time to learning what I need to do to get the job done properly".

Glover (1992) has noted that working in a monocultural way with clients not belonging to that culture, is contrary to the Psychologists' Code of Ethics. Psychologists throughout Aotearoa (eg. Awatere, 1981; Durie, 1984, 1985; Abbott & Durie, 1987; Jones, 1993) have for years been publishing their recognition that things must change.

It's an outrage that in 1993, learning sensitive and appropriate ways to work with our Maori clients should still be an extracurricular activity to a Clinical Diploma course; one which those students with conscience and good-will are forced to pursue over and above their tauivi Clinical training. It's inconsistent that within the same course we are distributed such worthy articles as Abbott and Durie's (1987) "Whiter shade of pale: Taha Maori and Professional Psychology Training", while simultaneously being prohibited from attempting to develop our own clinical methodology and style. It's interesting that of six Maori students enrolled in the Diploma of Psychology (Clinical), only three (thus far) are progressing according to the prescribed route.

While this situation exists in a Clinical Diploma course, Psychology continues to act to oppress both Maori clients and those of us who hope to work with them. The cultural and professional arrogance referred to by James Ritchie in the recent NZPS Bulletin (Ritchie, 1993), are alive and well, and it is Maori who suffer.

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**Section 4:**

**Additional Papers**

# A survey of psychologists' opinions and behaviours on aspects of Maori mental health.

Richard Sawrey  
The Family Centre<sup>1</sup>

E mihi tuatahi ki te Atua runga rawa  
tena koe, tena koe, tena koe.

E mihi ki te hunga mate,  
haere nga mate ki te po oti atu,  
haere haere haere

Ka huri ahau ki te hunga ora.  
Tena koutou nga Rangatira o Aotearoa,  
nga Kuia, nga Koroua,  
nga Whaea, nga Matua, e hoa ma,  
E nga reo, e nga mana, e nga waka.  
Tena koutou tena koutou, tena tatou katoa

This piece of research has a context and a history. Firstly, during my training as a psychologist I was frustrated and disillusioned with the Western mono cultural focus of the training and, during my placements at Health and Justice institutions, the severe lack of appropriate resources put into mental health care services for Maori people. This research is a response to this concern. It is a summary of my master's thesis.

Secondly I want to thank my friends and family, and particularly my colleagues at the Family Centre for their support, advice and encouragement. They are a group of people who are committed to the provision of appropriate mental health services for Maori and Pacific Island people. A special thank you to Lorna Dyall who gave me encouragement in the initial stages, and to Tamati Cairns for his advice on the questionnaire. Thank you also to John McDowall, my supervisor, and Frank Walkey for his help with the computer and statistical analysis.

It is no news to this audience that in the majority of settings where psychologists work, particularly in State health and justice settings, Maori people are substantially over represented relative to their numbers in the general population (Durie, 1987). This situation has raised serious questions about the adequacy of both mental health services and professionals in their provision of appropriate services for Maori people. (Hui Whakaoranga, 1984; Durie, 1985).

Recommendations have been given to address these deficiencies. Te Hui Whakaoranga (1984) recommended a recruitment programme for Maori into health professions and training for health workers in Maori culture. The Committee of Inquiry into Procedures used in Psychiatric Hospitals (1988) pointed out that health professionals are rarely educated in taha Maori or the application of taha Maori to the service they provide. They stated that many current training programmes create a barrier to Maori people entering the health professions. They

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recommended that changes occur in both the in - service and basic training of health professionals.

The Standing Committee on Maori Health (1988), in its submission to the Minister of Health, issued the following challenges for achieving a bicultural health system to promote the health of Maori people:

1. *The three articles of the Treaty of Waitangi be regarded as the foundation for good health in New Zealand.*
2. *That Maori tribal authorities be regarded as the proper trustees for Maori people.*
3. *That resources be made available to those authorities to enable them to include health in their own development programmes -improvements in Maori health are likely to come about through whanau, hapu and iwi development.*
4. *That Maori health issues can only be addressed by the involvement of a greater number of Maori people in the delivery of health care and the setting of priorities.*
5. *That for Maori people the health team must have the support of the Maori community and must include both Western - trained health professionals and people trained in Maori schools of learning.*
6. *That training programmes reflect the bicultural nature of New Zealand society. If teaching institutions are unable to adequately prepare people, they should contract out to those organisations equipped to do so.*

*(N.Z. Board of Health 1988, p.1)*

With respect to the profession of psychology, at the 1989 Annual General Meeting of the New Zealand Psychological Society (NZPSS), the following remit was passed:

*That the New Zealand Psychological Society, in acknowledgment of the Treaty of Waitangi and in negotiation with Maori people, use the resources and knowledge available within it's membership and discipline to:*

- 1a) *Facilitate the training of more Maori people as psychologists;*
- 1b) *Work towards alleviating social problems affecting Maori people using methods that are empowering for Maori people;*
- 1c) *That a) and b) above should be conducted in a manner that is culturally appropriate to Maori people*
- 1d) *That society adopt a), b), and c) as a matter of priority;*
- 2a) *That Council establish a working party to advise it on implementation of the previous remit.*

*(New Zealand Psychological Society, 1989)*

In Abbott and Durie's (1987) survey of professional psychology training programmes in New Zealand it was revealed that none of the programmes had a

Maori graduate in the past two years and that they knew of only three psychologists of Maori descent who had ever completed applied postgraduate degrees or diplomas in psychology.

*Although psychology programme staff have not introduced structural changes that may be expected to encourage Maori applicants, five Maori students have been accepted during the past two years. If these students complete their training, they will boost by more than 200 per cent the number of currently practising Maori psychologists. (Abbott and Durie, 1987, p.66)*

In summary they state that "...the applied psychology disciplines are probably the most monocultural, in terms of Maori representation, of all New Zealand professions." (Abbott and Durie, 1987, p.69).

Research into the knowledge and opinions of psychologists and also their behaviour when working with Maori, is timely and appropriate given the recent calls for changes in social policy in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi. (N.Z. Department of Social Welfare, 1986). These calls have validity for the provision of health and welfare resources. Psychology, in particular, because of its domination by people of European descent and its focus on individual pathology make it open to claims of institutional racism. It is in this context that this research was instigated.

## METHOD

The questionnaire posted to psychologists consisted of 32 questions: 19 opinion questions, 5 questions relating to their experience and knowledge of Maori culture, 1 question asking respondents about their behaviour with their last Maori client, 1 question about the adequacy of their knowledge of taha Maori, and finally 6 demographic questions relating to their clinical experience and work setting.

The questionnaire and a covering letter were sent to 228 psychologists, of these 189 were on the membership list of the NZ Association of Hospital Psychologists and the remaining 39 were clinical psychologists employed by the Justice Department.

## RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Completed questionnaires were returned by 163 (71.5%) of the 228 psychologists included in the survey. The vast majority of the respondent sample's ethnic/cultural identification was European/Pakeha (96.9%), with only one person identifying as Maori (0.6%).

What I will present now is a summary of the main findings. There are some clear implications arising out of this survey for the future training and practice of clinical psychologists in New Zealand and for the provision of appropriate mental health services for Maori people.

Q.26 Do you feel you have adequate knowledge of taha Maori to work effectively with Maori clients?

	N	%
Yes	34	22.5
No	117	77.5

Q.5 A psychologist's knowledge of Maori culture is not an important factor determining good psychotherapeutic outcome when working with Maori clients.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	47	29.0}
Disagree	91	<u>56.2} 85.2%</u>
Unsure	14	8.6
Agree	7	4.3}
Strongly agree	3	<u>1.9} 6.2%</u>

Q.11 My psychological training has equipped me well to work with Maori clients.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	65	39.9}
Disagree	79	<u>48.5} 88.4%</u>
Unsure	5	3.1
Agree	13	8.0
Strongly agree	1	0.6

With respect to training, over 75% of respondent psychologists felt they had an inadequate knowledge of taha Maori (Maori culture) to work effectively with Maori clients. Alongside this result, over 85% agreed that a psychologist's knowledge of Maori culture was an important factor in determining good psychotherapeutic outcome with Maori clients. When giving their opinions on whether their psychological training had equipped them well to work with Maori clients, over 85% disagreed that it had.

Arising from these particular results, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of respondent psychologists feel that both their psychological training and knowledge of Maori culture were inadequate for effective work with Maori clients.

*Estimated percentage of Maori referrals by workplace*

Hospital	N	%
0 - 9%	62	62.6
10 - 29%	31	31.3
30% +	6	6.1
Justice	N	%
0 - 9%	1	3.2
10 - 29%	5	16.1
30% +	25	80.67

Given the over representation of Maori in both the Health and Justice institutions in which many of these psychologists work, their lack of adequate training has serious implications for the effectiveness of psychological services for Maori people. Especially significant is the finding that over 80% of respondent Justice psychologists estimated that over 30% of their caseload was Maori.

Q.17 New Zealand clinical psychologists should have compulsory courses, comprising at least 20% of their training, specifically in taha Maori (Maori culture) aspects of Maori mental health, and the practice of working with Maori clients.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	10	6.2}
Disagree	5	<u>28.0}</u> 34.2%
Unsure	8	17.4
Agree	6	37.9}
Strongly agree	7	<u>10.6}</u> 48.5%

However when the psychologists were asked for their opinion on whether New Zealand clinical psychologists should have compulsory courses, comprising 20% of their training in taha Maori (Maori culture), and related issues, less than half agreed. Perhaps respondents were of the opinion that 20% was too much time to devote to taha Maori in their training.

Q.6 Spirituality is an essential component of the psychotherapeutic process when working with Maori clients.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	3	1.9}
Disagree	15	<u>9.4}</u> 11.3%
Unsure	37	23.1
Agree	64	40.0}
Strongly agree	41	<u>25.6}</u> 65.6%



Q.14 The loss of land for Maori people is a strong factor determining their mental health.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	7	4.3}
Disagree	28	<u>17.3} 21.6%</u>
Unsure	48	29.6
Agree	59	36.4}
Strongly agree	20	<u>12.3% 48.7%</u>

Respondent psychologists opinions on questions relating to their knowledge of Maori mental health revealed significant discrepancies between their answers and writers in the area. This was most evident in the more global concepts such as the significance of spirituality and the land to Maori mental health.

The question of whether the loss of land from Maori people is a strong factor determining their mental health revealed a wide spread of opinions with 51.2% either disagreeing or unsure, indicating a lack of agreement by the respondent sample on this issue. One respondent who disagreed added the comment that "I have yet to see a land - loss related depression". Yet Durie (1984) gives a clear link between the two:

*There are many people who would say that it was a basis for health, and what we saw at the turn of the century was that millions of acres of land passed from Maori ownership into other hands. The land that was retained by Maori people underwent a change also. Whereas previously the people, iwi or hapu of the land were encouraged, after 1869, to divide it up. What we call the individualisation of land titles. What in fact the act of Parliament did was to destroy the collective identity or the basis for health, that is the Maori basis for health. (p.3)*

Q.4 The level of a client's individual assertiveness is a useful criterion for success when working with Maori clients.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	13	8.1}
Disagree	77	<u>47.8} 55.9%</u>
Unsure	53	32.9
Agree	16	9.9}
Strongly agree	2	<u>1.2} 11.1%</u>

Q.13 The level of a client's individual aspirations of independence from his/her family is a useful criterion for success when working with Maori clients.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	11	6.8}
Disagree	85	<u>52.8}</u> 59.6%
Unsure	58	36.0
Agree	6	3.7}
Strongly agree	1	<u>0.6}</u> 4.5%

Q.7 The relationship between a Maori client and his/her grandparents is often stronger than the client with his/her parents.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	0	0.0
Disagree	6	3.7
Unsure	54	33.5
Agree	83	51.6}
Strongly agree	18	<u>11.2}</u> 62.8%

The perceptions of Maori concepts of collective identity and family relationships also showed significant distortions, with approximately 40% of respondent psychologist's having discrepancies in their opinion with writers in the area. As Durie (1984) notes:

*A popular mental health concept in recent years has centred on the importance of the individual who is seen as a self - sufficient, self - motivated and self - assertive person. There has been preoccupation with the 'whole person', 'a total person', 'a person in his own right', independent of others, and free to do 'his own thing'. Good mental health has been equated with independence, directness, and severance of generational ties. It is a peculiarly Western view, which in Maori terms, is the anti - thesis of mental health. (p.8)*

Q. 18 The acknowledgment of a Maori persons dreams if they are mentioned in the course of an interview is an important factor when working with Maori clients.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	0	0.0}
Disagree	5	<u>3.1}</u> 3.1%
Unsure	37	23.3
Agree	101	63.5}
Strongly agree	16	<u>10.1}</u> 73.6%

Q.9 I would regard as dysfunctional a Maori person who insists that his grandfather appears to him and speaks to him.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	43	26.7}
Disagree	79	<u>49.1</u> } 75.8%
Unsure	33	20.5
Agree	5	3.1}
Strongly agree	1	<u>0.6</u> } 3.7%

Q.22 Have you been to a tangihanga (Maori ceremony of mourning the dead)?

No. of times	N	%
0	118	74.7
1-9	36	22.8}
10+	4	<u>2.5</u> } 25.3%

When opinions on specific behaviours such as dreams and visions were asked significant numbers of respondent psychologists answered in agreement to writers in the area. The section on contact with Maori generally revealed a lack of significant contacts with Maori, with over 70% of respondents having never been to a tangihanga (Maori ceremony of mourning the dead), considered a central ceremony of the Maori culture. Overall these results are further confirmation of psychologists' own opinions on their inadequate knowledge of taha Maori to work effectively with Maori clients.

Q.16 The Treaty of Waitangi should be the basis for the provision of health services for Maori people in New Zealand.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	9	5.7}
Disagree	30	<u>18.9</u> } 24.6%
Unsure	64	40.3
Agree	42	26.4}
Strongly agree	14	<u>8.8</u> } 35.2%

Q.8 The relationship of taha Maori (Maori culture) to European health models must be realigned to accommodate a policy of equitable representation and distribution of power at all policy making levels.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	2	1.3}
Disagree	10	<u>6.3</u> } 7.6%
Unsure	38	24.1
Agree	84	53.2}
Strongly agree	24	<u>15.2</u> } 68.4%

Q.19 All mental health teams that have Maori clientele should have a Maori consultant or Kaumatua (Maori elder) overseeing work with Maori people.

	N	%
Strongly disagree	1	0.6}
Disagree	21	<u>13.2}</u> 13.8%
Unsure	24	15.1
Agree	79	49.7}
Strongly agree	34	<u>21.4}</u> 71.1%

The section on structural issues has particular implications for the restructuring of health services in order for them to work more effectively and fairly for Maori people. It was significant that the question on the importance of The Treaty of Waitangi to the provision of health services for Maori people revealed such a wide spread of opinions. Both the Health and Justice Departments have given their clear endorsements of The Treaty as a foundation of their policy. These Departments have gone further to translate The Treaty into a number of working guidelines about the appropriate training, skills and staff required in their attempts to deal effectively with the issue. (Department of Justice, 1989; Department of Health, Circular Memo 1986/70). The wide spread of opinion to the question on the significance of The Treaty of Waitangi is a clear indication that these policy guidelines are not yet effected at the work place where psychological services impact with Maori people.

Although a global question such as the question on The Treaty of Waitangi gave a wide spread of opinions, when clear policy guidelines were given respondent psychologists were more positive in their responses. For example, the vast majority thought that there should be equitable representation and distribution of power at all policy making levels and that all mental health teams that have Maori clientele should have a Maori consultant or Kaumatua (Maori elder) overseeing work with Maori people.

For these structural issues where both Health and Justice Departments have indicated some level of commitment, it is important to note that the chi - square analyses revealed similar levels of agreement by both Justice and Health psychologists to these questions.

*Psychologists' behaviour with their last Maori client.*

The final section on respondent psychologists' clinical practice with Maori clients revealed some interesting results. Over 80% of respondents did not greet their last client in Maori, yet over 70% had the knowledge to do so. It appears that psychologists are cautious about using the little language they do know. There are implications therefore, not just in the particular knowledge a psychologist has, but also in the appropriate use of this knowledge for them in their work.

Q.25. The last Maori client I worked with:

	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
(a) I greeted them in Maori	28	18.2	126	81.8
(b) I referred them to a Maori elder, Tohunga or Maori minister.	29	19.1	123	80.9
(c) I worked on the case together with a Maori consultant.	46	30.5	105	69.5
# If yes, was the Maori consultant the case manager?	11	25.0	33	75.0
(d) I asked where the client and the family were from.	130	85.0	23	15.0
(e) I determined extended family connections and relationships.	98	64.5	54	35.5
(f) I discussed the case with Maori health workers.	63	42.0	87	58.0
(g) I referred them to a Maori health worker.	35	23.2	116	76.8
(h) I determined their tribal affiliation.	83	54.2	70	45.8

Q.20 Do you speak Maori Language?

	N	%
Not at all	41	25.3
Simple greetings	106	65.4}
Moderate knowledge	15	<u>9.3</u> } 74.7%
Fluent speaker	0	0

In summary, the results give further support to the concerns about the serious inadequacy of appropriate psychological services for Maori people. Respondent psychologists felt inadequate and poorly trained to work with Maori clients, who in many instances are grossly over represented in their client workload. They, however, support some structural changes when clear policy guidelines are given.

The study also gives support to the calls for structural change so that adequate and appropriate mental health services can become a reality for Maori people. In terms of further research, there is clearly a need for collaborative research with Maori people and communities. Such collaboration involves Maori participation in setting research topics, the research itself, and the ongoing use of the results.

No reira tena koutou, tena koutou, kia ora tatou katoa

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# **The New Zealand Psychological Society and the Treaty of Waitangi: Proposed Implementation Plan**

**Prepared by the National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues  
for the Executive of the New Zealand Psychological Society.<sup>1</sup>**

*Rule 3. In giving effect to the objects for which the Society is established the Society shall encourage policies and practices that reflect New Zealand's cultural diversity and shall, in particular, have due regard to the provisions of, and to the spirit and intent of, the Treaty of Waitangi. (Constitution of the New Zealand Psychological Society, 1993)*

In August 1993, the National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI) was asked to prepare an implementation plan for the above Rule 3 for presentation to the Council of the New Zealand Psychological Society. This paper proposes a number of strategies whereby the Society might move towards attaining the goals of Rule 3. This paper has been prepared as a 'proposed plan' as the NSCBI believes that ongoing discussion and consultation is necessary to confirm specific directions proposed. In particular, the committee would like to gain feedback from Maori who attend the Hui for Maori in Psychology in February 1995, and from the Society membership generally.

## **Introduction:**

The Treaty of Waitangi was the result of a process initiated by the Crown - an attempt to negotiate a relationship with the Tangata Whenua of Aotearoa. Although widely debated, the essential agreement that the parties to the Treaty agreed to is well summarised by Mason Durie<sup>2</sup>:

- a) *The Treaty would provide for the lawful and orderly settlement of British immigrants within Aotearoa [Article I].*
- b) *The different roles of the office of government and that of iwi rangatiratanga, with respect to their possessions, properties and nga taonga katoa would be guaranteed and respected. However, iwi rangatira granted to the Crown the right to buy, barter, exchange or sell land that the owner agreed to for a payment settled between the seller and the Queen's agent. [Article II]*
- c) *That additional rights, as British subjects, would be extended to Maori. [Article III]*

Time has demonstrated that the Crown has not upheld those terms agreed to in the relationship negotiated through the Treaty of Waitangi. The context that we now live in unfairly demands that Maori negotiate a relationship with a dominant majority and their Government. This is a far cry from the position in 1840 and is heard above injustices that have had a compounded effect on the position of Maori. Maori did not agree to a relationship of such an oppressive nature - and neither

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<sup>1</sup> Comments about this paper can be sent to Linda Waimarie Nikora, Psychology Department, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton.

<sup>2</sup> Durie, M. (1989). The Treaty of Waitangi perspectives for social policy. In I. H. Kawharu. (Ed.). Waitangi: Maori and Pakeha perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi. Auckland: Oxford University Press. pp 280-299.

should they be expected to continue to seek out an existence in a society that continues to assert such a relationship. The Treaty of Waitangi in its original form negotiated a relationship that allowed for diversity, yet maintained the self-respect and self-determination of all people present and yet to arrive in Aotearoa.

### **The Challenge for Psychological Agencies in Aotearoa:**

The statistically and psychologically defined position of Maori in Aotearoa is appalling and is undoubtedly the result of past and ongoing colonial processes. In realising a fulfilment of Rule 3, the New Zealand Psychological Society and its members are taking up the challenge to seek to address the psychological position of and relationship between peoples in Aotearoa within a pro-Treaty framework.

Since 1840, the direction of the relationship negotiated by the Crown with Maori has been reversed. Maori are now required to negotiate their relationship with the dominant majority and its Government, not the other way around. The same could be said of other immigrant peoples to Aotearoa where the position and identity that they negotiate is with the dominant majority and its Government, not Maori. If we are to get this right, then the New Zealand Psychological Society and its members must move to a clearly negotiated relationship with Maori at a professional, organisational and personal level. If the relationship intended is not of benefit to the self-determination of Maori, a colonial relationship will continue to exist.

Prior to renegotiating a relationship with Maori, the New Zealand Psychological Society must recognise that the position that it occupies is one of power and privilege. As a national 'professional' organisation, the Society has for example, the power to influence; act on; discipline; accredit; disseminate information; exclude; include and ignore. Its members, in their professional roles, have a similar capacity. If the Society and its members fail to recognise and acknowledge this position, then to seek a relationship with Maori will only result in further pain, confusion and conflict.

The next section of this paper outlines nine guiding principles based on those Treaty principles defined by the Waitangi Tribunal and the Court of Appeal. The writers of this paper believe that the New Zealand Psychological Society needs to adopt these guiding principles in order to move in an organised fashion towards genuinely fulfilling the terms of Rule 3. The principles are worded in such a way as to apply directly to the Society and its members, and might easily apply to other Psychological Agencies that have Kawanatanga responsibilities (e.g., University Psychology Departments; College of Clinical Psychologists; Psychologists' Board; various Government Department Psychological Services).

Before outlining the principles, it should be understood that the Society evolved and was constituted according to criteria established by the 'Crown' and as such, signifies that it derives authority for its existence from the 'Crown' partner, rather than the Maori partner. In Treaty terms, the following principles relate primarily to the Society's role as a "Kawanatanga" organisation, being charged with responsibilities of governance for "...good order and security of [members] ...but subject to an undertaking to protect particular Maori interests."<sup>1</sup>

The Treaty can be viewed as a basic human rights document for all people living in Aotearoa. However, given the injustices and positions of disadvantage put upon Maori, it is often necessary to spell out specific Maori rights. Indeed, if the reverse were true, then we would be spelling out non-Maori rights. In this case,

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<sup>1</sup> Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi as defined by the Waitangi Tribunal (1983-1988). In the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment. (1988). Environmental Management and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Wellington. p. 104.



those rights relating to Maori will be made explicit within the principles described below.

## **Principles of Action**

### **Kawanatanga and Active Protection:**

1. Maori have the right to protection. The ability to protect Maori interests rests with those that have the power to do so. The Society, collectively and individually, must seek to avoid disadvantaging or threatening Maori and their interests, through ignorance, action or inaction [Article II].
2. The Society has the power to influence processes affecting the position of Maori within and outside of the organisation. Whoever is not an active part of the solution continues to be part of the problem [Articles II & III].
3. Principles of action and current obligations will change with time, emphasising the need for monitoring, evaluation and review. The Society must develop processes to review whatever Treaty principles, policies and recommendations that it implements in order to remain consistent with the needs and aspirations for whom such policies and practices were designed [Implicit].

### **Partnership:**

4. Maori have the right to share in all aspects and privileges of New Zealand society. If the Society and its individual members are to meet its Treaty obligations, then it must negotiate and maintain a principle of partnership that must be exercised in the utmost good faith [Articles II & III].
5. Dependence is not a desirable state. Any processes entered into for the benefit of Maori people must in the long term ensure that Maori reach a position of empowerment and self-determination [Articles II & III].
6. Maori people have the right of choice to act either under Article II or Article III, that is under Maori protocol or generally under citizen rights [Articles II & III].

### **Tino Rangatiratanga:**

7. It is imperative that the Society recognise Tino Rangatiratanga. The Society must organise to work to contribute to reaching the goals of Iwi [Article II].
8. Early consultation concerning any matters of proposed actions where Treaty considerations might apply is imperative to the efficient organisation and action of the Society, its members, clients and Iwi. All parties should adhere to this principle [Implicit & Article II].
9. The management of Maori psychological conditions shall be according to Maori cultural preferences and in terms of Tino Rangatiratanga [Article II].

## **Suggested recommendations to be actioned by the New Zealand Psychological Society**

Given that there is general agreement expressed in favour of the above principles of action, the following steps are suggested as initial actions for the Society. It is stressed that the involvement of Maori, or at the very least, feedback from Maori, is essential in implementing these initial actions. This list should not be seen as exhaustive, these steps are provided as a starting point only. With the suggested inclusion of two Maori members on the Executive of the Society, the formation of a Maori and Psychology Division, and indeed the on-going work of the NSCBI, it is anticipated that more specific recommendations and advice on practical issues will be forthcoming. Initially, the NSCBI might serve to provide feedback about implementation, but should not be the sole source.

- 1. That the Society move towards establishing a collaborative relationship based on partnership with Maori by:**
  - a) In the first instance, ensuring that at least two Maori members of the Society (or people nominated by the National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues) are included in the constitution of the governing body(ies) of the Society. When and if the Maori membership of the Society increases, the nominations of Maori representatives would come from the Maori and Psychology Division.
  - b) Seeking to support the establishment of a Maori and Psychology Division of the Society.
  - c) Seeking to increase the number of Maori psychologists through approaching Government Ministries and other service providers who employ psychologists, with view to establishing a fund to support scholarship(s) for student(s) of Maori descent engaged in training that contributes to registration as a Psychologist.
  - d) Encouraging, supporting and resourcing the directions and initiatives made by Maori within its membership.
  - e) Forging links with Iwi, and Maori national and local community groups with a view to contributing collaboratively to meeting the psychological goals of Maori development.
  - f) Recognising, respecting and acting according to the knowledge that other professional bodies are structured and implement a pro-Treaty partnership within their activities (eg., New Zealand Association of Counsellors; New Zealand Association of Social Workers; Special Education Services).
  
- 2. That the Society develop accreditation standards and procedures that are culturally appropriate and safe for Maori, by:**
  - a) Encouraging psychological training programmes to develop culturally compatible content and to employ culturally safe teaching and assessment practices for Maori students.

- b) Encouraging all members to seek feedback from students, clients, colleagues, and appropriate organisations, on the cultural appropriateness and safety of their practice, and review their practice accordingly.
- c) Reviewing all aspects of it's Code of Ethics to ensure that a culturally appropriate and safe standard of practice is established.
- d) Monitoring, and when necessary, advocating changes to Acts or policies governing psychological registration, training and practice to ensure that a culturally appropriate and safe standard of practice is established and maintained.

**3. That the Society define a period (e.g., decade) for the urgent development of psychological theory, research, teaching and practice that is specifically useful and relevant to Iwi and Maori community development, by:**

- a) Encouraging members to contribute their research skills and resources to collaborative research ventures managed by Iwi or Maori national and local community groups. This would require notification to Iwi or Maori national and local community groups of preparedness to work in this fashion.
- b) Ensuring that a forum (not necessarily at Conference) is provided on at least a 5 year basis for Maori to review progress, discuss, prioritise and voice to the Society, those psychological issues of concern to Maori development.
- c) Encouraging members to initiate research on the training, practice and behaviour of psychologists to determine how they might develop professional behaviour and structures that best complement Maori development.
- d) Ensuring that at least for the next five years, that there is the opportunity and organisation of forum(s) at the Annual Conference of the Society, for the discussion of psychological research, teaching, theory and/or issues of interest to Maori development.
- e) Establishing a publication principle whereby at least one publication of the Society (eg., The Bulletin) includes at least one contribution per year that explicitly reports or comments on psychological research, theory, practice or issues of relevance to Maori development.

**4. That the Society undertake regular reviews to determine progress made towards the implementation of Rule 3 in all aspects of Society activities by:**

- a) Monitoring and receiving feedback on the implementation of Rule 3 on a yearly basis by asking committees, divisions and branches of the Society to provide a brief report of those activities engaged in that meet with those recommendations made above.

- b) Conducting, after a period of 5 years, a full evaluation of the Society's effectiveness in implementing Rule 3, that also provides recommendations for further action.

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