Indigenous Psychology in Aotearoa: Realising Māori Aspirations

A thesis
submitted for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Waikato
Michelle Levy
2007

Abstract

Indigenous psychology in Aotearoa positions the aspirations of Māori as central. The aim of this thesis is to describe and contribute to the development of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit for Māori communities. Part One sets the scene in Aotearoa, examining the relationship between Māori development and psychology. Part Two explores the indigenous psychology literature base, identifying strategies which may be relevant to Aotearoa. The key themes of context, critical mass, and mechanisms to support indigenous psychology development are identified as being relevant to Aotearoa. Part Three explores indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa. Data from a range of sources is qualitatively analysed to develop five themes which describe the current status of Māori development in psychology, the importance of the critical mass and the notion of collective responsibility. Part Four, drawing from the analysis in Parts One, Two and Three, identifies 'reaching the point of irreversible change' as the next phase of indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa. This is the point at which indigenous psychology development becomes self-sustaining.

The point at which irreversible change occurs is when: Māori knowledge bases are a legitimate part of psychology in Aotearoa; resistance to the legitimacy of Māori knowledge bases in psychology is not a characteristic of our landscape; environments supportive of indigenous psychology development are commonplace; and responsibility for contributing to indigenous psychology development is shared among and sustained by the collective capacity of the Leaders and Producers. Consolidation, the process by which multiple and interrelated pathways are connected to form a unified whole, is fundamental to reaching the point of irreversible change. An original interactional framework for consolidation is proposed. This framework is based on two key consolidating mechanisms: a working description of Kaupapa Māori Psychologies; and a Kaupapa Māori Psychologies Research and Training Centre. Psychologies relevant and of benefit to Māori communities which contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations are the cornerstones, with all elements of the framework leading back into this fundamental foundation.

Acknowledgements

Completing a thesis is never a solo exercise. There are many people who have made it possible for me to complete this work, and to whom I am very grateful. It is difficult to encapsulate the contributions of all those who have assisted me along the way; they have been so varied but each essential. While your contributions have been different, you have all been united by a common element – your patience and faith in me. To all of you, my heartfelt thanks.

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Prologue

> Time passed and Tāne became unhappy with the cold and dark state of the world. He journeyed to the eldest of the brothers, Uru-te-ngāngana, and asked for help. Uru's children were the light family. He gave Tāne his eldest child, Rā the sun, his daughter, Hine-marama, the moon, and the myriad of sparkling stars. Tāne gave a younger brother, Tama-rereti, the task of hanging the light family up. Tama-rereti placed the shining ones in the canoe, Uruao, and set sail across the face of the sky. He assigned the huge blazing sun to the head of Rangi, so that his light and heat could be seen and felt by all. The glowing moon he placed at Rangi's stomach, while the small glistening stars he sprinkled about, forming the shape of a majestic fish named Te Ikaroa – the Milky Way. Each star was given its own special path and in time they would lead the descendants of man on voyages across land and ocean. The world was bathed in the light of hope and understanding. (Winiata, 2001, p. 24)

Our history as Māori is filled with explorations, exploits and journeys. Journeys from the darkness to light; the search for knowledge; the struggle between generations; the search for fire; the search for immortality; the search to slow the sun; the journeys across the ocean in search of great challenges and pursuits. All help better explain and understand human existence and human nature, the environment and the foundation of Māori cultural worldviews. Some clearly allude to scientific knowledge which Western science has discovered only relatively recently (Reed, 2004).

There are the journeys to Aotearoa from far across Te-Moananui-a-Kiwa - the great ocean of Kiwa (Reed, 2004). Combining knowledge of physical and spiritual realms, these voyages resulted in intentional arrival on the shores of Aotearoa. Voyaging was more than basic sailing. Knowledge of the stars and their passage across the heavens were the core of our navigation systems (Evans, 1998; Lewis, 1994; Walker, 1990). Stars were more than just lights in the sky. Understanding how they illuminated pathways forward entailed understanding their origins, personalities and exploits. Only by understanding celestial systems in their totality could a complete picture of why and how the stars behave truly emerge.

Celestial wisdom is complemented by the signposts of nature (Evans, 1998; Lewis, 1994; Walker, 1990). When the stars could not be seen, intimate understanding of

ocean swells and waves pointed the way forward. Birds migrating to and from their land base for feeding guided waka. The movement of the clouds signified land or weather patterns (Evans, 1998; Lewis, 1994; Walker, 1990). Evans (1998) says

> An experienced navigator was able to read the moods and signs of the sea and sky through patience and constant vigilance. They looked at the ocean surface as we might look at a road map. Signs were there for anyone sufficiently trained to see (p. 15).

The secret of the successful navigator was co-existence with the environment. Navigators were not merely in tune with their environment, they were part of it (Lewis, 1994).

> They conceived of their art as a unity, the sum of input from sources such as stars, swells and birds being processed through thorough training and practice into a confident awareness of precisely where they were at any one time, where they were going and how best to get there. The Pacific navigators did not so much analyse their data as use them as pointers which they subtly synthesised (Lewis, 1994, p. 48).

While European voyagers were still hugging the coastlines, Polynesian peoples had already sailed half way across the vast Pacific Ocean on voyages of discovery, our capacity to navigate the wide reaches of the ocean well established (Evans, 1998). For many years, some Western scholars have argued that Polynesian colonisation of the Pacific was accidental, occurring through 'drift-voyaging' (Sharp, 1956). Oral tradition tells another story, where for hundreds of years we have recited the voyaging adventures of our ancestors (Kerr, cited in Evans, 1997). Careful studies of navigation techniques, computer simulations of voyages, linguistic studies, DNA markers and archaeological findings also tell another story. Our journeys to and from Aotearoa were voyages of deliberate discovery (Durie, 2005a; Evans, 1998; King, 2003; Lewis, 1994).

> We were once a voyaging people. Eventually we will all make that final journey across the vast ocean to Hawaiki-nui. In the meantime we can still voyage with our ancestors through their stories and we can continue on personal voyages of discovery as we trace the lost traditions and stories of those waka who remain with us in name only (Kerr, cited in Evans, 1997, p. 8).

My Journey

Ko Taupiri te maunga
Ko Waikato te awa
Ko Ngāti Mahuta te iwi.
Waikato taniwha rau. He piko he taniwha, he piko he taniwha

This thesis sets out to describe a journey of where Māori in psychology have been and where we want to go in the future. Understanding my thesis topic and my approach to it requires an insight into my own journey in the discipline of psychology. When I came to the University of Waikato in 1992, it was my second start at university, having quickly retreated from my first attempt at tertiary study some two years earlier. I had an interest in studying psychology, with community psychology perspectives fitting best with my own views regarding the importance of the cultural, ecological, and contextual. I took my learning at university seriously. I felt privileged to have the opportunity as, after my first false start, I had felt that university was not a place in which I could belong. With that uppermost in my mind, I started my own journey of learning in this institution.

Probably the most defining characteristic of studying in the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato, was the presence of lecturer Linda Nikora. As she was for many other students, Linda was to become my mentor and guide. In some ways this was simply via her visibility, promoting the most basic yet critical message that there was a place for Māori within the discipline of psychology. Without this message I certainly would have been questioning whether psychology was the right place for me. Reinforcing this message alongside Linda were Māori graduate students, such as Kerry Lawson-Te Aho, Mahalia Paewai and Keriata Paterson. There are two experiences which are relevant to the story I wish to tell in my thesis.

The first occurred in 1992. This was the first year that Kaupapa Māori tutorials were being offered in the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato. There was a strong reaction to the introduction of these, and I recall the consequences we as Māori

students faced. These included: accusations of cheating; that we were given the answers to tests; that Kaupapa Māori tutorials were unfair and discriminatory; and demands that all students be allowed to attend. Of these, perhaps the most damaging was the accusation of cheating, reflecting not just on me as an individual but on the potential achievements of all Māori psychology students, past, present and future. Nevertheless, we were largely undeterred, recognising the value of the opportunity presented by Kaupapa Māori tutorials.

Undergraduate studies in psychology seemed to me primarily a matter of just 'getting on with it'. There was much material which seemed to lack relevance or importance, but it was the end goal which mattered, and time could not be spent questioning the relevance (or not) of the material being taught (or not taught). However, we were also fortunate in that, unlike the majority of other universities, we did have exposure to Māori-focused material in undergraduate courses via the presence of people like Linda Nikora and Professor James Ritchie.

The second experience was in my 4th year as I embarked on the scary journey of graduate study. That year I was one of only two Māori students in the department embarking on this pathway. That other student was Bridgette Masters and we were to keep each other company for the next two years. Our entry to graduate study was facilitated by Linda's unique mix of encouragement, persuasion and direction. Some years later, Bridgette and I would again keep each other company within this institution

The contrast between undergraduate and graduate level study was stark, the most obvious difference being that the visible Māori student presence of our undergraduate days had disappeared. For Bridgette and myself, Linda's assistance in navigating us through the intricacies of graduate study was particularly important. Through her guidance and direction we were, in our graduate study coursework, able to begin to explore how psychology as a discipline could be used to benefit our aspirations as Māori. An important point in this journey was the evaluation of Kaupapa Māori in the Psychology Department which Bridgette and I undertook. Completed as part of a graduate course, the evaluation served to demonstrate to us how the tools of psychology

could assist in the search for change. This evaluation was in later years to act as a catalyst for the establishment of the Māori and Psychology Research Unit within the Department. The opportunity to take a graduate course specifically focused on Māori development in psychology was another important step. As in undergraduate studies, Linda's visibility and assistance relayed the message that there was a place for Māori within graduate study in psychology. Without this, I would certainly have questioned the fit between psychology, myself and issues of relevance to Māori.

I left Waikato University in 1997 to work in Wellington, experiencing the demands of working in a central government agency. Unbeknown to me at that time I was soon to return, in 2000 taking up an Assistant Lecturer (Kaupapa Māori) position in the Department of Psychology.

When I was approached to consider the Assistant Lecturer position, I knew that I had to seriously consider it. This was not because I craved a career in the academic world. Nor would it boost my bank balance. It was because I knew that I had an obligation to return to repay my debt. Not a monetary debt, but a human debt based on cultural obligations. Because I had gained immensely from the work of Linda and others during my time as a student, I knew I had an obligation to contribute what I could to the aspirations of future Māori students and to the wider aspirations of Māori via psychology. The importance of Māori staff to mentor, supervise, guide or simply be visible was still salient in my mind. Although the obligation was mine, it was not simply a personal obligation. It was an obligation which existed within a broader cultural context.

That brought a change of course in my journey and I joined Linda Nikora and Averil Herbert (who had occupied a lecturer position responsible for developing Kaupapa Māori within the clinical psychology programme since 1996) as an academic staff member. Over the next three years the Māori staff group was further increased, with Moana Waitoki, Bridgette Masters and Mohi Rua taking up academic positions within the Department. For me, with the growth of our staff collective came the rare opportunity to form a tangible Māori presence within the Department.

Where I once wrestled with the issues as a Māori student, I was for the next five years to tackle many of the same issues, yet this time in a different role, with different responsibilities and some limited power to make some change. Like my experiences in my first year of study, I continued to see and face resistance, subtle and overt, from both staff and students to our agenda of Māori self determination in psychology. Many times I have felt a sense of reinvention as we worked to address issues raised long before, in another setting or context. In spite of the feeling of 'two steps forward and three steps back', and at times wanting to leave the discipline to its own devices, I have always been reenergised by the Māori students of psychology with whom I worked, energised by their commitment, drive and sacrifices as they grappled with the issues which face us as Māori in psychology.

In addition to my roles as a Māori academic and student, and I have been a member of the Executive of the New Zealand Psychological Society (NZPsS), and an active member of the NZPsS National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI). Each of these roles has had a strong focus on Māori workforce development within psychology. Together they placed me in a unique position with multiple perspectives to consider the journey we as Māori have and continue to be on within psychology. I am a participant observer, with my multiple entry points serving to strengthen my understanding and analysis of our journey.

While these multiple entry points enhance the validity of what is offered in this thesis, it is also important to be aware that this thesis does not claim to be an objective and neutral account of that journey. That my starting point resides in the aspirations of Māori, as opposed to the aspirations of psychology as they may relate to Māori, makes explicit the position in which this thesis is grounded.

I am aware that the above statement may result in a certain vulnerability to challenge. Some may perceive it as positioning me from the outset in opposition to the discipline of psychology which considers objectivity and neutrality essential tenets of an evidence based scientific discipline. Graham Smith (1996) is helpful in articulating how this

apparent contradiction can be resolved, utilising a critical theory position which challenges the social constructedness of truth and what is considered as fact. This view recognises that most research contains the biases and prejudice of the authors, with the challenge being for the reader to read and interpret work critically (Smith, 1996).

The opportunity to undertake a thesis is a privilege. It is a privilege because it has provided me with an opportunity not available to many. That is, to step back and consider our journey in its totality and to offer a contribution based an informed analysis of what has been and what is to come. Such opportunities are rare and the decision to take this path, in the face of more pressing and immediate responsibilities, is not made lightly. Conceptualising the opportunity to undertake this thesis as a privilege means that meeting my obligation to ensure we as Māori benefit from my small contribution must be the prime aim of this thesis.

Uppermost in my mind is the acute need to ensure that this thesis contributes to the aspirations of Māori. This means there are multiple audiences, both inside and outside of academia, to address. However, there are also tensions in this. Smith (1996) encapsulates this precarious position well, identifying that the writing of an academic thesis is driven by the need to respond to two discrete audiences, both of whom will judge the work presented. In relation to psychology there is, on the one hand, the primarily non-Māori academic and professional audience who have the power of credentialing, and, on the other hand, the Māori community of interest (also including academics) who have the power of excommunication (Smith, 1996).

Although I understood and could articulate that undertaking this thesis represented an opportunity and a privilege, this did not lessen the disquiet I felt as I moved through this process. The academic objective to produce ‘new’ knowledge sat uneasily with me. Assisting me to understand this sense of unease was Dr Catherine Love (2004) who refers to the views of Dr Rangimārie Rose Pere. Dr Pere considered that knowledge came not from within a person, but through them as a gift (Love, 2004). This view fits with how I conceptualise my role in presenting this thesis. Love (2004) also highlighted the differences between Māori attitudes to knowledge and those attitudes

favoured by academia. In the academic world, knowledge is claimed, cited, redeveloped and remodeled, with a tendency to lay claim to truth by disproving alternative narratives (Love, 2004). However, from a Māori worldview knowledge is widely viewed as a taonga, with spiritual and temporal origins. Guarded, protected, and handed on to those who can be entrusted with its preservation and wise use, the sharing of knowledge is an act of generosity (Love, 2004).

These ideas fitted with my own views about the construction of new knowledge and the task I was attempting in this thesis. Through the opportunity to undertake a thesis, I was able to develop an analysis of our journey which was built on and informed by many different people and perspectives. In this sense the 'new' knowledge offered cannot be claimed as solely 'mine', but represents a combination of the literature, data, analysis, ideas, thoughts, and conversations that I have absorbed along the way.

The knowledge offered in this thesis has been developed as a result of my involvement over the past 15 years in the 'community of interest' (Smith, 1996), in this case, Māori psychologists and Māori students of psychology. I have been able to engage in a process of reflective analysis of the multiple issues which have occurred over the years, and the actions taken to address them. The points made by Love (2004) and Smith (1996) helped me to understand that what is new in this thesis is the opportunity to add another element to our existing understandings.

This work is a small contribution which builds on and honours the wisdom, knowledge and dedication of those who have gone before me. It is for all those who will come after me to continue the journey.

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The point at which irreversible change occurs is when: Māori knowledge bases are a legitimate part of psychology in Aotearoa; resistance to the legitimacy of Māori knowledge bases in psychology is not a characteristic of our landscape; environments supportive of indigenous psychology development are commonplace; and responsibility for contributing to indigenous psychology development is shared among and sustained by the collective capacity of the Leaders and Producers. Consolidation, the process by which multiple and interrelated pathways are connected to form a unified whole, is fundamental to reaching the point of irreversible change. An original interactional framework for consolidation is proposed. This framework is based on two key consolidating mechanisms: a working description of Kaupapa Māori Psychologies; and a Kaupapa Māori Psychologies Research and Training Centre. Psychologies relevant and of benefit to Māori communities which contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations are the cornerstones, with all elements of the framework leading back into this fundamental foundation.

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There are the journeys to Aotearoa from far across Te-Moananui-a-Kiwa - the great ocean of Kiwa (Reed, 2004). Combining knowledge of physical and spiritual realms, these voyages resulted in intentional arrival on the shores of Aotearoa. Voyaging was more than basic sailing. Knowledge of the stars and their passage across the heavens were the core of our navigation systems (Evans, 1998; Lewis, 1994; Walker, 1990). Stars were more than just lights in the sky. Understanding how they illuminated pathways forward entailed understanding their origins, personalities and exploits. Only by understanding celestial systems in their totality could a complete picture of why and how the stars behave truly emerge.

Celestial wisdom is complemented by the signposts of nature (Evans, 1998; Lewis, 1994; Walker, 1990). When the stars could not be seen, intimate understanding of

ocean swells and waves pointed the way forward. Birds migrating to and from their land base for feeding guided waka. The movement of the clouds signified land or weather patterns (Evans, 1998; Lewis, 1994; Walker, 1990). Evans (1998) says

> An experienced navigator was able to read the moods and signs of the sea and sky through patience and constant vigilance. They looked at the ocean surface as we might look at a road map. Signs were there for anyone sufficiently trained to see (p. 15).

The secret of the successful navigator was co-existence with the environment. Navigators were not merely in tune with their environment, they were part of it (Lewis, 1994).

> They conceived of their art as a unity, the sum of input from sources such as stars, swells and birds being processed through thorough training and practice into a confident awareness of precisely where they were at any one time, where they were going and how best to get there. The Pacific navigators did not so much analyse their data as use them as pointers which they subtly synthesised (Lewis, 1994, p. 48).

While European voyagers were still hugging the coastlines, Polynesian peoples had already sailed half way across the vast Pacific Ocean on voyages of discovery, our capacity to navigate the wide reaches of the ocean well established (Evans, 1998). For many years, some Western scholars have argued that Polynesian colonisation of the Pacific was accidental, occurring through 'drift-voyaging' (Sharp, 1956). Oral tradition tells another story, where for hundreds of years we have recited the voyaging adventures of our ancestors (Kerr, cited in Evans, 1997). Careful studies of navigation techniques, computer simulations of voyages, linguistic studies, DNA markers and archaeological findings also tell another story. Our journeys to and from Aotearoa were voyages of deliberate discovery (Durie, 2005a; Evans, 1998; King, 2003; Lewis, 1994).

> We were once a voyaging people. Eventually we will all make that final journey across the vast ocean to Hawaiki-nui. In the meantime we can still voyage with our ancestors through their stories and we can continue on personal voyages of discovery as we trace the lost traditions and stories of those waka who remain with us in name only (Kerr, cited in Evans, 1997, p. 8).

My Journey

Ko Taupiri te maunga
Ko Waikato te awa
Ko Ngāti Mahuta te iwi.
Waikato taniwha rau. He piko he taniwha, he piko he taniwha

This thesis sets out to describe a journey of where Māori in psychology have been and where we want to go in the future. Understanding my thesis topic and my approach to it requires an insight into my own journey in the discipline of psychology. When I came to the University of Waikato in 1992, it was my second start at university, having quickly retreated from my first attempt at tertiary study some two years earlier. I had an interest in studying psychology, with community psychology perspectives fitting best with my own views regarding the importance of the cultural, ecological, and contextual. I took my learning at university seriously. I felt privileged to have the opportunity as, after my first false start, I had felt that university was not a place in which I could belong. With that uppermost in my mind, I started my own journey of learning in this institution.

Probably the most defining characteristic of studying in the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato, was the presence of lecturer Linda Nikora. As she was for many other students, Linda was to become my mentor and guide. In some ways this was simply via her visibility, promoting the most basic yet critical message that there was a place for Māori within the discipline of psychology. Without this message I certainly would have been questioning whether psychology was the right place for me. Reinforcing this message alongside Linda were Māori graduate students, such as Kerry Lawson-Te Aho, Mahalia Paewai and Keriata Paterson. There are two experiences which are relevant to the story I wish to tell in my thesis.

The first occurred in 1992. This was the first year that Kaupapa Māori tutorials were being offered in the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato. There was a strong reaction to the introduction of these, and I recall the consequences we as Māori

students faced. These included: accusations of cheating; that we were given the answers to tests; that Kaupapa Māori tutorials were unfair and discriminatory; and demands that all students be allowed to attend. Of these, perhaps the most damaging was the accusation of cheating, reflecting not just on me as an individual but on the potential achievements of all Māori psychology students, past, present and future. Nevertheless, we were largely undeterred, recognising the value of the opportunity presented by Kaupapa Māori tutorials.

Undergraduate studies in psychology seemed to me primarily a matter of just 'getting on with it'. There was much material which seemed to lack relevance or importance, but it was the end goal which mattered, and time could not be spent questioning the relevance (or not) of the material being taught (or not taught). However, we were also fortunate in that, unlike the majority of other universities, we did have exposure to Māori-focused material in undergraduate courses via the presence of people like Linda Nikora and Professor James Ritchie.

The second experience was in my 4th year as I embarked on the scary journey of graduate study. That year I was one of only two Māori students in the department embarking on this pathway. That other student was Bridgette Masters and we were to keep each other company for the next two years. Our entry to graduate study was facilitated by Linda's unique mix of encouragement, persuasion and direction. Some years later, Bridgette and I would again keep each other company within this institution

The contrast between undergraduate and graduate level study was stark, the most obvious difference being that the visible Māori student presence of our undergraduate days had disappeared. For Bridgette and myself, Linda's assistance in navigating us through the intricacies of graduate study was particularly important. Through her guidance and direction we were, in our graduate study coursework, able to begin to explore how psychology as a discipline could be used to benefit our aspirations as Māori. An important point in this journey was the evaluation of Kaupapa Māori in the Psychology Department which Bridgette and I undertook. Completed as part of a graduate course, the evaluation served to demonstrate to us how the tools of psychology

could assist in the search for change. This evaluation was in later years to act as a catalyst for the establishment of the Māori and Psychology Research Unit within the Department. The opportunity to take a graduate course specifically focused on Māori development in psychology was another important step. As in undergraduate studies, Linda's visibility and assistance relayed the message that there was a place for Māori within graduate study in psychology. Without this, I would certainly have questioned the fit between psychology, myself and issues of relevance to Māori.

I left Waikato University in 1997 to work in Wellington, experiencing the demands of working in a central government agency. Unbeknown to me at that time I was soon to return, in 2000 taking up an Assistant Lecturer (Kaupapa Māori) position in the Department of Psychology.

When I was approached to consider the Assistant Lecturer position, I knew that I had to seriously consider it. This was not because I craved a career in the academic world. Nor would it boost my bank balance. It was because I knew that I had an obligation to return to repay my debt. Not a monetary debt, but a human debt based on cultural obligations. Because I had gained immensely from the work of Linda and others during my time as a student, I knew I had an obligation to contribute what I could to the aspirations of future Māori students and to the wider aspirations of Māori via psychology. The importance of Māori staff to mentor, supervise, guide or simply be visible was still salient in my mind. Although the obligation was mine, it was not simply a personal obligation. It was an obligation which existed within a broader cultural context.

That brought a change of course in my journey and I joined Linda Nikora and Averil Herbert (who had occupied a lecturer position responsible for developing Kaupapa Māori within the clinical psychology programme since 1996) as an academic staff member. Over the next three years the Māori staff group was further increased, with Moana Waitoki, Bridgette Masters and Mohi Rua taking up academic positions within the Department. For me, with the growth of our staff collective came the rare opportunity to form a tangible Māori presence within the Department.

Where I once wrestled with the issues as a Māori student, I was for the next five years to tackle many of the same issues, yet this time in a different role, with different responsibilities and some limited power to make some change. Like my experiences in my first year of study, I continued to see and face resistance, subtle and overt, from both staff and students to our agenda of Māori self determination in psychology. Many times I have felt a sense of reinvention as we worked to address issues raised long before, in another setting or context. In spite of the feeling of 'two steps forward and three steps back', and at times wanting to leave the discipline to its own devices, I have always been reenergised by the Māori students of psychology with whom I worked, energised by their commitment, drive and sacrifices as they grappled with the issues which face us as Māori in psychology.

In addition to my roles as a Māori academic and student, and I have been a member of the Executive of the New Zealand Psychological Society (NZPsS), and an active member of the NZPsS National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI). Each of these roles has had a strong focus on Māori workforce development within psychology. Together they placed me in a unique position with multiple perspectives to consider the journey we as Māori have and continue to be on within psychology. I am a participant observer, with my multiple entry points serving to strengthen my understanding and analysis of our journey.

While these multiple entry points enhance the validity of what is offered in this thesis, it is also important to be aware that this thesis does not claim to be an objective and neutral account of that journey. That my starting point resides in the aspirations of Māori, as opposed to the aspirations of psychology as they may relate to Māori, makes explicit the position in which this thesis is grounded.

I am aware that the above statement may result in a certain vulnerability to challenge. Some may perceive it as positioning me from the outset in opposition to the discipline of psychology which considers objectivity and neutrality essential tenets of an evidence based scientific discipline. Graham Smith (1996) is helpful in articulating how this

apparent contradiction can be resolved, utilising a critical theory position which challenges the social constructedness of truth and what is considered as fact. This view recognises that most research contains the biases and prejudice of the authors, with the challenge being for the reader to read and interpret work critically (Smith, 1996).

The opportunity to undertake a thesis is a privilege. It is a privilege because it has provided me with an opportunity not available to many. That is, to step back and consider our journey in its totality and to offer a contribution based an informed analysis of what has been and what is to come. Such opportunities are rare and the decision to take this path, in the face of more pressing and immediate responsibilities, is not made lightly. Conceptualising the opportunity to undertake this thesis as a privilege means that meeting my obligation to ensure we as Māori benefit from my small contribution must be the prime aim of this thesis.

Uppermost in my mind is the acute need to ensure that this thesis contributes to the aspirations of Māori. This means there are multiple audiences, both inside and outside of academia, to address. However, there are also tensions in this. Smith (1996) encapsulates this precarious position well, identifying that the writing of an academic thesis is driven by the need to respond to two discrete audiences, both of whom will judge the work presented. In relation to psychology there is, on the one hand, the primarily non-Māori academic and professional audience who have the power of credentialing, and, on the other hand, the Māori community of interest (also including academics) who have the power of excommunication (Smith, 1996).

Although I understood and could articulate that undertaking this thesis represented an opportunity and a privilege, this did not lessen the disquiet I felt as I moved through this process. The academic objective to produce ‘new’ knowledge sat uneasily with me. Assisting me to understand this sense of unease was Dr Catherine Love (2004) who refers to the views of Dr Rangimārie Rose Pere. Dr Pere considered that knowledge came not from within a person, but through them as a gift (Love, 2004). This view fits with how I conceptualise my role in presenting this thesis. Love (2004) also highlighted the differences between Māori attitudes to knowledge and those attitudes

favoured by academia. In the academic world, knowledge is claimed, cited, redeveloped and remodeled, with a tendency to lay claim to truth by disproving alternative narratives (Love, 2004). However, from a Māori worldview knowledge is widely viewed as a taonga, with spiritual and temporal origins. Guarded, protected, and handed on to those who can be entrusted with its preservation and wise use, the sharing of knowledge is an act of generosity (Love, 2004).

These ideas fitted with my own views about the construction of new knowledge and the task I was attempting in this thesis. Through the opportunity to undertake a thesis, I was able to develop an analysis of our journey which was built on and informed by many different people and perspectives. In this sense the 'new' knowledge offered cannot be claimed as solely 'mine', but represents a combination of the literature, data, analysis, ideas, thoughts, and conversations that I have absorbed along the way.

The knowledge offered in this thesis has been developed as a result of my involvement over the past 15 years in the 'community of interest' (Smith, 1996), in this case, Māori psychologists and Māori students of psychology. I have been able to engage in a process of reflective analysis of the multiple issues which have occurred over the years, and the actions taken to address them. The points made by Love (2004) and Smith (1996) helped me to understand that what is new in this thesis is the opportunity to add another element to our existing understandings.

This work is a small contribution which builds on and honours the wisdom, knowledge and dedication of those who have gone before me. It is for all those who will come after me to continue the journey.

PART ONE: SETTING THE SCENE

Māori development and psychology: Linda Nikora has for some time declared psychology to be a platform for Māori development. Indeed, one of the courses she has taught for over ten years is entitled "Māori Development and Psychology". Two papers written by Linda and her colleagues, myself included, outline how psychology can be understood within the wider framework of Māori development (Nikora, 2001; Nikora, Levy, Masters, & Waitoki, 2006; Nikora, Ritchie, Ritchie, Masters, Levy, & Waitoki, 2002b). The desired outcome is psychologies which contribute to the maintenance of a unique cultural heritage and a better future collectively for Māori (Nikora et al., 2006; Nikora et al., 2002b). Part One sets the scene, describing the context in which my thesis is positioned.

Chapter One:
Māori Development and Psychology

Chapter One explores what is meant by Māori development and how it is relevant to our journey in psychology. Māori development is not a new concept: it is considered as old as Māori experience itself (Durie, 2003d). However, the concept of 'Māori development' started to be more explicitly articulated in 1984 at the Hui Taumata (Māori Economic Summit) which launched the Decade of Māori Development. Participants at this hui emphasised that Māori development was more than state obligations towards Māori, signaling major transformations in Māori determined approaches to social, cultural, and economic advancement (Durie, 2005b). Māori development became defined in terms of the retention of identity as Māori and the formulation of development plans and goals according to Māori aspirations, not the aspirations of the state (Durie, 2005c). This was in sharp contrast to policies of state dependency that had characterized the past (Durie, 2005b). Emphasis was placed on three key themes, these being: the Treaty of Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga, iwi development, economic self-reliance, social equity, and cultural advancement (Durie, 2005c). At the 2005 Hui Taumata Māori development themes were again assessed. Revised themes focused on economic development via human capacity, assets and enterprise. The major emphasis on language and culture which had characterized Māori development agendas in earlier decades remained central, with cultural identity as Māori integral to all areas of development (Durie, 2005b; Hui Taumata Steering Committee, 2005).

Treaty of Waitangi

It is impossible to talk about Māori development without discussing the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty of Waitangi is an agreement between the British Crown and the Māori people of Aotearoa. Signed in 1840, the Treaty essentially characterises a relationship between the Crown and iwi Māori which, through a mutually beneficial partnership, intended to ensure the wellbeing of all people in Aotearoa, both individually

and collectively. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to present a detailed account of the discourses which have surrounded the Treaty of Waitangi over the years. Suffice to say that the fulfilment of Treaty obligations has been a focal point for Māori since its signing. Much of this debate has stemmed from the issue of whether it was sovereignty or governance that was guaranteed by the English and Māori texts of the Treaty. The Waitangi Tribunal has agreed that the Māori version of the Treaty was broader in terms of the guarantees provided (Durie, 1998).

Article One provided for Crown governance over the land. There are differences between the Māori and English texts, with the Māori text referring to governance and the English text referring to sovereignty (Treaty of Waitangi Information Unit, 2005). Article Two in the Māori text confirmed Māori authority and autonomy over all things considered precious to Māori. In the English text, Māori were guaranteed possession of lands, estates, forests, fisheries and other properties. Article Three, in both the Māori and English texts, provided an assurance that Māori would have the protection of the Crown and be accorded all rights of British subjects (Treaty of Waitangi Information Unit, 2005).

Attempting to address the crucial textual differences and enhance understanding of the application of the Treaty to contemporary political and social realities have seen references to the 'principles' of the Treaty, these being the core concepts that underpin both texts (Treaty of Waitangi Information Unit, 2005). The Royal Commission on Social Policy emphasised that the Treaty was relevant to all social and economic policies, both past and present (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988).

The Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988) identified the principles of the Treaty as one of the foundations on which the Government might apply to all policy and sought to provide an understanding of the principles so that they might be more clearly applied in policy making. Three core principles were identified, partnership, protection and participation.

The principle of partnership applied at several levels, with Article Two having an emphasis on iwi and hapū as Treaty partners, while Article Three emphasised the rights of individuals at a citizenship level (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988). Whilst, Article One provided for Crown governance, Articles Two and Three provided the guidelines for how that would be enacted.

The principle of protection is implicit throughout the Treaty and there is the clear expectation that the state will protect the interests, rights and privileges of Māori (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988). The concept of protection is commonly assumed to mean the protection of physical resources. However, within the context of the Treaty it has been interpreted much more widely than this, with protection interpreted as encompassing all things considered to be 'taonga'. From a Māori world view, cultural and social values and the outcomes which result from these are considered taonga. Examples of these include health, including psychological health and the Māori language.

The principle of participation relates to the way in which people participate in a range of communal and social activities including decision making, access to social provisions, and sharing in resources and wealth (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988). The Treaty guarantees Māori people will have equitable access to participation in such things and the beneficial outcomes which result from such participation.

The period from 1975 to 2000 included the formalised passage of the Treaty of Waitangi into legislation via the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, and the recommendation in 1985 by the Standing Committee on Māori Health that the Treaty be regarded as the foundation for good health (Durie, 1998). The Treaty principles identified by the Royal Commission in 1988 were expanded on by organisations such as the Courts and the Waitangi Tribunal. Principles of partnership, active protection and participation were supplemented with principles such as the principle of reciprocity, the principle of mutual benefit, and the principle of redress (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001).

The principles provided an important mechanism by which to embed the Treaty within policy decision making structures. They also emphasised the importance of understanding the intent of the Treaty in its entirety, not discounting the meanings of the specific articles, but taking into account the way in which the articles relate to and interact with each other. Taking the Treaty articles in isolation has often resulted in incomplete and inaccurate interpretation and application of the Treaty.

It is important to note that the 21st century has seen a major shift politically in Treaty discourses, with Treaty issues increasingly becoming a political football. Examining this shift in detail is beyond the scope of this thesis, however there are several brief examples which highlight these changing discourses. In 2004 the Government, reacting to the 2003 Court of Appeal finding that the Māori Land Court had the jurisdiction to determine the status of seabed and foreshore, passed the Foreshore and Seabed Act (2004) which vested full legal and beneficial ownership of the public foreshore and seabed in the Crown. Also in 2004, a Ministerial Review Unit within the State Services Commission was established to plan, monitor and coordinate reviews of core Public Service policies and programmes to ensure they were 'needs' based, not 'race' based. In July 2006, the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi Deletion Bill, which seeks to remove reference to the principles of the Treaty from all legislation, passed its first reading in the House, being referred to the Justice and Electoral Select Committee (New Zealand House of Representatives, 2006).

As will become evident in Part Two, the relationship between the Treaty of Waitangi and psychology is an important element of our journey. However, as Durie (2003f) identified, while the Treaty is a useful vehicle, it does not encompass the totality of Māori development.

Māori Development and Māori Aspirations

The ultimate aim of Māori development is to add value to Māori lives, Māori knowledge and Māori society (Durie, 2003a). The principle of adding value fundamentally differs from deficit focused frameworks premised on disparity reduction. Although an element of Māori development models, a disparities focus suggests that once the disparities

between Māori and other population groups are addressed, Māori development comes to an end (Durie, 2003a). However, Māori development is not a finite process; it has no end point.

Māori development agendas operate across many different spheres. At the heart of all lie the self determined aspirations of Māori. Self determination is a key indigenous aspiration (Durie, 2004c), often described as a demonstration of autonomy over cultural wellbeing (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1999). Contemporary Māori aspirations rest on Māori values, the realities of Māori experience and worldviews, and the need to retain the distinct identity that comes from a unique heritage, common journeys, familiar environment and a set of shared aspirations (Durie, 2003a). Māori development aspirations are organized into two broad categories:

1. Ability to participate, as Māori, in Te Ao Māori; and
2. Ability to participate, as Māori, in New Zealand society (and beyond) (Durie, 2003a).

The dual aims of Māori development center on the development of Māori people, as Māori. Outcomes which result from Māori development models, whether relating to economic, education, health or social development, will support and strengthen these two broad aspirations (Durie, 2003a).

How do Māori aspirations and outcomes differ from those desired by other groups? Durie (2005f) suggested that in many respects Māori individuals share similar aspirations to other New Zealanders. For example, at a broad level common outcomes will be desired in relation to personal health and welfare. However, there are specific outcomes which are desired by Māori on the basis of aspirations, values and affiliations that align Māori with each other (Durie, 2005f). Or put more simply, specific outcomes are desired on the basis of aspirations which stem from being Māori; what Durie (2005f) has labeled the ‘indigeneity’ factor.

The United Nations has reported that worldwide there are an estimated 300 million indigenous people in more than 70 countries (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2006a). They stated that due to the diversity of indigenous peoples, the United Nations has not adopted an official definition of the term 'indigenous'. However, they proposed the following elements as fundamental to the meaning of indigenous:

- Self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member
- Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies
- Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources
- Distinct social, economic or political systems
- Distinct language, culture and beliefs
- Form non-dominant groups of society
- Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2006a).

The term indigenous 'peoples' as opposed to indigenous 'people' is deliberately used to imply that there are distinct groups of indigenous people, each of which is a collective of 'people' with distinct characteristics and legal character. Indigenous peoples have retained social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2001). Fleras and Elliott (1992) viewed Māori aspirations as typical of many indigenous populations, representing a common desire for full participation within societies without loss of distinctiveness as indigenous peoples.

The indigeneity factor recognizes that although indigenous peoples have different historical backgrounds and live in different circumstances, they also share a number of commonalities (Durie, 2005b). Aligning with the views of the United Nations, this principle does not exclude the needs of other cultural groups, but recognizes the

determination of indigenous people to retain their own distinctive cultural identity and affirm a unique place for indigenous people within a nation (Durie, 2004b). The establishment of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in 2000 represented an important milestone internationally in terms of validating the specific positioning of indigenous peoples (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2006).

While in the past a primary characteristic of indigenous peoples experience might have been assumed to be experiences of colonisation and its impacts, this is no longer the dominant focus (Durie, 2005d). The primary characteristic is a strong sense of unity with the environment (Durie, 2005b). Other characteristics which resulted from this relationship with the environment included: celebration of the relationship in culture and custom; a system of knowledge, methodologies and environmental ethics which emerge from the relationship; the relationship facilitates balanced economic growth; and the relationship contributes to the evolution and use of a unique first language not spoken anywhere else in the world (Durie, 2005b). Clearly, the 'indigeneity factor' represents a core element of Māori development aspirations.

Māori development themes have and continue to be visibly expressed across a number of sectors, most importantly in health and education. In relation to health, in the 1970s there was growing concern from Māori communities that the narrow focus on physical illness did not provide a framework able to fully understand issues of relevance to Māori (Durie, 1998). In the 1980s it became clear that Māori aspirations for health were not the same as those of health professionals or administrators. Māori communities described Māori health within the context Māori development frameworks, emphasising the importance of cultural values and beliefs, though not necessarily discounting the benefits of Western medical practice (Durie, 1998).

Hui Whakaoranga, the first national Māori health hui held in March 1984, strongly advocated for Māori-delivered health initiatives. By this time it had become widely established that culturally contexted understandings, for example taha wairua, taha

hinengaro, taha tinana and taha whānau, and the integral relationships between them, formed the basis of preferred definitions of health and wellbeing for Māori (Durie, 1998). A seminal research project undertaken by the Māori Women's Welfare League stated:

> To say that a person is a psychosomatic unity, a personality formed jointly by physical and mental processes, only partly embraces the Māori concept. A study of Māori health must follow more than two strands. Tinana is the physical element of the individual and hinengaro the mental state, but these do not make up the whole. Wairua, the spirit and whānau, the immediate and wider family, complete the shimmering depths of the health pounamu, the precious touchstone of Māoridom (Murchie, 1984, p. 81)

A number of Māori health models which encapsulated these understandings became prominent in the 1980s. These included Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985), Te Wheke (Pere, 1984), and Ngā Pou Mana (Henare, 1988). Although originating from within a health context, indicative of the interconnectedness of Māori worldviews, these are essentially models of complete wellbeing, with applicability well beyond the health sector (Durie, 1994).

Māori development over the past two decades has been vast, with greater Māori involvement in service delivery, improved access to services, higher participation rates in education at all levels, the provision of immersion Māori education at all levels, significantly increased membership in professional occupations, major increases in native speakers, reemergence of hapū and iwi as agents for Māori development, and settlement of Treaty of Waitangi claims (Durie, 2005f). In relation to health, policies are beginning to demonstrate a much enhanced appreciation of how alignment of health policy with Māori development aspirations will lead to health outcomes which are meaningful for Māori. For example, the *New Zealand Health Strategy* (Ministry of Health, 2000) recognises that the ongoing relationship between Māori and the Government is based on the premise that Māori should continue to live in Aotearoa as Māori. *He Korowai Oranga: the New Zealand Māori Health Strategy* (Ministry of Health, 2002) identified 'Whānau Ora', that is Māori families achieving their maximum health and wellbeing, as its overall aim. Recognizing whānau as the foundation of Māori society, the outcomes sought by *He Korowai Oranga* included that whānau experience physical, mental, emotional wellbeing, have control over their own destinies, have better quality of life,

and are able to participate in te ao Māori and wider New Zealand society (Ministry of Health, 2002). These outcomes are driven by Māori aspirations for wellbeing.

In relation to education, the Government and Māori have discussed Māori aspirations for education over several decades via the Hui Taumata Matauranga process. These hui have endorsed three broad goals of education for Māori. Consistent with iwi and hapū aspirations these goals were: enabling Māori to live as Māori, facilitating participation of Māori as citizens of the world; and contributing towards good health and a higher standard of living for Māori (Durie, 2003b).

These three goals form the basis of the Ministry of Education Māori Education Strategy. This strategy aims to strengthen the capability of the education system to take account of and work effectively to achieve the educational aspirations of Māori (Ministry of Education, 2005a). These goals also underpin the Group Special Education Māori Strategy (Ministry of Education, 2005b).

Māori aspirations centre on the desire to participate, *as Māori*, in both te ao Māori, and in New Zealand society. Decades of determination and dedication by Māori communities has resulted in these aspirations being accepted and explicitly recognized in key government policy frameworks.

Our Diversity

Māori are as diverse as any other population group. Durie (2001) described how younger urban Māori, several generations removed from their tribal lands, face different challenges to those close to tribal lands and resources. An important challenge for Māori development models is to respond to the diversity which characterises what it is to be Māori, whether this diversity relates to socio-economic circumstances, cultural affiliation or differential access to te ao Māori (Durie, 2003e).

Smith (1996) acknowledged that the generic term ‘Māori’ disguised a range of diverse views, cultural experiences and social backgrounds. However, while understanding this

diversity, Smith (1996) also stated that there are common experiences which are collectively shared by Māori. Durie (2001) supported this point, highlighting that despite the diverse realities of Māori, a decided preference by Māori to identify as Māori has endured.

When reading my thesis it is important to understand that in using the term 'Māori' I am explicitly conveying both the commonalities which draw us together as an ethnic and cultural group, and the diversity which reflects changing and dynamic concepts of what it is to be Māori. I certainly do not intend to perpetuate the common and damaging assumption that Māori are a singular homogenous group. Indeed one of the issues faced by Māori psychology students is the assumption that they are able to represent the views of all Māori, at times being asked to reply to the impossible question: "What is the Māori perspective on this?"

Māori and Psychology

Psychology is commonly considered as a biological, cognitive, behavioural, and social science. Psychology as a biological science examines the relationship between the brain, physiological systems and behaviour. Psychology as a cognitive science investigates perception, attention, memory, thinking, language and understanding. As a behavioural science, psychology considers ways in which behaviour is learned and can be changed, focusing on perception, cognition, learning, and the biological bases of behaviour. As a social science, psychology investigates lifespan development, personality, social processes, learning, motivation and abnormal behaviour, with individuals considered within the context of families, organisations, communities, cultures and societies. Psychology is an evidence-based discipline, emphasising the importance of research as a core value of psychology, with research driving psychological services and the practice of psychologists (Canadian Psychological Association, 2001).

This thesis focuses on the development of psychologies relevant and of benefit to Māori communities. Broadly speaking, perceptions, thoughts, memory, learning, feelings, social processes, motivation, families, communities, cultures, and communities are

relevant to Māori. However, in all these areas our aspirations as Māori will influence how we choose to explore and examine them. Our aspirations will also determine our priorities for what we want and need to know, and what is unimportant. Our aspirations will also impact on how we choose to undertake research, what we consider to be evidence and the outcomes we are seeking.

Māori psychologists continue to believe in the potential of psychology to contribute positively to the lives of Māori. However, the majority of studies undertaken and hui held have consistently identified that psychology rests on dominant Western based psychological theories, with little evidence to suggest that Māori knowledge bases are genuinely being considered within psychology (Brady, 1992; Glover & Robertson, 1997; Hunt, Morgan, & Teddy, 2002; Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Levy, 2002; Masters & Levy, 1995; National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1995b; Nikora, 1989, 1998; Older, 1978; Paewai, 1997; Parsonson, 1993; Skipper, 1998; Stewart, 1993; Thomas, 1993). Consequences of the Western paradigm include a lack of acceptance of the validity of Māori knowledge bases, promotion of the view that Māori psychologies have no place within the discipline of psychology, and psychological theories which are inappropriately generalized across differing contexts (Glover & Robertson, 1997; Stanley, 1993).

In 1989 a hui called *Psychology – A Time for Change* was held at the University of Waikato (Nikora, 1989). Attended by both Māori and non-Māori psychologists, psychology students and those in allied disciplines, the purpose of this hui was to determine how psychology training should develop in order to benefit Māori. The hui concluded that the reliance on textbooks written in the United Kingdom or the United States resulted in the inappropriate generalisation of theories across differing contexts, the alienation of students, and the creation of barriers to the development of psychologies relevant to Aotearoa (Nikora, 1989). Participants considered that in 1989 there was sufficient information and research to begin developing psychologies that were relevant to Māori (Nikora, 1989).

In 2000, Tariana Turia (then Associate Minister of Māori Affairs, Health, Corrections and Welfare), was a keynote speaker at the New Zealand Psychological Society annual conference held at the University of Waikato. Ms Turia posed the following question for psychologists to consider:

> As psychologists you frequently have as your clients, Māori people. The challenge I put to you is: Do you seriously believe that you with the training you get, are able to nurture the Māori psyche? (Turia, 2001, p. 27)

Two years later, Dr Catherine Love argued that concerns regarding the discord between the fundamental value base of psychology and the value base of te ao Māori remained unaddressed (Love, 2003). In 2005, Dr Marewa Glover and Dr Paul Hirini edited a special issue of the *New Zealand Journal of Psychology* focused on Māori and psychology. They commented that while there was a growing body of 'grey' literature relating to Māori psychology, such as symposium proceedings, research theses, evaluation and contract reports, there was a dearth of articles relevant to Māori psychology published in refereed journals (Glover & Hirini, 2005). They also commented that their final selection of papers in the special edition reflected the dominance of Western paradigms in psychology training, suggesting that Māori students of psychology were still focused on learning the tools of Pākehā (Glover & Hirini, 2005).

> We are still undergoing the metamorphosis that has seen matauranga Māori obscured, contemporary Māori educated in Western psychology and the emergence of blended knowledge and practice (Glover & Hirini, 2005, p. 3).

Despite it being identified almost 20 years ago (at the 1989 hui in Hamilton referred to above) that there was sufficient information and research to begin developing a psychology relevant and of benefit to Māori, this has not yet been realized.

As articulated at the start of this chapter, psychologies of relevance and benefit to Māori will contribute to Māori development aspirations. However, Māori development does more than simply describe the aspirations of Māori. Over the decades the term 'Māori development' has become an accepted way of describing the processes by which Māori aspirations are transformed into outcomes (Durie, 2003a). However, outcomes should not be confused with inputs and processes (Durie, Fitzgerald, Kingi, McKinley, &

Stevenson, 2002). Increasing the number of Māori psychologists has been a focus in psychology, first highlighted as important almost 30 years ago by Jules Older (1978). From a Māori development perspective, the process of increasing the numbers of Māori psychologists must result in contributions to Māori aspirations and better outcomes for Māori, whānau, hapū and iwi.

There is wide agreement that Māori development models, whether they are focused on economic, social or cultural outcomes, all have at their core the development of Māori people as Māori. Durie (2003c) warned that unless practice is consistent with the broad aspirations of indigenous people, irrespective of how professional practice or interventions may be, they may hinder rather than facilitate wellbeing. Failure to align with Māori aspirations can potentially result in the development of initiatives which lack relevance and may ultimately disadvantage Māori (Durie et al., 2002).

Illustrating this, Palmer (2003) concluded that it was highly unlikely that the tools which psychologists used to measure wellbeing would contribute to the desired outcome of whānau ora for Māori. These tools are not responsive to the needs of Māori, are not based on Māori concepts or constructs, do not facilitate Māori participation in te ao Māori, and do not provide pathways through which Māori can develop a positive Māori identity (Palmer, 2003). In short, they fail to align to Māori aspirations. If psychology is to contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations, experience from decades of Māori development show that the nature of the outcomes sought must be based on Māori aspirations, as defined by Māori.

Thesis Aim

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the development of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit for Māori communities. I argue that central to achieving this is the development of psychologies premised upon and deriving from Māori world views and knowledge bases. The primary objective of these psychologies is to contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations. Offering pathways forward to guide our next phase in the journey is achieved by describing and analysing the journey we have taken

thus far. Presenting an account of the totality of our journey, in itself adds to the knowledge base, as this account has not been done before. The analysis then draws together these component parts to better understand the whole.

Use of Te Reo Māori

At times te reo Māori is used in this thesis. This is deliberate, as I have chosen terms which best convey the point I wish to make. Translations of these terms have not been provided in the body of the thesis as this would have disrupted the flow of the writing and the point being communicated. The majority of Māori terms employed are in common usage in Aotearoa. For readers unfamiliar with the terms, a glossary is provided at the end of this thesis.

Thesis Organisation

This thesis is organised into four parts. Part One has set the scene, describing the context in which my thesis is positioned.

Part Two explores the indigenous psychology literature base, identifying development processes which may be relevant to Aotearoa. Chapter Two explores the emergence of indigenous psychology and how it has been defined. It also considers the positioning of indigenous peoples within indigenous psychology, discussing the relationship between science, culture and indigenous psychology. Chapter Three provides descriptive summaries of indigenous psychology development in Canada, the Philippines and India. Chapter Four draws on these summaries, as well as literature from the wider social science and management knowledge bases, identifying the key themes of context, critical mass, and mechanisms to support indigenous psychology development which are relevant to Aotearoa.

Part Three explores indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa. Chapter Five focuses on the context, exploring the origins of Māori interaction with psychology. Chapter Six explores the concept of Kaupapa Māori and its relevance to psychology.

Chapter Seven analyses data from a range of sources and develops five themes which describe the current status of Māori development in psychology. Chapters Eight and Nine focus on mechanisms which have supported indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa, these being professional psychology organisations and the unique contributions which have emerged from within the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato.

Part Four, drawing from the analysis in Parts One, Two and Three, constructs an argument which identifies the next phase of the journey required to develop a psychological discipline of relevance and benefit to Māori communities. Chapter Ten identifies the critical factors for indigenous psychology in Aotearoa. Chapter Eleven identifies 'reaching the point of irreversible change' as the aim of the next phase of indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa. An original interactional framework for consolidation which identifies the directions needed to reach this point is proposed.

PART TWO: DEVELOPING AN INDIGENOUS PSYCHOLOGY

The aim of this thesis is to describe and contribute to the development of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit for Māori communities. Central to achieving this is the development of psychologies premised upon and deriving from Māori world views and knowledge bases. The primary objective of these psychologies is to contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations. Part Two explores the indigenous psychology literature base, identifying development strategies which may be relevant to Aotearoa.

Because I am investigating the indigenous psychology literature base it perhaps would have been expected that I would be investigating how indigenous psychology in Aotearoa can be *created*. This implies that indigenous psychology currently does not exist in Aotearoa. However, the validity of this assumption can be challenged. Nsamenang (2006) expressed this by saying:

> Every cultural community the world over has an indigenous psychology, whether articulated or not. Thus human psychological functioning predates psychology as an academic discipline (p. 257).

Protacio-De Casto, Fabros, and Kapunan (2006) viewed the roots of psychology in Asia to date back two millennia or more, being firmly grounded in religio-philosophical treatises which are intrinsically related to behaviour. Specifically in China, psychological thinking originated some 2000 years ago when Chinese philosophers debated the good and evil of human nature (Jing & Fu, 2001). In Aotearoa, Stewart (1997) identified that for Māori there has always been a systematic knowledge of behaviour analysis and categorisation based on Māori understandings of wellness. Other indigenous theorisers in Aotearoa allude to the continuation of well established indigenous psychologies. For example, Nikora et al. (2006) described indigenous psychology as governed by 'tikanga'; defined as customary ways of understanding actions that have always been with Māori.

Milne (2005) described how participants in her study expressed that although 'Kaupapa Māori' psychology may be a new pathway, it is based on old ways of thinking.

The more relevant question is not how indigenous psychologies can be created but how can space be made within the discipline of psychology in Aotearoa for knowledge bases which are relevant and of benefit to Māori communities. What factors can facilitate this? Allwood and Berry (2006) undertook an analysis of the origins and development of indigenous psychologies internationally and considered it essential to understand the conditions and processes that underlie the emergence of indigenous psychologies. One way to do this is to scrutinize and critique how indigenous psychologies have been conceptualised and developed elsewhere.

Reviewing the academic indigenous psychology literature base is a challenge. This is partly because a common conclusion in the literature is that the basic concept of indigenous psychology and the process of indigenisation have not been well understood. This could relate to the emergent nature of indigenous psychology, with Adair (2004) concluding that the indigenisation process in psychology is complex and somewhat uncharted. However, the main challenge is that the knowledge bases of indigenous peoples have tended to be explicitly excluded from the indigenous psychology literature base. For example, both Sinha (1997) and Adair (1999) have commented that indigenous psychology is not a psychology of aboriginals or native people. Obviously this raised initial scepticism regarding the extent to which this literature base was useful for my thesis. However, on reviewing the literature I did conclude that there was value in identifying the processes and conditions that may be relevant to our ongoing journey in Aotearoa. In addition, providing a critique of the indigenous psychology literature base is in itself a mechanism which can challenge the exclusion of indigenous voices within the field of indigenous psychology.

Chapter Two explores the emergence of indigenous psychology and how it has been defined. It also considers the positioning of indigenous peoples within indigenous psychology, discussing the differences between indigenous and national psychologies, the meaning of the term indigenous and the relationship between science, culture and indigenous psychology. Chapter Three provides descriptive summaries of indigenous psychology development in Canada, the Philippines and India. Chapter Four draws on these summaries, as well as literature from the wider social science and management knowledge bases, to identify indigenous psychology development strategies which may be relevant to Aotearoa.

Chapter Two
Developing an Indigenous Discipline

Chapter Two explores how indigenous psychology has been conceptualised and described internationally. Assumptions of the universality of Western psychology, the dominance of Western psychology, and the relationships between science, culture and indigenous peoples are examined in this chapter.

A Universal Psychology

The academic field of indigenous psychology emerged over the past 40 years, first locally in countries such as India, Philippines, Mexico, Taiwan, and China, and then merging into the international academic movement in the early 1980s (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Yang, 2006). Although indigenous psychologies emerged differently in various countries, in general their emergence has been in reaction to the taken for granted assumption that psychologies developed in the West could be applied elsewhere with equal relevance and validity.

It is commonly agreed that psychology as an institutionalised discipline in an academic setting originated from a Western European and North American cultural tradition (Kashima, 2005; Sinha, 1997). Within this cultural tradition, human behaviour is said to be governed by the laws of natural science; laws which also govern the causal processes of physical nature (Kashima, 2005). Early academic psychology, described as one of last sciences to emerge, was built on the natural science model, conceptualising people as part of the natural world (Kashima, 2005). Within this model, the study of people and their behaviour could thus be reduced to causal processes, able to be examined by experimentation to discover linear, objective and lawful relationships (Kashima, 2005; Kim & Park, 2005; Kim, Park, & Park, 1999; Kim & Young-Shin, 2006). A key aim of this approach is to provide universal understandings of human behaviour that can be verified and applied (Kim & Park, 2005; Kim et al., 1999;

Kim & Young-Shin, 2006). In line with this, general psychology attempted to develop abstract and universal theories by eliminating fundamental aspects of human functioning, including context and culture, treating these as extraneous variables (Diaz-Loving, 1999; Kim et al., 1999; Kim & Young-Shin, 2006; Moghaddam, 1987; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000).

In the search for a universal psychology, Western psychology perpetuated the assumption that behaviour across all people is alike and cultural contexts are irrelevant (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). This assumption did not sit well with a number of psychologists and it is perhaps the assumption of universality which has generated the most criticism from indigenous psychology scholars. Theories and methods of Western psychology which reflect Euro-American values can be considered culture-bound; monocultural, individualised and decontextualised (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Cheung, 2006; Hwang, 2005; Kao, 2006; Kim & Young-Shin, 2006). Theoretical generalisations drawn from culturally homogenous Western samples suffered from ethnocentrism whereby one's own group is considered the 'norm' and all other groups are judged according to those standards and norms (Brislin, 1990).

Within psychology, ethnocentrism impacts on: the stimuli, questions, methods, and instruments used; the definition of theoretical concepts; the way in which research topics are prioritised and selected; and what is considered valid and important knowledge (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992). For example, norms relevant to Western psychology include individualism, self sufficiency, and competitive models of development (Gergen, Gulerce, Lock, & Misra, 1996; Kagitcibasi, 1992; Moghaddam, 1987). Several authors attest to the major limitations of working with theories based on these Western norms in communities where human society is not ordered or governed according to these concepts (Gergen et al., 1996; Kagitcibasi, 1992; Moghaddam, 1987). For example, such theories do little for East Asian culture where human interrelationships are given primacy (Ho, 1998; Kim & Young-Shin, 2006; Yang,

2006) or for contexts where national development and communal conflicts are priority issues (Sinha, 2006).

The emergence of indigenous psychology is clearly linked with increasing frustration among psychologists regarding the limited relevance and applicability of Western psychology for solving problems in their own countries (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Kao, 2006; Kim & Young-Shin, 2006; Marai, 2006). It is now generally agreed that human behaviours are founded in particular cultural contexts, traditions, theories, assumptions and perspectives, and these affect, shape and guide psychological description, explanation and application (Berry et al., 1992; Heelas, 1981; Kim, 1990; Poortinga, 1999; Sinha, 1997). Indigenous psychologies are considered necessary because existing dominant Western psychological theories cannot be considered universal (Allwood & Berry, 2006).

It is important to note that the concept of a universal psychology itself does not appear to be rejected by indigenous psychology scholars: just the assumption that Western psychology in isolation constitutes that universal psychology. A number of authors conceptualise Western psychology as an indigenous psychology itself, in that it is culturally dependent and locally originated (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002; Cheung, 2006). However, dissatisfaction with Western psychology has also been expressed from within the 'West' itself, with calls for increased attention to culture and alternative methodologies (Adair, 2004).

Allwood (2002) noted that advocates of indigenous psychology have often treated Western psychology, in spite of its diversity, as a unitary mass. In doing this, they almost fall victim to their own criticisms, failing to recognise the diversity which exists within Western psychology. The points made in this section are not intended to suggest that issues regarding the universalism and dominance of Western psychology were not recognised or considered prior to the emergence of indigenous psychology. Moghaddam (2006) specifically identified minority movements in West which influenced the emergence of indigenous psychology,

for example feminist psychology, black psychology, and Latino psychology. Indigenous psychology is only one of numerous voices within psychology raising issues regarding the relevance of psychology.

Dominance of Western Psychology

Reactions to the dominance of Western psychology have clearly influenced the emergence of indigenous psychology. However what is not clear is how Western psychology became dominant in the first place. Providing a clue, several authors have referred to the 'import' and 'export' of psychology (Adair, 1999; Berry et al., 2002; Moghaddam, 1987; Moghaddam & Taylor, 1986; Nsamenang, 2006; Sinha, 1993).

Moghaddam (1987) provided one framework to explain why North America has maintained a dominant and virtually unchallenged position within the field of psychology. He identified a power structure of psychological communities at a global level centred on the 'Three Worlds'. Each world has a differential capacity for producing and disseminating psychological knowledge and, as a consequence for shaping and defining what is considered to be mainstream, conventional or normal within the discipline of psychology. Moghaddam (1987) considered the 'First World' to be constituted by the United States of America, which by virtue of its position as the major producer and exporter of psychological knowledge, holds a dominant and unchallenged position within psychology. The 'Second World' included countries such as Britain, Canada, and India. The Second World, although producers of their own knowledge, is heavily influenced by the dominance of the First World, reinforcing the legitimacy of psychological knowledge generated in the First World (Moghaddam, 1987). The 'Third World' included developing countries such as Bangladesh, Cuba, and Nigeria. It solely imports knowledge from the First and Second worlds, primarily due to a lack of capacity to produce and disseminate psychological knowledge (Moghaddam, 1987).

Thus, according to Moghaddam (1987) the primary gap between the First and Third Worlds is capacity to produce psychological knowledge. This capacity includes psychologists able to create the knowledge bases, as well as the publishing outlets which disseminate the knowledge (Moghaddam, 1987). The result of First World domination is that, through processes of exporting and importing, the discipline of psychology has come to be presented as a science founded within a mono-cultural western tradition which seeks and accepts universals, whilst invalidating other systems of knowledge and dissemination (Adair, 1999; Moghaddam, 1987). That the United States of America can be considered the 'First World' is supported by Ho (1992) who has pointed out that it is more precise to refer to the dominance of North American psychology and of the English language than it is to speak of the dominance of Western psychology.

Moghaddam's (1987) framework does shed some light on the dominance of Western psychology. However, this model has some limitations. Moghaddam's (1987) analysis omitted the position of 'Fourth World' nations. Fourth World nations are defined by Nikora et al. (2006) as "indigenous communities positioned within colonial First, Second or Third World nations, for example Hawai'ians, Australian Aboriginals and Māori; the original inhabitants of the lands in which they dwell" (p. 254).

Smith (1996) has highlighted the ideological issues which arise from the colonising history of Aotearoa. In relation to education, these issues are manifest in the monocultural taken for granted pedagogy which determines dominant practice, structures and curriculum (Smith, 1996). These dominant models determine what will be accepted as valid. Implicit within dominant monocultural models is the assumption that Western forms of knowledge are considered superior to Māori knowledge bases (Smith, 1996). The relationship between Māori people in Aotearoa and psychology can be positioned within the Fourth World.

It is noticeable that for several countries challenges to Western psychology occurred within the broader context of post-colonial reactions, with a strong trend towards the decolonisation of knowledge in former colonial countries (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Allwood, 2002; Sinha, 1997). In these contexts, concern did not just centre on the utility of psychological knowledge obtained in the West but also on the way in which psychological concepts of universalism and individualism have worked to actively exclude the perspectives of indigenous communities, in some cases causing harm.

For example, in the early 1970s the introduction of indigenous psychology in the Philippines was influenced by the strong call to end American domination of the country (a colony of the United States for almost 50 years), with an increasing focus on national-self determination and self-reliance (Church, 1992; Church & Katigbak, 2002; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000; Protacio-De Casto et al., 2006). The Filipino indigenous psychology movement, 'Sikolohiyang Pilipino' (SP), objected to a dominant imported psychology which perpetuated the "colonial status of the Filipino mind" (Enriquez, 1993, p. 55). Similarly, Nsamenang (2006) linked attempts to indigenise psychology in Cameroon with resistance to the imposition of colonial knowledge systems. However, reflecting the colonising powers of Cameroon, the focus was not on North American psychology but on psychology developed in Europe, described by Nsamenang (2006) as "an outreach discipline of Europe's civilising mission" (p. 256). In Australia, Dudgeon and Pickett (2000) viewed psychology as a tool which contributed to the control, oppression and assimilation of indigenous peoples. Ho (1998) described the wholesale importation of dominant North American psychology into Asia as a form of cultural imperialism, which resulted in the "colonialisation of the mind" (p. 89). In Aotearoa, some have also described psychology as a tool of colonisation (Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Love, 2003; Stewart, 1995).

The inability to produce and disseminate knowledge, while certainly important, is not the only reason to explain the position of countries characterised as

'importers' by Mogaddam (1987). It is important to consider the way in which First and Second World domination has been maintained via colonising agendas in which Western psychology is presented as a universal science. Knowledge bases which fall outside of this universal scientific paradigm are considered invalid.

Reflecting the varying interpretations of the term 'indigenous', some shifts to what has been described as indigenous psychology were not driven by post-colonial reactions and the self determination of indigenous peoples, but by nationalist agendas. For example, in Canada Adair (1999) does not intend indigenous psychology to refer specifically to the psychologies of indigenous peoples. Instead, according to Adair (1999) indigenous psychology in Canada focused on relevance and appropriateness to what is broadly termed the 'Canadian context'. The move to what is described as indigenous psychology in Canada coincided with a period of emergent nationalism seeking greater independence from the influence of the United States (Allwood & Berry, 2006). In Iran, Moghaddam (2006) identified that the most important event leading to the emergence of indigenous psychology was the 1978 revolution, when the Shah was seen as a pawn of the United States. Although the dominant Western psychology is viewed as reflecting Euro-American values, European psychologists in the 1960s and 1970s were also beginning to question the dominance of Western psychology developed in the United States, identifying the need for distinctly European psychologies based on their own reality and concepts (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Moghaddam, 1987).

Science, Culture and Indigenous Peoples

Scholars of indigenous psychology primarily agree that indigenous psychologies developed in reaction to the taken for granted assumption that psychologies developed in the West could be applied elsewhere with equal validity. However, to a large extent this is where agreement ends. Adair (1999) has noted that the meaning of indigenous psychology is poorly understood and vaguely

conceptualised. The ongoing debates regarding definitions of indigenous psychology reflect both its status as an emergent field, and the multiple perspectives which characterise any knowledge base.

Indigenous psychology is defined in a number of ways. Kim (1990) defined it as knowledge that is native. Enriquez (1990) defined it as a system of psychological thought from a particular culture. A simple view is that the goal of indigenous psychology is the development of a culturally appropriate or sensitive psychology (Adair, 1999; Adair, Puhan, & Vohra, 1993; Sinha, 1997). However the majority of explanations have moved beyond this and are based on the premise that behaviours are founded in particular cultural contexts, traditions, theories, assumptions and perspectives. These all affect, guide and shape psychological description, explanation and application (Berry et al., 1992; Enriquez, 1990; Heelas, 1981; Kim, 1990; Poortinga, 1999; Sinha, 1997).

There appears to be general agreement that indigenous psychologies explicitly recognise that psychological theories exist within a cultural context, with culturally based knowledge systems needed to better understand, explain and predict behaviour (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Cheung, 2006). In light of the reasons for the emergence of indigenous psychology described earlier, descriptions which prioritise cultural variables make sense.

Kim (1990) defined indigenous psychology according to what it is, what it is not and what it is for. Indigenous psychology is characterised by knowledge bases: which are native; are not transplanted from another region; and are designed for its people (Kim, 1990). Berry et al. (2002) supported these ideas, defining indigenous psychology as the psychology of a particular cultural group, based on the common behaviour of its members, for which local perspectives provided the framework for the collection and interpretation of psychological information. Similarly, Sinha (1997) considered indigenous psychology to be a psychology that is generated and developed within a particular culture, utilising collective creations, constructs and categories. The use of one's own cultural resources in

the development of indigenous psychologies distinguishes this approach from other culture-oriented psychologies such as cross-cultural psychology, where the focus is on the elimination of cultural variables and cross-cultural comparisons (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Shweder, 2000; Triandis, 2000). Again, based on the reasons for the emergence of indigenous psychology, these points make sense.

The importation of psychology appears relevant, with Adair et al. (1993) viewing indigenous psychology as a psychology which emanates from, represents and reflects back on the culture. Building on this, Adair (1999) stated that an additional goal for indigenous psychology was the development of an autochronous discipline, that is, a psychology which is independent of its imported origins. Adair (1999) attributed credit for the term autochronous to his Latin American colleagues who proposed it to distinguish between a psychology of aboriginal people and a psychology which is appropriate to the culture: 'psicologia autoctona' (p. 415). An autochronous psychology would provide its own local resources such as training, publications and textbooks and be able to autonomously address its own local problems (Adair, 1999). However, seemingly contradictorily, having emphasised independence from imported origins, several authors also considered the adaptation of imported elements to suit local requirements part of the indigenous psychology development process (Adair, 2004; Berry et al., 2002; Kim, 1990; Kim & Berry, 1993; Sinha, 1997). It appears that indigenous psychologies do not automatically reject Western psychology simply because it originates in the West (Adair, 2004; Berry et al., 2002).

At a broad level the commentators on indigenous psychology appear to agree on several fundamentals. Indigenous psychologies: are not imposed from another geographical region; are influenced by the cultural contexts in which people live; are developed from within the culture using a variety of appropriate and relevant methodologies; and resulted in knowledge which is locally relevant. These broad commonalities make sense to our context in Aotearoa (Nikora et al., 2006).

However, a number of scholars have subscribed to the view that indigenous psychology is *not* a psychology of native, aboriginal or indigenous peoples (Adair, 1999; Sinha, 1997). That the knowledge bases of indigenous peoples are excluded appears somewhat contradictory when placed alongside other characteristics of indigenous psychologies. For example, as noted earlier Kim (1990) asserted that indigenous psychology is native, is not transplanted and is designed for its people. I have concluded above that there are broad commonalities within indigenous psychology definitions which make sense within the context in Aotearoa. However, the positioning of indigenous peoples and the common exclusion of indigenous knowledge bases from the indigenous psychology field does not fit with how indigenous psychology is conceptualised in Aotearoa. In Aotearoa, indigenous psychology has been described as the search by indigenous peoples for a voice in their own futures and wellbeing (Nikora et al., 2006).

It is important to further explore why the knowledge bases of indigenous peoples would be excluded from the field of indigenous psychology. The indigenous psychologies being described by the majority of authors tended to assume that cultural traditions, contexts and daily activities are common among people who reside within a particular nation. In reality, what is being described is more accurately termed a 'national' psychology. That is, a psychology which addresses issues of relevance to a particular nation, as opposed to issues of specific relevance to the indigenous peoples of that nation.

This distinction was recognised by Thomas (1995) who identified that both an indigenous and a national psychology were relevant to Aotearoa. A national psychology reflected the experiences of all people who lived in Aotearoa (Thomas, 1995). An indigenous psychology was developed by, and specifically related to Māori people (Thomas, 1995). According to Thomas, an indigenous psychology can form part of a national psychology. With this distinction in mind, it is apparent that some of what is in reality a national psychology has in fact been

masquerading as an indigenous psychology. It is important to explore some of the possible reasons for this.

A noticeable area of confusion in the literature base is the interchangeable use of terms such as 'native', 'local' and 'indigenous'. Assumptions appear to be made that the meanings of these terms are universal, requiring no further elaboration. This is one of the difficulties with the indigenous psychology literature base. These terms do have different meanings according to the context in which they are used. Although the discipline of indigenous psychology supports culturally based knowledge systems which are understood within local contexts, ironically it also seems to assume that understandings of the terms used to describe indigenous psychology will not be influenced by cultural understandings and contexts.

In a contribution to an international analysis of indigenous psychology which I co-authored with my colleagues from Waikato University, we pointed out that the term 'indigenous' appeared to be used in two ways within the indigenous psychology literature base: one referring to the original inhabitants of the lands in which they dwell, for example Hawai'ians, Aboriginals and Māori; and one referring to all peoples residing in a particular nation or society (Nikora et al., 2006). As noted earlier, it is the latter which has underpinned the majority of indigenous psychology definitions. For example, in a recent commentary on indigenous psychology development internationally, Allwood and Berry (2006) make no reference to the specific positioning of indigenous peoples knowledge bases within indigenous psychology.

As outlined in Chapter One, the United Nations has identified elements which are fundamental to the meaning of the term 'indigenous' (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2006a). Definitions of indigenous psychology which reject or ignore the specific positioning of indigenous peoples do not adequately encompass how indigenous psychology is conceptualised in Aotearoa. As noted in Chapter One, the 'indigeneity factor' represents a core element of Māori development aspirations (Durie, 2005b). Clarifying the distinction

between a national and indigenous psychology, and the meaning of the term indigenous assists to better understand how the concept of indigenous psychology applies in our own context. Māori, as the indigenous people of this land, will form the core of an indigenous psychology discipline in Aotearoa.

The absence of indigenous peoples knowledge bases in the indigenous psychology field has not simply been a result of differing interpretations of the term indigenous. In 1990, the American Psychological Association President, when commenting on the unity of psychology, stated that "all is well within the discipline, except possibly for the threat from the indigenous psychology movement" (cited in Sinha, 1997, p. 60). The nature of this perceived 'threat' can be better understood by exploring the relationship between culture, science and indigenous psychologies. Understanding these relationships also assists in comprehending why the knowledge bases of indigenous peoples have not been considered integral to indigenous psychology.

As outlined earlier in this chapter, indigenous psychology has emerged partially in reaction to the limitations of the Western scientific paradigm. However, according to Allwood (2002) nearly all indigenous psychologies identify themselves as existing within the scientific paradigm. Questions are then raised regarding the compatibility of the knowledge bases of indigenous peoples with the scientific paradigm (Allwood, 2002). This perceived incompatibility is the primary source of resistance to the inclusion of indigenous knowledge bases within indigenous psychologies. For example, Triandis (2000) considered it difficult to convince mainstream psychologists that they should be interested in the findings from indigenous psychologies. According to Triandis (2000), mainstream psychologists are interested in psychological phenomena, not anthropological findings; there are too many findings so it is difficult to judge which are important; and on top of that some findings may even be inconsistent.

Before exploring the relationship between science and indigenous psychologies it is useful to briefly examine the way in which culture has been conceptualised

within psychology. The concept of 'culture' is fundamental to all definitions of indigenous psychology, with common agreement that indigenous psychologies are generated from within a particular culture. However, the way in which the concept of culture is understood creates confusion within the indigenous psychology field, as well as eliciting criticism regarding the actual legitimacy of indigenous psychologies themselves.

The salient issue is the way in which culture is interpreted as being internally homogenous and externally distinctive, with cultural differences conceptualised in terms of cultural dichotomies (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). These dichotomies are evident in concepts such as Western and non-Western, individualism and collectivism, ego-centrism and socio-centrism (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Such dichotomies have reinforced the notion that indigenous psychologies must be free from all external, foreign and non-local influences, and as such must result in unique findings (Adair et al., 1993; Azuma, 1984; Moghaddam & Taylor, 1986; Shams, 2005; Sinha, 1997).

Those who have questioned the validity of indigenous psychology in general argue that because no culture can be totally free of external influences, there cannot be any 'true' indigenous psychologies. Shams (2002) asserted that globalisation and dominant majority culture influences means that no cultural group can be free of influence from dominant Western culture. Sinha (1997) commented that if indigenous psychology is taken in its narrowest sense it implies that a culture will not have been influenced by external elements. As acknowledged above, such cultural isolation is rare and it would appear impossible to deny the influence of Western psychology or global forces on culture (Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Shams, 2002). Boski (2006) posited an argument based on the multicultural nature of countries, and argued that it will become increasingly counter productive to conceptualise indigenous psychologies on the basis of fixed ethnic identities.

As was explained in Chapter One, the heterogeneity of Māori cultural identity is well recognised within Aotearoa. Being Māori in the 21st century is characterised by diversity in relation to socio-economic circumstances, cultural affiliation and access to te ao Māori (Durie, 2003e). However recognition of this diversity is not used as the basis to challenge the existence and validity of indigenous knowledge bases. As has been highlighted several times, it is the 'indigeneity factor' that represents a core element of Māori development aspirations (Durie, 2005b). The indigeneity factor does not exclude the needs of other cultural groups or the influences which have impacted on Māori worldviews and cultural practices. However it does emphasise the determination of indigenous peoples to retain their own distinctive cultural identity and affirm a unique place within a nation (Durie, 2004b). While the knowledge bases of indigenous peoples are commonly perceived as synonymous with traditional practices applicable only to the past, such perceptions ignore the developmental elements that are part of the ongoing indigenous journey (Durie, 2004a).

I return now to the relationship between science and indigenous knowledge bases. Adair (1999) considered that confusion about the indigenisation of psychology has led to inappropriately equating indigenous psychology with a narrow search for uniquely native traits or concepts, early religious or philosophical writings and linguistically defined constructs. The knowledge bases of indigenous peoples are considered problematic if the goal of indigenous psychology is, as Kim and Park (2005) stated, to: "create a more rigourous, systematic and universal science that can be theoretically and empirically tested" (p. 85). According to Kim and Park (2005) because analyses of indigenous concepts cannot be supported by empirical evidence, their scientific merit is difficult to assess.

Using Confucian philosophy as an example, Kim (2000) outlined several reasons why indigenous knowledge bases were problematic in the field of indigenous psychology. Because there are competing views within the philosophical traditions of Confucianism, Kim (2000) asserted that Confucianism could not be used to explain the behaviour of East Asian societies. Implicit in this is the

erroneous assumption that such competing views are absent within Western knowledge bases. The 'blind spots' and bias in philosophical traditions are posited as yet another reason for the exclusion of indigenous knowledge bases (Kim, 2000). Implicit within this is the assumption that the scientific tradition is free of such blind spots and bias. And lastly, Kim (2000) considered that because the 'lay public' may not be aware of indigenous concepts it is necessary to translate philosophical concepts into psychological constructs and relate them to everyday terminology. It is not clear who the 'lay public' might be or why they might be assumed to have an understanding of psychological constructs but not of concepts drawn from indigenous knowledge bases.

According to some indigenous psychology scholars, indigenous knowledge is considered unable to be scientifically validated (Kim, 2000). Because of this, while it may produce useful descriptive models, indigenous knowledge does not provide the explanatory models able to contribute to the advancement of scientific knowledge (Kim, 2000; Kim & Park, 2005). It is empirical verification which distinguishes the discipline of science from the discipline of philosophy (Kim, 2000). According to Kim and Park (2005) this is particularly pertinent to concepts which are reported in indigenous languages, as although they may be interesting, they have limited value to people who do not understand the language. Allwood and Berry (2006) on the other hand, argued that some indigenous psychology scholars have deliberately chosen not to publish their findings in English so they might have the cultural space required to engage in indigenous psychology development.

Although the scientific paradigm of the West has been used by many as a rationale to exclude the knowledge bases of indigenous peoples, Allwood (2002) has argued that it is not clear that the concept of scientific research did in fact originate from the Western cultural context. There is increasing recognition that science actually evolved from Eastern intellectual traditions (Allwood, 2002). Allwood (2002) concluded that such discussions were important as they expanded the possibilities of what scientific research actually encompassed, thus increasing

the range of what can legitimately be considered scientific and consequently the range of legitimate arguments indigenous psychology is able to make.

Some scholars have attempted to better understand how the tension between indigenous knowledge bases and indigenous psychology might be better understood. One way of doing this has been to consider the notion of the interaction between different knowledge systems. As has been noted earlier indigenous psychologies do not automatically reject Western psychology. Allwood (2002) distinguished between 'indigenised psychologies' and 'indigenous psychologies'. Indigenised psychologies occurred via the process of transferring a scientific tradition (Western psychology) outside of the cultural context in which it originated (the Western sphere) to new cultural contexts. This is in contrast to indigenous psychologies which have developed as part of the long term cultural tradition in societies (Allwood, 2002).

The notion of interaction between knowledge systems is not foreign in Aotearoa. Mason Durie has commented that scientific and indigenous knowledge bases are each founded on distinctive philosophies, criteria and methodologies (Durie, 2005d). Contests about the relative validity of science or indigenous knowledge bases are usually conducted on the assumption that one is superior to the other (Durie, 2004d, 2005d). However, the mistrust of science by indigenous peoples on the one hand, and the disregarding of indigenous knowledge by the scientific community on the other, do have an element in common (Durie, 2004d, 2005d). Both have a tendency to evaluate the other according to limited criteria. However, Durie (2004d, 2005d) explicitly emphasised that because they are different bodies of knowledge, the tools of one cannot be used to analyse and understand the foundations of another. Importantly for the discussion here, the tools of one cannot be used to make judgments regarding the legitimacy of the other.

According to Durie (2004d, 2005d), polarised debate regarding the relative validity of each knowledge base distracts from the opportunities for knowledge

development which exist at the interface between indigenous knowledge and science. Supporting this, Herbert and Morrison (in press) have argued that indigenous psychology in Aotearoa will encompass three broad knowledge domains: research, theory and practice originating from the Western world view; research, theory and practice from both the Western and indigenous domains; and research, theory and practice from the indigenous knowledge domain.

Interface research attempts to utilise two sets of values, not to simply bridge the benefits but to produce gains for indigenous peoples, most of whom live at the interface (Durie, 2004d, 2005d). Durie (2003c) argued that the challenge for indigenous practitioners was to live at the interface between indigenous and Western knowledge bases. In relation to psychology, it is at this interface where many Māori psychologists will be positioned (Hirini, 1998).

Concluding Comments

The academic field of indigenous psychology emerged primarily in reaction to the assumption that psychologies developed in the West could be applied elsewhere with equal applicability and relevance. It is now generally agreed that human behaviours are founded in particular cultural contexts and that culture cannot be considered an extraneous variable to be eliminated. The emergence of indigenous psychologies was also influenced by post-colonial and nationalist movements which sought to curtail the flow of imported psychological knowledge and develop a psychological discipline more relevant to their particular contexts. The import and export of psychological theories is explored by Moghaddam (1987), who identifies how differential capacity to create and disseminate psychological knowledge has contributed to the dominance of Western psychology. Moghaddam's (1987) analysis omits Fourth World nations, these being indigenous communities who are positioned within colonial First, Second or Third world nations.

In defining indigenous psychology scholars have agreed on several fundamentals. Indigenous psychologies: are not imposed or imported; are influenced by cultural contexts; are developed from within the culture using a variety of appropriate and relevant methodologies; and result in knowledge which is locally relevant. These elements make sense within our context in Aotearoa. However, there are also a number of contradictions within the definitions proposed. Of most interest to this thesis is that although indigenous psychologies are described as native and not transplanted, indigenous psychologies are not considered a psychology of native or aboriginal peoples. This position does not make sense within our context. It is clear that what a number of authors describe as indigenous psychology is more accurately termed a national psychology. The confusion between an indigenous psychology and a national psychology is due partly to differing interpretations of the word indigenous. In Aotearoa, the term indigenous, consistent with the views of the United Nations, is commonly understood to refer to the original inhabitants of the land in which they dwell (Nikora et al., 2006).

Differing interpretations of the word indigenous does not fully explain the tendency to exclude indigenous peoples from definitions of indigenous psychology. The major source of resistance to the validity and legitimacy of indigenous peoples knowledge bases within the field of indigenous psychology arises from the perceived incompatibility of indigenous knowledge with the scientific orientation of psychology. Knowledge bases of indigenous peoples are considered not able to be supported by empirical evidence, impacting on the ability to assess their scientific merit (Kim & Park, 2005). The validity of the notion that there are fixed ethnic identities is also challenged (Boski, 2006). Essentially, given the extensive influence of dominant Western culture, the existence of a ‘true’ indigenous culture is queried, subtly providing a rationale for the exclusion of indigenous peoples in indigenous psychology. However, in Aotearoa the indigeneity factor represents a core element of Māori aspirations. Contributing to the realisation of Māori aspirations is in turn a central aim of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit to Māori.

Chapter Three
Case Studies of Indigenous Psychology Development

Various models of indigenous psychology development are identified in the literature. However these models tend not to account for the complexity and diversity of the indigenisation process. As Adair (2004) pointed out, there is wide variation between different countries regarding the way in which indigenous psychologies have evolved. Rather than simply review the models which have been proposed in the literature, a more useful approach in the search to identify conditions and processes which facilitate indigenous psychology development is to explore the development of indigenous psychology in other countries.

General approaches to indigenous psychology development are firstly explored. This is followed by descriptive summaries of indigenous psychology development in Canada, the Philippines and India. These countries were chosen because they all have a relatively recent history of working towards indigenous psychology development, and there is a literature base describing the processes undertaken.

Approaches to Indigenous Psychology Development

A number of authors have described different approaches to indigenous psychology development. These can be broadly described as content and method approaches. Content indigenisation focuses on development of specific indigenous constructs and theories which reflect specific cultural world views, experiences and contexts (Atal, 1990; Kumar, 1979). Integral to this is what has been termed topical or substantive indigenisation where issues of relevance to one's own society and country are given priority in research and teaching agendas (Kumar, 1979). Applied or problem oriented approaches are also given priority within content indigenisation strategies (Adair, 1999; Berry et al., 1992; Diaz-

Loving, 1999; Sinha, 1997). The applied approach is considered to build researcher confidence and engage psychologists in activities which generate relevant ways to address local issues (Adair, 1999).

Underpinning content indigenisation are ways in which knowledge is generated. Enriquez (1993) identified two approaches: indigenisation from 'within' or endogenous indigenisation; and indigenisation from 'without' or exogenous indigenisation. Endogenous indigenisation is where the theoretical frameworks and methodologies emerge from within the indigenous culture (Enriquez, 1993). Exogeneous indigenisation refers to when the frameworks and methodologies derive from imported sources (Enriquez, 1993). This approach may include test modification and the translation of imported materials (Enriquez, 1992a).

Method approaches to indigenisation focus on the adaptation, transformation or development of methods which are appropriate to the local context (Atal, 1990; Sinha, 1997). Recognising the importance of methodological indigenisation, Berry et al. (1992) commented that the majority of definitions have tended to focus directly on content approaches without accounting for the psychological tools used to create that content. Obviously content and method approaches to indigenisation are closely interrelated, with processes for knowledge generation impacting on the methods used.

Methodological indigenisation is not without its challenges. The absence of an established theoretical base from which to draw on means that methodological indigenisation has often started from the premise of adapting or modifying existing tools (Adair, 1992; Sinha, 1997). However, several authors assert that this approach results only in superficial changes, with indigenisation requiring the development of indigenous techniques and approaches which avoid reliance on Western methods (Adair, 1992; Enriquez, 1990; Ho, 1988; Sinha, 1997). Adair (1999) proposed that the early stages of indigenisation should focus on inductive approaches which utilise qualitative and descriptive methods. However a characteristic of indigenous psychology is that it does not affirm or preclude the

use of particular methodologies (Kim & Berry, 1993). The important point is that the methodologies used need to be relevant and appropriate for the cultural and social context under exploration (Adair, 1999; Allwood & Berry, 2006).

Canada

Adair (1999) posited that Canada was very much an importer of psychological concepts and models from the United States. This status as an importer was reflected in practices such as: Canada and the United States utilising the same research granting agencies; until relatively recently the United States Code of Ethics governed psychological practice in Canada; and Canadian university psychology departments being required to seek accreditation through the American Psychological Association (Adair, 1999).

According to Adair (1999) indigenisation was the process by which changes were made to transform an imported discipline into one more appropriate to the culture, with the eventual goal being autochronisation; independence from imported origins. Autochronisation required the development of a critical mass of researchers via the establishment of graduate training programmes, relevant teaching resources, strong discipline associations, and reliable national research funding (Adair, 2004). Indigenous psychology development in Canada was more than simply becoming aware of local issues and modifying research to encompass relevant topics (Adair, 1999). The central issue was that of discipline development, with slow progress reflecting the complexity of the necessary processes and components.

Adair (1999), a leading commentator of indigenous psychology in Canada, has stated that indigenous psychology was not a psychology of aboriginals. Reflecting the positioning of indigenous peoples within the field of indigenous psychology in Canada, Berry (2006) identified that while the indigenous people of Canada should inform the development of a Canadian psychology, much had already been achieved in this area, primarily via the discipline of anthropology. It

is important to state from the outset that essentially what is being described in Canada could be defined as a 'national' psychology or what Adair (1999) termed 'a psychology of Canada' (p. 415). This is as opposed to an indigenous psychology which positions indigenous people at its core.

Calls for the 'Canadianisation' of psychology in Canada emerged from a broader context of emergent nationalism (Berry, 2006). In the late 1970s proponents from the social science disciplines identified a need to ensure imported disciplines were appropriate to the Canadian context (Adair, 2004). In the mid-1960s large numbers of psychology department faculty members were being employed from outside of Canada, primarily from the United States of America. This resulted in psychology being primarily taught from an imported universalistic perspective, with little research of direct importance to Canada undertaken (Adair, 1999). Nationalism, sometimes criticised as 'anti-American' (Berry, 2006), was the driving force behind calls for indigenous psychology development in Canada. Nationalism also influenced how indigenous psychology was conceptualised and the positioning of indigenous peoples within the discipline in Canada.

Adair (1999) reported that progress in indigenous psychology development was gradually made over a three decade period. This consisted of initiatives which mainly focused on the development of a relevant research base on which localized psychology teaching programmes could be based (Adair, 1999). A key factor in the process was to cease employing psychology department faculty members from outside of Canada (Adair, 2005). In practice, this was made possible by the Canadian government significantly investing in tertiary education in the mid-1960s. As part of this investment, the Canadian government adopted policies which required universities to give Canadian citizens the first chance at any academic position (Adair, 2005). Foreign applicants for faculty positions could only be considered if Canadians had been interviewed and found not suitable (Adair, 2005). This policy provided psychology graduates with a protected opportunity to compete for academic positions (Adair, 2005). In turn, the development of graduate psychology programmes resulted in increased numbers

of PhD qualified psychologists, and a critical mass of Canadian researchers focused on issues of local relevance (Adair, 1999).

A national granting agency assisted in facilitating an increase in local research by requiring that a high proportion of research projects be focused on issues of importance to Canadian society (Adair, 1999). Researchers were also important as role models and mentors, to guide and shape the work of new researchers (Adair, 2005). Essentially the development of a critical mass of researchers aimed to create an autochronous and self-sustaining discipline, no longer dependent on imported models and workforce (Adair, 2004).

Two decades after the first calls for greater Canadian content in psychology, increased local research was translated into teaching resources, such as edited books of readings and texts (Adair, 1999). Although progress was slower than might have been desired, Adair (2005) believed this was to be expected given the significant amount of research which was needed to produce the core knowledge required to publish teaching texts. An infrastructure was also developed to better support a localised psychology discipline. Two new local journals emerged, a national office for the Canadian Psychology Association was established, and a Canadian Code of Ethics was developed (Adair, 1999).

Adair, Pandey, Begum, Puhan, and Vohra (1995) identified that the intellectual climate was critical to indigenous psychology development in Canada. Described as a collective undertaking, two agents of change were initially targeted to facilitate this intellectual climate. These agents were academic psychology departments and national professional psychology organisations (Adair et al., 1995). Academic psychology departments were viewed as having the ability to steer development towards processes of indigenisation. Within academic departments, Adair (1999) distinguished between what he termed the ‘front’ and ‘mass’ researchers. Those at the ‘front’ were the pioneers, developing theories and setting directions. The ‘mass’ were described as the psychologists who produced the bulk of the research which formed the basic character of the

indigenous discipline. National professional organisations, the second agent of change, provided collectively determined standards for conduct, teaching and research. These organisations had the ability to effect change across the wider discipline (Adair et al., 1995).

Adair (1999) considered that the developments described above resulted in an authochronous and distinctly Canadian psychology. However interestingly, Kim and Park (2005) concluded that the epistemological and scientific paradigm adopted by Canadian psychologists and general psychology is the same. Therefore, according to Kim and Park (2005), while Canada may be cited as having successfully created psychological knowledge relevant to its context, Canada cannot be considered an example of successful indigenous psychology development. I would add to this that, given indigenous peoples have been for the most part excluded from the discipline of indigenous psychology in Canada, what is being described as an indigenous psychology is more accurately termed a national psychology of Canada.

Philippines

Filipino psychologists were among the first advocates of indigenous psychology in Asia (Ho, 1998), and of all the countries in Asia, the Philippines shows the strongest trend towards indigenisation (Sinha, 1997). Filipino scholars have long questioned the dominance and applicability of Western psychology, calling for the local adaptation and intellectual independence of the psychology discipline (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000; Sinha, 1997). Dissatisfaction with the inadequacies of Western-oriented approaches in psychology, coupled with emerging cultural pride and identity, contributed in the 1970s to the emergence of an indigenous psychology movement, *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (SP) (Church, 1992; Church & Katigbak, 2002; Mataragnon, 1990; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000).

The SP movement, primarily initiated by Virgil Enriquez, challenged the imported psychology discipline on several fronts. These included: objecting to a psychology which perpetuated the colonial status of the Filipino mind; protesting against the importation of a psychology developed in and appropriate for other cultural, social, economic, historical contexts; and protesting against a psychology used for exploitation of the masses (Enriquez, 1992b). SP advocated for the development of a Filipino psychology founded in the experience, ideas and orientation of Filipino people, developed from an endogenous approach which viewed culture as a source of knowledge generation (Church & Katigbak, 2002; Enriquez, 1992a; , 1993; Pe-Pua, 2006; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000).

A defining characteristic of SP has been the utilisation of the Filipino language for psychological research and writing. Considered integral to an endogenous approach, the use of indigenous language is critical to the discovery of indigenous constructs (Church & Katigbak, 2002; Enriquez, 1993; Pe-Pua, 2006). Early efforts at indigenisation through translation were categorised as exogenous, for example, the translation of American personality tests with no attempt made to question the theoretical models and assumptions underpinning the tests (Enriquez, 1993; Pe-Pua, 1989).

Allwood (2002) suggested that research which is reported in indigenous languages threatens the scientific value of free and unrestrained communication, access and utilisation of research results. However, Church and Katigbak (2002) reported that the use of native languages played a central and defining role in the indigenous psychology development in the Philippines. The competing tensions are evident. One approach prioritises communication with the wider Western scientific community. The other, consistent with the characteristics of indigenous psychology, prioritises the collection of better quality information, more accurate representation of indigenous realities and reaching a wider internal audience (Church & Katigbak, 2002).

Church and Katigbak (2002) and Pe-Pua (1989) reported that developments have occurred in the identification of indigenous concepts, for example, in the areas of personality and values, categorisation of indigenous or person-descriptive terms, descriptive studies of single indigenous concepts and detailed anthropological, linguistic, philosophical and conceptual analyses conducted on a number of Filipino concepts. However, concern has been raised that concept interpretations have been undertaken by those not engaged in Filipino culture or language and have, at times, reflected colonial perspectives (Church & Katigbak, 2002).

A number of authors commented in detail on the development of indigenous Filipino research methods. Characterised by participatory frameworks and methodologies guided by the cultural norms of Filipino people, indigenous methods have evolved out of necessity from research fieldwork (Church, 1992; Church & Katigbak, 2002; Enriquez, 1993; Ho, 1988; Pe-Pua, 1989; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). Power differentials between the researcher and indigenous community have been reversed, with the researcher being a facilitator of the research process. Through a process of collective decision making, participants have the power to determine research questions, methods, interpretations and dissemination (Church & Katigbak, 2002; Pe-Pua, 2006; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). Other points emphasised included: that knowledge was not independent of practice (Enriquez, 1992a); research methods should be chosen on the basis of appropriateness to the research question; and the full use of native language was critical (Pe-Pua, 2006).

Alongside methodological development has been an increased focus on researching topics of relevance to the Philippines. Studies of non-elite, everyday Filipino behaviour, and broader applied research on topics addressing societal needs are evident (Church & Katigbak, 2002). For example, developing and providing crisis assistance to street children, assisting battered women, investigating issues such as martial law, democracy, and consumer behaviour, are all topics investigated from Filipino perspectives. Assumptions regarding who is able to contribute to the development of indigenous psychology have also been

challenged. Limiting contributions to academically qualified 'psychologists' excludes those from other disciplines, as well as the 'unwritten' but no less valid psychologies (Enriquez, 1993). The assumption that knowledge is only contained within the written word, also served to act as a barrier to indigenous psychology development (Enriquez, 1993).

Indigenous psychology development in the Philippines has been criticised. Criticisms have included: a lack of publication; challenges to validity; challenges to the cultural specificity of findings; researcher bias; challenges to the perceived uniqueness of the methodologies; and the use of Western models to investigate issues of local relevance (Church & Katigbak, 2002). Responses to these criticisms have highlighted that although the methods may not necessarily be unique, and are not claimed as such, they are, with adaptations, more appropriate and relevant to the local context (Church & Katigbak, 2002; Pe-Pua, 2006). Although SP advocated for the development of a Filipino psychology, it did not advocate the blind rejection of foreign theories simply because they were foreign, viewing such rejection to be just as dangerous as the uncritical acceptance of Western theories (Enriquez, 1992b). Issues regarding researcher bias are addressed by referring to the endogenous approach which is inclusive of multiple methods, reliability and validity checks (Pe-Pua, 2006).

Institutional structures and processes designed to support the creation and dissemination of indigenous psychology underpinned development in the Philippines. These included the development of teaching resources, courses, degree programmes, theses and dissertations, journals, and other publications with an indigenous focus (Church & Katigbak, 2002; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). Reviews of psychology courses and curriculum show that since the 1970s indigenous Filipino psychology has had a presence in academic psychology (Church & Katigbak, 2002). The limited availability of indigenous texts was recognised as restricting the teaching of indigenous psychology, leading to the development of introductory texts and the institutional commissioning of course materials (Church & Katigbak, 2002; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). The

SP has also contributed through compiling indigenous-focused course readings (Church & Katigbak, 2002; Enriquez, 1990; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000).

In addition to the development of indigenous teaching resources, a number of presentation and publication outlets focused on the dissemination of indigenous materials also emerged. The National Association for Filipino Psychology (PSSP), established in 1975, is most closely linked to the SP movement, utilising the Filipino language in conference presentations and published proceedings (Church & Katigbak, 2002; Enriquez, 1987; Lourdes Vasquez-De Jesus, 1990). The Philippine Psychology Research and Training House (PPRTH) is also a base for research and training activities, providing a publishing outlet as well as a clearing house for SP materials, holding more than 10,000 references written in the Filipino language (Church & Katigbak, 2002; Pe-Pua, 2006; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). Other relevant outlets for dissemination include the Philippine Association of Psychology, which holds annual conferences in the English language and the *Philippine Journal of Psychology*, also published in English. Although the Philippine Association of Psychology addresses indigenous topics, it is noted that these tend to more frequently resemble traditional Western psychology (Church & Katigbak, 2002).

Despite the progress outlined above, it has been commented that Western concepts continue to dominate, with little evidence of integration (Enriquez, 1993). Cited as evidence of this, Filipino psychology continues to be considered an isolated subject area, taught in separate courses, with only Filipino psychology taught in the Filipino language (Church & Katigbak, 2002).

The literature reviewed regarding indigenous psychology development in the Philippines raises an important question. As has been noted throughout this section, Filipino psychology emerges from the experiences, thoughts, culture and languages of the Filipino people (Pe-Pua, 1989). On the basis of the summary provided here, it may be assumed that Filipino psychology differs significantly from the national psychology which exists in Canada. However, further

exploration reveals that while there might be differences, there are also similarities. As was seen in Canada, indigenous psychology development has aimed to create a national psychology, as opposed to psychologies of relevance to the indigenous peoples of the Philippines.

Little attention is paid within the indigenous psychology literature to describing who exactly the Filipino people are. Enriquez (1992b) cites Cipres-Ortega (1980) who identified that the word 'Filipino' conjured the image of one belonging to a major ethnic group. However, Fallon (1989) identified the Republic of the Philippines as an amalgamation of a multitude of diverse islands and peoples. Created in 1946 as a result of negotiations between Filipino nationalists and the United States of America government, Fallon (1989) considered Filipino nationalism as an artificial, non-Asian construct with no existence prior to the Spanish invasion of 1565. The Philippines consists of more than 7,100 islands; part of the Malay, or East Indian, Archipelago, which reaches from Southeast Asia to Australia. The indigenous population of the Philippines constitutes approximately 4.5 million people (Singh, 1996). The majority (61%) are in Mindanao, a third (33%) are in Luzon and the remainder (6%) are scattered among the Vasayan islands (Asian Development Bank, 2002; Singh, 1996).

Since the 1970s the intensification of mining, logging and plantations has eroded the self sufficiency of indigenous lifestyles (Singh, 1996). The Asian Development Bank reported in 2002 that the Philippines were the only country in Asia to have officially used the term 'indigenous peoples, with the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) 1997, legally enshrining the rights of indigenous peoples in the Philippines. However, in 2006 the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues drew attention to assassinations of key leaders of indigenous peoples organisations in the Philippines (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2006b).

The literature reviewed regarding indigenous psychology in the Philippines emphasised the use of native languages. A quick perusal of literature relating to

language in the Philippines reveals complexity and controversy. The development and formal adoption of a common national language known as Filipino was mandated in the 1987 Philippine Constitution (Rubrico, 1998). However, while not officially stated, it was commonly assumed that Filipino was equivalent to Pilipino, the national language of the time which was clearly based on the Tagalog language (Rubrico, 1998). Controversy and debate surrounds other non-Tagalog languages of the Philippines and their integration into Filipino, as well as the influence of Spanish, English and other foreign languages on the Filipino language (Rubrico, 1998).

The context of the indigenous peoples of the Philippines is certainly very complex and it is beyond the scope of this thesis to enter into a detailed discussion on this. However, the points raised above do highlight some interesting issues regarding the positioning of indigenous peoples within the indigenous psychology discipline in the Philippines. While the Philippines have certainly made considerable progress in terms of challenging the dominance of Western psychology, the extent to which indigenous psychology in the Philippines is inclusive of the knowledge bases of indigenous peoples is unclear. Whether indigenous psychology in the Philippines does in fact constitute an indigenous psychology or whether it is more accurately described as a national psychology is not entirely apparent.

India

Calls for psychology in India to be made more relevant to the Indian context and better serve the needs of Indian people are evident from the 1970s (Vohra, 2004). Distinct phases in the development of psychology in India have been suggested: pre-independence; post-independence; problem oriented research; and indigenisation (Sinha, 1993). The pre-independence phase from 1915 to the 1940s was characterised by the replication of experimental studies originating in the West, at times with minor variations. Few psychological theories related specifically to the Indian context were developed, research priorities were distorted, and the research conducted was of little relevance or utility within the

Indian context (Sinha, 1986, 1993). The post-independence phase was marked by the political independence of India in 1947, with the subsequent growth of national pride (Dalal, 1990). During this period, the discipline of psychology grew rapidly within Indian universities (Dalal, 1990). However, Indian psychologists continued to maintain close ties with their Western colleagues, resulting in an ongoing focus on research topics and methodologies that were not necessarily important or relevant to the Indian context (Dalal, 1990; Sinha, 1986, 1993).

The onset of the problem-oriented research phase saw academics express the need for research topics, methodologies and findings that consciously addressed the complex social realities of India (Dalal, 1990; Sinha, 1986). This phase marked the beginning of movement towards indigenisation, where researchers focused on selecting relevant topics and developing new tools. However foreign frameworks and methodologies continued to be utilised, and although modified to incorporate Indian realities, the focus was on replication and cross-cultural validity (Adair et al., 1993; Dalal, 1990; Sinha, 1993). The shift from the problem-oriented research phase to indigenisation was marked not only by questioning the appropriateness of Western theories, models and methods, but more importantly by the move away from the adaptation and criticism of Western theories, to the development of conceptual frameworks based on Indian realities (Sinha, 1993).

Although indigenous psychology development in India emphasised endogenous development whereby strength was drawn from Indian models, it was also recognised that Indian models provided only one of several sources of an indigenous Indian psychology (Vohra, 2004). Adair (2004) has also explored indigenous psychology development in India. He identified that although research based on cultural traditions was considered an acceptable route of indigenisation in India, there has been no one accepted model for research, and the value of Western-based research has been acknowledged (Adair, 2004). Unlike indigenous psychology in the Philippines, Adair (2004) also argued that

the use of the English language in India has facilitated Indian participation within the wider international academic community.

The discipline continued to become more problem-oriented, promoting an emphasis on the role of psychology in social change and national development (Dalal, 1990; Sinha, 1993). Another route to indigenisation was the focus on examining social problems and imported psychological concepts from the perspective of their relevance and application to India (Vohra, 2004). Research activity expanded, displaying a tendency towards indigenisation in the selection of research topics. For example, adult education, rural development, social inequality, social discrimination, voter behaviour, political process, poverty, migration, mobility, urbanisation, and industrialisation have all appeared in the research literature (Sinha, 1986, 1993).

Although there continued to be a tendency to focus on the micro/individual level, the discipline also started to discuss the importance of a macro perspective, investigating structural and systemic issues (Sinha, 1986). Alongside this, Western psychology was not totally abandoned, with some psychologists involved in the cross cultural field continuing to investigate the applicability of Western concepts within Indian contexts (Dalal, 1990).

Developments in infrastructure have made important contributions to the indigenisation process in India. Dalal (1990) emphasised the importance of integrating indigenous psychology research outputs. This would enable the identification of follow-up areas of research for emerging researchers, as well as foster interaction and communication (Dalal, 1990). The Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), a national source of research funding, sponsored the regular publication of a journal of abstracts of published Indian psychological research, and a series of edited volumes which surveyed the knowledge accumulated by Indian psychologists on selected topics (Adair, 2004; Vohra, 2004). The cumulative effect of these developments over the years has been to

foster a critical mass of researchers who identify, stimulate and maintain interest in topics of national interest and relevance (Dalal, 1990).

Although there has been a visible trend towards indigenisation in India, progress has been slow (Sinha, 1993; Vohra, 2004). Several reasons for this are offered. Some attempts at indigenisation have resulted in 'cosmetic' indigenisation, whereby Indian concepts are casually referred to, yet primarily discussed within Western theoretical frameworks, with no attempts made to move beyond this (Sinha, 1993). In other cases, some researchers have continued to confine themselves to adaptation, ignoring issues such as the development of indigenous methodologies and relevance to local context (Sinha, 1997). For some indigenous psychology scholars this has been a deliberate move, arising out of a concern to ensure that indigenisation does not become subsumed within revivalism, a concept which rejects all that is Western (Dalal, 1990).

Other issues have arisen in relation to the teaching of indigenous psychology. A scarcity of teaching resources published in Hindi and other regional languages has hampered progress. Widely used texts are outdated editions of Western texts and the texts which are available in the native languages are considered poor translations of Western material (Dalal, 1990). Although reviews of psychology in India indicate major increases in the availability of locally relevant research, a lack of local texts has meant that this material has not been integrated within teaching programmes (Dalal, 1990). Integration within teaching is important, with Vohra (2004) identifying that increasing trends towards indigenisation must be reflected in training programmes and early research careers.

Several elements are considered important to ensure ongoing indigenous development in India. These included: advocating the 'guru-pupil' tradition, an internationally common way for ensuring research interests are sustained and developed; the development of teaching courses relevant to Indian issues; the development of a Code of Ethics to guide professional practice; a strong professional association; and additional high quality journals (Adair, 2004; Dalal,

1990). The identification of these elements reinforce the view that indigenisation is a complex, multi-determined process, more than simply increasing sensitivity towards culture (Adair, 2004).

Unlike Canada or the Philippines, Indian psychologists have explicitly queried whether it is more appropriate to envisage multiple indigenous psychologies in the Indian context (Vohra, 2004). The diversity and complexity of languages spoken, tribal and religious affiliation, and caste are all acknowledged as influencing indigenous psychology development. Although Vohra (2004) utilised the terms national and indigenous interchangeably, perhaps in the case of indigenous psychology development in India this is more appropriate than elsewhere.

Concluding Comments

Indigenous psychology development does not just simply 'happen' of its own accord but is an interaction of the general economic and political atmosphere, national investment in higher education, and the structure and management of universities and other research institutions (Adair et al., 1995). Essentially the ability to control the process of discipline development and having the necessary resources to do so underpins indigenous psychology development (Adair et al., 1995). Of particular interest in this thesis is *how* indigenous psychology development occurs.

Indigenous psychology development is slow and complex, with a diverse range of variables interacting to form an indigenised discipline. As can be seen in the case studies reviewed above, there is no single route to indigenisation. It is a combination of approaches which contribute to the development of an indigenous psychology discipline. Strategies relevant to indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa are further explored in the next chapter.

Chapter Four
Development Strategies Relevant to Aotearoa

Chapter Four draws on the case studies of the previous chapter, as well as literature from the wider social science and management knowledge bases, to identify indigenous psychology development strategies which may be relevant to Aotearoa. The relevance of context, the critical mass, and support mechanisms to indigenous psychology development are explored.

Indigenous Psychology Development: Context

The case studies reviewed demonstrated a variety of approaches to the indigenisation process, supporting the view that there are multiple routes to indigenous psychology development. All have a phase which involved becoming conscious of the limitations of Western psychology within their own local contexts. However, there are differences between the nationalist and anti-colonist agendas which fuelled these realisations. These differences had implications for the way in which indigenous psychology developed in each of the countries explored. For example, in Canada the indigenisation process called for a greater focus on issues of relevance to the national Canadian context. Indigenous people are noticeably absent in the way in which indigenisation has been conceptualised within the Canadian context. Indigenous psychology in the Philippines emerged as part of a strong reaction to colonial agendas and the imposition of Western knowledge, with a strong focus on endogenous indigenisation. Despite the fact that the Philippines was considered to demonstrate the strongest trend towards indigenisation of all the countries in Asia (Sinha, 1997), it does appear that indigenous psychology was treated as being synonymous with a national psychology. The knowledge bases of indigenous peoples appeared largely absent in the complex context of the Philippines. In India, anti-colonist and nationalist agendas formed a key part of the emergence of indigenous psychology. Vohra (2004) utilised the terms national and indigenous interchangeably when

describing indigenous psychology development in India. However, explicit recognition within the field of indigenous psychology of Indian cultural models and the diversity and complexity of Indian society means that perhaps within the Indian context, the relationship between indigenous and national psychologies is much closer than in Canada or the Philippines.

For all three case studies, initial movement towards indigenous psychology development was characterised by the need for more relevant research. However, Western models were still dominant, with a focus on modification and replication. The endogenous approach is clearly seen in the Philippines. Although early attempts at indigenisation started with imported content and focused on adaptation, there has been an explicit focus on endogenous indigenisation, with the Filipino language being a central element. Proponents of indigenous psychology in the Philippines have reacted to criticisms of bias through emphasizing that their approach is inclusive of multiple methods, reliability and validity checks. India also moved to a position of exogenous development.

A commonality across the cases studies is that although endogenous indigenisation was prioritised, this did not involve the wholesale rejection of Western psychology, suggesting that indigenisation approaches are characterised by a combination of endogenous and exogenous indigenisation. The combination of approaches again supports the premise that there is no one model of indigenisation, with each evolving, as is to be expected, according to the different social and cultural contexts in which they emerged.

Indigenous Psychology Development: The Critical Mass

The concept of achieving the 'critical mass' is common across the majority of indigenous psychology scholars. Despite this, there is very little discussion regarding how the concept of the critical mass is understood and applied within the indigenous psychology field. For example, what is meant by critical mass? Is there a certain number which constitutes the critical mass? What happens when

the critical mass is realised? Although the concept has not been widely explored within the indigenous psychology field, other disciplines have critiqued critical mass theory in relation to minority group participation. This section draws on literature sources from the disciplines of political science and management to better understand how the concept of critical mass is relevant to indigenous psychology development.

The concept of critical mass theory has its origins in the field of physics where it is defined as the 'minimum amount of fissile material needed to maintain a nuclear chain reaction' (Compact Oxford Online Dictionary, n.d.). In recent years the concept of critical mass has gained popularity in the social science field, particularly in relation to the area of equal opportunities where, drawing on its physics origins, it has come to mean 'the minimum amount of resources required to start or maintain a venture' (Compact Oxford Online Dictionary, n.d.). According Studlar and McAllister (2002) the concept of critical mass refers to a threshold beyond which accelerated changes in behaviour occur via a chain reaction.

The contrast between accelerated change and incremental change is central to critical mass theory (Studlar & McAllister, 2002). The concept of accelerated change is also known as the tipping point. It is the critical level when the snowball becomes the avalanche (Gladwell, 2000; Ibrahim, 2001). Sociologists first used the term in the 1970s to describe the movement of white people in the United States from the older cities to the suburbs. Sociologists found that when the number of incoming African Americans reached a certain level, the community would 'tip', with the majority of remaining white people leaving almost immediately (Gladwell, 2000). The concept of the tipping point has been used in areas as diverse as epidemiology, medicine, crime rates and marketing (Gladwell, 2000). Gladwell (2000) described the tipping point as "the moment of critical mass, the threshold or the boiling point" (p. 12).

Critical mass theories have been particularly prevalent in the field of political science where they have been used to explore issues regarding minority group representation within governments. In relation to increasing the participation of women within government, it has been proposed that achieving the critical mass of women would result in an increase of female members. As participation by women increased and became the norm, it would becoming self-sustaining as more candidates stepped forward to participate (Studlar & McAllister, 2002). In the context of bilingualism, Linton (2004) described the critical mass as when enough people take the same action. Implicit in critical mass and tipping models is the idea that although individuals have different preferences, when enough people take the same action, their collective choice becomes part of the context within which others make their choices (Linton, 2004). When a critical mass is reached it can exert its own effect, independent of other contextual factors (Linton, 2004). This is because the presence of a certain number of other people who make a particular choice acts as an incentive for other individuals to make that same choice (Linton, 2004).

Several scholars have attempted to calculate the number that constitutes the critical mass. Studlar and McAllister (2002) cited Kanter who, although not using the term critical mass, identified four types of minority participation. These types ranged from 'no significant minority participation' to 'balanced' minority participation which constituted approximately 40%. Those who have attempted to quantify the critical mass have primarily argued it occurs when minority representation is in the 15-20% range (Childs & Krook, 2006). However, there is certainly no universal agreement on these percentages, with Studlar and McAllister (2002) identifying that the percentage membership which must be obtained to reach the critical mass has been relatively undefined.

Two assumptions underpin the way in which critical mass theory has been used to explore minority group participation. Firstly, it is assumed that reaching the critical mass will lead to transformative change. For example, in relation to political science it has been assumed that reaching a critical mass of elected

women will lead to changes in political behaviour and public policy, which in turn will transform governments (Studlar & McAllister, 2002). Secondly, it is assumed that achievement of the critical mass will accelerate the growth of that mass. Reflecting the notion of a 'tipping' point, reaching the critical mass is assumed to result in the acceleration of participation by women (Studlar & McAllister, 2002).

However, problems with these assumptions have been identified. Studlar and McAllister (2002) concluded that the concept of critical mass has vague and shifting meaning. In relation to increasing representation of women in government, Studlar and McAllister (2002) concluded that increases have resulted via incremental changes and not the accelerated changes proposed by critical mass theory. In addition, Childs and Krook (2006) argued that increased representation by women has not always translated into gains within policy and legislative arenas. The concept of a critical mass has tended to focus only on individual characteristics, excluding other variables which impact on behaviour. For example, more favourable attitudes towards feminist values and wider social transformation were required to achieve truly gendered politics (Studlar & McAllister, 2002).

Overall the main criticism of critical mass theory is that as a predictive social concept it is too simplistic, failing to recognise the cultural and social contexts in which change occurs (Greed, 2000) or the multitude of factors which constrain or enable participation (Childs & Krook, 2006). Davis (cited in Studlar & McAllister, 2002) proposed that the critical mass would be better conceptualised as the point at which an irreversible process of change is achieved, as opposed to the point at which the rate of change accelerates. However, Studlar and McAllister (2002) commented that this proposition, while not arguing the concept of a critical mass as a proposed threshold, did still consider change occurred primarily as a result of increased numbers. The concept of the critical mass assumes that it is solely the numbers which predict when change will occur. However critical mass theory needs to better understand how participation occurs,

as opposed to when it occurs (Childs & Krook, 2006). Better understanding the factors which encourage or discourage the build up of a critical mass are also important (Greed, 2000).

Front and Mass

The indigenous psychology literature, as well as literature reviewed from other disciplines alludes to a major factor in achieving change being the presence of key people. In relation to critical mass theory, Greed (2000) cited Kanter who identified the 'prime movers'; those who are central to detonating the critical mass explosion. Referring to the tipping point, Gladwell (2000) considered change was driven by the efforts of a handful of exceptional people.

As described in the case study of indigenous psychology development in Canada, Adair (1999) distinguished between front and mass researchers. Those at the 'front' were the pioneers who set directions and lead the way. The 'mass' were those who produce the bulk of the research that forms the basis of the indigenous discipline (Adair, 1999). People occupying positions at the front can be likened to navigators, those charting the course and setting directions. Similar to those at the front, Kanter (1983) described the need for 'prime movers' or 'change masters'. These prime movers needed to mobilise people around what was not yet known and experienced, requiring from the mass a leap of imagination (Kanter, 1983, p. 28). The tools of the change masters are creative and interactive, focused on drawing people together, bridging multiple realities and reconceptualising activities to encompass the new and shared reality (Kanter, 1983).

Although some indigenous psychology scholars proposed the academic environment as the focus for knowledge development (Adair et al., 1995), not all proponents of indigenous psychology limit contributions to academically qualified psychologists (Enriquez, 1993). Key people in indigenous psychology development will not be found only within the academic environment.

Indigenous Psychology Development: Mechanisms

Kanter (1983) emphasised that while key people are required to initiate, inspire and maintain action, they also need mechanisms which allow those actions to be expressed. The actions must be supported by actual procedures and structures. When this occurs the change becomes institutionalised: part of legitimate, standard, ongoing practice which is supported by the system (Kanter, 1983).

The majority of indigenous psychology models included a focus on institutions or structures which facilitated knowledge creation and dissemination (Adair, 1999). In particular there was a need for structures which supported: a focus on indigenous research; the process of translating indigenous research into teaching resources; and the wider dissemination of indigenous research (Adair, 1999; Atal, 1990; Diaz-Loving, 1999). Professional psychology organisations supportive of indigenous psychology development were also identified as important (Adair, 2004; Dalal, 1990).

All three case studies demonstrated the importance of the wider social and political context to the indigenisation process. For example, in Canada the broader movement towards ensuring academic knowledge was relevant to the Canadian context influenced developments within psychology. In both the Philippines and India, movement towards indigenisation occurred as part of broader reactions to colonial agendas. Although the contexts differ, with those differences impacting on the focus and types of indigenous psychology development which subsequently occurred, in all examples the broader context played an important role. Discipline development does not occur within an isolated vacuum.

As shown earlier, the role of the researcher is emphasised in indigenous psychology development. However, the process of indigenisation does not end with the research. That research needs to be translated into teaching resources

and programmes which in turn facilitate the growth of researchers who will engage in indigenous psychology development. In all three case studies, the translation of research into texts and other teaching resources were identified as fundamental to the process of discipline development. It is clear that the limited availability of teaching resources is a barrier to indigenous psychology development. However, the development of those resources required a locally relevant research base, dependent itself in many ways on the presence of a critical mass. A somewhat circular argument, this shows why indigenous psychology development is slow and complex.

Developing the critical mass requires more than just focusing on relevant research and the integration of that research within teaching programmes. Institutional indigenisation which supported the wider dissemination of the emerging knowledge, such as journals and conference activities, were important. However, related to knowledge dissemination was the importance of mechanisms which facilitated a sense of cohesiveness amongst the emerging discipline. Discipline development is a progressive process, with knowledge increasing as the research base is added to. Indeed the absence of an established literature base on which to build contributions is one of the major problems encountered by those engaged in the development of indigenous psychologies. Indigenous psychology development is not progressed by a series of unrelated and ad-hoc initiatives but requires mechanisms by which developments within the emerging discipline can be consolidated to form a visible and identifiable knowledge base on which to further build.

Several different mechanisms were evident, however all served essentially the same purpose; to draw together and consolidate indigenous psychology development, providing the foundation for ongoing growth. For example, in the Philippines the emergence of an indigenous psychology movement in the 1970s provided a central focus for those who wished to concentrate on indigenous psychology development. This was strengthened by the addition of the Philippine Psychology Research and Training House, which provided the mechanism

through which research, training and publishing activities could be drawn together. In India, attempts at consolidation focused on the integration of research activities via the regular publication of abstracts and edited volumes; drawing together the knowledge accumulated by Indian psychologists on selected topics.

The three examples of indigenous psychology development reviewed also highlighted the importance of national professional psychology organisations. Professional organisations can support both the creation and dissemination of indigenous knowledge. However, more importantly they have a crucial role in addressing resistance to the valid integration of indigenous psychology within the wider psychology discipline. Professional psychology organisations have the potential to influence change across the wider discipline by communicating expected standards of research, teaching and practice. Mechanisms such as a Code of Ethics are potentially effective tools for this.

Concluding Comments

Chapter Four has drawn on case studies from indigenous psychology development in Canada, the Philippines and India, as well as literature from the wider social science and management knowledge bases, to identify indigenous psychology development processes which may be relevant to Aotearoa. Kanter (1983) argues that change occurs from the right people, in the right places, at the right times. The right people are those who have the vision and ideas to move beyond established practice. The right places are the environments that support and encourage innovation and change. The right times are when it becomes possible to reconstruct the reality on the basis of accumulated innovations in order to shape a more productive and successful future (Kanter, 1983). Kanter's (1983) description encapsulates the essential elements required for indigenous psychology development. These elements can be summarised as the context, the critical mass and mechanisms to support indigenous psychology development.

PART THREE: INDIGENOUS PSYCHOLOGY IN AOTEAROA

The aim of this thesis is to describe and contribute to the development of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit for Māori communities. Central to achieving this is the development of psychologies premised upon and deriving from Māori world views and knowledge bases. The primary objective of these psychologies is to contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations. Part Three explores indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa. Chapter Five explores the origins of Māori interaction with the discipline of psychology. Chapter Six examines the concept of Kaupapa Māori and its relevance to psychology. Chapter Seven analyses data from a range of sources and develops five themes which describe the current status of Māori development in psychology. Chapters Eight and Nine focus on mechanisms which have supported indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa, these being professional psychology organisations and the unique contributions which have emerged from within the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato.

Chapter Five
Context: Origins of Our Interaction with Psychology

Part Two identified how indigenous psychology development within a specific country was influenced by the wider social and political context, with similarities and differences explored in three case studies. Providing a base for the examination in Part Three of indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa, Chapter Five explores the imported origins of psychology in Aotearoa and the emergence of challenges to that imported content.

The Imported Beginnings of Psychology

St George (1990b) identified that, in general, psychology in Aotearoa occupied a 'dependent' status, historically being an importer of psychological staff, texts, tests, equipment, frameworks and concepts. Supporting this, Shouksmith and Shouksmith (1990) have argued that psychology in New Zealand was dominated by the 'internationalist' approach. This was the perception that models of psychology could only originate from outside of New Zealand (Shouksmith & Shouksmith, 1990).

Psychology in Aotearoa is clearly characterised by a strong reliance on both North American and British psychological theories and methodologies, with this reliance supported, reinforced and maintained by the significant publishing capacity of the British and North American psychological traditions (Shouksmith & Shouksmith, 1990; St George, 1990b). An illustration of this can be found in *Looking Back and Moving Forward: 50 Years of New Zealand Psychology* (Habermann, 1997), the New Zealand Psychological Society (NZPsS) publication which celebrated the 50 years since the establishment of the NZPsS in New Zealand. Of the 36 papers in this publication, only one appeared directly focused on issues relevant to Māori.

The academic discipline of psychology was first introduced to Aotearoa in 1874 with the establishment of the University of New Zealand. Comprising four colleges in Otago, Canterbury, Wellington and Auckland, these institutions taught psychology in the form of 'Mental and Moral Science' under the umbrella of philosophy (Hills, 2000; St George, 1990b). Reflective of New Zealand's colonial history, British domination of the discipline was total at this time, with curriculum, examinations and degree conferral being the responsibility of philosophy examiners in Britain. Even though by 1925 New Zealand students were being examined by British psychologists, as opposed to philosophers, the psychology taught continued to be founded on imported British paradigms (St George, 1990b). It is indicative of these imported roots that the NZPsS was originally the New Zealand branch of the British Psychological Society. It was not until 1967 that the NZPsS finally became an independent Society (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2004).

The major challenge for psychology in the early 1900s was autonomy from the discipline of philosophy. Changes to courses and prescriptions required agreement by all colleges. In the face of some strong opposition to the proposition that more or separate psychology courses be included, progress was slow and difficult (St George, 1990b).

The first major development for psychology occurred when Thomas Hunter was appointed to a teaching position at Victoria University College in 1904. Hunter became a professor of psychology and philosophy in 1909, a chair he held until 1947. With his background in experimental psychology, Hunter argued for the expansion of psychology within the curriculum (St George, 1990a). During the 1920s, Departments of Education at the colleges began to encourage the teaching of psychological approaches to educational issues, the result being that applied psychology became a central focus within education in New Zealand (Shouksmith & Shouksmith, 1990; St George, 1990a). In 1931, Henry Fergusson, an immigrant from Scotland, was appointed at Otago University as New Zealand's first lecturer in Experimental Psychology. His activities such as vocational

guidance, market research, factors influencing road accidents, spectrum illumination and dark adaptation, reflected the development of the applied tradition of psychology and the diverse involvement of psychologists in the New Zealand community during the 1930s and 1940s (Shouksmith & Shouksmith, 1990).

By the late 1950s, the centralised University of New Zealand had been disestablished and replaced by four distinct universities, Auckland, Victoria (Wellington), Canterbury (Christchurch) and Otago (Dunedin). The eventual establishment of autonomous psychology departments in the 1950s and 1960s provided the foundations for our current systems of teaching and studying post-graduate psychology in New Zealand (Shouksmith & Shouksmith, 1990; St George, 1990b).

Alongside the experimental and educational focus which dominated the initial development of psychology in New Zealand, anthropological influences on psychology also emerged in the mid-1900s. In 1948, Ernest Beaglehole was appointed to the first chair in Psychology at the Victoria University of Wellington (Hills, 2000). Under his leadership, Victoria University became known for its psychological work in the field of culture and personality studies (St George, 1990b), with Beaglehole focusing on exploring the life and significance of indigenous communities within New Zealand (Shouksmith & Shouksmith, 1990). These studies are described in more detail later.

A further two universities were established in 1964, these being Waikato (Hamilton) and Massey (Palmerston North). Academic psychology became well established in the six New Zealand universities at both undergraduate and graduate level, and although all departments shared British origins, St George (1990a) identified that each has emerged with a distinct identity in terms of orientation, emphasis and research. For example, Otago University established a history in the cognitive, perceptual, social and neuropsychological fields (St George, 1990a, 1990b). Auckland University adopted a North American

experimental methodology, and Waikato University an emphasis on social, cross-cultural, clinical and behaviour analysis (Shouksmith & Shouksmith, 1990; St George, 1990b).

Shouksmith (1990) reported that in 1988 educational psychology, centralised under the State Department of Education, was the largest single employer of psychologists in New Zealand. Clinical psychology had slower beginnings in New Zealand, with very few clinical psychologists employed until the 1960s. Clinical psychology was not centralised, with responsibility for the recruitment of staff resting with specific health authorities, although requirements and standards, such as being a registered psychologist, were prescribed by the central government Health Department (Shouksmith & Shouksmith, 1990). The other major professional branch of psychology to be developed was Industrial and Organisational Psychology. This emerged from a need for personnel and training services following the growth in industry and business within New Zealand in the 1960s. Community Psychology also emerged as a distinct post-graduate training programme in 1980.

Hills (2000) reported that psychology is one of the most popular subjects taught at all six universities. Government sectors such as health, education, justice, social welfare and defence are prominent employers, although increasingly they contract their work out to psychologists who also practice privately (Hills, 2000). As at 31 March 2006 there were 1625 Psychologists on the New Zealand Psychologists Board register holding Annual Practising Certificates (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2006a).

Māori in Psychology

Stewart (1997), in a critique of the interface between Māori and psychology, suggested that it was not until the mid 1940s that psychology began to interact more directly with Māori. As alluded to earlier, anthropological influences in

psychology began to emerge in the 1950s and 1960s, one result being that Māori communities started to become a focus for psychological research.

Arguably, the most notable examples of increasing interaction between psychology and Māori communities were led by Professor Ernest Beaglehole at Victoria University during the 1950s. Professor Beaglehole became known for his psychological work in the field of culture and personality studies (St George, 1990b), particularly his investigations into the life of Māori communities within New Zealand. Two examples, the "Kōwhai" (Beaglehole, 1946) and "Rākau" (Ritchie, 1956) studies, undertaken by Beaglehole and his students, (including the now Emeritus Professor James Ritchie and Professor Jane Ritchie, Professor Beaglehole's daughter) marked an approach to Māori communities and local contexts that was to set the scene for the development of cross-cultural and community psychology through the 1970-1980s (Nikora et al., 2006).

These studies were notable in that they are recognised within the academic realm as the first empirical studies of Māori in Aotearoa to be made from a psychological viewpoint (Shouksmith & Shouksmith, 1990; Stewart, 1995). Although not without subsequent critique and debate (Stewart, 1995), it is important to recognise the contribution that these early studies made to progressing Māori agendas within psychology, primarily through challenging the complete invisibility of Māori within psychology.

Challenging Invisibility

The invisibility of Māori within the discipline and profession of psychology was overtly challenged, perhaps for the first time, by Jules Older in 1975. As a newly arrived psychologist from the United States teaching at Otago University, Older presented to the 1975 NZPsS annual conference a paper entitled "Māori and the professions with special reference to the psychological profession". In this paper, Older (1978) outlined the need for an active plan to recruit Māori health professionals, suggesting that the NZPsS should be the first organisation to

implement such a recruitment programme. Over the next few years Older (1978) continued to highlight these issues, moving his focus from psychology to the wider medical profession and advocating the importance of cultural perspectives in the application of medical interventions. *The Pākehā Papers* (Older, 1978) recorded Older's efforts to speak to and publish his views on the lack of Māori participation in the professional health workforce, the measures needed to address this, and the accompanying high resistance he encountered from professional organisations and their respective publications such as the *New Zealand Medical Journal* and the *New Zealand Psychologist*.

While today such challenges may seem routine, within the context of the late 1970s, these challenges to the psychological and broader health professions were risky, confrontational and unpopular. The issues and events recorded in *The Pākehā Papers* (Older, 1978) are certainly reflective of this environment. Older's challenge is an important time marker in discussions regarding the relationship between Māori and psychology. It marked the beginning of conversations, debates, discussions, challenges and confrontations with organisations such as the NZPsS over psychology's interaction with and responsiveness to Māori.

A second notable challenge to the discipline was made 10 years later by Max Abbott and Mason Durie. Building on the themes raised by Older (1978), Abbott and Durie (1987) highlighted growing concern about the capacity of New Zealand's health, education, welfare and justice sectors to respond effectively to the country's multi-cultural population and particularly to New Zealand's indigenous population. These sectors, which employed increasing numbers of psychologists, were considered to have an over-representation of Māori clients, and had been the subject of criticism regarding insensitivity to Māori clients (Abbott & Durie, 1987).

Citing international literature, Abbott and Durie (1987) highlighted that service delivery must be consistent with the values and needs of those being served, and that interventions could be compromised when the ethnicity of clients and

professionals differed. 'Biculturally competent' psychologists were identified as being critical to meet the needs of Māori.

Abbott and Durie (1987) explored the extent to which applied professional psychology programmes adopted a bicultural perspective. They boldly concluded that:

> The applied psychology disciplines are probably the most monocultural in terms of Māori representation, of all New Zealand professions (Abbott & Durie, 1987, p. 63).

Key findings from Abbott and Durie (1987) were:

- Lack of widespread commitment by applied psychology academics to develop courses that will equip graduates to work effectively in bicultural settings
- Those with the necessary expertise to contribute bicultural expertise to psychology training programmes were in high demand
- The discipline of psychology was resistant to the inclusion of bicultural ideology
- Māori students currently enrolled in post-graduate psychology confronted demands and expectations which were not faced by their non-Māori peers
- Providing the level of cultural content required for Māori students required a full bicultural programme for Māori students, possibly overlapping with an orthodox programme and more formally involving a Māori studies department or Māori institute of learning
- Further research is required to determine how to reliably produce the attitudinal change, emotional commitment and professional skills required for non-Māori psychologists to meet the needs of clients from different ethnic groups
- Lack of forums through which the accountability of psychology could be monitored

Abbott and Durie (1987) recommended that if psychology were to produce effective and competent graduates, significant steps towards the inclusion of bicultural content needed to be taken.

Important issues regarding Māori participation and the responsiveness of the psychological discipline to Māori were more overtly raised in the 1980s. In addition to the issues raised by Abbott and Durie (1987), Māori psychologists started to become more visible within the profession itself. In 1974 Donna Awatere became one of the first Māori to graduate with a Masters degree in psychology, and in the late 1980s a small group of Māori students embarked on graduate psychology training pathways. Essentially the late 1980s represented a growth in the visibility of Māori within the discipline of psychology, with Māori voices becoming collectively engaged and active within the discipline for the first time.

A crucial protagonist was Linda Nikora. In 1989 Linda Nikora became the first Māori academic staff member in a psychology department; appointed as an Assistant Lecturer in the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato. This was a pivotal appointment in that it provided for the first time the opportunity for psychology to be challenged from a Māori perspective, by a Māori psychologist from within academia (Nikora, 1989). Stemming from this appointment, a hui called *Psychology – A Time for Change* (as earlier noted in Chapter One) was held at the University of Waikato in 1989 (Nikora, 1989). Building on the themes raised by both Older (1978) and Abbott and Durie (1987) and attended by both Māori and non-Māori psychologists, psychology students and those within allied disciplines, the purpose of the hui was to determine how psychology training should develop in order to benefit Māori. The hui participants considered that more attention needed to be paid to the recruitment and support of Māori students within psychology. The reliance on textbooks written in the United Kingdom or the United States was questioned. It was felt that this reliance resulted in the inappropriate generalisation of theories, alienation of students, and barriers to the development of relevant psychologies for Aotearoa

(Nikora, 1989). As noted in Chapter One, participants at this hui considered that sufficient information and research existed to begin developing a psychology relevant to the New Zealand context (Nikora, 1989).

Concluding Comments

Psychology's responsiveness to Māori has been challenged for over thirty years. Twenty years ago Abbott and Durie (1987) identified that resistance to the inclusion of Māori perspectives within psychology, the demands and expectations on Māori psychology students, and the lack of Māori participation in psychology training programmes were key issues. In addition, cultural competency requirements for non-Māori psychologists and mechanisms to monitor the accountability of psychology were necessary (Abbott & Durie, 1987). A small group of Māori students who embarked on graduate psychology training in the late 1980s signaled the start of Māori voices becoming collectively engaged and active within psychology.

The colonial origins of psychology in Aotearoa and continued reliance on imported psychological knowledge have implications for the way in which indigenous psychology has been conceptualised in Aotearoa. As has been argued in Part One, indigenous psychology in Aotearoa is explicitly located within a Māori development agenda. The dual aspirations of Māori development center on the development of Māori people, as Māori (Durie, 2003a). In contrast to many indigenous psychology commentators, the term 'indigenous' is commonly understood in Aotearoa to refer to the original inhabitants of these lands (Nikora et al., 2006). The self-determined aspirations of Māori for full participation in Aotearoa, without loss of the distinctiveness as an indigenous people (Fleras & Elliott, 1992) is central to this understanding. Contributing to the realisation of Māori aspirations is the central aim of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit to Māori.

Chapter Six
Kaupapa Māori and Psychology

In Aotearoa indigenous psychology is explicitly located within a Māori development agenda, centred on indigenous people and indigenous knowledge bases. Several authors when exploring the relationship between Māori and psychology have referred to the concept of 'Kaupapa Māori' (Glover & Robertson, 1997; Hirini, 1998; Milne, 2005; Palmer, 1992). The concept of Kaupapa Māori is not new. However, its use in academic terminology as a mechanism to create cultural and theoretical space is relatively recent (Pihama, 2001). Kaupapa Māori is a theoretical framework which has evolved from a base of being Māori, asserting recognition, affirmation and validation of cultural world views as Māori (Pihama, 2001). Chapter Six explores the concept of Kaupapa Māori and its relevance to psychology.

Emergence

Kaupapa Māori as a distinct theoretical framework emerged from what Bishop and Glynn (1999) described as the wider ethnic revitalisation movement. Emerging post-World War II as a result of Māori urbanisation, this movement led to escalating political consciousness among Māori (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). The years between 1976 and 1992 were characterised by an overt focus on Māori aspirations, preferences and practices as the basis for development (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). During the 1960s and 1970s the government and its bureaucracy were slow to respond to ongoing representations by Māori people who opposed the assumed policy objectives of assimilation and integration which dominated at that time (King, 2003). During this time a number of groups emerged to challenge the status quo, such as Ngā Tamatoa, the Māori Organisation on Human Rights, the New Zealand Māori Council, and Te Roopu o te Matakite (King, 2003).

In relation to Māori development, the period from 1975 to 2000 were influenced by events such as the 1976 Land March, the formalised passage of the Treaty of Waitangi into legislation via the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, and emerging insights into the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi for contemporary life (Durie, 2003a).

The Treaty principles identified by the Royal Commission on Social Policy in 1988 (described in Chapter One) and the Commission's conclusion that the principles were relevant to all social and economic policies, both past and present (Henare, 1988), had a significant impact in this period. The principles were widely embraced by the social policy sector, providing an important mechanism by which to embed the Treaty within policy decision making structures.

The influence of the events in the 1960s, 70s and 80s cannot be adequately conveyed here. Their substantial influence is aptly described by the late Michael King (2003) who argued that the cumulative effects of developments over this time changed the face of New Zealand life in the 1980s and 1990s.

It was within this context that the concept of Kaupapa Māori as a distinct theoretical framework emerged. Intrinsically connected to and situated within the wider historical, social, economic, and cultural context, Kaupapa Māori became conceptualised as an overt form of resistance to Western dominance and policies of assimilation and integration in the Aotearoa context (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Glover, 1997; Henry & Pene, 2001). Within a Kaupapa Māori agenda, the historical dominance of Western knowledge bases was challenged at a fundamental level, that of relevance to Māori in Aotearoa (Pihama, 2001). Mechanisms which enabled the theoretical conversations to be captured, the curriculum controlled, and definitions of inclusion and exclusion maintained were recognised within a Kaupapa Māori agenda as tools designed to preserve dominant ideologies (Smith, 1996). A Kaupapa Māori agenda explicitly challenges such mechanisms. Kaupapa Māori theory includes three key elements:

Māori knowledge bases; autonomy; and critical analysis. These elements are described below.

Māori Knowledge Bases

Although Kaupapa Māori theory challenges the existence of mechanisms which maintain dominant ideologies, it does not exist because of colonisation. Kaupapa Māori theory exists because we are Māori (Pihama, 2001). The defining feature of Kaupapa Māori is that it is grounded within Māori knowledge bases, world views, cosmology, philosophies, language and culture, all of which are considered valid in their own right (Glover, 1997; Henry & Pene, 2001; Smith, 1996; Smith, 1999). There are many ways of describing Māori knowledge bases and I certainly do not set out to provide a full description here. However, a starting point is provided by Henry and Pene (2001) who considered Māori philosophical beliefs and social practices were founded on concepts of the collective (whanaungatanga); interdependence (kotahitanga); a sacred relationship to the gods and the cosmos (wairuatanga); and acknowledgement of people as guardians of the environment (kaitiakitanga).

Leonie Pihama (1991) emphasised that Kaupapa Māori could not be understood without comprehending mātauranga Māori and the ways in which Māori engage knowledge and ways of knowing. She cited Rapata (cited in Pihama, 2001) who elaborated on the complexity of mātauranga, with elements such as epistemology, worldviews, understanding and being acquainted with the Māori world, traditions, history and scholarship. Including both verbal and non-verbal knowledge bases, all contribute to the immense knowledge base which forms mātauranga Māori (Pihama, 2001). Mead (2003) considered tohunga were the guardians of mātauranga Māori which specifically related to philosophy, knowledge of cosmology, navigation, astronomy, medicine, history, genealogies, environment and the nature of the relationship between the physical and metaphysical.

An essential component of mātauranga Māori is tikanga Māori (Mead, 2003). For Mead (2003) tikanga Māori, based on knowledge accumulated through the generations, described the tools of thought and understanding which organise and provide predictability. Tikanga Māori fulfilled a number of different purposes including social control, ethics, establishing normative systems and customary law (Mead, 2003). Milne (2005) described tikanga as the clearing of spiritual pathways which results in the creation of a safe environment. Mead (2003) considered kaumātua and kuia to be the guardians of tikanga. Mātauranga Māori and tikanga Māori are not static, being practiced and reevaluated throughout the generations (Mead, 2003). As was stated in Chapter Two, while the knowledge bases of indigenous peoples are commonly perceived as being applicable only to the past, such perceptions ignore the developmental elements that are part of the ongoing indigenous journey (Durie, 2004a).

Autonomy

Autonomy is an essential element of Kaupapa Māori. Kaupapa Māori is explicitly located within the wider context of Māori self determination, rangatiratanga and autonomy over cultural wellbeing (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1999). The concept of autonomy is perceived and manifested differently according to differing contexts. For example, self determination and autonomy in relation to Kaupapa Māori research focuses on the retrieval of space for Māori within the research paradigm via shared control and participation (Smith, 1999). In relation to education, Kaupapa Māori approaches developed specifically in response to the unavailability of educational systems which reinforced and supported Māori educational aspirations (Smith, 1996). Kaupapa Māori required those within the education sector to reposition themselves in relation to Māori aspirations (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

For some theorists, autonomy and control of Kaupapa Māori knowledge is achieved through the medium of te reo Māori. Nepe (cited in Pihama, 2001) described te reo Māori as the only mechanism allowing full access to Māori

knowledge bases. Te reo Māori is also a mechanism which controls access to knowledge bases, with access only available to those fluent in the language. Autonomy is also asserted by te reo Māori challenging the assumed supremacy of the English language (Pihama, 2001). This is similar to the conclusion reached by Allwood and Berry (2006) noted in Chapter Two, whereby some indigenous psychology scholars have deliberately chosen not to publish their findings in the English language so that they might have the cultural space required to engage in indigenous psychology development.

Autonomy as it is referred to in Kaupapa Māori theory is intrinsically connected to the autonomy of Māori communities in determining their own aspirations. As identified in Chapter One, Māori aspirations have gained greater currency in the late 1990s and early 21st century as part of the self determined drive by Māori to shift from deficit-focused approaches. Bishop and Glynn (1999) identify Kaupapa Māori as a proactive political discourse which emerged from, and was legitimated by Māori communities.

Autonomy is an important feature of indigenous psychology development. As stated in Chapter Three, the ability to control the process of discipline development and having the necessary resources to do so underpins indigenous psychology development (Adair et al., 1995).

Critical Analysis

Another essential element of Kaupapa Māori is critical analysis. Critical analysis exposes the underlying values and assumptions of Western knowledge bases, power structures, societal inequalities and the impact of these on Māori (Glover, 1997). Having said that, knowledge is not rejected solely because it is considered positivist or has Western origins (Mead, 2003; Smith, 1999). Nor is critical analysis limited to Western knowledge bases. Smith (1999) highlighted that Kaupapa Māori also involved abstracting, reflecting, and critically engaging in the different constructions of Māori knowledge. Gender related issues are an obvious

example, whereby knowledge bases have been critically analysed for their relevance to Māori women (Smith, 1999).

The salient point made by Kaupapa Māori is that analyses derive from Māori world views (Pihama, 2001). Because the frame of reference for critical analysis is Māori worldviews and knowledge bases, critical analysis from a Kaupapa Māori perspective does not seek to deny the existence or legitimacy of Māori forms of knowledge (Smith, 1999). This type of critical analysis is different from that which has occurred in the past, where Western knowledge bases were used as the frame of reference to understand Māori knowledge bases.

These points are consistent with those made in Chapter Two regarding the interaction between knowledge systems. Scientific and indigenous knowledge bases are each founded on distinctive philosophies, criteria and methodologies (Durie, 2005d). Because of this, the tools of one cannot be used to make judgments regarding the legitimacy of the other (Durie, 2005d). Working at the interface attempts to utilise two sets of values, not to simply bridge the benefits but to produce gains for indigenous peoples, most of whom live at the interface (Durie, 2005d).

Kaupapa Māori and Psychology

Theorising regarding the development of knowledge bases relevant and of benefit to Māori has been occurring within psychology for well over a decade. Several authors have concluded that Māori or Kaupapa Māori psychology has yet to be defined, lacks clarity or that a Māori psychology does not exist in the sense that Western psychology exists (e.g. Hirini, 1998; Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Love, 1999). Others noted that Māori psychological concepts have always been in existence (Nikora et al., 2006; Stewart, 1995), and that while Kaupapa Māori psychology training may be a new pathway, it is based on old ways of thinking (Milne, 2005). Although there are differences in the perspectives and language

used to describe specific concepts, an examination of the theorising which has occurred reveals a developing consensus in relation to fundamental values.

Several authors have proposed that there is a type of psychology specifically developed by, and for Māori (Glover & Robertson, 1997; Hirini, 1998; Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Love, 1999; Milne, 2005; Palmer, 1992; Thomas, 1995). Others have referred to the concepts of tikanga and mātauranga Māori (Durie, 1997; Milne, 2005; Nikora et al., 2006; Palmer, 1992), with some identifying that the desired outcome is Māori psychologists who are specialised in tikanga and mātauranga Māori psychologies (Milne, 2005; Palmer, 1992). However, some authors have also alluded to differences between Māori, Kaupapa Māori and indigenous psychology. For example, Milne (2005) emphasised that competence in Māori psychology does not automatically equate with competence in Kaupapa Māori psychology approaches.

Despite these differences, there are three fundamental principles which underpin what theorists have variously described as Māori, Kaupapa Māori, Māori-centred or Indigenous Psychology. These are:

1. Māori knowledge bases and world views are central, positioned as the norm (Durie, 1997; Hirini, 1998; Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Love, 2003; Milne, 2005; Nikora et al., 2006; Palmer, 1992; Stanley, 2003).

2. Control of knowledge base development rests with Māori (Glover & Robertson, 1997; Hirini, 1998; Milne, 2005; Stewart, 1995).

3. Western psychology is not excluded, but must be critically analysed to ascertain value for Māori (Durie, 1997; Hirini, 1998; Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Love, 1999; Palmer, 1992).

Identifying these common principles is illuminating, in that they clearly align with the core principles of Kaupapa Māori theory described earlier. The significance

of these common principles to the development of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit for Māori communities will be discussed in Chapter Eleven in Part Four.

Concluding Comments

Although there are several essential elements of Kaupapa Māori, Kaupapa Māori theory is more than the sum of its parts (Smith, 1999). Its key role is to provide frameworks through which to view the world theoretically and to engage understandings, explanations, descriptions and analysis (Pihama, 2001). Kaupapa Māori is not a theory in a Western sense which asserts the superiority of one set of knowledge over another (Pihama, 2001). Instead, Kaupapa Māori frameworks prioritise and legitimate Māori knowledge bases, Māori control and autonomy, and critical analysis undertaken with Māori knowledge bases as the reference point.

The articulation of Kaupapa Māori and its essential elements provides a process by which to claim culturally defined theoretical space (Pihama, 2001). It does this by providing a framework for Māori communities to engage in dialogue about directions, priorities, policies and practices, on the basis of a set of taken for granted values and knowledge (Smith, 1999). Much of the strength of Kaupapa Māori theory has resulted from the ability of many Māori to see the relevance of theoretical engagement and to recognise much of what is said in their own practices (Pihama, 2001).

Pihama (2001) emphasised that a strength of Kaupapa Māori theory is that it continues to evolve through a process of reflective engagement and analysis. There is no set 'Kaupapa Māori' formula to follow or singular approach. While underpinned by key concepts, Kaupapa Māori recognises diversity among iwi, whānau, hapū and Māori, and that there can be different expressions of Kaupapa Māori theorising. Reflective of this are the differing ways Māori academics have engaged with this concept and the particular schools of thought which have

emerged (Pihama, 2001). The identification of the common principles which underpin what theorists have variously described as Māori, Kaupapa Māori, Māori-centred or indigenous psychology in Aotearoa reflects the diversity of approaches possible within Kaupapa Māori, with Kaupapa Māori being shaped by Māori communities in ways that work for them (Pihama, 2001).

Chapter Seven
Māori and Psychology: An Analysis

As was seen in Chapter Five, important issues regarding Māori participation and the responsiveness of the psychology discipline to Māori started to be more overtly raised in the 1980s. Since this time there has been a growth in the visibility of Māori within psychology, with Māori voices becoming collectively engaged and active within the discipline. Chapter Seven provides an analysis of indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa. I have collated and qualitatively analysed data from a range of sources, including interviews, focus groups and desktop sources to develop and explore themes relevant to the current status of Māori development in psychology.

Method

This chapter draws on a variety of data sources:

1. Key informant interviews
2. Stakeholder focus groups and submissions
3. Desktop analysis of Māori psychology workforce data collated by the New Zealand Health Information Service
4. Desktop analysis of university psychology department training programmes
5. Desktop analysis of Māori-focused conference presentations (New Zealand Psychological Society annual conferences)

These data sources are described in more detail.

1. Key Informant Interviews

In 2002 I was commissioned by the New Zealand Psychologists Board (NZPB) to undertake a study examining barriers and incentives to Māori participation in psychology (Levy, 2002). The specific purpose of this project was to provide the NZPB with recommendations which would contribute to increasing Māori participation in psychology. However, it was also explicitly undertaken as part of my doctoral studies research programme. While the same dataset used for the 'Barriers and Incentives' study (Levy, 2002) is used for my thesis, it has been analysed and interpreted according to the specific aims of my thesis.

The major criteria for selecting key informants was to ensure the sample adequately reflected the diversity of Māori psychologists. A total of 17 Māori psychologists were interviewed, representing approximately 40% of Māori psychologists in 2002. Twelve of these were female and five were male. The majority of those interviewed were in the age range of 30-39 years, with small numbers represented in the remaining age categories of 20-29, 40-49, and 50+ years.

Key informants were asked where they undertook their psychology training, at both graduate and undergraduate level. All university psychology departments in New Zealand were represented in the key informant sample. The majority of those interviewed had undertaken clinical psychology training, although other fields such as counseling, community, educational, research, and industrial and organisational psychology were represented. Key informants were involved in a number of different, often concurrent settings, including academia, research, mental health, general health sector, private practice and education. Key informants were located in a number of different geographical areas, including all major metropolitan centres in both the North and South Islands (Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, Christchurch), as well as two smaller North Island cities.

Of those interviewed, eight were currently registered as psychologists and eight were not (one participant did not answer this question). Just under half (eight) of the key informants belonged to one or both professional psychology bodies, including the New Zealand Psychological Society (NZPsS) and/or the New Zealand College of Clinical Psychologists (NZCCP).

Procedure and Data Analysis

Key informants were contacted and invited to participate in this study. Prior to the interview, information sheets and interview schedules were distributed to all key informants[1]. The interviews canvassed the followed areas: barriers to Māori participation in psychology; practical ways to address the barriers; responsibility for addressing the barriers; coordination of initiatives to address barriers; addressing resistance to the inclusion of Māori perspectives in psychology; and issues faced by Māori psychologists in the workforce.

The majority of interviews conducted were face to face. One interview was conducted via telephone and one via email. Each interview included obtaining written consent and demographic details. Consent forms also provided key informants with the choice to be identified should they be quoted in the final report. Interviews ranged from 60-120 minutes and were held in locations convenient to the key informants. On completion of the interviews, summaries were completed and distributed to key informants for comment. The interview data was content analysed to identify key themes.

2. Stakeholder Focus Groups and Submissions

The NZPB disseminated the report I compiled for them (Levy, 2002) to all relevant stakeholders, including the NZPsS, NZCCP, the Psychologists Workforce Working Party, Health Workforce Advisory Committee, Te Rau Matatini (National Māori Mental Health Workforce Development Organisation),

[1] See Appendix One

major organisations which employed psychologists and government policy making agencies. The stakeholders were asked to make a submission in response to the issues and findings identified in the study. Stakeholders who provided a written submission were:

- Minister of Health
- Ministry of Health
- Ministry of Education
- Ministry of Social Development
- Department of Corrections
- New Zealand College of Clinical Psychologists (NZCCP)
- New Zealand Psychological Society (NZPsS)
- Te Rau Matatini
- Mental Health Commission
- Te Puni Kōkiri
- NZPsS National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI)

Two independent submissions were also received, one from a post-graduate diploma in clinical psychology student and the other from a registered psychologist.

Recognising the importance of university psychology departments and their submissions, I approached six psychology departments (Auckland, Waikato, Massey, Victoria, Canterbury, Otago) with a proposal to: present the study findings and recommendations to their staff; facilitate a focus group discussion examining responses to the report; and collate the findings from the focus group. Focus groups were subsequently conducted in three university psychology departments. Each group ranged from 3-20 people, comprising primarily psychology department staff, although two groups included Māori psychology students. Focus group participants were advised of the rationale for the focus

group and prior to beginning, their permission sought to utilise the focus group data collected for my doctoral research programme.

Two of the remaining three departments submitted a written response to the report. One indicated a response would be forthcoming, but this did not eventuate. The stakeholder and focus group submissions were content analysed for key themes.

3. Desktop Analysis of Māori Psychology Workforce Data

The New Zealand Health Information Service (NZHIS) has maintained the New Zealand Selected Health Professional Workforce data collection since 1995. Data in this collection is obtained from workforce questionnaires which accompanied Annual Practising Certificate invoices sent by the Registration Boards. Because the data is based on surveys that have varying response rates, they should not be interpreted as a definitive description of each profession (New Zealand Health Information Service, 2001).

The NZPB has been active in maintaining a relationship with the NZHIS to ensure that the questionnaire sent to psychologists collects relevant information. An example of this is that, until recently very limited data has been collected in relation to the Māori psychology workforce. However, at the request of the NZPB, the 2003 questionnaire included a work-type category of 'Kaupapa Māori'. The desktop analysis of Māori psychology workforce data has been obtained from the NZHIS New Zealand Selected Health Professional Workforce data collection. Published data was available for the years 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004 and 2005. Approximately 60-70% of psychologists who purchased an Annual Practising Certificate are represented in the survey data collated for these years.

I supplemented the 2003 psychology workforce data with additional analyses regarding the Māori psychology workforce which I requested from the NZHIS.

Personal communications with major organisations employing psychologists (Group Special Education, Department of Corrections, Department of Child, Youth and Family Services) were also used to supplement the NZHIS data collection. Analyses of the total number of Māori psychologists, employment setting, and work-type are reported on in this chapter.

4. Desktop Analysis of University Psychology Department Training

The registration of health professionals in Aotearoa is governed by the Health Practitioners Competency Assurance Act 2003 (HPCA Act 2003). For the practice of psychology this legislation is administered by NZPB. The most common qualification for registration for those who study in Aotearoa is to have a post-graduate qualification from a New Zealand university psychology department. For this reason, the six[2] university psychology departments which offered psychology training programmes from undergraduate level through to post-graduate qualifications required for registration were examined.[3] Data pertaining to the following elements was sourced from each psychology department website in October 2003:

- Māori-focused course content
- Māori-focused research outputs
- Psychology department initiatives aimed at supporting the retention and success of Māori students
- Official university policy regarding responsiveness to Māori
- Psychology department stated commitment to Māori

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[2] Auckland, Waikato, Massey, Victoria, Canterbury, Otago

[3] Lincoln University offers psychology courses but does not offer a degree in psychology. The Auckland Technical Institute became the Auckland University of Technology in 2000. The AUT is seeking NZPB accreditation of a registration pathway through the Bachelor of Health Science (Honours), Master of Health Science and Postgraduate Diploma in Counselling Psychology (Auckland University of Technology, 2007)

Details regarding the specific analysis of this data are reported in the sections where the data is presented. To summarise, undergraduate and graduate psychology course descriptors were examined for evidence of Māori-focused content. Available research output information was accessed and examined for the extent to which Māori-focused psychological research was being undertaken. Findings regarding initiatives which support Māori students in psychology training and the extent to which universities generally, and psychology departments specifically, demonstrated a stated commitment to Māori are described.

5. Desktop analysis of Māori-focused conference presentations (NZPsS annual conferences)

Presentation abstracts for the NZPsS annual conferences from 1992 to 2003 were analysed for evidence of a specific Māori focus. The percentage of total Māori-focused presentations for each conference was calculated. Notable features of the conferences such as bicultural keynote speakers and Māori-focused symposiums were also recorded.

Collation and Presentation of Findings

The findings from the data sources described above have been categorised into five themes. These are:

1. Presence of Māori psychologists
2. Māori psychologies
3. Participation in training
4. Conflicting expectations
5. Collective responsibility

Findings from the relevant data sources are provided for each theme. Because not all data sources are relevant to each theme, the specific sources drawn on are

detailed at the beginning of each section. Each theme concludes with a discussion exploring the implication of the findings.

Theme One: Presence of Māori Psychologists

Data sources drawn on in this section are:

- Key informant interviews
- Desktop analysis of the Māori psychology workforce.

Findings

Key Informant Interviews

> We should not be moving into any area by default. By default means students moving into Māori development purely because they like and understand the material there – that is by default. By default, Māori staff end up teaching the 'Māori' content but we might be interested in other areas like perception or getting grants from NASA. We should not be excluded, discouraged or forced out from participating in other areas. (Linda Waimarie Nikora, Lecturer)

Creating a critical mass requires the presence of Māori psychologists at all levels within organisations. This was considered crucial for the provision of positive role models, support and reducing the isolation that occurs as a result of being the sole Māori psychologist within an organisation. Achieving a critical mass will require addressing the tendency for Māori psychologists to be marginalised into particular roles; for example providing the 'cultural component' within academic training programmes. In addition, there is the perception, due to limited Māori participation in the more 'scientifically' defined areas of psychology, (for example behavioural, perception and cognitive), these areas of psychology are of little relevance to Māori. As seen in the quote above, one key informant considered the vision for Māori participation within academic institutions as involvement in every sub-discipline of psychology.

Facilitating a sense of collectivity among Māori psychologists was viewed as essential to increasing the number of Māori psychologists. This would provide opportunities for mentoring and support, assist in reducing isolation among Māori psychologists, and assist in the development of Māori psychologies. There were differing views regarding how this sense of collectivity might happen. Some raised the dangers of being subsumed within a mainstream organisation. For example, it was commented that whilst the NZPsS, through the National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI) had undertaken important work, the expected transition from Standing Committee to an independent Māori structure had not been achieved. Regardless of the composition or structure of such a group, it would be based on Māori preferences and aspirations, a factor viewed as critical to making tangible gains for Māori in psychology. It would also need to be appropriately resourced and recognised as being equal in status to other professional organisations such as the NZPsS.

Desktop Analysis: Māori Psychology Workforce Data

Issues regarding low Māori participation in psychology, particularly within training institutions, have been continually raised since the mid 1970s. Data regarding the Māori psychology workforce from 1999 to 2005 (excluding 2001 which was not available) is described below.

In 1999, Māori psychologists comprised 3.5% (n=21) of the total psychology workforce (New Zealand Health Information Service, 2000). This decreased in 2000, when Māori psychologists comprised 1.3% (n=9) of the total psychology workforce (New Zealand Health Information Service, 2001). In 2002 and 2003, the numbers of Māori psychologists was recorded at 42 and 43 respectively, a total proportion of 4.7% (New Zealand Health Information Service, 2003, 2004). By 2005 this had decreased slightly to 3.8% (n=39) (New Zealand Health Information Service, 2005)

The decrease in workforce evident from 1999 to 2000 does not necessarily mean the number of Māori psychologists suddenly declined. Because the psychology

workforce data is collected via questionnaires, it appears that in 2000 a lower number of Māori psychologists completed these questionnaires. From 2002 to 2005 the numbers of Māori psychologists appeared relatively stable, suggesting this is an accurate assessment of the Māori psychology workforce. Figure 1 presents a graphical representation of the numbers of Māori psychologists from 1999 to 2005. Figure 2 presents Māori psychologists as a proportion of total psychologists in 2005.

Figure 1. Number of Māori Psychologists 1999-2005

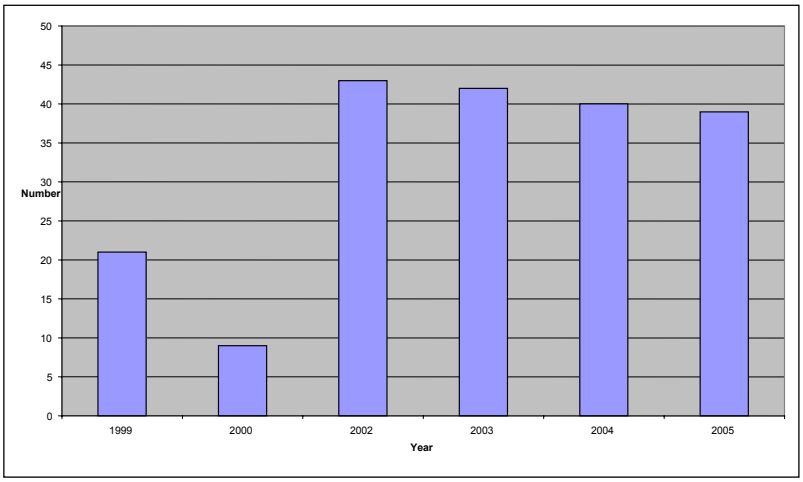
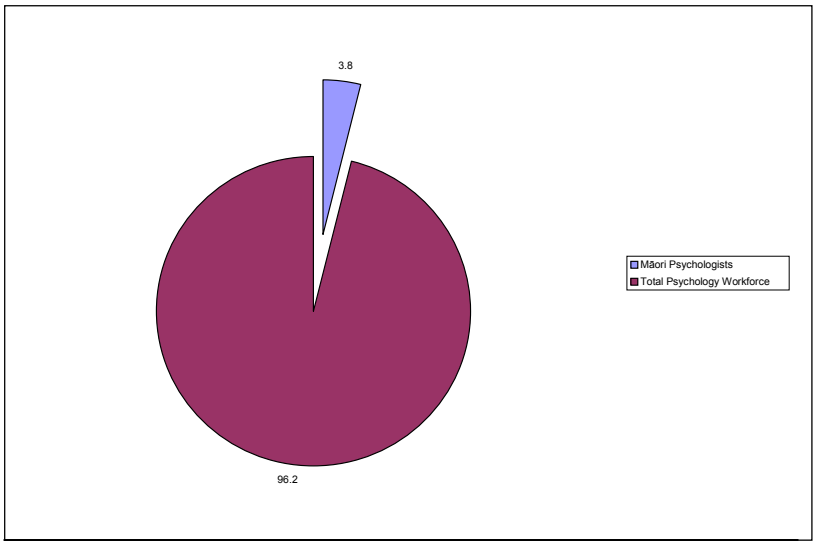


Figure 2. Proportion of Māori psychologists in the total psychology workforce 2005



In 2003, the NZHIS survey data included for the first time 'Kaupapa Māori' as a work-type (New Zealand Health Information Service, 2004). Due to this and the fact that 2003 recorded the highest proportion of Māori psychologists (n = 42; 4.7%) I have chosen to present data from 2003 in more detail.

Figure 3 presents a graphical representation of the employment settings of Māori psychologists in 2003. In 2003, there were 10 Māori psychologists who recorded District Health Boards (DHBs) as their main employment setting.

Figure 3. Employment Settings for Māori Psychologists 2003

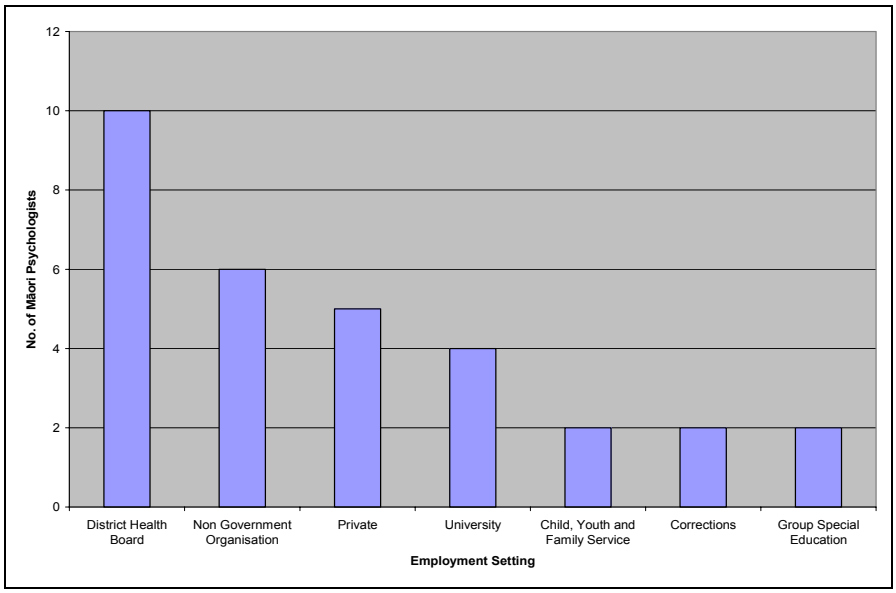
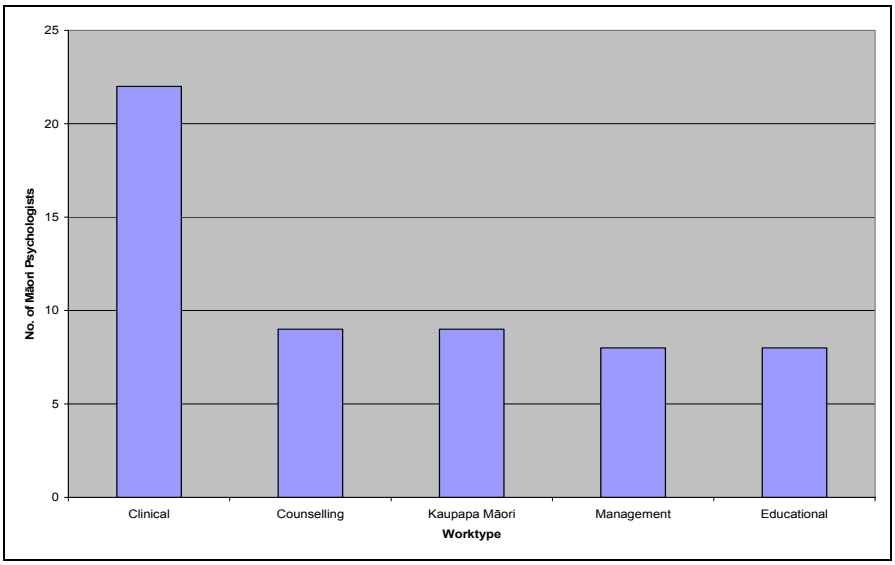


Figure 4 presents the work-types of Māori psychologists. More than one work-type could be specified. Māori psychologists were involved in a range of activities but clinical psychology was their most commonly recorded work type (n=22) (New Zealand Health Information Service, 2004).

Figure 4. Māori Psychologists Work-type 2003



Of note is that there were nine Māori psychologists who specified their work-type as Kaupapa Māori. Further analysis of this shows that the work settings of those psychologists who specified Kaupapa Māori as a work-type were as follows: District Health Boards (n=2); non-government organisations (n=2); tertiary institutions (n=2); employed in private practice (n=1); Child, Youth and Family (n=1); and the Department of Corrections (n=1).

Other data I obtained via personal communications supplements the information collected by the NZHIS. As of August 2004, 3.76% (n=7) of psychologists employed by Group Special Education were Māori (Greg Ariell, Group Special Education, personal communication, 23 August, 2004). The Department of Corrections advised in 2004, that of a total 71 psychologists, four were Māori. The Department also had three Māori bursars who were in the process of completing their Post-graduate Diploma in Clinical Psychology qualifications. These bursars will be bonded to work for the Department for two years on completion of their Diploma (Department of Corrections, personal communication, 8 September, 2004).

In 2003, there was one Māori full-time tenured psychology department academic staff member in New Zealand, the same staff member who was appointed to an Assistant Lectureship in 1989, Linda Nikora. In 2002, Dr Averil Herbert left a substantially full-time tenured appointment in the clinical psychology programme at the University of Waikato, where she had been on academic staff since 1996. In 2005, two full-time tenured academic appointments of Māori psychologists were made to psychology departments. These were Bridgette Masters-Awatere at Waikato University and Jhanitra Gavala at Massey University. In 2005, Dr Catherine Love also occupied a position as Director of Indigenous Research and Development within the School of Psychology at Victoria University. Over the years there have also been a number of fixed term academic appointments of Māori staff within psychology departments (at varying levels), and a small number of tenured positions which are no longer occupied by Māori staff members.

Discussion

A number of authors have commented on the need for psychology departments to implement strategies which will facilitate increased participation by Māori psychologists (Brady, 1992; Glover & Robertson, 1997; Masters & Levy, 1995; Nathan, 1999; Nikora, 1998, 2001). The numbers of Māori psychologists have doubled from 1999 to 2005, albeit from a low base. The training required for registration as a psychologist generally takes a minimum of six years. Given this, increasing the Māori psychology workforce is not a task which can be achieved overnight. That there has been such a proportionally large increase does raise questions. To what extent can this recorded increase be attributed to improved data collection processes? Was the increase evident in 2002 due to Māori psychologists being more aware of and diligent about completion of the workforce survey? Or can the increase be attributed to the workforce development strategies implemented over the past two decades? I suspect the increase is a combination of both.

While progress has been made, Māori psychologists still comprise less than 5% of the total psychology workforce. Significant need for Māori psychologists remains. Sectors identified in 1970s (Older, 1978), and again in the 1980s (Abbott & Durie, 1987) as urgently requiring Māori psychologists, continue to do so in the 21st century. The findings regarding the academic psychology workforce does not accurately reflect that there have, at times over the past decade, been significant increases in Māori staffing levels within psychology departments. However, these appointments have tended to be fixed term and relatively junior positions and have not resulted in an escalating and enduring Māori academic psychology workforce.

One of the most interesting findings from the workforce data collated is that in 2003, nine out of a total 42 Māori psychologists considered their work type to be 'Kaupapa Māori'. While formal recognition within official information systems of a psychology work type explicitly based on Māori knowledge bases should be celebrated, this finding raises questions regarding workforce development agendas. Such agendas have often been premised on the broad assumption that being a Māori psychologist equates with an automatic ability to practice effectively with Māori. From this perspective it could be concluded that because there have been noticeable increases in the numbers of Māori psychologists over the past five years satisfactory progress is being made, with no need to do anything radically different to what has been done in the past.

However, the low numbers of Māori psychologists engaged in a Kaupapa Māori work-type does raise some questions about the accuracy of this assumption. It is reasonable to suggest that if psychology is to benefit Māori and contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations, the utilisation of Kaupapa Māori frameworks and practices should likely form a significant component.

In highlighting the small numbers of Māori psychologists who identify their work type as Kaupapa Māori, I am not arguing that all contributions to a work-type described as Kaupapa Māori will be the same. Māori psychologists will possess

differing levels of cultural knowledge, experience and access to te ao Māori. Given this, it is to be expected that contributions to a Kaupapa Māori work-type will differ. An important challenge for Māori development models is to respond to the diversity which characterises what it is to be Māori (Durie, 2003e).

However, the low proportion engaged in a Kaupapa Māori work-type raises questions about whether the number of Māori psychologists is the best or only measure for assessing the relevance of psychology to Māori. Māori development models describe the processes which translate Māori aspirations into outcomes and it is important that outcomes are not confused with inputs and processes (Durie et al., 2002). From a Māori development perspective, increasing the number of Māori psychologists is not intended to simply provide a more culturally diverse workforce, but through contributing to Māori aspirations, result in better outcomes for Māori, whānau, hapū and iwi. When the starting point is Māori development agendas, this point is clear.

This starting point determines how we assess progress and eventually success. The total number of Māori psychologists, while important to measure, should not be assumed as the endpoint or outcome being sought. As noted in Chapter Four, critical mass theory assumes that it is solely the numbers which predict when transformative change will occur. However, critical mass theorists need to better understand how participation occurs, as opposed to when it occurs, as well as the factors which encourage or discourage the build up of the critical mass (Childs & Krook, 2006; Greed, 2000). In relation to the application of critical mass theory to indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa, other indicators which better describe the characteristics of the Māori psychology workforce are required. If accurate assessments and decisions regarding workforce development initiatives are to be made these indicators should be focused on capacity to participate as Māori and to contribute to Māori aspirations.

There are two potential reasons for the low number of Māori psychologists who considered their work-type to be Kaupapa Māori. Firstly, there is the absence of a

consolidated body of knowledge within psychology which is premised upon and derived from Māori world views and knowledge bases. The second reason is the differing understandings regarding the characteristics of what is encompassed within a Kaupapa Māori work-type. Māori psychologists may not have considered they had the cultural skills and knowledge to work within what they understood to be Kaupapa Māori frameworks. My follow-up discussions with a number of Māori psychologists in relation to this finding from the NZHIS workforce survey confirmed that there are Māori psychologists who operate from Māori worldviews, utilise Māori concepts and knowledge bases. However because they considered a Kaupapa Māori work-type to require a particular level of fluency with tikanga and mātauranga Māori frameworks, they would not deem their work-type to be Kaupapa Māori.

Collective Workforce Strength

Utilising the collective strength of Māori psychologists has been considered important for many years. Since 1989 there have been a number of hui which have aimed to create a sense of community among Māori psychologists. In 1998 at a hui in Wellington, the issue of self governance for Māori psychologists was discussed. It was concluded that there was a need for the establishment of an independent organisation able to represent the interests of Māori psychologists. One strategy to progress this was the formation of the Māori Psychologist's Network (MPN). It was agreed that the MPN, an informal network maintained via a regional structure with an email network and national register, would seek to contribute to workforce development by supporting Māori people training to become psychologists (Nikora, 1998). Although the MPN continues via an informal email network, it has not become formalised in any significant way. Possible explanations for this are related to barriers of distance, cost and time which have resulted in relatively infrequent communication, impacting on the ability of this group to maintain a national focus on Māori workforce development.

The issue of self governance was again discussed in 2002 at the National Māori Graduates of Psychology Symposium hosted by the Māori and Psychology Research Unit at the University of Waikato. Here it was concluded that, while the need remained for an independent Māori psychology organisation, the numbers of Māori psychologists continued to be at low levels, making such an organisation unsustainable. It appears that we have not yet achieved a workforce able to sustain an independent Māori psychology group. However the goals of such an organisation continue to be relevant: reducing isolation; providing exposure to role models; and facilitating the development of Māori psychologies. The potential benefits of utilising the collective strength of Māori psychologists are high.

Theme Two: Māori Psychologies

Data sources drawn on in this section are:

- Key informant interviews
- Stakeholder focus groups and submissions
- Desktop analysis of university psychology department training
- Desktop analysis of Māori-focused conference presentations (NZPsS annual conferences)

Findings

Key Informants

Key informants highlighted how the dominant Western frameworks on which psychology is based have rendered Māori perspectives, world views, concepts and practices invisible within the discipline of psychology. The majority of academic institutions are perceived as having demonstrated little serious commitment to including Māori perspectives within psychology. Where Māori content was included, it was often considered to be somewhat tokenistic in both intent and substance. This served to reinforce to both non-Māori and Māori, that psychology

was not relevant to the lives of Māori people and that Māori worldviews have no place within psychology.

> When I left university, in 1998, after completing two Psychology degrees, I had never heard of Mason Durie, of Linda Nikora, of Fiona Cram or Tereki Stewart. None of their work was ever referred to in our classes. I had no idea there were Māori working out there in psychology. (Kirsty Maxwell-Crawford, Psychologist)

However, several key informants also warned of the potential risks that were associated with including Māori knowledge bases within psychology. Of major concern was the potential use, abuse or misunderstanding of Māori knowledge bases and concepts.

> The danger is if we start putting bits of Māori content into psychology then we have supposedly culturally competent psychologists practising the limited mono-cultural psychology which is already there, for example with karakia at the beginning and end of sessions. That is more dangerous than being obviously not competent to work with Māori. (Dr Catherine Love, Te Atiawa)

Key informants considered that there was potential for the discipline of psychology to have a positive impact on the lives of Māori people. This required Māori knowledge bases shifting from being an optional extra and marginalised as the 'cultural' component, to being considered a core component of psychology in Aotearoa. However, psychology's resistance to the valid inclusion of Māori knowledge bases would need to be addressed. Publication was identified as an important mechanism to address this resistance.

> We need papers and publications in academic institutions and journals. For example, Abbott and Durie placed the issues on record and it takes a lot to deny them once they are on paper. Putting the issues on paper also creates a critical mass of opinion which impacts on decision making (Linda Waimarie Nikora, Lecturer).

Key informants considered that the Māori psychology workforce currently included leaders able to guide the development of Māori knowledge bases within psychology. However such development was hindered by Māori psychologists having to balance their time between advancing Māori psychologies and helping non-Māori develop their cultural competence. Decisions were complicated in that

both activities were viewed by the key informants as being important. In relation to the issue of cultural competency, the (then imminent) HPCA Act 2003 was considered a key mechanism by which the cultural competency of psychologists could be monitored.

There were differing views regarding who should be involved in the development of Māori psychologies. One key informant called for a greater range of people to be involved:

> We want active seekers of knowledge as opposed to passive recipients. That is the motivation for the Māori and Psychology Research Unit – there was a situation where non-Māori staff were fearful of undertaking research looking at Māori issues. The Māori and Psychology Research Unit provide staff with tasks which are supervised or involve working collaboratively with Māori staff so they are safe and able to participate in Māori-focused research. (Linda Waimarie Nikora, Lecturer)

However, some key informants favoured a parallel development approach to facilitate the growth of Māori psychologies. Including more Māori content within the confines of the current discipline was viewed with caution. Issues regarding the potential misuse of Māori concepts, and the resistance within psychology to the incorporation of indigenous knowledge bases were the reasons for this caution. Given this, some key informants considered there was more scope for indigenous development outside of psychology's limiting confines. For example, one key informant commented that a separate training and credentialing system would result in environments where Māori knowledge bases were positioned as the norm. It was felt that there was potential within tertiary education systems, for example within whare wānanga, to develop independent systems.

The following question was raised by one key informant: is it more productive to have some form of inclusion within psychology or for Māori to formalise our own models? Despite the differences in approaches described above, the majority of key informants did agree that the process of developing Māori psychologies included retaining the positive aspects of Western psychology.

Stakeholder Focus Groups and Submissions

Stakeholders all agreed that psychology was dominated by Western knowledge bases and that this had a negative impact on Māori participation in psychology. One submission argued that the fundamental approach to psychology training, which required the acquisition and demonstration of knowledge from established academic and professional knowledge bases, created a major barrier to Māori participation in psychology. Because students are required to focus on concepts drawn from the literature, the dearth of Māori content means that Māori psychologies continue to be explicitly excluded. This warranted actively pursuing the development of Māori psychologies, with increased research and publication viewed as critical. Professional organisations and academic institutions needed to highlight the importance and relevance of Māori psychologies, secure resources for appropriate and relevant research, and promote opportunities for publication and presentation. Stakeholders considered that Māori knowledge bases were able to enhance mainstream psychology.

Staff are mostly influenced by overseas research and models and needed to be encouraged to access relevant scholarly material and incorporate it within their teaching, research and practice programmes. Māori staff within psychology departments needed to have time to develop indigenous frameworks and models. However competing demands and the potential for overload on Māori staff were recognised as barriers to this.

Stakeholder submissions also indicated that tension continued to exist regarding the perceived validity of Māori knowledge bases, as compared with Western scientific knowledge bases. Highlighting this, one submission from a psychology department commented on the nature of the epistemology of psychology. This submission emphasised that psychology was founded on internationally accepted standards of scholarship and ethical practice. Because of this, psychology departments had a responsibility to ensure that their graduates could claim the same level of competence as those from international psychology training programmes. This submission concluded that because it was psychology's

positioning as a science which provided the field with its identity and academic credibility, the primary responsibility of psychology departments was to ensure Māori students met internationally accepted standards of scholarship and practice.

Desktop Analysis: Psychology Department Training

Undergraduate and Graduate Psychology Courses

Table 1 summarises the Māori-focused content offered at six universities in Aotearoa. Undergraduate and graduate psychology course descriptors were examined for the following components:

- Māori-focused papers
- Reference to issues of relevance to Māori or inclusion of Māori-focused content
- Reference to the importance of degree programmes including Māori-focused content

The numbers reported under each heading in Table 1 refers to the number of courses at each specified level which included the specific component. Each paper is categorised only once, under the heading which best describes it.

Table 1. Māori-Focused Course Content in Six Psychology Departments in 2003

Paper Level **[Number in ( ) indicates total number of papers at that Level]**	**Māori-focused Papers**	**Reference to issues of relevance to Māori or inclusion of Māori- focused content**	**Reference to importance of degree programme including Māori-focused content**
100 Level (14)	**0**	**1**	**0**
200 Level (34)	**2**	**2**	**0**
300 Level (81)	**2**	**4**	**3**
400+ Level (134)	**2**	**1**	**0**

Table 1 shows: the majority of papers were not Māori-focused; did not make reference to issues of relevance to Māori or include Māori-focused content; and did not refer to the importance of including Māori-focused content in degree programmes. These findings are outlined in more detail below.

Of the fourteen 100 Level papers, one mentioned investigating the role of culture and ethnicity in the study and practice of psychology, with a particular focus on Māori culture (University of Auckland, 2003). There were thirty-four 200 Level papers, two of which were specifically Māori-focused. These were 'Culture and Ethnicity' (University of Waikato, 2003a), and 'Bicultural Perspectives in Psychology' (Massey University, 2003).

Eighty-one 300 Level papers were recorded. Of these, two were specifically Māori-focused. These were 'Psychology and Māori Development' (University of Waikato, 2003a) and 'Indigenous Psychology in Aotearoa' (Victoria University, 2003). Four other 300 Level papers mentioned examining issues of relevance to Māori, biculturalism or cross cultural psychology. Three departments also made reference to the need for students to supplement their degree programmes with Māori-focused papers. While there are a small number of Māori-focused psychology papers available, none of these papers appeared compulsory for undergraduate degree completion. This means it is possible to undertake a degree in psychology without having gained any exposure to issues of relevance to Māori. However, in some cases Māori-focused psychology papers were required for post-graduate professional training programmes.

A total of 134 graduate papers were recorded. Of these, two, both at the same university, are specifically Māori-focused, these being 'Kaupapa Māori and Psychology', and 'Psychological Applications of the Treaty of Waitangi' (University of Waikato, 2003a). The same university also mentions 'Kaupapa Māori' as a separate strand in psychology (University of Waikato, 2003a). Directed studies which are Māori-focused are also encouraged and supported by

the Māori and Psychology Research Unit in the psychology department at the University of Waikato (University of Waikato, 2003a).

Specialised Graduate Psychology Training

Table 2 summarises Māori-focused content in specialised psychology post-graduate professional training. Course descriptors were examined for the following components:

- Māori-focused competency in selection criteria
- Prior completion of pre-requisite Māori-focused papers
- Māori programme staff
- Reference to issues of relevance to Māori

The number reported refers to the number of programmes which included these components. There is currently only one Post-graduate Diploma in Community Psychology programme offered in Aotearoa.

Table 2. Māori-focused Content in Psychology Post-graduate Professional Programmes 2003

Post-Graduate Professional Programmes	Māori-focused competency in selection criteria	Completion of Māori-focused content a requirement	Māori Programme Staff	Reference to issues of relevance to Māori
Clinical (6)	2	2	2	6
Community (1)	1	1	1	1

The Post Graduate Diploma in Clinical Psychology was the most common post-graduate professional training programme, offered in all of the six universities. Table 2 shows all of the clinical psychology programmes referred to issues of relevance to Māori. However, this ranged from stating that affirmative action would be taken with respect to Māori students wishing to enter the programme (University of Auckland, 2003), through to emphasising a commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Massey University, 2003). One department stated that due to having strong Māori representation, a Kaupapa Māori

framework, bicultural approach and Treaty of Waitangi model was able to be offered (University of Waikato, 2003b).

Understanding of Māori culture, biculturalism and the relevance of culture to practice were specifically listed as selection criteria in two clinical psychology programmes (University of Waikato, 2003b; Victoria University, 2003). Another programme listed cultural awareness generally as an entry requirement (University of Otago, 2003). Also relevant to programme criteria was that two departments required completion of specific Māori-focused courses (University of Waikato, 2003b), whilst another required the completion of an introductory Māori Studies course (University of Otago, 2003). A further two departments recommended the completion of a Māori language course (Massey University, 2003; University of Canterbury, 2003).

In 2003, two clinical psychology programmes employed Māori staff (University of Waikato, 2003b; Victoria University, 2003). One other programme referred to bicultural and Treaty of Waitangi workshops being taught by external providers (University of Canterbury, 2003).

Three universities offered other specialised graduate programmes. Of these, a Post-graduate Diploma in Community Psychology taught at Waikato University considered cultural issues, cultural justice and the Treaty of Waitangi integral to the community psychology teaching and research programme (University of Waikato, 2003a). In 2003 this programme included one Māori staff member. Three other departments referred to Industrial and Organisational graduate programmes of study. All made reference to the importance of cultural awareness.

Research Outputs

University psychology department websites were searched for research output information, with the aim of exploring the extent to which Māori-focused psychological research was being undertaken. Variable information was able to

be accessed via websites. For example, research outputs for one department were not available and other departments provided access to only student research, or research undertaken from 1998 to 2000. For two departments access was only available to their 2002 research reports. As a result the analysis in this section can only be considered indicative of the level of Māori-focused research being undertaken.

The titles of the research outputs were examined for whether they were obviously Māori-focused. Key findings are listed below:

- One department did not have any Māori-focused research outputs for 2002 (out of a total of 64 outputs listed) (University of Otago, 2003) .
- One department (only student research outputs were able to be accessed) did not record any Māori-focused research (out of a total of 64 titles) (Victoria University, 2003).
- One department recorded one research project out of a total of 165 was Māori-focused (University of Canterbury, 2003).
- One department recorded two out of 224 research outputs that were Māori-focused. At this same department, there were three out of 160 student theses which were Māori-focused (Massey University, 2003).

One department recorded a total of 24 out of 130 research outputs were Māori-focused (University of Waikato, 2003a). A notable feature in relation to Māori-focused research outputs in this department was the presence of the Māori and Psychology Research Unit (MPRU) at the University of Waikato.

Staff Research Interests

Three of the six psychology departments did not have any staff who listed Māori-focused research among their research interests. In one department 20% of the staff included Māori-focused research among their research interests (University of Waikato, 2003a). The remaining two departments ranged between 4-8% of

staff indicating they had Māori-focused research interests (Massey University, 2003; Victoria University, 2003). Many of the overall research interests stated by staff can be considered highly relevant to Māori: for example mental health, forensic, development, child and adolescence, head injury, learning disabilities, and health psychology.

Desktop analysis: Māori-focused Conference Presentations

It can be argued that progress in relation to the inclusion of Māori knowledge bases and increased Māori participation within psychology teaching, research and practice environments should be visible in conference presentations. Table 3 presents an analysis of Māori-focused content within the NZPsS Annual Conferences from 1993 to 2005. Presentation abstracts were analysed for evidence of a specific Māori focus.

Table 3. Analyses of Māori-focused Presentations at NZPsS Annual Conferences 1992-2003

Year	Location	Total Presentations	Total Māori-focused	%	Other Comments
1992	*Dunedin*	101	5	5	
1993	*Wellington*	109	9	8	• 1 Māori keynote speaker • Cultural Justice & Ethics Symposium
1994	*Waikato*	108	6	6	
1995	*Auckland*	60	4	7	• Cultural Justice & Ethics in Psychology Workshop
1996	*Christchurch*	66	3	5	
1997	*Palmerston North*	130	9	7	• 1 Māori keynote speaker • Kaupapa Māori stream
1998	*Wellington*	130	7	5	• Cultural Justice and Ethics Symposium • Māori Psychologists Network
1999	*Dunedin*	No detailed programme available	No detailed programme available	n/a	• 1 Māori keynote speaker • Bicultural Symposia

2000	*Hamilton*	125	17	14	• Two Māori keynote speakers • Kaupapa Māori stream
2001	*Auckland*	131	11	8	• Workshop – "Cultural Issues: working effectively with Māori and Pacific Peoples" • Two Māori keynote speakers • Māori & Psychology stream
2002	*Christchurch*	121	6	5	• Workshop: Cultural Supervision • One Māori keynote speaker • Bicultural Issues stream
2003	*Palmerston North*	128	9	7	• 2 Māori keynote speakers • Kaupapa Māori stream • Discussion about Institute of Māori Psychology

Table 3 shows that for the majority of conferences since 1993 the level of Māori-focused material has remained fairly consistent, ranging from 5 to 8%. The notable exception is 14%, recorded in 2000 when the conference was held in Hamilton, at Waikato University.

Discussion

The majority of key informants I interviewed discussed at length the consequences that the dominance of Western knowledge bases continues to have for Māori in psychology. Perhaps put most succinctly in a stakeholder submission, the absence of Māori psychologies collides with the fundamental approach to psychology training which requires the acquisition and demonstration of knowledge from established academic and professional knowledge bases.

Stewart (1995) undertook an analysis of psychology training programmes in the 1990s. He noted that while increases in Māori content were visible, particularly at Waikato and Massey Universities, few gains had been made in the professional

programmes (Stewart, 1995). Building on this, Nathan (1999) found that while there had been significant improvements in Māori content in some post-graduate clinical psychology programmes, particularly at Waikato and Auckland Universities, some programmes had improved little since Abbott and Durie's (1987) study.

The desktop analysis in my study shows that much progress has been made since Abbott and Durie's paper in 1987. In particular the existence of six Māori-focused courses in 2003 is significant. However, this still represents only 3% of total undergraduate courses and 1.5% of total graduate psychology courses. There continues to be a dearth of Māori content within psychology training programmes in Aotearoa. The findings suggested that it was possible to undertake a degree in psychology without having gained any exposure to issues of relevance to Māori. This means that it is entirely possible, and more likely probable, that both Māori and non-Māori students are able to complete undergraduate and graduate psychology degrees without exposure to Māori-focused content. It is encouraging that in some cases Māori-focused psychology papers were required for post-graduate professional training programmes.

The desktop analysis data also reflects a continuing lack of Māori-focused research and conference presentations. Having said this, there certainly has been growth in relation to the breadth and depth of Māori-focused psychological research. Increasing numbers of Māori graduate research projects, journal articles, edited collections and conference presentations are evidence of this. In 1991, the first Māori and Psychology Symposium was held within an NZPsS Annual Conference at Massey University (Palmerston North). This was followed in 1993 by the Cultural Justice and Ethics symposium, organised by NZPsS National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI). Since 1993 the majority of NZPsS annual conferences have included bicultural or Māori-focused presentation streams. In addition to Māori participation within NZPsS conferences, the 1990's saw the important development of independent Māori psychology conferences. The 'Māori and Psychology Conference' held at

Waikato University in 1995 was attended by approximately 120 people who came to share resources, develop networks and raise the profile of Māori psychologists (Nikora, 1995).

The Māori and Psychology Research Unit (MPRU), established in 1997, at the University of Waikato, directed by Linda Nikora, has been a major contributor to increased research, articles, edited collections and conference presentations. The MPRU has as its focus the psychological needs, aspirations, and priorities of Māori people. In 1999, the MPRU held a one day symposium, 'Māori and Psychology: Research and Practice', the proceedings of which have since been published (Robertson, 1999). This was followed in 2002 by the 'National Māori Graduates of Psychology Symposium: Making a Difference', sponsored by the New Zealand Psychologists Board, and hosted by the MPRU. This symposium, arguably the most ambitious yet, included in excess of 30 presentations by Māori psychologists, with over 100 delegates attending over its two day duration.

The proceedings of the 2002 symposium have also since been published (Nikora, Levy, Masters, Waitoki, Te Awekotuku, & Etheredge, 2003). The importance of this publication was brought home to me some three years later, when a Māori graduate psychology student commented on how critically important this publication had been for Māori psychology students at Auckland University, given the lack of Māori-focused material available to them during their training. Until that time, although recognising the importance of publishing the proceedings, I had not fully appreciated their value to those not fortunate enough to have access to the resources available in the Psychology Department at Waikato University. It reminded me of how easy it is to sometimes take for granted what we have within our own contexts, forgetting that this is not the norm for others.

Waikato University aside, the desktop analysis suggests that Māori knowledge bases continue to exist in the margins of psychology, as opposed to occupying a central space. In 2005 a Special Issue of the *New Zealand Journal of Psychology:*

Māori Psychological Theory, Practice and Research was published, the first time an issue dedicated to this topic had been published. Editors of this special issue, Dr Marewa Glover and Dr Paul Hirini (2005) commented that while there was a growing body of so-called 'grey' literature relating to Māori psychology, such as symposium proceedings, research theses, evaluation and contract reports, there was a dearth of articles on or about Māori psychology published in refereed journals. They also commented that their final selection of papers reflected the permanence of Western paradigms in psychology training, suggesting that Māori students of psychology were still focused on learning the tools of Pākehā (Glover & Hirini, 2005).

As noted in Chapter One, participants at a Māori and Psychology hui in 1989 considered that there was sufficient information and research to begin developing a psychology relevant to the New Zealand context (Nikora, 1989). Māori-focused psychology courses have been recognised as playing a key role in challenging psychology's reliance on dominant Western knowledge bases (Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Moeke-Pickering, Paewai, Turangi-Joseph, & Herbert, 1996; Paewai, 1997; Parsonson, 1993; Thomas, 1993). Such courses provide space for the development of indigenous psychologies to occur, moving the examination of Māori issues from the margins into a central space (Stewart, 1995). These courses will include those that emphasise the development of Māori psychologies, as well as those that emphasise the adaptation of Western psychology to Māori development. While some consider both these approaches to be beneficial, others have queried the benefits for Māori of utilising psychological concepts which have arisen out of Western dominated knowledge bases (Glover & Robertson, 1997; Lawson-Te Aho, 1994). Despite these differences, as was evident from the key informant and stakeholder data, there is wide agreement that the benefits of Western psychology should be utilised within Māori psychologies.

Several authors have questioned why psychology appears to have actively resisted calls for change (Abbott & Durie, 1987; Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; McCreanor, 1993; Nathan, 1999; Skipper, 1998). McCreanor (1993) and Nathan (1999)

attribute this to psychology's positioning within science, whereby science is theorised as being ideologically and methodologically objective and neutral. Because Māori knowledge bases are not considered to fit within the framework of objectivity and neutrality, they have been marginalised on the fringes. The validity of the argument postulated by McCreanor (1993) and Nathan (1999) is supported by the views of some indigenous psychology scholars outlined in Chapter Two. For example, according to Kim and Park (2005) because analyses of indigenous concepts cannot be supported by empirical evidence, their scientific merit is difficult to assess.

Lawson-Te Aho (1994) and Stewart (1995) have raised concerns over the willingness of the psychology profession to provide space for the development of psychologies applicable and relevant to Māori. Marginalisation, invalidation and co-opting of Māori knowledge are considered real threats (Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Milne, 2005; Stewart, 1995). Several authors have raised the need for separate or specialised training systems for Māori psychologists (Glover & Robertson, 1997; Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Milne, 2005; Stewart, 1995). Indeed Abbott and Durie (1987) raised this idea some 15 years ago. That the option of parallel development was raised by the key informants I interviewed reflected ongoing frustration with the slow progress being made and serious concerns about the control and safety of mainstream psychology. Yet despite this frustration and concern, the key informants still believed in the potential of the psychology discipline to have a positive impact on the lives of Māori people.

Two key issues emerge from the analysis in this chapter. I have earlier identified two reasons for the low number of Māori psychologists who identified their work-type as Kaupapa Māori psychology. Firstly, there is an absence of a consolidated body of knowledge within psychology which is premised upon and derived from Māori world views and knowledge bases. And, secondly, Māori psychologists may not have considered they had the cultural skills and knowledge to work within what they understood to be Kaupapa Māori frameworks. How realistic is it to expect that Māori psychologists will consider their work-type to be Kaupapa

Māori when there is no training which prepares them to practice in this way? In addition, the continued shortage of Māori knowledge bases within training programmes means that for Māori students there are limited opportunities to strengthen and affirm cultural identity and indigenous practices.

There is a second issue related to the inclusion of Māori content in psychology training which has not received a great deal of attention. As alluded to by Palmer (1992) and Love (2003) the strategy of increasing Māori content in mainstream psychology training is actually intended to address two distinctive aims. Firstly, Māori content aims to assist in increasing Māori participation through providing relevant content. Secondly, Māori content aims to enhance the ability of non-Māori psychologists to work effectively with Māori. Achieving these differing aims will impact on the design, content and delivery of psychology training. The importance of each aim is not disputed, as it is clear that both increasing the numbers of Māori psychologists and increasing the responsiveness of non-Māori psychologists are important elements of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit to Māori. However, there does appear to be a tendency for discussions regarding the development of Māori knowledge bases within psychology to be overshadowed by a focus on developing a culturally competent non-Māori psychology workforce. This suggests that the needs of non-Māori may have been prioritised at the expense of Māori driven and determined development.

The small Māori psychology workforce means that meeting these two differing, yet important needs has been attempted via a single broadly defined strategy of 'increasing Māori content'. However the extent to which both needs can be effectively met within a single tertiary course is questionable. Can a single course include content which strengthens and affirm cultural identity and indigenous practices for Māori, as well as enhance the ability of non-Māori to practice more effectively with Māori?

Theme Three: Participation in Training

Data sources drawn on in this section are:

- Key informant interviews
- Stakeholder focus groups and submissions
- Desktop analysis of university psychology department training

Findings

Key Informant Interviews

The key informants I interviewed believed that to significantly increase Māori participation in psychology it was important to retain Māori students who entered the discipline at the first year level. The key to retention was considered to be providing Māori students with multiple forms of support. These included: bridging programmes; kaupapa Māori/tangata whenua tutorials; hui welcoming Māori students into psychology; provision of space for Māori students; mentoring programmes; and facilitating the development of peer support networks.

In relation to professional psychology training programmes, key informants suggested career development initiatives which included scholarships, peer mentoring, career guidance, networking and career experience. It was felt that there was considerable scope for such initiatives, with potential for joint venture arrangements between academic institutions and service providers.

Stakeholder Focus Groups and Submissions

Key stakeholders recognised and understood the need to support Māori students in psychology training. This was primarily understood within a Treaty of Waitangi framework, with several key stakeholders considering it important to have a visible university-wide commitment to fulfilling the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Although gains had been made, key stakeholders identified providing effective support for Māori students as an ongoing challenge for

psychology departments. Initiatives such as tangata whenua tutorials, bursaries, summer fellowships, research assistantships and other practical initiatives were considered important to support Māori students. While the focus was often on supporting graduate students through professional programme study, one stakeholder considered it critical to investigate ways in which talented Māori undergraduate psychology students could be supported through to graduate study.

Desktop Analysis: Psychology Department Training

Five of the six psychology departments provided initiatives aimed at supporting Māori students in psychology training. Most common were Kaupapa Māori or Tangata Whenua tutorials, whanau support groups/programmes, and the allocation of physical space and resources. Other initiatives included: Kaupapa Māori Student Advisors; Māori psychology student email networks and online support forums (University of Waikato, 2003a); affirmative action policies for Māori students into restricted programmes of study (University of Auckland, 2003); Māori psychology student organisations/groups; hui and mentoring (Massey University, 2003; University of Otago, 2003); and web pages for Māori students outlining contacts, support services, and academic planning advice (University of Waikato, 2003a; Victoria University, 2003). In addition, one department was part of a wider mentoring support scheme for Māori and Pacific Nations students enrolled in undergraduate science, architecture and design courses (Victoria University, 2003), and one department had a specific Māori-focused research unit; the Māori and Psychology Research Unit (MPRU) (Maori and Psychology Research Unit, 2000).

Discussion

The need to actively support Māori psychology students to successful outcomes has been identified as important for some time. Various factors impact on the successful participation of Māori students in tertiary education generally. These include the transition and adaptation to unfamiliar tertiary environments and tertiary study, financial barriers, and external commitments (Ministry of

Education, 2001; Nikora, Levy, Henry, & Whangapirita, 2002a). It has also been noted that the complex interaction of a multitude of factors leads to poor outcomes within tertiary education (Nikora et al., 2002a).

Te Rau Puawai, established in 1999 at Massey University, aimed to contribute at least 100 Māori graduates to the Māori mental health workforce within a five year period. In 2001 the Māori and Psychology Research Unit (MRPU) was asked to evaluate the Te Rau Puawai programme. In doing this valuable insight was gained into ways in which barriers to Māori participation in tertiary education could be addressed. The evaluation found that Te Rau Puawai was considered a place where Māori students could stand and be Māori. Critical success factors of this programme included: well established Māori leadership; an extended funding arrangement allowing for sustainable development; a recognisable Māori programme based within a supportive Māori environment and built on a foundation of Māori values and processes; and innovative and multiple support strategies responsive to diverse support needs (Nikora et al., 2002a).

In addition to the general issues faced by Māori in tertiary education, a number of issues specific to psychology have also been identified. These include: lack of confidence to succeed in psychology; isolation from whānau and other Māori psychology students; difficulties in understanding psychological jargon; essay writing; financial barriers; high grade averages required for entry into professional programmes; and accessing assistance when required (Hunt et al., 2002; Masters & Levy, 1995; Nikora, 1998).

The importance of psychology departments actively supporting Māori students to address the barriers listed above, as well as creating the factors necessary for successful outcomes in psychology is viewed as essential to increasing Māori participation in psychology (Nathan, 1999). The majority of university psychology departments, as evidenced in the desktop analysis of psychology training, have implemented support programmes for Māori students. Evaluations of such initiatives in the psychology department at Waikato University have

indicated they are effective in addressing some of the barriers described above (Hunt et al., 2002; Masters & Levy, 1995; Nikora, 1998).

An important finding to emerge from recent research is that there are clear differences in the type of support needed at different stages of study (Ashwell, Nikora, & Levy, 2003; Levy & Williams, 2003). Māori students who experience success in their first year at university were more likely to be confident and competent in negotiating course requirements and the university environment in subsequent years (Ashwell et al., 2003; Levy & Williams, 2003). Engendering familiarity and confidence in the first year of study appeared fundamental. However, this type of support differs from what is required by students engaged at higher levels of study, with students at graduate level tending to rely directly on lecturers for support (Levy & Williams, 2003).

There is now a relatively robust literature base regarding how to best support Māori psychology students. Much of this originates from the Psychology Department at Waikato University but it does provide guidance for other institutions. Support initiatives must address academic, social, cultural and financial needs. A variety of support mechanisms are evident across the majority of psychology departments, with much time and energy invested in addressing the issue of retention. As retention at undergraduate level has improved, the focus has moved to supporting the increasing number of Māori students progressing through to graduate level.

Theme Four: Conflicting Expectations

Data sources drawn on in this section are:

- Key informant interviews
- Stakeholder focus groups and submissions

Findings

Key Informant Interviews

The key informants I interviewed raised the issue of conflicting expectations. It was felt that Māori psychology students, particularly at undergraduate level, were required to think and write from a purely Western perspective. To succeed, they needed to distance themselves from being Māori. However, at graduate and post-graduate level, there was the expectation they would include Māori perspectives in their work, essentially filling the role of the 'Māori expert'. Such an expectation reinforced the myth that Māori are a homogenous group, and assumed that one Māori student had the capacity to speak on behalf of all Māori people. In addition, it was felt that Māori students were required to make conscious choices in relation to the extent to which they were able to meet the expectations of psychology training programmes, alongside their own cultural values as Māori. For some key informants, that professional psychology training required compromising one's own cultural values was considered abusive.

> It is about meeting the demands of two systems. Pākehā wouldn't comprehend those dual demands – you feel huge guilt when you can't meet the demands of those two systems. (Lisa Cherrington, Clinical Psychologist)

> Trying to meet the requirements of two different systems at the same time is hugely costly at both a personal and professional level. (Dr Catherine Love, Te Atiawa)

The issue of managing conflicting expectations was not confined to Māori students of psychology, with key informants also identifying that Māori psychologists in the workforce faced similar issues in relation to balancing Māori models of practice with mainstream practice and concepts. Key informants commented that Māori psychologists were employed by organisations because of the specific cultural skills and knowledge they were able to bring. However in reality, the environment did not allow for those specific skills to be utilised.

Key informants also commented on the unrealistic expectations placed on Māori psychologists in the workforce. For example, organisations employing a Māori psychologist commonly assumed that this person would possess particular skill sets in relation to cultural competence. This skill set might include proficiency in te reo and tikanga, ability to facilitate cultural events when required, and cultural supervision skills. However, managers failed to consider if it was realistic that a single Māori psychologist would be able to deliver on all these competencies. Neither did they consider the way in which the environment failed to value those competencies and nurture their application and further development. Related to this was the pressure of being perceived as 'the Māori psychologist', irrespective of a defined knowledge base or training programme to prepare one for such a role.

> It is not enough that you are a Māori psychologist – you need to be a fluent speaker and networked with local iwi … these are incredibly unfair and unrealistic assumptions …Māori are as diverse as any other ethnic group. This is hugely stressful to a young person and you question whether you wish to stay in the profession because it becomes abusive. (Paul Hirini, Clinical Psychologist)

Stakeholder Focus Groups and Submissions

One submission commented that the issue of conflicting expectations was not confined to Māori students. This stakeholder interpreted conflicting expectations for Māori students to mean Māori students entering psychology courses only to find the content and approach was not in accord with their expectations of the discipline. Based on this interpretation of the issue, conflicting expectations were considered not specific only to Māori students, but one of the major challenges facing all students who enter the discipline.

Discussion

Conflicting expectations for Māori students and psychologists have been raised as an issue for some time (Brady, 1992; Glover, 1997; Paterson, 1993). This is clearly related to the dominance of Western frameworks. On the one hand, to succeed in academia and the profession, Māori students must adhere exclusively to Western literature and practices. On the other hand, to protect their wellbeing

as Māori, there is a need for us to act as 'cultural watchdogs', constantly challenging our training. In addition, Māori students must manage the competing demands of meeting academic requirements, and whānau, hapū and iwi expectations. The profession of psychology has actually been described as a hazardous place for Māori to be, impacting negatively on relationships with whānau, hapū and iwi (Brady, 1992; Milne, 2005). Of serious concern are risks of rejection from cultural networks and loss of confidence in culturally based processes and models (Brady, 1992; Milne, 2005).

The issue of conflicting expectations is of concern when discussed alongside what is known about effectively supporting Māori students. Successful support models for Māori tertiary students explicitly challenge the premise that indigenous students assimilate to the culture of the institution. The evaluation of the Te Rau Puawai programme described earlier identified two critical success factors: providing a place for Māori students to stand and be Māori; and being founded on Māori processes and concepts (Nikora et al., 2002a). Another example is the Kaupapa Māori tutorial programme at Waikato University in which the tutorials are promoted as being developed for Māori students, with the 'taken for granted' mode of operation being culturally Māori. That Māori psychology students continue to come under pressure to compromise their own cultural values in order to succeed within psychology directly contradicts the foundations of effective support initiatives for Māori psychology students. Successful participation should not be at the expense of cultural identity.

As emphasised in my introduction, if psychology is to benefit Māori, the foundation from which we as Māori interact with psychology must originate from within the broader context of Māori development which seeks to realise the aspirations of Māori. These aspirations can be broadly categorised as the ability to participate, as Māori, in te ao Māori; and the ability to participate, as Māori, in New Zealand society (Durie, 2003e; Durie et al., 2002). Māori development models should support and strengthen these two broad aspirations.

When the issue of conflicting expectations is analysed from the perspective of Māori aspirations, that Māori students are being required to compromise what are commonly accepted as broad Māori aspirations is clearly unacceptable. How are these aspirations being compromised? That Māori students and psychologists risk rejection from whānau, hapū and iwi as the 'Pākehā' psychologist (Brady, 1992; Milne, 2005) compromises the aspiration to participate as Māori in te ao Māori. That studying psychology for some Māori students results in a loss of confidence in the validity of Kaupapa Māori processes (Milne, 2005) also compromises this aspiration. That Māori students and psychologists must consciously decide whether to surrender their cultural identity as Māori if they are to succeed in psychology compromises the aspiration to participate as Māori in New Zealand society. This finding raises a serious, yet obvious question. How can psychology be of benefit to whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori, and contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations if success in this discipline actually requires Māori to compromise those fundamental aspirations? The suggestion seems absurdly paradoxical.

Māori development frameworks consider workforce development strategies in terms of their relationship to wider Māori development aspirations, that of participating in te ao Māori and wider New Zealand society. It can be argued that analyses of workforce development strategies will be flawed if they do not take into account the extent to which the terms of that participation align with Māori aspirations. Workforce development agendas in psychology will contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations if such approaches are characterised by the retaining and strengthening of one's cultural identity as Māori. Participation *by* Māori is different from participation *as* Māori (Durie, 2003b).

I have earlier suggested a possible reason for the low number of Māori psychologists who considered they practiced Kaupapa Māori psychology was that some Māori psychologists may not have considered they had the cultural skills and knowledge to work within what they understood to be Kaupapa Māori frameworks. Māori as a population group are diverse. Cultural identity exists on

a continuum. Individuals occupy different places along that continuum. Diverse realities are influenced by differing foundations of cultural identity which are in turn affected by access to cultural institutions and te reo Māori (Durie, 2001). As Durie (2003e) noted, an important challenge for Māori development models is to respond to the diversity which characterises what it is to be Māori, whether this diversity relates to socio-economic circumstances, cultural affiliation or differential access to te ao Māori. Consistent with a Māori development framework, opportunities to strengthen cultural identity and access to te ao Māori should be a desired outcome of initiatives to increase the number of Māori psychologists. This conclusion supports the work of Ihimaera & Tassell (2004) who found that achieving competence in Kaupapa Māori and Western practice required opportunities for Māori students to strengthen their cultural identity, as well their confidence to participate as Māori (Ihimaera & Tassell, 2004).

As described earlier, one stakeholder submission commented that conflicting expectations were not confined solely to Māori students. However, the key informant findings clearly indicate that the issue for Māori students was not solely related to unmet expectations, but to the knowledge bases, beliefs and values of psychology fundamentally conflicting with those of Māori students undertaking psychology training. Such a fundamental conflict is not a risk that all students face. Claiming it affects all diverts attention away from the risk to Māori. While psychology content should be appropriate for all students, it is important that attention is not diverted from the specific issues which face Māori. A more negative interpretation might be that challenging the cultural specificity of conflicting expectations is a subtle tactic aimed at invalidating the perspective that there are issues within psychology which impact directly and specifically on Māori students.

Theme Five: Collective Responsibility

Data sources drawn on in this section are:

- Key informant interviews
- Key stakeholder focus groups and submissions
- Desktop analysis of university psychology department training

Findings

Key Informant Interviews

Key informants stressed that progress would be limited unless non-Māori accepted they had a responsibility for affecting change. That is, collective responsibility by psychology departments, professional psychology organisations and agencies employing psychologists was seen as fundamental to increasing the Māori psychology workforce.

> Collective responsibility – you need to slam home that idea over and over again. If you pursue only the appointment of more Māori staff, the responsibility still rests with Māori staff. The requirement is that everybody across the institution take responsibility for addressing the issue. (Linda Waimarie Nikora, Lecturer)

Key informants considered the issues would not be effectively addressed by an ad-hoc approach, for example by organisations prioritising the issues of Māori participation one year but ignoring them the next. It was felt that there were significant opportunities for collaboration, for example between psychology departments, professional organisations and employing agencies.

The majority of key informants agreed that the various activities of government policy ministries, employing agencies, educational institutions and professional organisations should be coordinated. The perceived benefits of coordination were ensuring effective and efficient utilisation of resources, minimising duplication, and sharing of resources, workloads and ideas. It was also noted that the coordination of initiatives should avoid creating sub-discipline divisions among the small numbers of Māori psychologists.

Several key informants commented on the specific responsibilities of psychology departments. This responsibility was primarily in relation to: the recruitment and retention of Māori students; including relevant Māori content within psychology training; ensuring that Māori staff and students actively are supported; and advancing Māori psychologies through actively supporting the development of Māori-focused research opportunities.

Professional psychology organisations were viewed as having significant opportunities to effect change. Potential roles included: actively promoting to training institutions and employers the importance of Māori participation in psychology; the provision of psychology career development pathways for Māori students and staff; securing research funding; facilitating a sense of community amongst Māori psychologists; and overseeing training standards and cultural competency requirements. There also needed to be greater accountability to guidelines such as the Code of Ethics. The HPCA Act 2003 was viewed as having significant potential to ensure cultural competencies formed a core component of practice for registered psychologists.

Stakeholders: Focus Groups and Submissions

The majority of submissions received from key stakeholders agreed that collective responsibility was essential. However, the implementation of collective responsibility was considered possible only when both Māori and non-Māori shared the vision and responsibility for facilitating change. Change was viewed as being slow if there was a continued reliance on the small number of Māori within the discipline.

An important element of collective responsibility was addressing resistance to change within psychology. One stakeholder commented that, as psychologists, we should be in a good position to understand these processes and develop effective mechanisms for change.

Desktop Analysis: Psychology Department Training

All six Universities provided clear statements in their official policy documents (Charters, Strategic Statements and Performance Objectives) regarding the obligations of their institutions to both Māori staff and students under the Treaty of Waitangi. In all cases these are detailed and provide clear indications of what institutions are expected to focus on to ensure successful participation by Māori staff and students.

The extent to which psychology departments demonstrated a stated commitment to Māori was also explored. Two of the six departments displayed clear policies stating their commitment to the needs of Māori within their institutions. These included: honouring obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi; developing a bicultural focus; recruiting and retaining more Māori students and staff; acknowledging that the psychology which is taught in New Zealand must include Māori knowledge, viewpoints and experience; and promoting genuine Māori participation which is consistent with Māori aims and aspirations (Massey University, 2003). More comprehensive policies which recognised psychology as a platform for Māori development were also evident (University of Waikato, 2003a).

Several mechanisms were used to facilitate these stated departmental goals. These included Bicultural or Kaupapa Māori Committees (Massey University, 2003; University of Waikato, 2003a; Victoria University, 2003), and specific policy documents which outlined in detail the purpose, nature and structure of Māori support in the department, as well as encouraging Māori students to utilise in their coursework perspectives and concepts which reflect the experience of being Māori (University of Waikato, 2003a). Two departments also make clear statements regarding the concept of collective responsibility, with all staff having responsibility for addressing issues of relevance to Māori (Massey University, 2003; University of Waikato, 2003a).

Discussion

Studies over the years have suggested the majority of psychology departments have demonstrated, albeit to varying degrees, more favourable attitudes to biculturalism (Nathan, 1999; National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1995b; Skipper, 1998; Stewart, 1995). This is supported by the desktop analysis of psychology department training programmes. This analysis indicated that the foundations for collective responsibility existed within academia, with all universities having institution-wide policies or statements relevant to responsiveness to Māori. However, the high level policies of universities have not translated into gains within psychology departments, with only two of the six psychology departments including specific policy statements which outlined their commitment to Māori students and staff.

Key informants considered that, although leaders able to guide the development of Māori knowledge bases within psychology existed, progress was hindered by Māori psychologists having to balance their time between advancing Māori and non-Māori agendas. Māori psychologists have to be teachers, cultural advisors, and the creators and maintainers of culturally safe environments. Not only are the multiple demands placed on Māori psychologists often unrealistic (Glover & Robertson, 1997; Thomas, 1993) but they effectively limit the potential for the development of Māori psychologies as progress becomes limited to ad hoc isolated initiatives (Nikora, 1998).

The issue of competing demands has also affected Māori psychology students. Nikora (1998) has identified that structural change often required engagement by Māori students in political activity. The inherent tension for a number of Māori students is that successful achievement of their higher degree can be supported via structural and systemic changes, for example the inclusion of more Māori-focused content. However, the time spent lobbying for such changes can impact negatively on those students academic achievement (Nikora, 1998).

Responsibility for developing a focus on issues of relevance to Māori within psychology extends beyond Māori staff, requiring both a philosophical and pragmatic commitment by other key stakeholders (Hunt et al., 2002; Masters & Levy, 1995; Nathan, 1999). However, it appears that commitment to creating a legitimate Māori focus in psychology has tended to rely primarily on a few individual staff, as opposed to being an united departmental effort (Herbert, 1997; National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1995b). That stakeholders were supportive of the concept of collective responsibility indicated that progress has been made in relation to enhanced awareness of the need to address issues relevant to Māori in psychology. However, the considerable benefits of collective responsibility remain unrealised.

The important role of professional psychology organisations, primarily because of their capacity to influence the whole profession, has been identified for some time. Our own Code of Ethics clearly locates psychology within our national context, explicitly recognising the positioning of Māori as indigenous people within that local context (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2002). In addition, the New Zealand Psychologists Board needs to be more active in developing and applying cultural competency requirements as core criteria for registration as a psychologist (Glover & Robertson, 1997; Thomas, 1993). The specific role of professional psychology organisations is the focus of the next chapter.

Concluding Comments

Chapter Seven shows that the numbers of Māori psychologists have increased. However, we still comprise less than 5% of the total psychology workforce. Questions are raised regarding the workforce developments agendas which have characterised the past two decades. These agendas have often been premised on the broad assumption that being a Māori psychologist equates with an automatic ability to practice effectively with Māori people. However, the finding that only nine out of 42 Māori psychologists considered their work-type to be 'Kaupapa Māori' challenges this assumption. From a Māori development perspective,

increasing the number of Māori psychologists is not intended to simply provide a more culturally diverse workforce, but through contributing to Māori aspirations, result in better outcomes for Māori, whānau, hapū and iwi. If accurate assessments and decisions regarding workforce development initiatives are to be made, indicators should be focused on capacity to participate as Māori and contribute to Māori aspirations.

Gains have been made over the past two decades to enhance the visibility of issues relevant to Māori in psychology and provide space for Māori psychologists and psychology students to participate. However, the dominance of Western psychology remains an issue, with Māori knowledge bases continuing to exist in the margins. There is an absence of a consolidated body of knowledge within psychology which is premised upon and derived from Māori world views and knowledge bases. How realistic is it to expect that Māori psychologists will consider their work-type to be Kaupapa Māori when there is no training which prepares them to practice in this way? In addition, the continued shortage of Māori knowledge bases within training programmes means that for Māori students there are limited opportunities to strengthen and affirm cultural identity and indigenous practices.

Progress in developing Māori knowledge bases in psychology has been hindered by Māori psychologists having to balance their time between advancing Māori and non-Māori agendas. The small Māori psychology workforce means that meeting these two differing, yet important needs, has been attempted via a single broadly defined strategy of 'increasing Māori content'. However the extent to which both needs can be effectively met within a single tertiary course is questionable. Added to this is that the needs of non-Māori appear to have been prioritised at the expense of Māori driven and determined development.

Māori psychology students continue to come under pressure to compromise their own cultural values in order to succeed within psychology. This directly contradicts the foundations of effective support initiatives for Māori psychology

students. Successful participation should not be at the expense of cultural identity. When the issue of conflicting expectations is analysed from the perspective of Māori aspirations, that Māori students are being required to compromise what are commonly accepted as broad Māori aspirations is clearly unacceptable.

Responsibility for developing a focus on issues of relevance to Māori within psychology extends beyond Māori staff. However, it appears that commitment to creating a legitimate Māori focus in psychology has tended to rely primarily on a few. That stakeholders were supportive of the concept of collective responsibility was encouraging. The considerable benefits of collective responsibility remain unrealised.

Twenty years ago Abbott and Durie (1987) identified the lack of Māori participation in psychology training programmes, resistance to the inclusion of Māori perspectives within psychology, and demands and expectations on Māori psychology students were key issues needing to be addressed. In addition, cultural competency requirements for non-Māori psychologists and mechanisms to monitor the accountability of psychology were necessary (Abbott & Durie, 1987). The data presented and discussed in this chapter indicates that these issues continue to challenge us in the present.

Chapter Eight
Supporting Indigenous Development: Professional Psychology Organisations

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Chapter Four highlighted the importance of professional psychology organisations in supporting the development of indigenous psychologies. As evidenced by the discussion in the preceding chapter, the role of professional organisations in supporting indigenous development has been recognised for some time in Aotearoa.

There are three, very different, professional organisations relevant to the activities of psychologists. The New Zealand Psychological Society (NZPsS), established in 1967, is an incorporated society operating under a constitution designed to meet the needs of its voluntary membership. The New Zealand College of Clinical Psychologists (NZCCP), established in 1987, is also an incorporated society. However, it focuses on the specialty of clinical psychology, with its membership open to clinical psychologists only. The third organisation of relevance is the New Zealand Psychologists Board (NZPB), a statutory body established as a result of the Psychologists Act 1981. The Psychologists Act 1981 was a result of over a decade of lobbying by the NZPsS for a legislative framework to govern the activities of psychologists (personal communication, Averil Herbert, November 29, 2006). In 2003 the functions of the Psychologists Act 1981 were repealed, replaced by the Health Practitioners Competency Assurance Act 2003 (HPCA Act 2003). The NZPB now operates under the HPCA Act 2003.

Chapter Eight provides a detailed account of how the NZPsS and the NZPB have been involved in supporting indigenous development over the past 15 years. The NZCCP website acknowledges that psychologists have started to consider how their practices are relevant to Māori (New Zealand College of Clinical

Psychologists, 2002). Although the NZCCP currently has a cultural representative on its governing body and some of their members were part of the developments outlined in this chapter, the College has to date not played a significant role in supporting the development of indigenous psychology.

Much of the information provided in this chapter has been sourced via a search of the NZPsS National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI) archival records and reports. It is a story which has not been told before in such detail. Telling the story in its totality allows for a more comprehensive analysis to be undertaken.

New Zealand Psychological Society (NZPsS)

Reflecting the origins of psychology in New Zealand, the NZPsS was originally formed in 1947 as the New Zealand branch of the British Psychological Society. In 1967, it became an independent society and has evolved into a professional association aimed at meeting the needs of both academics and practitioners. The roles of the NZPsS include: representing psychologists to the public, the media and the Government; providing professional support and development to psychologists; encouraging the maintenance and improvement of professional standards; and providing ethical guidance to members (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2001). The NZPsS is currently managed by an Executive of elected members with specific portfolios, including Professional Affairs, Scientific Affairs, Social Issues, Training and Standards, and Bicultural Affairs. I was a member of the Executive from August 2004 to August 2005 occupying one of two Directorships of Bicultural Affairs. In August 2006 I was reappointed to the role of Director of Bicultural Affairs.

1989 Remit and the Kaupapa Māori Working Party

Following from the direction set by Jules Older in 1978, the NZPsS has been one of the arenas in which the discipline of psychology has been most visibly challenged to increase Māori participation within psychology and improve the

responsiveness of psychology to Māori. I have, in earlier chapters, referred to the 1989 hui held at Waikato University. As well as providing a catalyst for change within the university environment, this hui also turned its attention to the NZPsS. The NZPsS was viewed as a key agent of change in the search for the development of a psychology relevant and of benefit to Māori, with the first step being the presentation of a remit at the NZPsS Annual General Meeting in 1989. The remit proposed that:

> The NZPsS in acknowledgement of the Treaty of Waitangi and in negotiation with Māori people, use the resources and knowledge available within its membership and discipline to facilitate the training of more Māori psychologists (Kaupapa Maori Working Party, 1990)

The remit was passed, signaling the first step in the development of a concrete platform within the NZPsS on which to legitimately locate issues of relevance to Māori in psychology.

The Kaupapa Māori Working Party (KMWP) was subsequently established, its primary task being to investigate how to progress the 1989 remit. The KMWP report focused on three key areas, these being training more Māori in psychology, supporting Māori students, and alleviating social problems affecting Māori (Kaupapa Maori Working Party, 1990). The KMWP made several recommendations to the NZPsS, including that the NZPsS establish a National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI). The proposed functions of this committee included advising the NZPsS on ways it could develop as a bicultural organisation, and to act as a clearing house for information related to the teaching, practice and development of psychology in New Zealand (Kaupapa Maori Working Party, 1990).

The KMWP report was tabled at the 1990 NZPsS Annual General Meeting. Because the KMWP was comprised mainly of people who were not members of the NZPsS, NZPsS members present at the meeting debated whether the KMWP members had speaking rights. This was despite KMWP members having traveled significant distances to attend the meeting and support the kaupapa. This

situation was somewhat reflective of the fact that few Māori met the criteria for membership of the NZPsS and the resistance from the wider membership to addressing the issues raised by the KMWP (personal communication, Neville Robertson, March 16, 2006). KMWP members were eventually able to table and speak to the report, with the report recommendations finally accepted at the annual general meeting.

National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI)

In 1991 the NZPsS agreed to the establishment and resourcing of the NSCBI. A resolution was also passed requesting the NZPsS lobby government departments and other state funded agencies to allocate resources for the recruitment and training of Māori psychologists and the development of clear guidelines for working with Māori clients (New Zealand Psychological Society, 1991).

Mission Statement and Objectives

The mission statement of the NSCBI was to:

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

Assisting in the achievement of these were the following broad objectives:

- Facilitate the development of Māori psychology in Aotearoa
- Initiate changes in the teaching of psychology at Universities and other educational institutions in Aotearoa so that teaching reflects the cultural and ethnic diversity within Aotearoa

- Facilitate the recruitment and retention of Māori in training programmes in psychology
- Facilitate psychological research for purposes determined by Māori people (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1994, p. 77)

Rule 3

The NZPsS is governed by a set of Rules which includes the Objects for which the Society was established, membership, officers, elections and financial matters. At the 1992 Annual General Meeting, the NZPsS confirmed as an Object: to promote the development and use of psychological knowledge for the alleviation of social problems and reduction of social inequalities, consistent with the Treaty of Waitangi and the principle of empowerment (New Zealand Psychological Society, 1992, p. 4). Building on this development, an initial task of the NSCBI was to investigate how the rules of the NZPsS could be utilised to enhance the status of the Treaty of Waitangi within the NZPsS. This resulted in the amendment in 1993 of the Rules to include Rule 3. Rule 3, designed to encompass all Objects states:

> 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 (New Zealand Psychological Society, 1993a)

Following this amendment, the NSCBI were asked to develop an implementation plan for Rule 3 (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1994). The NSCBI, applying a Treaty of Waitangi framework, concluded that the NZPsS, which includes the NSCBI as a Standing Committee, derived its authority from the Crown partner. This sees the NZPsS occupy a position of privilege and power as a national professional organisation, with the power to influence, act on, discipline, accredit, disseminate information, exclude, include and ignore (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1994). Given this, the NSCBI focused primarily on the Society's role as a kāwanatanga organisation, that is, one charged with governance responsibilities. In line with this, the NSCBI

outlined three principles of action: Kāwanatanga and Active Protection; Partnership; and Tino rangatiratanga (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1994). Recommendations made by the NSCBI included:

- Ensuring at least two Māori people nominated by the NSCBI are included in the governing bodies
- Seeking to increase the number of Māori psychologists through approaching Government ministries and other service providers who employ psychologists with a view to establishing a central fund to support scholarships
- Encouraging, supporting and resourcing the directions and initiatives made by Māori within its membership
- That the NZPsS develop accreditation standards and procedures that are culturally appropriate and safe for Māori, including encouraging psychology training programmes to develop culturally compatible content; employ culturally safe teaching and assessment practices for Māori students; and monitoring and advocating changes to Acts or policies governing psychology registration training
- That the NZPsS 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 Māori community development, including the provision of a forum at least every 5 years for Māori to review, discuss and prioritise psychological issues of concern to Māori
- That the NZPsS undertake regular reviews to determine progress made towards the implementation of Rule 3 in all aspects of the Society activities, including conducting after 5 years a full evaluation of the effectiveness of the implementation of Rule 3 (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1994, p. 77)

The importance of Rule 3 and the subsequent implementation plan cannot be overemphasised. The majority of the work undertaken over the past 15 years by

the NSCBI has been firmly grounded in ensuring the NZPsS is meeting or attempting to meet its obligations under Rule 3. Essentially Rule 3 has provided a platform on which issues of relevance to Māori can legitimately be placed on the agenda.

I have been an active member of the NSCBI for the past six years. Open to both Māori and non-Māori, membership of NSCBI is also open to those who are not members of the NZPsS. It is also relevant to note that the NSCBI has for the past 15 years been primarily sustained by psychologists from the Waikato and Auckland regions. This is not intended to detract from the significant roles that psychologists from other regions have played within the NSCBI. What it does highlight, when interpreted within the context of the information presented in Chapter Seven, is that there was the same small group of both Māori and non-Māori who were contributing across a variety of agendas and platforms, and that much of this has emerged from within Waikato University.

Governance

The Executive of the NZPsS consists of eight Directors, each with responsibility for a specific portfolio. Two are Directors of Bicultural Affairs which are nominated by the NSCBI. The specific responsibilities of the two Bicultural Directors include: the provision of information, as guided by the NSCBI, to the Executive; co-ordination of the implementation of Rule 3; and the promotion of biculturalism within the NZPsS and to the profession and general public (New Zealand Psychological Society, 1996).

The role of the NSCBI and its relationship with the NZPsS Executive was further explored in 1997. In the view of the NSCBI this relationship was guided by Rule 3, with the NSCBI's primary role being to facilitate the implementation of Rule 3. The NSCBI was not the NZPsS's Treaty partner and both were parties to the Society's bicultural development, as such holding certain responsibilities (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1998). Responsibilities

guiding the relationship included: duty of care and protection of the NSCBI; open, honest, respectful and timely communication between parties; consultation on issues that impact on the NSCBI especially those issues related to cultural justice; and working together to maintain and monitor reasonable progress in the NZPsS' bicultural development (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1998). The NSCBI also encouraged positioning the NSCBI as policy advisors, as opposed to cultural monitors, with the aim of encouraging the development of a self reflexive bicultural perspective by Executive and Society as a whole (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1997).

The NSCBI and Treaty Training

In 1997, the Director of Bicultural Affairs proposed that each incoming Executive undertake training focused on enhancing ways in which the Executive addressed biculturalism and Māori participation within the NZPsS. This was seen as a way of promoting collective responsibility for implementing Rule 3. Since 1999 this training has continued for each new Executive (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 2003). Masters (2005b) reflected back on the training workshops since 1999, documenting changes as the workshops have moved from 'Treaty training' to becoming more focused on bicultural development and the ways in which Executive members can action bicultural issues within their respective portfolios.

Hui and Conference participation

The participation and visibility of Māori within psychology forums has been a priority for the NSCBI. They have consistently taken the lead role in ensuring there are spaces for Māori to participate within the NZPsS Annual Conferences. Several of these key events have been described in the previous chapter.

As part of the implementation process of Rule 3, the NSCBI in 1994 initiated a formative evaluation of biculturalism within the NZPsS annual conferences. Analysing conference presentations from 1987-1994, Black, Goodwin and Smith

(1995) found there were no noticeable increases in Māori-focused presentations or presentations which enhanced cultural awareness. Black et al. (1995) found that limited attention had been paid to the processes needed to facilitate biculturalism within conference forums. Recommendations made included: further conferences seek to actively include Māori in conference planning; that all psychologists make explicit, where appropriate, the cultural and ethnic context of the research, researchers and key informants; and that priority be given to the recruitment and retention of Māori psychology students (Black et al., 1995).

As was seen in Chapter Seven, the majority of NZPsS annual conferences since 1993 have included bicultural or Māori-focused presentation streams, providing a catalyst for ongoing development. Over the past five years, there has been a noticeable increase in participation by Māori students at the NZPsS conferences. Of note, particularly over the past three years, has been a highly visible group of student presenters from the Psychology Department at Waikato University. These students have been leaders, using the annual conference to present Māori-focused content, enhance their own professional development, network with other students and psychologists, and facilitate a sense of collectivity amongst themselves. They have been responsible for organising these initiatives, including raising funds, although the Māori and Psychology Research Unit (MPRU) has supported them in developing professional presentations. Participation by students from Waikato is also providing much needed role models for Māori psychology students enrolled at other institutions.

While it is important to recognise that participation has increased over the years, overall, Māori content within the annual conferences continues to be low. Several NSCBI members have also been instrumental in the organisation of the independent Māori psychology conferences described in the previous chapter. The impetus for these conferences and symposia has primarily emerged from within the Psychology Department at Waikato University.

NZPsS Annual Conference Keynote Speakers

The NSCBI was instrumental in achieving the NZPsS policy that two keynote presentations at each annual conference be focused on bicultural issues. As any conference delegate will know, concurrent paper streams mean decisions must be made about which streams take priority and which must be foregone. Having bicultural streams can sometimes, although not always, result in a sense of 'preaching to the converted'. Keynote sessions to some extent remove that limitation and the inclusion of two bicultural focused keynote speakers has over the years provided an important tool for exposing the wider membership to issues relevant to Māori and bicultural development.

The NSCBI plays a role in the selection of keynote speakers. All speakers have been notable in their own right. However the keynote speaker who has arguably provided the NZPsS with the most significant media coverage was Tariana Turia, the then Associate Minister of Māori Affairs, Health, Corrections and Welfare.

Tariana Turia was invited by the Kaupapa Māori Management Committee (KMMC) of the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato to be a keynote speaker at the 2000 NZPsS Annual Conference at Waikato University. She issued a very clear challenge to psychologists to seek to address the effects of colonisation on Māori (Turia, 2001). In the hours that followed her address nationwide media coverage isolated aspects of the Associate Minister's speech, particularly her use of the terms 'holocaust' and 'home invasion', which she had used to refer to the effects of colonial contact on the indigenous people of Aotearoa. Reporting of the speech in this way resulted in a media fuelled outpouring of nationwide condemnation and hostility towards Ms Turia. Amidst the media hype, the validity of the real and necessary challenges she had placed before psychologists and the discipline were obscured. Tariana Turia had asked psychologists to consider whether they were competent to work effectively with Māori people with the training they had received (Turia, 2001).

I was present for this keynote address. I later spent time reflecting on the address and the subsequent debate. I was particularly concerned about the impact on Tariana Turia herself, given that we (the KMMC) had issued the invitation for her to speak at the conference. I found myself thinking back to the actual keynote address. Delivered to a lecture theatre of over 200 psychologists, I recall thinking what a great opportunity it was to have such a large audience of psychologists exposed to issues of real relevance to Māori and psychology. Observing the reactions of the audience and listening to the conversations around me afterwards, it seemed to me that the points and challenges offered by Tariana Turia were being thoughtfully considered by the audience. Nothing in the reaction of the audience could have prepared me for the ferocity of the media attack which was to follow.

When hit by that onslaught in the days that followed, I do recall thinking where are the voices of those people who sat in the room listening to Ms Turia now? Where is their support of, albeit not necessarily the choice of words used, but the validity of the message delivered? The President of the NZPsS appeared on a nationwide breakfast television programme supporting the validity of the messages, and later the NSCBI were to publish a column in support of the key points made by Tariana, as well as an analysis of the events which followed (Nairn, 2004). I do know that some sent individual messages to Tariana Turia and other Members of Parliament, including the Prime Minister, supporting the validity of the message and condemning the attacks which had followed. However what really struck me during that time was the silence of the wider psychology profession. For me their silence was deafening.

Linda Nikora (2001) in her keynote address at the same conference, closely followed the themes introduced by Ms Turia, noting the failure of psychology to recruit and train Māori psychologists. She also investigated ways in which psychology could move forward, for example with commitment by academic institutions to Māori workforce development and the utilisation of psychology in

relation to issues of concern to Māori communities. Linda's address, while closely echoing the themes raised by Tariana Turia, received no media coverage.

Ray Nairn, an NSCBI member, past Executive member, and current NZPsS President, was a keynote speaker at the NZPsS annual conference in 2004. In his address Ray revisited the keynote addresses of seven Māori speakers from 1993 to 2003. He identified two common features in these addresses: that of people being inherently centred within culture; and colonisation processes continuing to damage the cultural core of Māori people (Nairn, 2004). Nairn (2004) called on the NZPsS and its membership to strengthen its resolve to work to change practices and institutions in order to address the issues raised by previous Māori keynote speakers.

Scholarships

The NZPsS offers an annual 'Presidents Scholarship: Te Tumuaki Karahipi' which is aimed at supporting the development of a Māori graduate student in psychology. Initiated by past-President Judith McDougall and offered for the first time in 1999, the scholarship is valued at $2,000, plus a one year subscription to the NZPsS. Applicants must identify ethnically as Māori and be enrolled or about to enroll for a degree requiring research. The research must be Māori-centred and of benefit to the Māori community. NZPsS members are also able to voluntarily donate to the scholarship fund, with a view to increasing the funds available to distribute. The NSCBI coordinate the awarding of the scholarship each year.

Publications

The NZPsS publishes the *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, *The Bulletin* (periodical); and *Connections* (newsletter). The dissemination of information in order to influence the theory, teaching and practice of psychology in Aotearoa has been of ongoing interest to the NSCBI. In 1993, at the initiative of the NSCBI, a special issue of the *Bulletin* focused on the Treaty of Waitangi and bicultural issues facing psychologists in Aotearoa (New Zealand Psychological Society,

1993b). This issue included articles investigating bicultural services, the Treaty of Waitangi, and Western psychology and its resistance to Māori challenges. Each *Bulletin* also includes a 'Bicultural Issues' column, usually prepared by members of the NSCBI. This column is focused on providing updates from the NSCBI, conference keynote speakers' addresses and exploring issues of relevance to biculturalism.

The NSCBI has been involved in developing other resources. This has included the commissioning of a resource to assist academic staff develop bicultural teaching practices. Entitled *Teaching Psychology: Moving on from 1993* (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1995b), the guide included: advice on how to recruit and support Māori students; the development of departmental policies on biculturalism which acknowledged the Treaty of Waitangi and its implications for the teaching of psychology; ensuring cultural safety for Māori; the development of bicultural teaching materials; understanding Māori perspectives and culture; and understanding the implications of cultural oppression.

The NZPsS has also published *Practice Issues for Clinical and Applied Psychologists in New Zealand* (Love & Whittaker 1997), which is used as a text in a number of the professional psychology training programmes. The NSCBI facilitated contributions to this book, with articles investigating cultural justice and ethics (Nairn & NSCBI, 1997), the development of Kaupapa Māori psychology (Glover & Robertson, 1997) and Pākehā clinical psychology and the Treaty of Waitangi (Pakeha Treaty Action, 1997).

This handbook is currently in the process of being updated. To ensure that Rule 3 would be adequately reflected in the revised chapters, the NSCBI developed a set of guidelines for authors preparing chapters. Points emphasised by the NSBCI included the importance of considering the cultural assumptions made by the sources that authors cited and whether these were reflecting only the perspective of the culture-defining group or were truly valuing cultural and social diversity

(National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 2006). Because the handbook is still to be published, the impact of these guidelines on the revised chapters is yet to be ascertained.

As earlier described in Chapter Seven, a Special Issue of the *New Zealand Journal of Psychology: Māori Psychological Theory, Practice and Research* was published in 2005. This was the first time an issue of the New Zealand Journal had been dedicated to Māori psychological theory, practices and research. NSCBI members had for some time advocated for a special issue and played an active role in working with the Journal editorial team to ensure the necessary resources were available to publish this issue.

Code of Ethics for Psychologists Working in Aotearoa

The NZPsS has particular responsibility for the Code of Ethics governing the practice of psychologists. In 1995 the Code of Ethics Review Group, a joint working party of the NZPsS, the NZCCP and the NZPB, started developing a replacement for the 1986 Code of Ethics. The purpose of the new Code remained the same as the 1986 Code of Ethics:

- To unify the practices of the profession
- To guide psychologists in ethical decision-making
- To present a set of guidelines that might be available to the public in order to inform them of the professional ethics of the profession (Code of Ethics Review Group, 2001)

However, the revised code shifted the focus from a 'code of conduct' type document to a Code of Ethics which explicitly recognised that ethical decision making was underpinned by values and principles (Code of Ethics Review Group, 2001). Reflecting this value base, the revised Code is based on four important principles:

1. Respect for the dignity of persons and peoples
2. Responsible caring
3. Integrity in relationships
4. Social justice and responsibility to society (Code of Ethics Review Group, 2002)

The consistent position of the NSCBI has been that the Code of Ethics is the standard by which organisations such as the NZPsS and the NZPB would view, assess and measure competency to work safely and effectively with Māori. Given its importance, the NSCBI played an active role in the development of the revised Code of Ethics. Their input resulted in increased recognition of the social and communal aspects of human behaviour and the Treaty of Waitangi as a framework for ethical practice (Code of Ethics Review Group, 2001; National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1995a).

In 2002, the *Code of Ethics for Psychologists Working in Aotearoa/New Zealand, 2002* was formally adopted by the NZPsS, the NZCCP, and the NZPB. The importance of the Treaty of Waitangi as a foundation for ethical practice is prominent throughout the Code, with all four key principles including reference to the Treaty of Waitangi and the bicultural notion of this relationship. The Code of Ethics applies to all members of the NZPsS, the NZCCP and all other registered psychologists, its coverage including all areas of psychological practice, teaching and research activities (Code of Ethics Review Group, 2002). Like Rule 3, the NSCBI recognised that the Code of Ethics provided a solid base on which to legitimately place issues of relevance to Māori in psychology.

The NZPsS website asserts that the Code of Ethics is not specified in the Health Practitioners Competency Assurance Act 2003 legislation and therefore has no direct legal authority (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2001). However, the Code is accepted as the benchmark for the professional behaviour of registered psychologists in New Zealand (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2002). In

processing complaints against registered psychologists the Psychologists Board is guided by the Code of Ethics. The NZPsS also uses the Code of Ethics for its own complaints procedure and the NZCCP has made the Code binding on its members (Davis, Seymour, & Read, 1997). While the Code is relevant to the hearing of complaints, its primary focus is on the prevention of complaints through encouraging good ethical practice which is in accordance with the Code (Code of Ethics Review Group, 2001).

Operationalising Rule 3

NSCBI: The Default Option

Consistent with the requirements of the Rule 3 implementation plan developed by the NSCBI in 1994 (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1994), the NZPsS in 2002 commissioned a Bicultural Audit of its activities. This audit surveyed a small sample of key informants and examined NZPsS publications. The Code of Ethics, inclusion of Māori keynote speakers and Māori-focused papers at annual conferences, scholarships for Māori psychologists, and bicultural issues column in the *Bulletin* were areas where the Society was deemed to be doing well (Thomas & Thomas, 2003).

However, the audit also suggested that the Society had not fully operationalised its Rule 3 responsibilities, with the NSCBI perceived as the automatic default option for the Society in addressing all 'bicultural' issues. The audit challenged the Society to ask itself where the 'bicultural' would be if the NSCBI were not in existence (Thomas & Thomas, 2003). For one key informant, there would be no 'bicultural' without the NSCBI (Thomas & Thomas, 2003). The findings of the audit were supported by Duirs (2005) who concluded that if the NSCBI reports and articles were discounted, there would be an almost complete absence of reference to any bicultural issues in NZPsS material. The review of the NSCBI activities in this chapter certainly supports the conclusion that much of the responsibility for upholding the 'bicultural' element of the NZPsS has rested with the NSCBI.

As Duirs (2005) points out, the intent of Rule 3 was never to imply that the NSCBI uphold the Society's responsibility for bicultural developments. The NSCBI occupied a proactive position with the passing of Rule 3, a move directly aimed at facilitating institutional change, accountability and responsibility. Since 1998, the NSCBI emphasised that their desired role was one of policy advisors, as opposed to cultural monitors. The aim was to encourage the development of a self sustaining bicultural perspective by Executive and Society as a whole (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1998).

However, by becoming the 'default' option, the NSCBI had shifted to occupy a primarily reactive position, with much of their time absorbed with reacting to the needs and agendas of the Executive. Based on my own experiences as an NSCBI member, the work of the NSCBI, a small group with limited capacity, has been dominated by responding to the actions or inaction of the Executive. This is supported by Duirs (2005) who suggested that the existence of the NSCBI appeared to be used as a justification for Executive Directors, other than the Bicultural Directors, to exonerate themselves from responsibility for advancing bicultural issues.

The issue of the NSCBI being the default for all issues relevant to bicultural responsiveness has proved an ongoing challenge for the NSCBI. The 2002 audit confirmed what the NSCBI had suspected for some time: that collective responsibility was not yet a reality within the NZPsS. In response to the audit findings (Thomas & Thomas, 2003), the NSCBI developed a position paper for the NZPsS Executive. This paper affirmed the NSCBI's desire to facilitate and monitor the collective responsibility of the NZPsS and its members for the implementation of Rule 3 (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 2003).

Rule 3: Embedded or Vulnerable?

The balance between proactivity and reactivity is a delicate one. At times the NSCBI has made a conscious decision to occupy the default position. Shifting from a position in which the NSCBI takes primary responsibility also carries with it a high risk of losing hard fought gains. Although obvious gains have been made, my experiences on both the Executive and within the NSCBI have been infused with a feeling of having to re-litigate and re-justify issues. With these experiences considered alongside the findings of the bicultural audit (Thomas & Thomas, 2003) and the report by Duirs (2005), it can be suggested that Rule 3 may not be as embedded within the structures of the NZPsS as we might have assumed. What the NSCBI perceives as embedded, may in reality still be very vulnerable.

This vulnerability was highlighted several times during my recent term as Bicultural Director, being particularly salient when competing views existed. One example involved the development of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the Australian Psychological Society (APS). During this process there were differences in views between the two Societies regarding the appropriate recognition and positioning of indigenous peoples within the MoU. More specifically the APS were averse to including a reference to indigenous people in the main text of the agreement. Another example related to the inclusion of bicultural/indigenous keynote speakers in the 2006 joint conference with the APS. Because of conference programme pressures, there was discussion regarding the numbers of keynotes speakers to be allocated to each Society. One suggestion proffered was that because this was a joint conference some of the policies applied to previous NZPsS conferences may not necessarily apply, such as that of the NZPsS requirement for two bicultural/indigenous speakers.

In both cases, I found that where competing demands and pressures were present, positions which the NSCBI have considered embedded and non-negotiable, such as recognising the status of Māori as indigenous people, and having two keynote speakers at each conference speak to bicultural issues appeared able to be placed

on the table for re-negotiation. During these discussions I pointed out, in my role as Bicultural Director, that if Rule 3 was no longer considered relevant across all activities and previously assumed policy positions rendered void, the Executive needed to be transparent in conveying that decision to the NSCBI and the wider membership. My main point was that Rule 3, as a Rule of the NZPsS could not be highlighted when considered useful, and overlooked when considered a barrier or simply irrelevant.

These examples do conclude on a positive note though. In the case of the Memorandum of Understanding with the APS, the NZPsS Executive concluded that the Australian position was not acceptable and negotiation of the memorandum was placed on hold. The membership at the 2004 NZPsS Annual General Meeting supported this, with members clearly articulating that the NZPsS commitment to biculturalism was in fact a non-negotiable item in the emerging relationship with the APS (Nairn, 2005). In the case of the keynote speakers for the joint conference, the organising committee decided there would be two indigenous keynote speakers, one nominated by the NZPsS and one by the APS.

Structures and Processes

The review of the activities undertaken by the NZPsS and the NSCBI that I have provided in this chapter demonstrates a solid foundation on which to embed Rule 3. However, Rule 3 can at times sit on a somewhat tremulous foundation, particularly when there are competing demands for resources and desired outcomes. It seems that we have some way to go to realise the goal of organisationally embedding Rule 3 within the NZPsS. Some of the assumed positions of the NSCBI are in reality very dependent on the goodwill and commitment of the Executive of the day, as well as commitment by the National Office staff to ensuring that the organisational memory of the NZPsS carries across from Executive to Executive.

Organisational structures and processes which support and maintain the work of the NSCBI, as well as facilitate the collective responsibility of the Executive are

critical. For example, Duirs (2005) observed that the NZPsS did not have a set of policies (other than the Rules) which reflected the directions of the Executive. This means, for example, that while the NSCBI might consider it NZPsS policy that there are always two bicultural keynote speakers included at each annual conference, in reality there is no formally stated policy advising an incoming Executive or conference organising committee that this is the case. Without this, the practice of including bicultural speakers is at risk of ongoing challenge.

The NZPsS Executive does not exist in a vacuum. It is drawn from the membership of the NZPsS. Given this, mechanisms and processes which facilitate the collective responsibility of the membership as a whole are required. One mechanism already exists in the form of the 2002 Code of Ethics. The Code preamble declares that:

> In giving effect to the Principles and Values of this Code of Ethics there shall be due regard for New Zealand's cultural diversity and in particular for the provision of, and the spirit and intent of, the Treaty of Waitangi (Code of Ethics Review Group, 2002, p. 3)

The NSCBI has produced a huge amount of material which can create and sustain informed discussions regarding the development of bicultural agendas within psychology (Nairn, 2005). However, the production and dissemination of information may not in itself be enough. Gavala (2006) identified that the Executive should be modeling for the wider membership the importance of biculturalism. One method of doing this would be for Executive Directors to report back to the wider Executive and membership on the contributions being made with their respective portfolios to Rule 3. The Bicultural Directors already engage in such a process. The NSCBI work-plans, instituted in 2003, have proved a useful tool for ensuring NSCBI remains focused on its key activities, as well as accountable to the Executive and wider membership.

New Zealand Psychologists Board (NZPB)

The NZPB was established under the 1981 Psychologists Act. Utilising legislative mechanisms to facilitate Māori development in psychology has been a focus for over a decade. In 1992 the NSCBI contributed to a consultative committee reviewing the Psychologists Act 1981. Submissions from the NSCBI focused on utilising registration requirements as a tool for ensuring the development and ongoing assessment of culturally safe and competent psychological practice (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1992b). The NSCBI also recommended that the legislation include a mechanism by which Māori psychologies might be developed or recognised (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1992a). The consultative committee agreed that any amendments to the Psychologists Act 1981 should take account of bicultural issues. However, they did not accept that the Act should include mechanisms by which to develop and recognise Māori psychologies (National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues, 1992c).

The Psychologists Act 1981 Act was superseded by Health Practitioners Competency Assurance Act 2003 (HPCA Act 2003). The HPCA Act 2003 sets out the functions of the various health professional authorities including: prescribing qualifications for scopes of practice; accrediting and monitoring of educational programmes; registration of health practitioners; standards of clinical and cultural competence; and standards of ethical conduct (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2002).

Most of the provision of the HPCA Act 2003 came into force in September 2004, with the NZPB mandated as the responsible authority for psychologists. Opportunities for influencing the wider profession in terms of its responsiveness to Māori had been recognised for some time prior to assent of this Act, particularly by the two Māori psychologists who have been members of the Board since 2001. For example, Dr Catherine Love, in 2002, highlighted that the HPCA Act 2003 had the potential for issues relevant to Māori to be addressed in ways not possible before (Love, 2003). These included recognising cultural

competence as a core competency for psychology scopes of practice, the development of a scope of practice recognising Māori psychologies, and the accreditation of psychology training programmes delivered by institutions which are more responsive to Māori knowledge bases (Love, 2003).

Health Practitioners Competency Assurance Act 2003 (HPCA)

Cultural Competency

Some of the potential referred to above has started to be realised. The NZPB has identified core competencies a psychologist should be able to demonstrate at the point of entry to the 'Psychologist' scope of practice, as well as additional competencies required for entry into the 'Clinical Psychologist' and 'Educational Psychologist' scope of practice (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2006b). Cultural competencies are required under the category of 'Diversity, Culture and the Treaty of Waitangi', with a focus on demonstrating the knowledge, skills and attitudes involved in providing culturally safe practice (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2006b). These competencies are underpinned by the Board's cultural competence framework (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2006c) and the Code of Ethics for Psychologists Working in Aotearoa/New Zealand (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2002).

A lot of energy has been invested in developing the Board's cultural competence framework. In 2005 the Board released its *Guidelines for Cultural Safety: the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori Health and Wellbeing in Education and Psychological Practice* (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2005a). These guidelines provided the basis for the development of a cultural competence framework, reflecting cultural safety guidelines, the Treaty of Waitangi, the Code of Ethics and international cultural competency standards (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2006b, 2006c). The Competence Promotion Committee of the Board will be responsible for the monitoring and ongoing development of clinical and cultural competence evaluations, programmes, and standards, with the competency framework possibly linking to the renewal of annual practising

certificates and/or membership to professional bodies (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2006c).

Accreditation

The Psychologists Act 1981 did not allow for any examination of the quality of professional training in psychology provided by universities. The HPCA Act 2003 does. It requires the NZPB to accredit all qualifications that form the basis of eligibility for registration as a psychologist in New Zealand (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2005b). While existing programmes have been given initial 'grandparent' accreditation, any new programmes will be required to undergo a formal accreditation process and existing programmes will be similarly assessed over the next seven years (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2006d).

The primary aim of the accreditation process is to ensure that psychologists entering professional practice have the competencies required to practice safely. To become accredited, programmes will be required to demonstrate they have the ability to ensure their graduates are able to meet the core cultural competency required for registration as a psychologist. In light of this, the accreditation process has the potential to act as a vehicle for progressing Māori agendas within psychology by ensuring non-Māori psychologists are culturally competent. In addition, there is greater scope for the provision of psychology training programmes specifically focused on producing Māori psychologists able to work effectively with and for the benefit of Māori communities. Some NZPB members have already initiated discussions with Māori tertiary education providers regarding their ability to provide psychology training which is more responsive to Māori knowledge bases (Love, 2003).

Scopes of Practice: Kaupapa Māori

Several members of the NZPB have been interested in the opportunities afforded by the HPCA Act 2003 in regard to the development of Māori psychologies. In 2003, the NZPB commissioned a report focused on Kaupapa Māori psychology

training and a Kaupapa Māori scope of practice (Milne, 2005). Identifying a wide range of issues, this report is significant in that is begins to explore how Māori psychologies might be incorporated within the legislation governing psychologists.

Building on the Opportunities

With the introduction of the HPCA Act 2003, members of the NZPB, particularly the Māori and Pacific members, have been quick to seize on the opportunities this Act afforded for indigenous development. The Act offered ways to influence the profession as whole. These include distinct recognition of cultural competence as a core competency for psychologists and the ongoing development of Māori knowledge bases within psychology.

In Chapter Four I referred to Kanter (1983) who stated that change efforts needed to mobilise people around what was not yet known. The commissioning of a project exploring a potential Kaupapa Māori scope of practice is investigating the opportunities which may be afforded by the HPCA Act 2003. While these opportunities will take time to develop and may well be outside of the term of the current Board, a space has started to be created. Realising change requires taking advantage of opportunities now to build foundations for where we might want to go in the future, even though we may not be entirely sure of where that is at the moment.

Concluding Comments

The importance of professional psychology organisations to progressing Māori development agendas in psychology has been recognised for some time. Although first raised over thirty years ago, it was not until the late 1980s that the NZPsS was strategically targeted for the purpose of supporting Māori development agendas. Since that time the NSCBI, a small committee with fluctuating membership, have invested considerable effort in the creation of a

legitimate space for Māori voices within the Society, as well as challenging the Society to meet its bicultural obligations.

As can be seen in this Chapter, there have been significant achievements by the NSCBI. In particular the NZPsS has proved an effective mechanism for enhancing the visibility of Māori psychologists via publication and presentation opportunities. However, an unanticipated outcome of the NSCBI's participation has been the devolving of responsibility for the majority of 'bi-cultural' issues to the NSCBI. The developments within the NZPsS appear to have resulted from the efforts of a few as opposed to the genuine collective commitment of the Society as a whole. Related to this is that developments are not as embedded within the Society as the NSCBI might have hoped, resulting in a sense of reinvention and replication as, over the years, similar issues are investigated and similar conclusions reached.

This raises questions about the extent to which the NZPsS has proved to be the vehicle for change that may have been anticipated in the late 1980s. The NZPsS, while absorbing a tremendous amount of energy may not have paid the dividends expected. A question which emerges from a Kaupapa Māori framework is, has too much energy been invested in a system which is resistant to change (Smith, 1996). While early challenges to the NZPsS assumed a proactive position via the introduction of Rule 3, that the NSCBI has shifted to occupy the 'default' position in terms of addressing all things deemed to be 'bicultural' suggests this proactive position has diminished.

In contrast, the NZPB appears to have been able to make more gains in a shorter amount of time, particularly in relation to cultural competency requirements and creating a space for future indigenous development within legislative frameworks. Why might these differences have occurred? Firstly, it is important to recognise the differences which exist between the NZPsS and the NZPB. The NZPsS is a voluntary organisation designed to serve its membership; membership who can potentially leave the Society if they are unhappy with its activities. This is in

contrast to the NZPB who has a very clear mandate by which to demand certain requirements from psychologists. In addition, unlike the NZPsS, psychologists do not have a choice about whether they are registered.

Although these two professional bodies differ significantly a comparison between the two is nevertheless useful. As was identified earlier, it appears that the NZPsS has not focused on the development of institutional structures and processes which support and maintain the work of the NSCBI, as well as facilitate the collective responsibility of the Executive and Society as a whole. In contrast, the NZPB has a framework for such structures and processes in place, that being the legislative framework of the HPCA Act 2003. With this framework already in place, and in conjunction with active Māori and Pacific peoples membership on the NZPB, discussions have been able to move quickly to looking at necessary structures and processes.

The importance of cultural competence as a core competency for psychologists and necessity of seeing frameworks by which it can be implemented under the HPCA Act 2003 cannot be debated. Because the processes necessary for implementation have started to be embedded, the risk of cultural competency becoming a victim of organisational amnesia is significantly lessened. While NZPB membership will vary, the structures and processes embedded via the statutory powers of the NZPB mean the gains made are more likely to endure. The key difference between NZPsS and the NZPB is that the statutory power of the NZPB provides it with the real power to influence the practice of psychologists.

It could be argued that the comparison between the NZPsS and the NZPB is not reasonable. As noted earlier, they have differing roles, one has voluntary membership while the other is involuntary, and the mandate and powers of the NZPB are much more specific and direct than that of the NZPsS. There is some validity to these arguments, particularly in terms of the legislation providing a very specific and clear mandate. The NZPB does not have the luxury, or perhaps disadvantage of being able to branch off into different tangents.

However, the NZPsS also has a mandate to provide professional support and development to psychologists, encourage the maintenance and improvement of professional standards, and provide ethical guidance to members (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2001). The NZPsS also has the basis for structure and processes, that being Rule 3 and the Code of Ethics. The Code of Ethics provides a clearly defined platform from which to advance issues of relevance to Māori. However, its potential in terms of influencing change across the broader profession has been underutilised. The Code of Ethics obviously links to the work of the NZPB and as the demonstration of ongoing cultural competence becomes a requirement of practice, the role of the NZPsS in contributing to this, particularly via professional development processes, may well increase.

The indigenous psychology literature reviewed in Part Two highlighted the importance of national professional psychology bodies in supporting both the creation and consolidation of indigenous knowledge bases in psychology. One obvious way this has occurred is via information dissemination opportunities, such as journals and conferences. However, as evidenced in the previous chapter, competing demands have had a major impact on the ability of Māori psychologists to progress knowledge development. Those demands include time spent on professional bodies, addressing the cultural competency needs of non-Māori, and addressing resistance to the inclusion of Māori knowledge bases within psychology. The issue of competing demands will become particularly relevant with the introduction of the HPCA Act 2003, with its cultural competency requirements potentially placing substantial additional burdens on Māori psychologists, particularly those working within academic institutions.

If the small numbers of Māori psychologists are to focus on the development of Māori knowledge bases in psychology, professional psychology organisations must play their part. Discipline development needs to be prioritised. Competing demands will always be a reality, with the competency of non-Māori psychologists an important issue, in itself requiring the ongoing development of a

knowledge base specific to the New Zealand context. Ways of effectively supporting the Māori psychology workforce to contribute to enhancing the cultural competency of non-Māori psychologists will be required.

As was identified in Chapter Seven, discipline development is hampered by having to address resistance to the valid inclusion of Māori psychologies within the discipline of psychology. It is the collective responsibility of professional psychology bodies, with their respective mandates across the profession to address this resistance. The combined platforms of the Code of Ethics and the HPCA Act 2003 provide effective tools by which that resistance can begin to be addressed.

As I stated at the start of this Chapter, one professional psychology organisation is noticeably absent from the discussions in this chapter, the NZCCP. Although members have certainly contributed to various activities of both the NZPsS and the NZPB, the introduction of the HPCA Act 2003 means that in the future the NZCCP will be required to enhance its contribution to indigenous psychology development.

Chapter Nine
The Waikato Experience

The previous chapters in Part Three have reviewed the origins of psychology in Aotearoa, the relevance of Kaupapa Māori to psychology, key issues impacting on Māori in psychology and the role of professional psychology bodies in supporting indigenous psychology development. One point clearly apparent is that many of the initiatives described have been facilitated by people who have either studied, taught or have links with the Psychology Department at Waikato University. Certainly, something unique appears to have been happening at Waikato University. Although activities which have emerged from within this department have already been mentioned in the previous chapters, an analysis of indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa would not be complete without exploring in greater detail these activities and accomplishments. Having been both a student and a staff member within this department over a period of 15 years, I am in a good position to comment on the strategies developed at Waikato University.

I have chosen to present a brief account of what has been termed 'The Waikato Experience'. The themes in this chapter have their genesis in an unpublished paper which my colleagues and I developed in 2002 when I was employed as an Assistant Lecturer in the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato. This unpublished paper formed the basis of a panel presentation we gave to an international social sciences conference held in Hawaii in 2002 (Nikora et al., 2002b) and to the regional congress of the International Association Cross-Cultural Psychology held in Budapest in 2003 (Levy, Masters, Nikora, & Waitoki, 2003).

From its inception, the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato had a focus on issues of culture, particularly those of relevance for Māori. These early foundations can be attributed to Emeritus Professor James Ritchie, who in 1965 took up the founding chair of the Department. As noted earlier in Chapter Five, James Ritchie had

become heavily involved in working with Māori communities in projects led by Professor Beaglehole in the 1950s and 60s. In his inaugural lecture in 1965, James Ritchie spoke of the need for a 'new synthesis' in psychology; one which was based on the acceptance by psychology of involvement with the real world and not the controlled laboratory setting (Ritchie, 1965). Signaling his commitment and vision to working with Māori, Professor Ritchie also referred to the proposed Centre for the Study of Māori Contemporary Social Life and Culture which was to be housed within Waikato University.

> The Centre will not merely study matters concerned with psychology, sociology or anthropology, but it will be a vital part of the whole University body; it will reflect the interdisciplinary nature of our teaching and our ideology. It will not do research on people but for people. It will not direct but inform. It will be a place where community need can be met by skilled resources (Ritchie, 1965, p. 51).

The importance of these foundations to what exists within the Department of Psychology at Waikato University today cannot be underestimated. Rarely are we reminded of the origins, but it was the work of people such as James Ritchie which carved out the pathway for the journey in psychology which has occurred at Waikato University. That legacy should not go unrecognised, nor be forgotten.

As noted earlier, Linda Nikora was appointed in 1989. The broad impact of Linda's appointment across a wide range of agendas is clear in the preceding chapters. However, her appointment was also the catalyst for major developments within the Department at the University of Waikato. This section describes some of those developments. In doing so it is also important to emphasise that there have been a number of people, both Māori and non-Māori, who have been heavily involved in supporting, what has been termed the Kaupapa Māori and psychology agenda at Waikato University. Their contributions have been significant and are intrinsically intertwined with the developments outlined below.

The Kaupapa Māori programme in 2004 included:

- A Kaupapa Māori tutorial programme
- Kaupapa Māori Student Advisor
- Kaupapa Māori Sessional Assistants
- Kaupapa Māori academic staff (6)
- Māori & Psychology Research Unit (MPRU)
- Te Kohikohinga Māori - dedicated Māori-focused library resource
- Kaupapa Māori Management Committee (KMMC)

In its statement of educational purpose, values and goals the University of Waikato undertakes to create and sustain an institutional environment in which the educational needs of Māori people are appropriately catered for; Māori customs and values are expressed in the ordinary life of the University; and the Treaty of Waitangi is clearly acknowledged (University of Waikato, 2000). In line with this, the Kaupapa Māori programme within the Psychology Department seeks to enhance Māori participation in the University by creating a space for Māori students where they can meet the challenges of course work in a safe environment which is tailored to their needs and cultural reference points (Kaupapa Maori Managament Committee, 2001).

The Kaupapa Māori and Psychology Agenda

In 2002, the Psychology Department had the highest number of Māori enrolments than any other Department in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (Ashwell et al., 2003). In this year, 193 Māori students enrolled in undergraduate psychology courses and 44 Māori students in graduate courses (Hunt et al., 2002). This equated to 23% of total students at undergraduate level and 27% at graduate level (Hunt et al., 2002). The Kaupapa Māori and psychology agenda is positioned within a Māori development framework, seeking to achieve the objectives of Māori development through the core activities of teaching, research and practice. There are three key elements which underpin this agenda. They are: preventing harm; addressing student attrition; and contributing to Māori psychologies.

'Prevention' involves limiting the exposure of Māori psychology students to the risks that stem from the dominance of the Western scientific paradigm. 'Addressing student attrition' involves supporting Māori students to complete course requirements, while at the same enhancing the relevance of the material being studied. Contributing to 'Māori psychologies' focuses on the development of knowledge bases premised upon and deriving from Māori world views. These three elements underpin the teaching, support and research strategies which combine to form the Kaupapa Māori agenda. These strategies are further described below.

Teaching approaches

Since 1990, a primary objective of the Department has been the inclusion of Kaupapa Māori perspectives in all courses offered, although the focus has been mainly in the area of cross-cultural, community and social psychology. For Māori staff, much of the early activity utilised the 'teaching across' approach, whereby contributions were made to existing courses in the Department. The aim of this approach was to access all students, rather than a select few who might elect to take a specific course where Māori-focused content was offered. The 'teaching across' approach has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages for Māori staff in the Department included:

- Māori-focused perspectives are presented in all core courses
- Larger numbers of students are exposed to Māori-focused perspectives
- Māori and non-Māori students and staff are exposed to positive Māori role models
- All Māori students in psychology are able to be accessed

The disadvantages included:

- Considerable time spent coordinating with staff, tutors and students
- Considerable time spent preparing material for several courses
- Requires a broad knowledge of subject areas

- Negative feedback from students, both Māori and non-Māori, who do not wish to be exposed to such material
- Limited time available to devote to the development of Māori knowledge bases in psychology

The disadvantages of the 'teaching across' approach were seriously considered in the early 1990s. This resulted in the development and introduction of two Māori-focused undergraduate courses in 1993 and 2001, and two graduate courses in 1993. The titles of these courses and year in which they were established are:

- 2nd year: Culture, ethnicity and psychology (2001)
- 3rd year: Māori development & Psychology (1993)
- 4th year: Psychological applications and the Treaty of Waitangi (1993)
- 4th year: Kaupapa Māori & Psychology (1993)

The content of these four courses was determined and delivered primarily by Māori staff. Content areas have included: an awareness and critique of cultural worldviews; colonisation; cultural safety; psychological ethics and standards; antiracism; understanding ethnic identity; inter-ethnic relations; critical analysis skills; advocacy strategies; and developing culturally specific interventions. These courses have in the main been coordinated by one tenured academic staff member (Linda Nikora), with varying levels of assistance over the years from assistant lecturers, sessional assistants, and research staff.

Supporting Māori students to successful outcomes

Over the past ten years there have been relatively high numbers of Māori students entering the Department at undergraduate level. However, the numbers have tended to drop sharply by third year, with few Māori students entering graduate study. As noted in my Prologue, I recall being one of only two Māori graduate students commencing graduate studies in 1995.

The strategy that has had the most success in supporting Māori students has been the Kaupapa Māori tutorial programme. Tutorial support for Māori students, introduced in the early 1990s, and predating the introduction of Kaupapa Māori courses, was the first initiative to become embedded in the Department. The Kaupapa Māori tutorials served as a vehicle for Māori students to engage with course material, as well as to express their thoughts about how things could be done differently. The Māori student voice has been a major catalyst for change within the Department.

Kaupapa Māori tutorials are premised on two characteristics:

1. Using a Māori frame of reference to interpret course material
2. Creating a personal and academic support network among Māori students

Kaupapa Māori tutorials affirm to Māori students that the Department collectively supports their presence and their aspirations. Operating across the majority of undergraduate courses, Kaupapa Māori tutorials have come to be considered standard practice within the Department. Senior Māori students, or in some cases, non-Māori students, are employed as tutors to deliver tutorials tailored to the learning needs and preferences of Māori students. The 'taken for granted' mode of operation within the tutorial environment is culturally Māori, meaning that if students wish to speak Māori or use Māori concepts within the tutorial, they can and are not obliged to provide translations, explanations or justifications for their choice to do.

Kaupapa Māori tutorials seek to avoid the potentially negative experiences which can occur when Māori participate in mainstream activities as a minority. For example, Māori students who attend mainstream tutorials can feel as if they are in the spotlight especially when asked to provide 'the' Māori perspective on issues. Isolation can be another experience for Māori students in mainstream tutorials.

Much of the research undertaken nationally in relation to the recruitment and retention of Māori within psychology has been conducted by the Māori and Psychology Unit (MPRU) (described earlier in Chapter Seven). This important literature base, which

continues to grow, has provided a foundation for the ongoing development of initiatives to support Māori students achieve successful outcomes in psychology.

The success of the Kaupapa Māori tutorial programme is evident in Māori student enrolments which have generally been increasing. To support the growing number of Māori students moving into graduate study, a new, yet welcome issue arose; the need for support mechanisms explicitly focused on assisting Māori students to successfully complete graduate study. Research has been the major strategy used to support graduate students and is discussed in the next section.

As noted above Kaupapa Māori tutorials have come to be considered standard practice within the Department. My own experiences, as a student participating in them in the 1990s and as an academic staff member involved in their organisation from 2000 to 2005, can add a little more depth to the journey this has involved. As noted in my Prologue, I was among the first group of students to have the opportunity to participate in Kaupapa Māori tutorials in the early 1990s. I vividly recall the strong reaction to the introduction of the tutorial programme and the negative consequences, such as accusations of cheating, that we as Māori students faced. Some ten years on, as an academic staff member within the department, I was to again face similar resistance to the concept of Kaupapa Māori tutorials. From non-Māori students there were demands that all be allowed to attend the tutorials and threats of complaints to the Human Rights Commission. From some staff I detected a form of passive resistance. For example, some student complaints about Kaupapa Māori tutorials were not, as they should have been, swiftly dismissed on the basis that Kauapa Māori Tutorials were standard and normal department practice. Engaging in the debate conveyed the message that Kaupapa Māori tutorials were certainly not part of standard and normal Department practice, but were in fact open to debate.

One strategy for engaging staff more positively with the Kaupapa Māori tutorial programme was to run sessions explaining the rationale behind the tutorial programme, and what occurred in Kaupapa Māori tutorials. For several staff members this provided enough information to be able to more fully support and engage with the tutorial

programme, contributing to it becoming more readily accepted as standard departmental practice.

Research

When a Kaupapa Māori agenda was first introduced in 1989, there were very few resources available to support it. Unlike other areas there were no text books, no journals, and little research from which teaching resources could be developed. The lack of a research and literature base represented the major challenge to development of Māori psychologies able to contribute to the academic discipline of psychology in Aotearoa.

In 1995, Bridgette Masters and I, as graduate students, conducted an evaluation of Kaupapa Māori within the department. One of our findings was that non-Māori staff were very hesitant to engage in Māori-focused research, due mainly to a lack of prior experience and a fear of getting it wrong (Masters & Levy, 1995). Māori staff in the Department in 1995 viewed this as a major obstacle to progressing the Kaupapa Māori agenda. The chronic shortage of Māori staff within the Department meant that there was limited time to undertake the research necessary to build the discipline. Mutually beneficial and collaborative efforts were required if the resources needed to inform the Kaupapa Māori teaching agenda were to be produced. From this nexus came the Māori and Psychology Research Unit (MPRU).

The MPRU, established in 1997, was designed to facilitate research which was underpinned by the needs, aspirations, and priorities of Māori people (Maori and Psychology Research Unit, 2000). An important role of the MPRU was to provide practical research experience to both Māori and non-Māori staff and students. Building on the points in the previous section, the MPRU has a particular role in supporting Māori graduate students, with graduate students becoming involved in Māori-focused research, planning and management, and professional development activities. The development of programmes of research as opposed to individual research projects has assisted the MPRU to support groups of graduate students.

Issues Impacting on the Realisation of a Psychology for Māori

There are several issues which have influenced the ability to progress the Kaupapa Māori agenda within the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato. These are the culture of academia, competing demands, and obligation and duty.

The Culture of Academia

The culture of academia presents several challenges. At times, as with indigenous psychology development internationally, we confront resistance within psychology to the premise that our presence and knowledge bases are legitimate. Some staff believe that our presence may be contributing to the 'dumbing down' of the institution. For example, in discussions where issues relevant to Māori are discussed, these have been followed by vague references to the importance of maintaining standards. I have been told that indigenous psychology is not a 'real' psychology, and that employment procedures for Māori staff members are not the 'same' as for other academic staff members.

Competing Demands

Māori academic and research staff in psychology are an extremely scarce resource and are stretched to participate in the many areas requiring attention. Māori staff are expected by funding and grant agencies to occupy supervisory roles of Māori students and principal investigator roles. There are continual requests to serve on bodies such as the New Zealand Psychologists Board (NZPB), the New Zealand Psychological Society (NZPsS), and other government research and policy committees. While we may wish to play all these roles, Māori staff have other commitments and responsibilities, one of which the most pressing is often the completion of doctoral research and academic publications.

This becomes a conflicted issue. Academic institutions require that staff not already qualified at PhD level be making progress towards that goal. It is a contractual

requirement for junior staff, a chief criterion in career development and permanent tenure, and necessary for the supervision of others. However, the additional expertise brought by Māori staff is often unrecognised within the academic system.

In the face of other demands, working on PhD and publications are easily prioritised as less important. It may be suggested that this situation is not unique to Māori faculty members and that similar demands exist for all those at the start of their careers. However, while there may be some similarities, there are also major differences. Māori staff, alongside their PhD research programmes, are also required to: address the transformation of their discipline; develop a discipline from the ground up; train and mentor students; construct a research agency; assist and enhance the cultural competence of colleagues and students; develop and evaluate policies; and sit on boards, panels, and committees. The extent to which this situation is true for other staff and PhD students is questionable.

Obligation and Duty

The culture of academia and our competing priorities highlight the difficulties posed within the academic institution. Why then would we choose to be here? In 2002, there were three graduates of the Psychology Department, myself included, who had chosen to return as staff members, all of us occupying fixed term Assistant Lectureship positions. A sense of obligation and duty influenced all our decisions to return to the institution. Another influence was the opportunity to work with existing Māori staff, students and the wider professional community, with the desire to make a difference to these communities. Driven by a sense of obligation and duty, returning to the academy was seen as tolerable. While the recommendation to increase Māori staff is a valid one, the reality is that Māori staff agree to work for the academy on the basis of personal, cultural and ethnic obligations. We recognise that we are agents of change and that this would be a heavy responsibility if we were isolated individuals acting alone. However, strength is gained from the collective and in the common face and challenge presented to the Department, the Faculty and the University.

Strategies to address these issues

Collective responsibility

A key characteristic of the Kaupapa Māori agenda has been the focus on the collective responsibility of the Department. The responsibility for meeting the needs of Māori students and contributing to the achievement of the Kaupapa Māori agenda is one which rests with the Department as a whole and not solely with its Māori staff. The assumption of collective responsibility is prominent in the Psychology Department Policy Statement about Kaupapa Māori (Kaupapa Maori Managament Committee, 2001).

The Kaupapa Māori Policy Statement for the Psychology Department states that the Psychology Department will actively encourage and support the development and maintenance of an environment which:

- Meets the educational and research needs of Māori students and staff
- Recognises and promotes the importance of psychology students and staff being culturally responsive
- Recognises and promotes psychology as a platform for Māori development (Kaupapa Maori Managament Committee, 2001)

Policy statements include: reference to the Department Chair monitoring the recruitment and retention of Māori students in the department; regular reviewing of courses by course convenors to ensure that the needs of Māori students are being met and bicultural perspectives are being incorporated; and the MPRU being a vehicle for increasing the relevance and appropriateness of Departmental research with Māori (Kaupapa Maori Managament Committee, 2001). Faded memories can be refreshed by reference to established and collectively agreed policies.

An issue which I have often been confronted with is the perception by some staff that ‘collective responsibility’ somehow means abdication of responsibility to the Kaupapa Māori Management Committee (KMMC). The KMMC, in promoting the need for

collective departmental responsibility, has at times received feedback which indicates the KMMC is perceived as having sole responsibility for leading and guiding work in this area. This is as opposed to that responsibility being shared by the entire Department. Unless the KMMC accepts responsibility for all things Māori, it is perceived as abdicating on its responsibilities. Collective responsibility means that other Departmental administrative committees also contribute to responsiveness to Māori.

The concept of collective responsibility is integral to meeting the needs of Māori students and contributing to the development of a psychology discipline which is of relevance and benefit to Māori. It is critical that the responsibility for the recruitment, retention and successful academic experiences of Māori students is shared by all staff, not just Māori staff. Whilst this concept is gaining increasing understanding and acceptance within the Department, we continue to have some way to go before the powerful potential of collective responsibility is fully realised.

External Relationships

There are a number of other strategies, external to the Psychology Department, used by the KMMC and other staff members to advance change within the discipline of psychology. Most notable is participation with the NZPsS and the NZPsS National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI). In 2004 there were three staff members of the Department who occupied Executive Director portfolios in the NZPsS, myself included. These three staff members were also members of the NSCBI. In addition, Moana Waitoki, a past student, academic staff member and current NSCBI co-convenor was also on the New Zealand Psychologists Board.

The Collective of Māori Psychologists

The concept of collective responsibility also applies to the body of Māori psychologists themselves. Few Māori psychologists are called upon to undertake many responsibilities. Avoiding exhausting this limited resource means sharing the workloads. One mechanism to facilitate notions of collection responsibility and

reciprocal relationships is the provision of opportunities for Māori psychologists to come together, network, share information and strategise to influence change. Māori staff at Waikato University have been proactive in calling Māori in psychology together. Since 1989 there have been six such gatherings of Māori psychologists, some of which have been described earlier in Chapter Seven. Participation in these forums is an important part of advancing the Kaupapa Māori agenda within psychology.

Concluding Comments

The Kaupapa Māori agenda in the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato consists of an established programme of activity, including support programmes, Māori staff, a dedicated Māori research unit, a dedicated Māori-focused resource library, and Departmental decision making committee. Certainly when compared with other psychology departments, this Department has made gains across the spectrum. Progression to this point did not simply happen of its own accord. Consistent with the process of indigenisation described by authors such as Adair (2004), the Kaupapa Māori agenda has resulted from the interaction of multiple elements. Key elements are described below.

Leadership

The Kaupapa Māori agenda sits on established foundations, the groundwork having been laid some 40 years ago with the work of James Ritchie. These historical foundations have proved critical, paving the way for the appointment of Linda Nikora in 1989 to the academic staff group. This appointment signified the emergence of Māori leadership, providing a catalyst for much greater examination of the issues impacting on Māori participation in psychology and the means by which developments could be planned and aligned across a range of forums. Tangible examples of Māori self determination started to transpire in the 1990s, such as support, teaching and research initiatives. Facilitating a sense of collective responsibility among Māori psychologists and students across the country was also recognised as an important element of advancing the broader agenda.

Māori Staff

Just how did the Psychology Department at Waikato University end up with six Māori academic staff in 2002? As evidenced by this chapter, attracting Māori psychologists to work within academic institutions involves significantly more than simply putting an advertisement in the paper. Competing demands, multiple obligations, and resistance to the validity of Māori knowledge bases within psychology mean decisions to return to academia as staff cannot be made lightly. However, being part of a collective, the obligations of reciprocity, and the desire to make a difference for Māori override these concerns. There is also a clear relationship between ones' experiences as a student and growing the critical mass of the Māori psychology academic workforce.

Knowledge Base Development

The Kaupapa Māori agenda recognises that psychology is a tool which can contribute to the broader context of Māori development. The various strategies utilised are indicative of the struggles encountered when the resources required to develop the knowledge bases are limited, in this case, the staff resource within the academic institution. The 'teaching across' approach aimed to make best use of these resources. However, it reached a point where its limitations outweighed its advantages. The difficulty in maintaining this approach is partially due to a failure on the part of the wider Department to accept the concept of collective responsibility. While all staff may not necessarily be able to include Māori-focused material within their courses, all are able to draw attention to the monocultural underpinnings of the psychology curriculum and the impacts of this.

The desire to develop Māori specific courses was hampered by the lack of a research base able to be translated into the required teaching resources. The MPRU supports knowledge creation and researcher development. The benefits of such a structure can be seen in the tangible developments of Māori-focused courses, publications, symposiums, conference presentations, and increased numbers of graduate researchers.

Cumulative Effects

The gains made by the Kaupapa Māori programme is in many ways due to recognition that there is no single route; progress results from the cumulative effects of multiple elements. The leadership of James Ritchie, followed by Linda Nikora, has been instrumental in setting solid foundations. The significance of that first tenured academic appointment in psychology is unmistakable, with this small increase in Māori participation being the catalyst for significant development. That small increase has paved the way for support initiatives, mentorship and supervision opportunities for Māori students. These opportunities and being exposed to ways in which psychology could be relevant and of benefit to Māori resulted in several ex-students finding their way back to the Department as staff members. With more Māori staff members contributing to supervision, research and teaching, there were more resources to support students progressing through the Department. Though stemming from small beginnings, the cumulative impacts of these developments are apparent.

PART FOUR: THE JOURNEY CONTINUES

The aim of this thesis is to describe and contribute to the development of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit for Māori communities. Central to achieving this is the development of psychologies premised upon and deriving from Māori world views and knowledge bases. The primary objective of these psychologies is to contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations. In my Prologue, I described how the success of my voyaging ancestors resulted from understanding the interaction and relationships between all elements of their environment: physical, spiritual and psychological. Similarly, this thesis seeks greater understanding by viewing our journey within psychology in its totality.

Part One set the scene for my thesis, describing the context of Māori development in which my thesis is positioned. Part Two explored the indigenous psychology literature base. The key themes of context, critical mass, and mechanisms to support indigenous psychology development were identified as being relevant to indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa. Part Three explored indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa, focusing on the context of development, efforts to increase the critical mass of Māori psychologists over the past three decades and mechanisms which have supported indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa.

Part Four, drawing from the analysis in Parts One, Two and Three, constructs an argument which identifies the next phase of the journey required to develop a psychological discipline of relevance and benefit to Māori communities. Chapter Ten in Part Four identifies the critical factors for indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa. Building on this, Chapter Eleven proposes 'reaching the point of irreversible change' as our next phase of indigenous psychology development. An original interactional framework for consolidation which identifies the directions needed to reach the point of irreversible change is proposed.

Chapter Ten
Development of Indigenous Psychology in Aotearoa: Critical Factors

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It is clear from the nature of indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa as presented in Part Three, that the need to increase the number of Māori participating in psychology has been widely recognised for over thirty years. However, inherent in this is a paradox which has not received attention. The absence of an established research base on which to develop a discipline is one of the major barriers encountered by those engaged in the development of indigenous psychologies. Addressing this absence requires a critical mass of Māori psychologists contributing to discipline development via research, teaching and practice activities. However, realising that critical mass requires Māori students and psychologists be exposed to knowledge bases which overtly demonstrate relevance and benefit to Māori communities. Because the issues and solutions are interrelated and interdependent, they appear to blur as we struggle to identify the most effective point for intervention. It is this circularity and complexity which explains why, despite substantial developments over the past two decades, Māori knowledge bases continue to remain on the fringes of psychology. Chapter Ten aims to better understand this paradox, drawing conclusions regarding the critical factors required for indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa. Context, critical mass and support for indigenous psychology development are discussed in this chapter.

Context: Our Unique Journey

I have argued that contributing to the realisation of Māori aspirations should be the fundamental objective of indigenous psychology in Aotearoa. These aspirations can be broadly conceptualised as the ability to participate as Māori, in te ao Māori and wider society, with the outcomes resulting from Māori development models supporting and strengthening these two broad aspirations (Durie, 2003a).

The notion of an interaction between Māori development and psychology is not new. Linda Nikora, from her position within academia, has for many years declared psychology to be a platform for Māori development (Nikora, 2001; Nikora et al., 2006). Throughout Part Three, it was demonstrated that many of the developments in indigenous psychology had been facilitated by people who have either studied, taught or have links with the Psychology Department at Waikato University. For over 15 years, the agenda within this Department, propelled by a significant number of both Māori staff and students, has been located within the broader framework of Māori development. As seen in Chapter Nine, this framework explicitly prioritises the aspirations of Māori, its primary aim being the creation of psychologies able to meet the needs of Māori in such a way which maintains a unique cultural heritage and a better future collectively for Māori (Nikora et al., 2006; Nikora et al., 2002b).

A number of scholars subscribe to the view that a characteristic of indigenous psychology is that it is not a psychology of native, aboriginal or indigenous peoples (Adair, 1999; Sinha, 1997). Definitions of indigenous psychology which reject or ignore the specific positioning indigenous peoples do not adequately encompass how indigenous psychology is conceptualised in Aotearoa. As noted in Chapter One, the 'indigeneity factor' represents a core element of Māori development aspirations (Durie, 2005b). We have an internationally unique contribution to make to the field of indigenous psychology: indigenous psychology in Aotearoa positions the aspirations of Māori as central.

Critical Mass: Participating as Māori

Our approach to developing a psychology of relevance and benefit to Māori has to date largely centred on building the critical mass of Māori psychologists. Within this approach the number of Māori psychologists has been the primary measure used to assess progress. In Chapter Four I emphasised the significance of critical mass theory to indigenous psychology development. Critical mass theory assumes that reaching a particular number in the workforce, or the 'tipping point', will predict when accelerated and transformative change will occur (Gladwell, 2000; Studlar & McAllister, 2002). However, despite the importance of this concept there was little discussion in the

indigenous psychology literature regarding how critical mass theory is understood and applied.

Critical mass theory has been criticised as being too simplistic, failing to recognise the social and cultural contexts in which change occurs (Greed, 2000), and the range of factors which constrain or enable participation (Childs & Krook, 2006). The analysis presented in Parts Two and Three supports these criticisms. With a Māori development perspective framing our approach to indigenous psychology development, the focus must be on gauging the extent to which psychology becomes explicitly engaged in contributing to Māori aspirations. The total number of Māori psychologists, while important to measure, is not the sole indicator by which contributions to Māori aspirations can be assessed. Nor can progress be accurately gauged by solely focusing on increases in Māori-focused course content or the publication of Māori-focused research.

From a Māori development perspective, increasing the number of Māori psychologists is not intended to simply provide a more culturally diverse workforce or cater to cultural preferences, but through contributing to Māori aspirations, result in better outcomes for Māori, whānau, hapū and iwi. Increasing the critical mass of Māori psychologists must focus on participation *as* Māori, and not simply *by* Māori. Better understanding how participation occurs, as opposed to when it occurs should be the focus (Childs & Krook, 2006).

There are some elements of critical mass theory which are relevant to our journey in Aotearoa. Implicit in critical mass and tipping models is the view that when enough people make the same choice, this will act as an incentive for others to make that same choice (Linton, 2004). The relevance of tipping theory is seen in the Psychology Department at Waikato University where mechanisms which affirm and support the presence of Māori students have led to an increased number of graduate Māori students within the Department. The opportunity to be part of a collective has contributed to the visible Māori staff group which has emerged in this Department. There is a clear relationship between exposure to a wider group of Māori people participating in the

discipline of psychology and attracting others to do the same. As is evident in Part Three, the numbers do not necessarily need to be that large to influence the choices being made by others. Being aware that the discipline of psychology is a place where Māori can and do succeed is important to encouraging Māori to enter the discipline.

Contributing to Māori Aspirations

In Chapter Seven I proposed that the disproportionately low numbers of Māori psychologists who identified their work-type as Kaupapa Māori raised questions regarding the extent to which the discipline of psychology was advancing the aim of contributing to Māori aspirations. I suggested that it was reasonable to assume that if psychology were to contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations, 'Kaupapa Māori' would likely comprise an important component of practice.

I identified two potential reasons why the number of Māori psychologists identifying their work-type as Kaupapa Māori might be so low. First was the absence of a 'psychology' premised upon and deriving from Māori world views and knowledge bases. Second was that some Māori psychologists, depending on their understanding of the concept 'Kaupapa Māori,' may not have considered they had the cultural skills and knowledge to work within Kaupapa Māori frameworks. These reasons can inform our journey. How can Māori psychologists be expected to contribute to Māori aspirations if the training with which they are provided does not prepare them to do so? Furthermore, for some, success in psychology comes at a price. To succeed within the dominant Western paradigm requires compromising cultural identity as Māori. How can Māori psychologists be expected to contribute to Māori aspirations if the very process to become a psychologist requires the fundamental aspiration of being Māori to be compromised?

As this thesis shows, the main focus of efforts to increase Māori participation in psychology has been supporting Māori students to enter and successfully complete established university psychology training programmes. We now better understand the mainstream tertiary environment and the specific barriers faced by Māori psychology

students. There is clear evidence that successful support initiatives for Māori students are founded on the principle of affirming Māori cultural identity (Nikora et al., 2002a). Nevertheless Māori psychology students continue to come under pressure to compromise their own cultural identity in order to succeed within psychology training. That is, while various initiatives do support and affirm cultural identity, they are nevertheless focused on supporting students through largely unchanged monocultural Western training pathways.

Given the diversity of Māori, it is to be expected that some Māori psychologists will not consider that they possess appropriate cultural skills and knowledge to work within a Kaupapa Māori work-type. However, consistent with a Māori development framework, strengthening cultural identity should be a desired outcome of initiatives to increase the number of Māori psychologists able to contribute to Māori aspirations.

Another essential component of developing a critical mass of Māori psychologists is training which provides Māori students with opportunities to develop skills and knowledge relevant to contributing to Māori aspirations. The continued absence of well developed Māori knowledge bases within psychology training programmes means these opportunities are limited. Psychology training for Māori students needs to enhance their ability to participate as Māori in both te ao Māori and wider society. Opportunities for Māori students to strengthen and affirm cultural identity and indigenous practices should not be limited to the domain of support initiatives only. They must form the basis of psychology training programmes.

Māori and Non-Māori: Differing Needs

While Māori content within psychology curricula has increased, this has been conceptualised as a somewhat generic strategy, with little attention paid to the different needs of Māori and non-Māori students. Exposure to content which demonstrates the applicability and relevance of psychology to Māori has long been regarded as an essential element of increasing the number of Māori psychologists. For Māori, Māori content is not only intended to demonstrate relevance and benefit, but as noted in the previous

section, it must also provide opportunities to advance knowledge and skills relevant for contributing to Māori aspirations, as well as opportunities to affirm and strengthen cultural identity as Māori. For non-Māori, Māori content aims to strengthen their cultural competency. I seriously question the extent to which a broadly labelled strategy of 'increasing Māori content' can effectively meet the needs of both Māori and non-Māori.

Training programmes need to be cognizant of the diversity of Māori, recognising that cultural identity exists on a continuum. In addition, ways of meeting the specific needs of Māori students must take into account the potentially negative experiences which occur when Māori participate in mainstream activities as a minority group. For example, Kaupapa Māori tutorials in the Psychology Department at Waikato University seek to avoid Māori students feeling 'spotlighted'; placed on the spot when they are asked to provide 'the' Māori perspective on issues. I can recall as both a student and an academic staff member several instances where Māori-focused material was derided by other students in classes or its validity challenged. I also recall the uneasiness this caused in me as a student, particularly in one case where such derision went unchallenged by the lecturer.

As will be discussed later, Māori students play a role in developing indigenous knowledge bases throughout their training experiences. In addition, Māori students also need to be provided with opportunities to advance knowledge and skills relevant for contributing to Māori aspirations. These important components of indigenous psychology development require environments in which Māori worldviews and knowledge bases are the legitimate frame of reference. Settings characterised by resistance to the legitimacy of Māori world views do not provide environments conducive to discipline development.

The training needs of Māori students differ significantly from those of non-Māori. For non-Māori, Māori-focused content aims to enhance ability to practice safely and competently with Māori. Cultural competency models are based on obtaining cultural awareness, knowledge and skills (Campinha-Bacote, 2001). While enhancing cultural

knowledge and skills is important, arguably the most important training within cultural competency focuses on cultural awareness; an in-depth exploration of one's own culture. This includes understanding the distinctions between cultural sameness and cultural difference, and what is meant by being regardless of difference and being regardful of difference (Wepa, 2005). Understanding oneself as a culture bearer, and the historical, social and political influences on psychological health and wellbeing are key elements of the New Zealand Psychologists Board (NZPB) cultural competency framework (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2006c).

Achieving an in-depth exploration of one's own culture requires specific training processes for non-Māori. For example, Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and Richardson (2003) undertook a project which aimed to enhance educational outcomes for Māori students at secondary school. They found that a critical element of improving achievement levels of Māori students was a professional development approach which placed teachers in non-confrontational situations where, through authentic, yet vicarious experiences, they were able to experience what it was like to be a Māori student (Bishop et al., 2003). The non-confrontational element was important. Teachers were not called to account for the negative experiences reported by Māori students. However, using these experiences they were encouraged to critically reflect on how their own assumptions influenced the way in which they interacted with Māori students and how this subsequently impacted on the achievement levels of those Māori students (Bishop et al., 2003).

I recall as an Assistant Lecturer attempting to explain to an external examiner and the wider academic staff group within the Department why the final marks for a graduate Treaty of Waitangi course I taught in were lower than the average marks for other graduate courses. Unlike the majority of other Psychology Department graduate courses, the Treaty of Waitangi course could challenge the fundamental belief systems of some students, particularly students who held beliefs premised on the notion that cultural difference was not relevant. To fully engage with the material being presented in this course, students were required to better understand, and in some cases explicitly

challenge their own cultural beliefs and worldviews. This made the course significantly more challenging for some students than their other courses. These challenges often reflected in the final marks students obtained for the Treaty of Waitangi paper, marks which were lower than those they received in other courses.

As was seen in Chapter Seven, there is strong policy support in the majority of universities for teaching programmes which are responsive to Māori. However, in reality the needs of Māori and non-Māori have competed for attention. Discussions regarding the development of Māori knowledge bases within psychology tend to be overshadowed by a focus on developing a culturally competent non-Māori psychology workforce. Non-Māori agendas, particularly those related to cultural competency needs, have been prioritised at the expense of Māori driven and determined development in psychology. The cultural competency requirements of the Health Practitioners Competency Assurance Act 2003 (HPCA Act 2003) means there is a risk this will continue.

Becoming competent and safe to practice with Māori as a non-Māori psychologist is a very different aim to that of strengthening and affirming cultural identity and indigenous practices as Māori. In addition, attaining cultural competency for non-Māori is not the sole responsibility of Māori. Attempting to address the needs of both groups via a single mechanism, such as a single course, can result in the requirements of neither being successfully addressed. Better understanding the outcomes being sought, and configuring content and delivery according to those outcomes is necessary if the development of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit to Māori communities is to be attained. With a Māori development perspective framing our approach, the focus must be on providing training programmes which support and develop the ability of Māori psychologists to contribute to Māori aspirations.

Critical Mass: Leaders and Producers

Leaders

As outlined in Part Two, Adair (1999) distinguished between 'front' and 'mass' researchers. Similarly, critical mass theory, refers to the role of 'prime movers' and 'change masters'; those who detonate the critical mass explosion (Kanter, cited in Greed, 2000). People occupying positions at the 'front' can be likened to navigators, those charting the course and setting directions. Change efforts need to mobilise people around what is not yet known and experienced, drawing them together by bridging multiple realities and re-conceptualising activities to encompass the new and shared reality (Kanter, 1983). I have termed those at the front as the *Leaders*.

The Leaders in Aotearoa are those already engaged in research, teaching and practice activities which are relevant to the realisation of Māori aspirations. Occupying an obvious leadership role over the past two decades has been Linda Nikora. Her leadership has been central to the tangible examples of Māori autonomy and self determination within psychology which emerged in the 1990s. Other indigenous psychology Leaders have also emerged over the past two decades. These include Māori psychologists who hold or have held academic positions within psychology departments in Aotearoa, for example Dr Averil Herbert, Bridgette Masters-Awatere, Mohi Rua, Dr Paul Hirini, Jhanitra Gavala, Simon Bennett, Lisa Cherrington, Dr Catherine Love and Dr Stephanie Palmer. Leaders are also evident in a variety of psychology sub-disciplines and subject areas including for example: clinical psychology (e.g. Banks, 2002; Cherrington, 2003; Gilgen, 2002; Manna, 2003); research methodologies (e.g. Glover, 2003); addictions (e.g. Robertson, 2005); educational psychology (e.g. Macfarlane & Glynn, 2003) cultural competency (e.g. Waitoki, 2006); evaluation research (e.g. Masters, 2005a), psychometrics (e.g. Palmer, 2003); and whānau, iwi and hapū development (e.g. Lawson-Te Aho, 2003). Governance structures of professional psychology organisations, such as the New Zealand Psychological Society (NZPsS), the NZPB, and the New Zealand College of Clinical Psychologists (NZCCP) also include Leaders, for example Keriata

Paterson, Moana Waitoki, Jhanitra Gavala, Bridgette Masters, Dr Catherine Love and Clive Banks.

The above list is not exhaustive. Its inclusion is intended to simply demonstrate that Leaders, those who will chart the course and set directions for indigenous psychology development, already exist in Aotearoa. That some people are mentioned more than once is reflective of the small number of Māori psychologists and the extent to which multiple roles characterise the reality of being a Māori psychologist.

Some indigenous psychology scholars have considered those within academic psychology departments to hold primary responsible for leading discipline development (e.g. Adair, 1999). In Aotearoa it is evident that academic institutions have been instrumental in contributing to indigenous psychology development, most notably the Psychology Department at Waikato University. However, the demand for qualified Māori psychologists is such that recruiting Māori psychologists into academic positions is difficult. Leading indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa cannot be the sole responsibility of the small number of Māori psychologists who hold academic positions. In Aotearoa, the Leaders of indigenous psychology development will be found both within and outside of academic institutions.

Producers

Adair (1999) described the 'mass' as those who produce the bulk of the research that forms the substance of the indigenous discipline. Discipline development is a cumulative process, with knowledge expanding as a result of incremental additions to the research and literature base. Keeping with the voyaging analogy, while the Leaders chart the course and set the direction, those who comprise the 'mass' can be likened to those responsible for paddling the waka; propelling and maintaining momentum for its ongoing journey. It is the mass which are responsible for building and expanding on the work of the Leaders. To avoid confusion with use of the broader term 'critical mass', I have termed Adair's concept of 'mass' as the *Producers*.

I have conceptualised the Producers are being primarily comprised of those who are engaging with, emerging or recently emerged from psychology training programmes. Student research has already produced an exciting body of knowledge. However, in their original format, research theses and projects do not provide user-friendly and easily accessible resources able to inform teaching programmes and facilitate ongoing growth. The potential of the Producers to inform ongoing development has not been fully realised.

Leaders and Producers

Both Leaders and Producers form integral elements of indigenous psychology development, contributing to a research base able to inform ongoing development, as well as providing role models, mentors and supervisors. The journey forward must include strategies which create both Leaders and Producers. Although some indigenous psychology scholars have proposed the academic environment as the focus for indigenous psychology development (e.g. Adair, 1999), not all proponents of indigenous psychology limit contributions to academically qualified psychologists.

Consistent with the points made by Enriquez (1993) and Milne (2005), those contributing as Leaders and Producers may or may not be formally trained psychologists. Limiting contributions only to academically qualified 'psychologists' excludes those from other disciplines, as well as the 'unwritten' but no less valid 'psychologies' (Enriquez, 1993). Māori development is a multidisciplinary enterprise (Durie et al., 2002). As demonstrated throughout this thesis, people such as Mason Durie, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Graham Smith, Russell Bishop and Leonie Pihama, although they fall into the category of what Love (2003) would term 'non-psychologists', have much to offer the journey in psychology. The search for Leaders and Producers should not be limited solely to the academic environment, academically qualified psychologists, or to the discipline of psychology.

The Leaders and Producers do not exist in isolation from each other, nor are these categories mutually exclusive. The Leaders have an important role in influencing the

work of the Producers which will form the substance of the discipline. For example, as noted in Chapter Nine, while the research interests of the MPRU are diverse, they are increasingly being shaped into programmes of research as opposed to individual research projects. It is these programmes of research directed by the Leaders and the cumulative contributions from the Producers engaged within them which will result in the development of substantial knowledge bases in particular topic areas. Ensuring relationships between the Leaders and Producers are effectively facilitated and maintained is essential to stimulate ongoing development. Leaders also have a role in nurturing, encouraging and supporting the emergence and development of future Leaders.

Supporting Indigenous Development

Addressing Resistance

Kanter (1983) emphasised that while key people are required to initiate, inspire and maintain action, also needed are environments that support innovation and allow those actions to be expressed. When actions are supported by tangible systems, the change becomes institutionalized: part of legitimate and standard practice (Kanter, 1983). While noticeable increases in Māori content are evident within several institutions, developments over the past two decades have failed to result in Māori knowledge bases being centrally positioned within psychology training. That Māori knowledge bases continue to exist in the margins suggests that more attention needs to be paid to building environments which support innovation and change.

A central barrier to building environments supportive of indigenous psychologies is resistance to the legitimacy of indigenous knowledge in psychology. It is another seemingly paradoxical situation. On the one hand, the dominance of Western knowledge is commonly accepted as a major barrier to increasing Māori participation in psychology, and there is widespread acknowledgement that this barrier needs to be addressed. However at the same time the dominance of Western paradigms is justified on the basis of psychology being constructed within Western scientific frameworks. The message coming from within academia and the wider discipline appears to be: Western dominance

needs to be addressed and indigenous knowledge may be included, but only as long as it does not disturb the dominance of Western ways of knowing. It is a contradictory argument.

Resistance to the inclusion of Māori knowledge bases is maintained by the claim that psychology is objective, culturally neutral and universal. To address this resistance, it is important to expose and deconstruct the culturally laden bases of the presumed universal science of psychology. In addition, the exclusion of Māori knowledge bases has enabled the theoretical conversation to continue undisturbed, the curriculum controlled, and definitions of inclusion and exclusion maintained. Such exclusion is recognised within a Kaupapa Māori agenda as a deliberate tactic designed to maintain dominant ideologies (Smith, 1996).

Collective Responsibility

Resistance to the validity of indigenous knowledge bases within psychology is a major contextual factor which has inhibited the development of indigenous psychology in Aotearoa. Transforming the discipline within an environment at times resistant to the validity of indigenous psychologies is a heavy burden for Māori psychologists. Reacting to resistance has absorbed much energy from Māori psychologists and Māori psychology students over the years. Doing so has severely interfered with their ability to engage in indigenous psychology discipline development. For Māori psychologists, the most effective mechanism to address resistance is the development of indigenous knowledge bases which can challenge the theoretical conversations which have controlled definitions of inclusion and exclusion. This raises the question of how can the demand of addressing resistance be lessened to enable more attention to be devoted to discipline development? How can environments be created which support indigenous psychology to become legitimate and standard practice?

Much of the progress in indigenous psychology development has emerged from within the Psychology Department at Waikato University. An explicit aim of the Kaupapa Māori agenda at Waikato University was to see Kaupapa Māori become part of the

legitimate and standard practice of the Department. Achieving this required a central focus on the concept of collective responsibility. Infrastructure, processes, structures and policies which supported collective responsibility for the Kaupapa Māori agenda within the wider Department were fundamental. Collective responsibility meant that responsibility for advancing the Kaupapa Māori agenda was one which rested with the Department as a whole and not solely with its Māori staff.

Embedding collective responsibility is not an easy task. Tutorial support for Māori psychology students and Kaupapa Māori courses at Waikato University, first introduced in the early 1990s, are now considered part of the normal and legitimate business of the Department. They are embedded within Departmental policy and strategic plans. Despite this, these activities can still be subject to resistance. For example, as an Assistant Lecturer in this department from 2000 to 2005, I can recall fierce accusations by non-Māori students that Kaupapa Māori tutorials were unfair and discriminatory. Some staff members colluded with such criticisms by way of failing to explicitly explain to students that the Kaupapa Māori tutorial system, like other tutorial programmes offered in the Department, was a non-negotiable and standard part of department practice.

The concept of collective responsibility applies not only to academic psychology departments; it is relevant to the entire psychology profession. The three examples of indigenous psychology development reviewed in Chapter Three highlighted the importance of national professional psychology organisations in supporting both the creation and dissemination of indigenous knowledge. More importantly, these organisations have a crucial role in addressing resistance to indigenous psychology. I have identified two key factors which can assist professional psychology organisations to execute this role; working collaboratively, and embedding gains.

Professional psychology organisations have the ability to influence change across the wider discipline through communicating expected standards of research, teaching and practice. Because of this they can be effective in countering the dominance of Western knowledge bases which is fuelling resistance to indigenous psychologies. In Aotearoa,

the NZPsS the NZPB and the NZCCP have tools such as the Code of Ethics and the HPCA Act 2003 which can assist them to influence change. These tools include ethical, cultural competency and programme accreditation requirements. They are legitimate mechanisms by which the profession can be held accountable.

Although these professional organisations have different responsibilities, a more coordinated approach to addressing resistance would maximize the effect these organisations can have. Such coordination already occurs on a small scale. The NZPsS National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI) have recently started to formally liaise with members of the NZPB and the NZCCP, exploring ways in which the work programmes of each group can be mutually supported. Representatives from these organisations also contribute to various projects, for example, cultural competency and programme accreditation requirements.

While moves towards better understanding the work programmes of each other is a useful starting point, the potential for addressing resistance and facilitating change across the profession lies in more active collaboration. A focus for all should be how to move Māori knowledge bases from the margins to become a central and legitimate component of psychology. Relevant questions these organisations might ask include: how can the NZPsS and the NZCCP support the cultural competency requirements of the HPCA Act 2003? How can the NZPsS and the NZCCP support the work initiated by the NZPB regarding the development of a Kaupapa Māori scope of practice? How can the NZPB support greater awareness of the cultural competency requirements inherent in the Code of Ethics? Too often perceptions of different or competing agendas and a silo approach have prevented the implementation of mutually beneficial strategies.

While progress has been made, many of the issues raised over twenty years ago continue to emerge today, in spite of ongoing efforts to address them. Having to revisit issues previously thought to be addressed, because changes have not been embedded within organisations, has placed yet another demand on the small number of Māori psychologists. Embedding gains so they become part of organisational memories

minimises reinvention and replication, both within and across organisations. Not having to be as vigilant for fear of gains being lost, means more energy and time can be focused on the development of indigenous knowledge bases.

An element of addressing resistance involves taking advantage of opportunities as they arise. In Chapter Four, I referred to Kanter (1983) who stated that change efforts needed to mobilise people around what was not yet known. As identified in Chapter Eight, the commissioning of a project by the NZPB exploring a potential Kaupapa Māori scope of practice (Milne, 2005) is an example of this. While the opportunities for indigenous psychology development afforded by the HPCA Act 2003 will take time to emerge and may well be outside the term of the current NZPB, a space has nevertheless been created. Realising change requires taking advantage of opportunities now to build foundations for where we might want to go in the future, even though we may not be entirely sure of where that is at the moment.

An unintended outcome of promoting collective responsibility has ironically been that some have misinterpreted this concept to mean that Māori are abdicating their responsibility; that is, all issues relevant to Māori are seen as the responsibility only of Māori. Examples of this are seen in the work of the NSCBI (described in Chapter Eight) and the Kaupapa Māori Management Committee in the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato (described in Chapter Nine). Addressing resistance via systems able to support change requires vigilance and collective commitment. Becoming part of legitimate and standard practice, fully supported by the system, is not a simple task. As is evident in Part Three, achieving collective commitment is a delicate balance as hard fought for gains can be put at risk if non-Māori are left to get on with it without close monitoring by Māori. Testing the extent to which collective responsibility has been embedded can be a risky business but it is crucial to the development of indigenous psychology.

Concluding Comments

Seeking to discover the most effective points of intervention, this chapter has identified the critical factors required for indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa. Indigenous psychology in Aotearoa exists within a context which positions the aspirations of Māori as central. The critical mass necessary for indigenous psychology development are the Leaders and Producers, both of whom are required to contribute to a research base able to inform ongoing development. Ongoing development requires environments which support innovation and change. However a central barrier to building such environments is resistance to indigenous knowledge bases being a legitimate part of psychology. The collective responsibility of the discipline as a whole is fundamental to addressing this resistance. For Māori, the most effective mechanism to address resistance is the development of indigenous knowledge bases which can challenge the theoretical conversations which have controlled definitions of inclusion and exclusion.

Chapter Eleven
Reaching the Point of Irreversible Change

Part Three of this thesis explored indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa. Key developments which have occurred over the past 15 years have included:

- Increased numbers of Māori psychologists
- Initiatives and strategies to facilitate the inclusion of more Māori content
- Increasing numbers of Māori graduate research projects, journal articles, edited collections and conference presentations
- Māori psychology symposia
- Support for Māori psychology students
- Policy development within the academy to support Māori participation in psychology
- Participation in professional psychology organisations
- Cultural competency requirements recognised in ethical and legal frameworks

I have argued that critical mass theory can help us to understand the process of developing an indigenous psychology. Building on the points made in the previous chapter, an obvious question to ask is have we achieved the critical mass of Leaders and Producers needed to ensure sustainable indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa? It is evident that considerable progress has been made in increasing the visibility and participation of Māori within psychology, particularly via research, publication and conference activities. Based on this, a visible mass of Māori psychologists certainly exists. However, it is also noticeable that despite the increase in numbers, proportional to the total number of psychologists, the number of Māori psychologists is low. Significant need for Māori psychologists remains, and a workforce able to sustain an independent Māori psychology group is yet to be achieved. In addition, psychology training programmes continue to include little Māori-focused content. These findings suggest that

while there might be a visible mass of Māori psychologists, 'the' critical mass required to detonate the accelerated change proposed by critical mass theory has not been reached. Chapter Eleven explores the concept of 'the point of irreversible change' and what is needed to achieve that.

Consolidating Collective Capacity: Creating a Unified Whole

The analysis in Part Three supports the conclusions reached by Greed (2000) that critical mass theory is too simplistic a concept to explain the different elements required for transformative change. In Chapter Four, I referred to the proposition by Davis (1997) that the critical mass would be better conceptualised as the point at which irreversible change is achieved, as opposed to the point at which the rate of change accelerates (cited in Studlar & McAllister, 2002). As noted by Studlar and McAllister (2002), this suggestion is still premised on change occurring primarily as a result of increased numbers. However, with some modification, the concept of 'reaching the point of irreversible change' is useful in explaining the past and providing guidance for future indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa.

Critical mass and 'tipping point' theory considers that change occurs by reaching a particular threshold which then triggers accelerated change (Gladwell, 2000; Studlar & McAllister, 2002). My proposed interpretation of reaching the point of irreversible change does encapsulate a 'tipping point' but that tipping point does not focus solely on numbers, but more explicitly on the elements which combine to reach the point at which change becomes self-sustaining. The concept of self-sustainability is an element of critical mass theory. However, in line with Studlar and McAllister's (2002) view that change results via incremental change and not the accelerated change proposed by critical mass theory, I propose a difference. My focus is on combining the incremental elements to reach the point of irreversible change. The critical mass will be only one of those elements. Reaching the point of irreversible change should be the aim of the next phase of the journey. The more relevant question is has the point of irreversible change in indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa been reached?

I argue that the point of irreversible change has yet to be achieved. My conclusion is based on three key points. Firstly, while noticeable increases in Māori-focused content are evident within several academic institutions, the developments over the past two decades have failed to result in Māori knowledge bases being centrally positioned within psychology training programmes. Māori knowledge bases continue to exist in the margins. Vohra (2004) has stated that the extent to which progress is occurring in indigenous psychology development should be reflected in training programmes. Within the majority of universities there appears to be expressions of support for including Māori content in psychology training. However, it is of major concern that it is still possible, and more likely probable, to undertake a psychology degree in Aotearoa without exposure to Māori-focused content.

Secondly, resistance to the inclusion of Māori knowledge bases within psychology continues to be a feature of our landscape. As noted earlier, reacting to this resistance has absorbed much of the energy of Māori psychologists, severely undermining our ability to progress indigenous psychology discipline development. That Māori knowledge bases continue to exist in the margins suggests that the environment does not yet support innovation and change regarding indigenous psychology development. In addition, issues thought to be previously addressed have to be revisited because they have not been embedded within organisational structures and processes. This is further evidence that resistance to the valid inclusion of Māori knowledge bases within psychology continues to exist.

Thirdly, many of the activities described in Part Three have been facilitated by people who have either studied, taught or have links with the Psychology Department at Waikato University. This raises the question of what would happen should the activities at Waikato University cease. The evidence provided in Part Three, particularly regarding the limited extent to which Māori content is integrated throughout psychology training in Aotearoa, suggests that, at this point, indigenous psychology development is heavily dependent on the activities which are emerging from that one institution.

Even within the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato, it is debatable whether the point of irreversible change has been reached. The activities in this Department continue to be heavily reliant on the leadership provided by Linda Nikora. I suspect that the reliance on Linda Nikora is such that without her leadership, the progress being made at Waikato University would almost certainly lose momentum and may not be self-sustaining.

How will we know when we have reached the point of irreversible change? Childs and Krook (2006) have elaborated on the notion of moving from the margins to the ordinary. Using gender analyses in politics as an example, they state that when mainstream editors, publishers and conference conveners have to acknowledge that the absence of contributions from women looks wrong, and no longer feel able to ignore and exclude the work of feminist political scientists, that is when feminist analyses have become part of the ordinary (Childs & Krook, 2006). The point at which irreversible change occurs is when: Māori knowledge bases are a legitimate part of psychology in Aotearoa; resistance to the legitimacy of Māori knowledge bases in psychology is not a characteristic of our landscape; environments supportive of indigenous psychology development are commonplace; and responsibility for contributing to indigenous psychology development is shared among and sustained by the collective capacity of the Leaders and Producers.

How then do we move to the point of irreversible change? Kanter (1983) argued that change occurs from the right people, in the right place, at the right time. The right people are those who have the vision and ideas to move beyond established practice. The right people in indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa are the Leaders and Producers who will build a discipline which is relevant and of benefit to Māori aspirations. The right places are environments that support innovation and change. The right places in psychology are environments which support the legitimacy of Māori knowledge bases within the discipline of psychology. These environments will actively address resistance to the inclusion of Māori knowledge bases which is undermining the ability of the Leaders and Producers to progress discipline development. Systems within these environments will support indigenous psychology to become part of legitimate and

standard practice. The findings and discussion from Part Three indicated that we have some of the right people, in some of the right places.

The 'right time' draws together the right people and the right places. It is when it becomes possible to reconstruct the reality on the basis of accumulated innovations (Kanter, 1983). Kanter (1983) and Studlar and McAllistar (2002) have suggested that transformative change occurs from incremental actions; the regular addition of successive elements. As highlighted in Parts Two and Three, indigenous psychology is not progressed by a series of unrelated and ad-hoc initiatives. Discipline development is a cumulative process, with knowledge increasing by additions to the research and literature base. I argue that we have not yet reached the 'right time'. The right time will be when the right people and the right places are drawn together to achieve the point of irreversible change.

Relevant here is the concept of consolidation. This is not a new concept. For example, I have referred to Lewis (1994) who commented that navigation was an art of unity, with the sum of input from sources such as the stars, ocean swells and birds combining to result in intentional arrival on the shores of Aotearoa. Smith (1999) identified that although there were several essential elements of Kaupapa Māori, Kaupapa Māori theory was more than the sum of its parts. Kanter (1994) has described how successful business alliances were based on interdependence, with neither partner being able to accomplish alone, what can be accomplished together. Maximum value was obtained by consolidating the different skills brought to the alliance (Kanter, 1994).

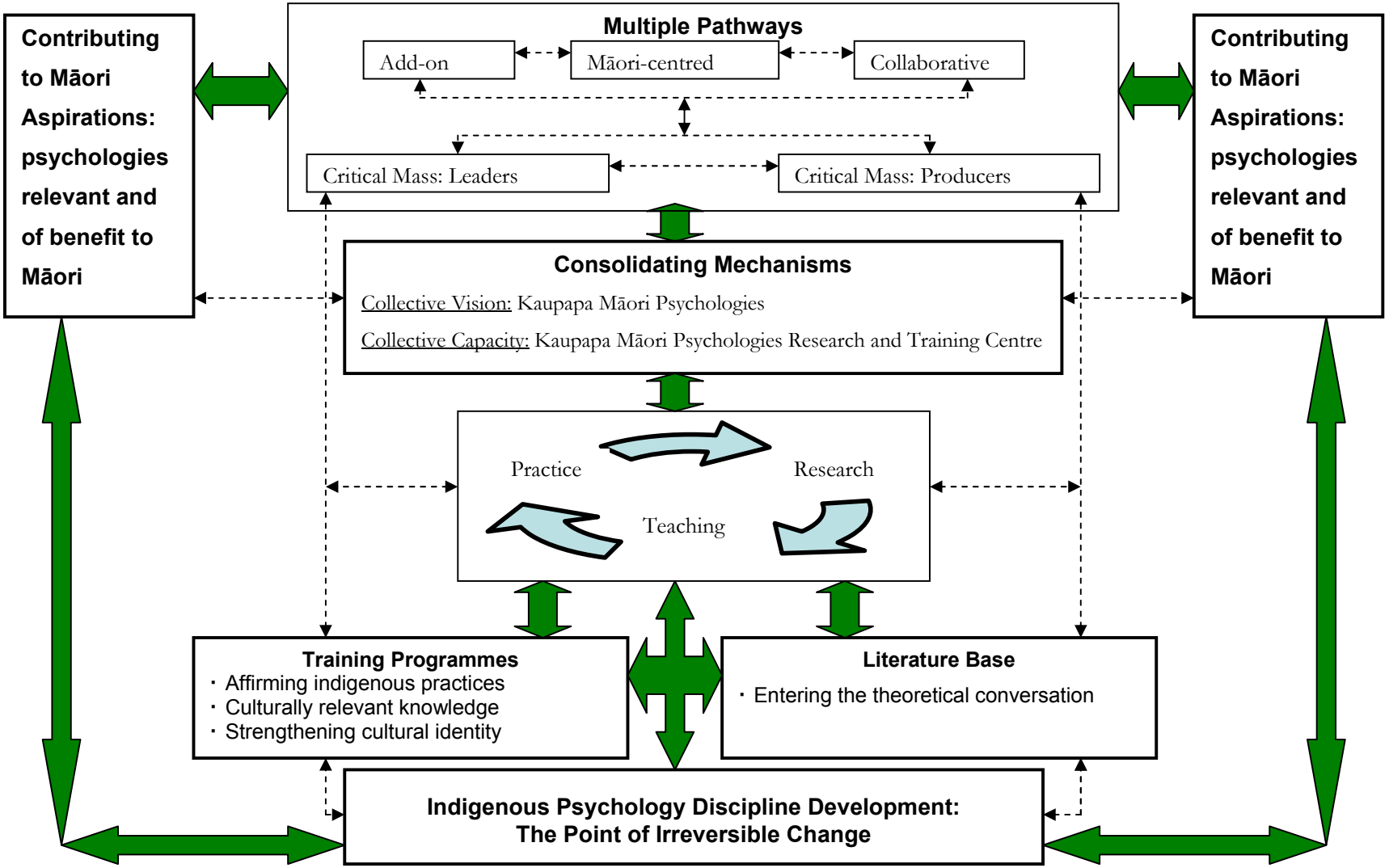
The case studies of indigenous psychology development reviewed in Part Two identified several mechanisms which explicitly aimed to consolidate developments in order to provide the basis for ongoing discipline development. For example, the emergence of an indigenous psychology movement in the 1970s in the Philippines provided a focus for those who wished to concentrate on indigenous psychology development. This was strengthened by the addition of the Philippine Psychology Research and Training House, which provided the mechanism by which research, training and publishing activities

could be unified. In India, attempts at consolidation focused on the integration of research activities via the regular publication of abstracts and edited volumes; drawing together the knowledge accumulated by Indian psychologists on selected topics. In Canada, consolidation efforts focused on translating local research into teaching resources, such as edited books of readings and texts.

The notion of essential elements needing to be combined to form a unified and strong whole underpins how I have interpreted the concept of consolidation. In this thesis the term consolidation refers to the process by which multiple and interrelated pathways are drawn together to form a unified whole. In doing so, the strength of those independent pathways can be fully realised. It is the connection between the elements which results in systems progressively moving towards the realisation of the future shared vision (Kanter, 1994). In relation to indigenous psychology development, consolidation will draw together the incremental gains being made in order to form a unified whole; a visible and identifiable discipline on which ongoing development can be based. Consolidation is fundamental to drawing together the right people and the right places; achieving the point of irreversible change.

Figure Five presents an original framework. The interactional framework for consolidation provides guidance for the next phase of the journey; reaching the point of irreversible change. As is shown by the bi-directional arrows, the framework is premised on both a top-down and bottom-up approach: all elements of the framework interact, influence and inform each other. The block arrows demonstrate the key linear relationships in the framework. The lighter arrows show the interaction between the multiple pathways and elements which contribute to these linear relationships. Following Figure Five, key elements of the framework and the interrelationships between them are described.

Figure 5. Reaching the Point of Irreversible Change: An Interactional Framework for Consolidation



Contributing to Māori Aspirations

Chapter One explicitly located my thesis within the broader framework of Māori development. Māori development agendas prioritise the world views, knowledge bases and aspirations of Māori. Indigenous psychology in Aotearoa exists within a context which positions the aspirations of Māori as central. These aspirations can be broadly conceptualised as the ability to participate as Māori, in te ao Māori and wider society, with the outcomes resulting from Māori development models supporting and strengthening these two broad aspirations (Durie, 2003a). Psychologies relevant and of benefit to Māori communities which contribute to the realisation of Māori aspirations are the cornerstones of my framework. All elements of the framework lead back to here: the aim of indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa.

Multiple Pathways: Add-on; Māori-centred; Collaborative

At the top of my framework I have identified three pathways relevant to progressing indigenous psychology discipline development: Add-on, Māori-centred, and Collaborative. These are pathways which Durie (2003b, 2004b) has considered necessary for advancing Māori education and health. Although each has a different focus, all three are necessary: no one pathway is able to meet the outcomes sought by Māori (Durie, 2003b, 2004b). Similarly, as is the case with indigenous psychologies internationally, in Aotearoa there is no single route to indigenous psychology.

Firstly, there is the add-on approach, whereby the Māori element is added to an existing mainstream framework (Durie, 2003b, 2004b). A bilingual class within a school is an example of a Māori-added pathway. As can be seen from Part Three, this approach has characterised our approach to indigenous psychology development. Similarly, Lawson-Te Aho (1994) has argued the 'add-on' approach was the first step in the development of a Māori and psychology discipline. However, as Durie (2003b) stated, a Māori-added pathway risks being heavily dependent on wider institutional commitment for its existence, as well as the tendency to become stuck in reactive positions, at the expense of ongoing and sustainable Māori development. These risks have certainly proved to be a

reality in our journey to date. While the add-on approach has resulted in developments, Māori knowledge bases have continued to remain in the margins of psychology.

Secondly, is the Māori-centred pathway which is largely under Māori control and has a focus on increasing access to te ao Māori (Durie, 2003b, 2004b). Kōhanga reo and iwi wānanga are examples of Māori-centred pathways (Durie, 2003b; Henry & Pene, 2001). A number of scholars have considered Māori development can only occur only in Māori-centred pathways (sometimes referred to as parallel development) (Glover & Robertson, 1997; Henry & Pene, 2001; Smith, 1996). As was seen in Chapter Seven, the issue of parallel development in psychology has been raised for over 15 years (Abbott & Durie, 1987; Glover & Robertson, 1997; Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Stewart, 1995). More recently Milne (2005) concluded that maintaining the integrity of Māori knowledge bases within psychology and avoiding the marginalisation and misappropriation of these knowledge bases required Māori-centred training programmes, not the add-on approach (Milne, 2005). However, concerns regarding the perceived credibility of Māori-centred training pathways and the marginalisation which may result from those concerns was also expressed (Milne, 2005). Reflective of the potential contribution of Māori-centred pathways to indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa, members of the NZPB have raised the possibility of opportunities for wānanga to become accredited psychology training programme providers under the HPCA Act 2003 (Love, 2003).

Thirdly, there is the collaborative pathway which is concerned with collaborative as opposed to solo effort (Durie, 2003b, 2004b). Collaboration might occur, for example, between a wānanga and a university (Durie, 2003b). Henry and Pene (2001) noted that exciting innovations have resulted from Māori inside mainstream universities working collaboratively with university management to create ‘wānanga within wānanga’ (p. 239). Collaborative arrangements such as these gain the economies of scale of a larger institution, while at the same time maintaining the intellectual integrity of their own programmes (Henry & Pene, 2001).

Some evidence of collaborative pathways were seen in Chapter Seven, with the desktop analysis of university psychology department training programmes showing one department referred to bicultural and Treaty of Waitangi workshops being taught by external providers (University of Canterbury, 2003). In addition, the School of Psychology at Victoria University has a relationship with an external organisation which provides Māori and Pacific perspectives on psychology. Members of the NZPB have alluded to the potential for joint venture initiatives between universities and wānanga, iwi, or non-government organisations to gain psychology training programme accreditation (Love, 2003). Some participants in Milne's (2005) study supported the notion of collaborative pathways, suggesting that Kaupapa Māori training might involve a weaving together of Māori and Western knowledge bases, identifying similar opportunities for collaboration as those mentioned by the NZPB above. Having said that, it was acknowledged that for collaborative pathways to be successful, mainstream institutions would need to alter their negative views about the legitimacy of indigenous psychologies (Milne, 2005).

The three pathways in my framework, while different, do not exist in isolation. The bi-directional arrows between them indicate that they are interacting with and influencing each other.

Critical Mass: Collective Capacity of the Leaders and Producers

I have earlier stated how much of the indigenous psychology development which has occurred in Aotearoa can be attributed to people who have either studied, taught or have links with the Psychology Department at Waikato University. This has two implications. The first is that the point of irreversible change is unlikely to be reached for some time if progress continues to be largely reliant only on the small group of Leaders and Producers within this one Department. Secondly, and on a more positive note, despite the drawbacks of progress being dependent on this one group, it is clear that large gains are able to be made with a relatively small group of Leaders and Producers.

Under the three pathways in my framework there are bi-directional arrows which point to the critical mass of Leaders and Producers. Facilitating the necessary incremental gains relies on utilising the collective capacity of the Leaders and Producers to contribute to discipline development within the three pathways. There are two primary reasons why utilising the collective capacity of the Leaders and Producers is important. Firstly, implicit in critical mass and tipping models is the view that when enough people make the same choice, this will act as an incentive for others to make that same choice (Linton, 2004). The Leaders and Producers are spread throughout Aotearoa, the majority in environments which, unlike that which exists in the Psychology Department at Waikato University, do not provide regular opportunities to be exposed to a visible Māori presence within the psychology discipline. I have described the Producers as being comprised primarily of those people who are engaging with, emerging or recently emerged from psychology training. Psychology courses are offered in seven mainstream universities in Aotearoa[45], as well as other educational institutions such as the Open Polytechnic of New Zealand (a distance learning institution) and the Wellington Institute of Technology. Some Māori centred institutions such whare wānanga also offer psychology courses (Moana Waitoki, personal communication, 19 December, 2006), as do a number of secondary schools as part of the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA, New Zealand's main national qualification for secondary school students). Contact between the Producers does occur, primarily via conference activities, however there are limited opportunities to maintain ongoing contact. As has been argued throughout this thesis, being aware that the discipline of psychology is a place where Māori can and do succeed is important to increasing the critical mass.

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[4] Lincoln University offers psychology courses but does not offer a degree in psychology

[5] The Auckland Technical Institute became the Auckland University of Technology in 2000. The AUT is seeking NZPB accreditation of a registration pathway through the Bachelor of Health Science (Honours), Master of Health Science and Postgraduate Diploma in Counselling Psychology (Auckland University of Technology, 2007)

Scattered throughout Aotearoa, the Leaders and Producers constitute a visible presence only when they come together at conferences and symposiums. On these occasions, the potential is evident as plans are made and agendas set. However, the collective momentum often dissipates afterwards as we disperse and return to our respective areas of Aotearoa. Mechanisms which assist the Leaders and Producers from around the country to identify and participate as a collective in an ongoing and sustainable way are needed.

Secondly, better utilising the collective capacity of the Leaders and Producers is crucial to achieving the incremental gains which are needed in research, teaching and practice to inform training programmes and contribute to a literature base. Contributions to indigenous psychology are being made daily by Leaders in research, teaching and practice across the three pathways. These Leaders have an important role to play in the development of training programmes which provide opportunities for Māori students to affirm and strengthen cultural identity and indigenous practices.

Much of the work needed to form the bulk of an indigenous psychology discipline emerges from the work of the Producers. The Producers are responsible for building and expanding on the work of the leaders. As noted earlier, the contributions of the Producers, particularly student research, constitute an exciting body of knowledge. However it is not necessarily an easily accessible resource. Enhancing the ability of the Producers to contribute to discipline development is imperative.

Although enhancing the collective capacity has been a focus since the 1990s when Māori-focused psychology gatherings were first initiated, the potential strength of this collective capacity has yet to be fully realised. Discussions have tended to focus on the development of an independent professional organisation able to provide a voice for Māori within psychology. While this may be one way to facilitate collective strength, better utilising the collective capacity of Māori psychologists to contribute to discipline development must be uppermost.

While some may consider discipline development to be primarily the responsibility of those who hold academic positions, the demand for qualified Māori psychologists is such that recruiting Māori psychologists into academic positions is difficult. Indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa cannot be the sole responsibility of the small number of Māori psychologists who hold academic positions. It is the responsibility of the collective of the Leaders and Producers.

The arrows in my framework show the interrelationships which exist between the three pathways and between the Leaders and Producers. As noted in the previous chapter, the Leaders and Producers do not exist in isolation from each other, nor are these categories mutually exclusive. The Leaders have an important role in influencing the work of the Producers. Ensuring relationships between the Leaders and Producers are effectively facilitated and maintained is essential to stimulate ongoing development. In addition, the critical mass of Leaders and Producers has an interactive relationship with the three pathways from which they originate.

Consolidating Mechanisms

The critical mass of Leaders and Producers are located in each of the three pathways I have proposed as relevant to progressing indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa; add-on, Māori-centred, and collaborative. These pathways are inclusive, not only of the institutions in which Māori psychologists are trained, but also of those organisations and institutions in which Māori psychologists practice. As highlighted earlier, while the add-on approach has underpinned the majority of our initiatives to date, further development of the Māori-centred and collaborative pathways are required.

I have argued that we have yet to reach 'the right time' because we have no mechanisms by which to draw together the 'right people' and the 'right places'. The principle of consolidation which I have outlined earlier, draws together the multiple pathways to form a unified whole. Consolidation requires that all three pathways are acknowledged as necessary for indigenous psychology development. It does not mean that the different

pathways must merge into one. Drawing on the work of Kanter (1994), consolidation explicitly understands that no one pathway can achieve alone what all three can together.

Currently no one pathway has the capacity to deliver what is required for indigenous psychology discipline development in Aotearoa. Solo efforts across the various pathways cannot provide the answer. The small numbers means there are not enough resources to sustain such development and further isolation needs to be avoided. The challenge in the ongoing journey is to successfully utilise the collective capacity of the Leaders and Producers who exist in all three pathways to progress indigenous psychology to the point of irreversible change.

Maximum value of the collective capacity can be accomplished when there are mechanisms which create a collectively shared vision, drawing diverse pathways together to participate in a new shared reality (Kanter, 1983, 1994). In addition, it is the relationships between otherwise independent elements which contain the potential for opportunities (Kanter, 1994). Such opportunities include specialised teaching programmes based on the best combined expertise, rich interaction with other institutions and people (Moxley & Maes, 2003), and facilitating connections across the Leaders and Producers in the different pathways. Working across those pathways is important if the incremental gains produced from each are to be consolidated to form a visible and identifiable discipline on which ongoing development can be based. Consolidation draws on the strength of those independent yet interrelated pathways to create psychologies which are relevant and of benefit to Māori.

My framework shows how the Leaders and Producers who exist in all three pathways relevant to indigenous psychology development are drawn together by two key consolidating mechanisms. These mechanisms, needed to realise the collective capacity of the critical mass, are: Collective Vision: Kaupapa Māori Psychologies; and Collective Capacity: Māori and Psychology Research and Training Centre.

Collective Vision: Kaupapa Māori Psychologies

While the solutions are to be found in the relationships which exist between the independent pathways, those relationships must be connected by a collective vision. Because no one pathway can achieve the collective vision alone, the pathways become interdependent on each other. This ensures that discipline development does not become dependent on any one pathway for its progress.

Currently we do not have a mechanism which provides a collective vision. Drawing on the psychology workforce data which showed that a relatively low number of Māori psychologists considered their work-type to be 'Kaupapa Māori', I identified two points in Chapter Seven which indicated the absence of this mechanism. Firstly, I proposed that it is likely that some Māori psychologists would not have identified Kaupapa Māori as their work-type because they had not received any specific training in this area. This indicates that a particular need for Māori psychologists is training which is specifically focused on what might be termed 'Kaupapa Māori' psychologies. However, the ability to develop training programmes based on Kaupapa Māori psychologies has been hampered by the absence of a collective vision regarding what actually constitutes Kaupapa Māori psychology.

Secondly, I also referred to Māori psychologists who, despite operating from Māori worldviews, and utilising Māori concepts and knowledge bases, would not consider their work-type to be Kaupapa Māori. This was because they associated a Kaupapa Māori work-type with a particular level of fluency with tikanga and mātauranga Māori frameworks. However, I would place these psychologists within the category of Leaders. That is, they are already engaged in teaching, research and practice, which does and can have the potential to contribute to a psychological discipline which is of relevance and benefit to Māori. How then does their self exclusion from a Kaupapa Māori framework impact on realising the collective capacity needed to progress indigenous psychology development? With maximising the collective strength of the Leaders and Producers in the three pathways critical to reaching the point of irreversible change, such self exclusion we can ill afford. There is a specific need to develop training programmes

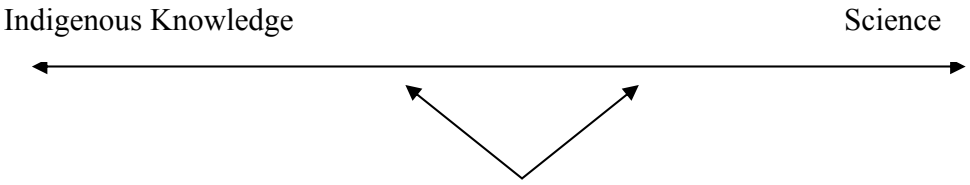
based on Kaupapa Māori psychologies, however development of these is being hampered by the absence of a collective vision within which Leaders and Producers feel legitimately able to position themselves.

The analysis of Māori theorists presented in Chapter Six identified that there were differing views regarding what was termed Māori, Kaupapa Māori and indigenous psychology. For example, Milne (2005) emphasised that increased Māori content in mainstream psychology was designed to increase understanding and appreciation of Kaupapa Māori and indigenous approaches generally. However, exposure to such content did not automatically equate with competence in Kaupapa Māori approaches (Milne, 2005). Others have referred to the importance of concepts such as tikanga and mātauranga Māori (Durie, 1997; Milne, 2005; Nikora et al., 2006; Palmer, 1992), with some identifying the desired outcome as Māori psychologists specialised in tikanga and mātauranga Māori psychologies (Milne, 2005; Nikora et al., 2006; Palmer, 1992). Milne (2005) considered that specialist Kaupapa Māori training would only be available to those with a strong base in tikanga Māori. Supporting my statements above regarding the reasons for why some Māori psychologists have excluded themselves from a Kaupapa Māori work-type, differences based on levels of fluency with Māori knowledge bases do certainly exist.

As has been highlighted in Chapter One, diversity characterises what it means to be Māori, with the challenge for Māori development models being to respond to this diversity (Durie, 2003e). There is a tendency to assume uniform access to cultural skills, understandings, and Māori knowledge bases. However, the reality is that there are differing capacities to practice from Māori knowledge bases, with this capacity influenced by processes of colonisation and established means of knowledge transmission and control. The collective vision for indigenous psychology in Aotearoa must be able to encompass this diversity.

In Chapter Two I described how tensions between indigenous knowledge bases and definitions of indigenous psychology could be better understood by considering the

interactions which occurred between different knowledge systems. Durie (2005d) proposed a continuum, with indigenous knowledge positioned at one end and scientific knowledge at the other. Indigenous and scientific knowledge bases are each founded on distinctive philosophies, criteria and methodologies and the tools of one cannot be used to analyse and understand the foundations of another (Durie, 2004d). However, at the center of the continuum is the interface, the position where both systems of knowledge can be used to create new learnings on which further development can be based (Durie, 2005d). Below is Durie's visual representation of this.



(Durie, 2005d, p. 141)

This continuum can be used to better understand how the diverse realities of Māori can be encompassed within a collective vision of indigenous psychology. As concluded earlier, there are differences on the basis of levels of fluency with indigenous knowledge bases. Some will be positioned at the indigenous knowledge end of the continuum, specialised in tikanga and mātauranga Māori psychologies (Milne, 2005; Nikora et al., 2006; Palmer, 1992). However, Durie (2003c) has argued that the challenge for many indigenous practitioners is to exist at the interface between indigenous and Western knowledge bases. Supporting this, Hirini (1998) identified that many Māori psychologists would be positioned at this interface, focused on bridging the divide.

Consolidating the collective capacity of the critical mass of Leaders and Producers, necessary for progressing indigenous psychology development, requires a collective vision within which Leaders and Producers across the three pathways feel legitimately able to position themselves. Those pathways characterise the diverse realities of Māori: that is, those positioned at the indigenous knowledge end of the continuum, those at the interface and those somewhere in between. All have contributions to make to the

development of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit to Māori communities. The primary challenge is not to polarise those occupying different positions on this continuum but to identify distinctive principles in order that differences and commonalities can be encompassed and valued (Durie, 2005d).

In my framework I propose a description of 'Kaupapa Māori Psychologies' as a consolidating mechanism. This description aims to provide the collective vision which is necessary if the collective capacity of the critical mass is to be consolidated. As discussed in Chapter Six, although there are differences in the perspectives and language which have been used to describe psychologies which are relevant to Māori, an examination of the theorising which has occurred revealed a developing consensus in relation to the values which would underpin such psychologies. I have restated here the three fundamental values I identified in Chapter Six which underpin what theorists have variously described as Māori, Kaupapa Māori, Māori-centred or indigenous psychology:

1. Māori knowledge bases and world views are central, positioned as the norm (Durie, 1997; Hirini, 1998; Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Love, 2003; Milne, 2005; Nikora et al., 2006; Palmer, 1992; Stanley, 2003)

2. Control of knowledge base development rests with Māori (Glover & Robertson, 1997; Hirini, 1998; Milne, 2005; Stewart, 1995)

3. Western psychology is not excluded, but must be critically analysed to ascertain value for Māori (Durie, 1997; Hirini, 1998; Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Love, 1999; Palmer, 1992)

These fundamental principles clearly align with the core principles of Kaupapa Māori theory (also described in Chapter Six). While differences based on levels of fluency with indigenous knowledge bases exist, there are also important commonalities. Combining these commonalities with the concept of Māori aspirations, I propose the following

description as the Consolidating Mechanism - Collective Vision: Kaupapa Māori Psychologies.

> *Kaupapa Māori Psychologies affirm the legitimacy of Māori knowledge bases, with Māori world views positioned as the norm. Kaupapa Māori Psychologies may draw on multiple knowledge bases but the framework for analysis will derive from Māori world views. Kaupapa Māori Psychologies are controlled by Māori and in accordance with realising Māori self determined aspirations, explicitly seek outcomes which affirm, support and strengthen Māori participation as Māori, in both Te Ao Māori and the wider world.*

The collective vision proposed here recognises the diversity of contributions being made, providing a mechanism by which the multiple and shifting positions Māori occupy within psychology can be encompassed. It recognises that different teaching, research and practice contributions will be required if training programmes which affirm indigenous practices, include culturally relevant knowledge and strengthen cultural identity are to be developed. However, while contributions to the field of Kaupapa Māori Psychologies made by the Leaders and Producers in the three pathways will be diverse, they will all be underpinned by the principles in the description above.

This description enables the Leaders and Producers across the three pathways, wherever they are positioned along the continuum, to find their own legitimate place in the journey towards the development of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit to Māori communities. The consolidating mechanism I propose affords a collective vision which can facilitate collective capacity and commitment for ongoing discipline development.

It is important to emphasise that the description I have proposed here is not intended to define what potentially might be included in a formal Kaupapa Māori scope of practice. As Milne (2005) has outlined, discussions regarding a possible Kaupapa Māori scope of

practice are clearly directed at the indigenous knowledge end of the continuum, with this scope explicitly reflecting expertise in indigenous knowledge bases. In addition, consistent with Kaupapa Māori being a living cycle of reflection, reaction and subsequent adjustment (Smith, 1996), my description will be refined, modified and transformed as we continue on our journey.

Kaupapa Māori Psychologies and Cultural Competency

Māori psychology theorists have also identified the need for knowledge bases within psychology which focus on ensuring the competency of non-Māori to practice safely and effectively with Māori (Love, 2003; Palmer, 1992). As is recognised under the NZPsS Code of Ethics (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2002) and the NZPB cultural competency framework (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2006c), non-Māori psychologists have an ethical and legal obligation to ensure that they are equipped to work effectively with Māori people.

Where does this fit within the parameters of Kaupapa Māori Psychologies? 'Leaders' within the Māori psychology community certainly exist in the area of cultural competency. The work of those Leaders, although focused on the competency of all psychologists, would be encompassed by the description of 'Kaupapa Māori Psychologies' proposed earlier. Cultural competency knowledge bases would affirm the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge bases, draw on multiple knowledge bases which are critically analysed to ascertain their value for Māori, and seek outcomes based on realising Māori self determined aspirations. Of importance is that within a 'Kaupapa Māori Psychologies' framework, enhancing the cultural competence of non-Māori psychologists must not get in the way of the development of a psychological discipline which supports Māori aspirations.

Although cultural competency knowledge bases may be included within the Kaupapa Māori Psychologies description I have proposed, it is important to be aware that, as was noted in Part Three, non-Māori psychologists also have a particular responsibility within the cultural competency field. The ability to progress Māori knowledge bases within

psychology has been compromised by the need to enhance the competency of non-Māori. The cultural competency needs of non-Māori are likely to increase significantly with the introduction of the HPCA Act 2003, putting more pressure on the small numbers of Māori psychologists. While cultural competency needs of non-Māori are important, ways to ensure Māori psychologists do not become overburdened with this responsibility, which is in reality a collective responsibility, need to be considered.

Collective Capacity: Kaupapa Māori Psychologies Research and Training Centre

In the previous section I proposed the Consolidating Mechanism - Collective Vision: Kaupapa Māori Psychologies. However, while a collective vision is an integral element, on its own it does not guarantee that the collective capacity of the Leaders and Producers will be realised. Because no one pathway has the capacity to deliver what is required for indigenous psychology discipline development, a second consolidation mechanism focused on fostering relationships between the pathways and the critical mass within them is required.

I have proposed a Kaupapa Māori Psychologies Research and Training Centre (subsequently referred to as 'the Centre') as the mechanism which might practically facilitate the ability of the Leaders and Producers from the three pathways to collectively contribute to and benefit from research, teaching and practice knowledge bases. As is shown by the bi-directional arrows in my framework, the incremental gains consolidated within these knowledge bases will then inform training programmes focused on affirming indigenous practices, advancing culturally relevant knowledge and strengthening cultural identity.

As is also illustrated in my framework, the training programmes developed by the Leaders provide Producers with opportunities to advance knowledge and skills relating to indigenous practices. Environments in which Māori worldviews and knowledge bases are the frame of reference for analysis are critical to these training programmes. Environments in which Māori students constantly have to either challenge the training being received in terms of its relevance and benefit to Māori communities or justify the

validity of Māori knowledge bases are not conducive to enhancing the collective capacity of Producers to either benefit from or contribute to indigenous psychology discipline development. Being able to draw on the collective capacity across the three pathways (add-on, Māori-centred, collaborative) means it is more likely that environments which are conducive to discipline development can be created.

Alongside the development of training programmes, the incremental gains which are realised via research, teaching, practice and training programmes are consolidated within a literature base. All these developments, facilitated by the two consolidating mechanisms, contribute to reaching the point of irreversible change in indigenous psychology development, as well as to the broader goal of psychologies which are relevant and of benefit to Māori.

In proposing the Centre as a consolidating mechanism, it might be suggested that I am promoting dependency on a single solution, contradicting my argument that change results from multiple pathways. This is not the case. The central point which underpins the concept of consolidation is that the three pathways relevant to indigenous psychology development are drawn together to form a unified whole. All three pathways are necessary, with no single pathway having the capacity to deliver what is required for indigenous psychology discipline development in Aotearoa.

The key linear relationships in my framework propose that consolidating the collective capacity of the Leaders who reside in the three pathways will, via collective vision and capacity, result in research, teaching and practice activities being utilised to inform training programmes for Producers. These training programmes will affirm indigenous practices, advance culturally relevant knowledge and strengthen cultural identity. They will also contribute to informing ongoing research, teaching and practice and help build a relevant literature base. Collectively all these elements flow into indigenous psychology discipline development and the overall aim of contributing to Māori aspirations with psychologies which are relevant and of benefit to Māori communities. As is represented visually in my framework, the multiple interrelationships between the elements feed into

the key linear relationships. It is these multiple relationships which the Centre, as a consolidating mechanism, plays a role in facilitating. Engaging in the relationships which exist between the pathways is where the potential opportunities lie (Kanter, 1994).

The Centre is not the single solution but the mechanism used to facilitate progress towards the point of irreversible change by connecting and consolidating the collective capacity of the three pathways under the collective vision of Kaupapa Māori Psychologies. Facilitating interdependence between the pathways seeks to create the opposite of dependency on one solution. With strength and potential opportunities arising from the relationships between the pathways, discipline development does not become dependent on any one pathway for its progress. Ongoing development becomes sustained by long term commitment to realising the collectively shared vision of Kaupapa Māori Psychologies, a vision no one pathway alone can achieve.

Māori and Psychology Research Unit

A great many of the initiatives described in Part Three were facilitated by people who have either studied, taught or have links with the Psychology Department at Waikato University. A unit dedicated to Māori and psychology, the Māori and Psychology Research Unit (MPRU), already exists in this Psychology Department. It is useful to briefly explore the extent to which the MPRU may appropriately fill the role of the consolidating mechanism that I have proposed in my framework.

In its favour, the principle of consolidation is well known to the MPRU. The establishment of the MPRU recognised that ongoing and sustainable gains would not be made via a series of ad-hoc and unrelated initiatives, but from the cumulative effects of interconnected elements consolidated to contribute to the development of a visible body of indigenous knowledge. The establishment of the MPRU sought to reposition indigenous psychology within the discipline of psychology, moving Māori knowledge bases from the margins to occupy a central space. The ability to consolidate the independent elements to realise the full potential of collective capacity and cumulative gains has underpinned the advances made by the MPRU.

The MPRU also has the foundations on which to build. The MPRU has been the major contributor to increased Māori-focused research, articles, edited collections and conference presentations. It has also been successful in translating the increased research into teaching programmes, with Waikato University providing half of the Māori-focused psychology courses taught in Aotearoa. The Kaupapa Māori agenda within the Psychology Department at Waikato University sits on established foundations, these foundations having been initiated some forty years ago. The gains made are a result of the accumulated activities of over 40 years.

However, the MPRU could be described as an 'add-on' pathway, susceptible to the risks of being heavily dependent on wider institutional commitment for its existence, as well as the tendency to become stuck in reactive positions, at the expense of ongoing and sustainable Māori development (Durie, 2003b). As can be seen from Chapter Nine, such risks have certainly featured in the ongoing journey of the MPRU. Conversely, it could also be argued that because this is where the greatest progress in indigenous psychology development has been made, the focus on consolidation and cumulative gain has been able to mitigate these risks.

On the other hand, the MPRU might be best described not as an add-on pathway, but as a collaborative pathway. It is a Māori-focused institution housed within a mainstream university which has been able to produce exciting gains. Henry and Pene (2001) have predicted such results are able to occur from collaborative arrangements. In addition, although the MPRU is partly self-funded, the ability to gain the economies of scale of a larger institution, while at the same time maintaining the intellectual integrity (Henry & Pene, 2001) has been important for its ongoing sustainability.

Training Programmes

Training programmes which affirm indigenous practices and provide opportunities to learn culturally relevant knowledge and strengthen cultural identity as Māori are a key element of my framework. Developed as a result of the collective capacity of the Leaders

who exist across the three pathways, these training programmes form an integral part of ongoing indigenous psychology discipline development.

Milne (2005) has identified a need to include more Māori content in mainstream psychology training, the aim being to increase understanding and appreciation of indigenous approaches and practices, as viable alternatives or additions to Western paradigms. As seen in Part Three, several such courses already exist. However, as explained earlier in this chapter, limited attention has been paid to the different needs of Māori and non-Māori that such courses are intended to address. Nor has attention been paid to how these courses can facilitate the ability of the Producers to participate as a collective.

The Centre as a consolidating mechanism might seek to facilitate opportunities which ensure all Producers throughout Aotearoa have access to training programmes focused on increasing understanding and affirming indigenous practices. Relationships with institutions who offer such courses would need to be developed to determine the most effective way of doing this. This may involve courses being centrally offered via one of the pathways, with methods of training including on-line, block courses or seminars. Opportunities to participate in these programmes would enhance the capacity of the Producers to act as a collective through reducing isolation, and provide training environments in which Māori aspirations are central. This approach does not remove responsibility from mainstream institutions for ensuring their programmes are responsive and relevant to Māori.

Milne (2005) has also identified a need for training programmes which focus more specifically on strengthening and affirming cultural identity, and advancing knowledge and skills relevant for contributing to Māori aspirations. Leaders, who are making contributions daily to indigenous psychology, have an important role to play in the development of these training programmes. The Centre becomes the mechanism which initially facilitates movement in this direction, establishing relationships across the three pathways which assist Leaders to contribute to training programme development.

These training programmes will provide Producers with opportunities to strengthen and affirm cultural identity, and advance knowledge and skills relating to indigenous practices. They also recognise the capacity of Producers to contribute to discipline development. Achieving both aims requires that Producers from around Aotearoa are provided with opportunities to participate in environments in which Māori aspirations are central. Engagement in these training programmes enables Producers to become overtly exposed to and engaged in theorising regarding the potential relevance and benefit of their psychology training, an opportunity which may not be available at the institution in which they are enrolled to undertake their psychology training.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, there is a diversity among Māori in terms of fluency with indigenous knowledge bases, with some positioned at the indigenous knowledge end of the continuum, specialised in tikanga and mātauranga Māori psychologies (Milne, 2005; Nikora et al., 2006; Palmer, 1992) and some positioned closer to the interface between indigenous and Western knowledge bases (Durie, 2003c; Hirini, 1998). This diversity will need to be considered in the training programmes which are developed, influencing training curriculums, resources and environments. For example, training programmes which focus explicitly on the interface between Māori knowledge bases and psychology may be appropriately delivered via add-on or collaborative pathways. However, training programmes which are positioned within indigenous knowledge bases, focusing on concepts such as tikanga, mātauranga and te reo Māori, may be more appropriately delivered via Māori-centred pathways.

The Centre plays a role in consolidating the elements necessary to achieve the development and delivery of these training programmes but, as indicated above, it does not hold sole responsibility for this. Relationships with Leaders across the three pathways need to be developed to determine the most effective way of developing and delivering these training programmes. Methods may include courses, seminars, online learning, block courses, wānanga, and practicum. Producers, particularly those completing research degrees, have a lot of potential to contribute to discipline

development. Collaborative research programmes, supervision and mentoring arrangements, will be particularly important to ensure that this potential is realised.

Literature Base

As pointed out in Chapter Four, the absence of an established literature base on which to build contributions is one of the major problems encountered by those engaged in the development of indigenous psychologies. Mechanisms which support the translation of indigenous research into teaching resources; and the wider dissemination of indigenous research are crucial (Adair, 1999; Atal, 1990; Diaz-Loving, 1999). The exclusion of Māori knowledge bases has enabled the theoretical conversation in psychology to remain undisturbed, the curriculum controlled, and definitions of inclusion and exclusion maintained. The main way we can challenge this exclusion is the development of indigenous knowledge bases which inform the literature base.

As noted in Part Three, publication is easily relegated to a low priority in the face of other demands. However, if the exclusion of indigenous perspectives and knowledge bases is to be challenged and Māori knowledge bases are to become legitimate within psychology, publication needs to be prioritised. The aim of realising cumulative gains within the literature base is to provide visible knowledge bases within psychology on which further development can be based. A focus on publication and the wider dissemination of the knowledge which will be acquired through the consolidation of research, teaching, practice and training programme development is necessary.

The Centre, as a consolidating mechanism, plays a key role in facilitating literature base development. Publication involves a variety of dissemination mechanisms including conference activities and symposia, with these activities integral to facilitating collective capacity and commitment to discipline development. As is noticeable in Part Three, conference participation and Māori-focused symposia have been areas of noticeable progress. There is a need to expand that effort to more explicitly focus on consolidated literature base development. Ensuring contributions from the Producers form part of the literature base and are able to feed back into research, teaching, practice, teaching

programmes and discipline development is also crucial. The Centre will be required to effectively utilise the relationships which exist between the three pathways to secure the resources necessary, both human and financial, to increase the literature base necessary for discipline development.

Positive Relationships and Resistance: Issues for the Framework

Reaching the point of irreversible change cannot be achieved overnight. While I have concentrated on providing a broad framework which can guide movement towards this point, there are other issues which need to be addressed if the vision of this framework is to be realised.

Positive Relationships

Investigating the detail needed to operationalise my framework is not the focus of this thesis. However, it is useful to briefly state some of issues which will need to be attended to. To make progress, a degree of operational integration across the three pathways will be necessary. Relationships with the three pathways will need to be developed and informally tested to establish what systems are effective. The development of these systems will require attention to details such as programme delivery mechanisms, funding, and student data management. Institutional policies across the three pathways which limit effective consolidation also need to be considered and attended to (Moxley & Maes, 2003).

Addressing the organisational details necessary to implement the framework I have proposed will not be easy, will take time and may involve significant changes to the systems currently in place. Establishing effective working relationships which aim to consolidate, as opposed to compete, will be challenging in a competitive tertiary education environment. However, as emphasised throughout this chapter, solutions which facilitate movement towards the development of a psychological discipline of relevance and benefit to Māori communities are to be found in the relationships which exist between the pathways. Solo efforts across the three pathways cannot provide the

answer. If the point of irreversible change is to be reached, things need to be done differently. If psychology is to be of relevance and benefit to Māori it will be necessary to dedicate time to what Moxley and Maes (2003) term "reinventing the enterprise of higher education" (p. 9).

Resistance

As stated in my introduction, this thesis has sought to offer guidance for the next phase of the journey by describing and analysing the journey taken thus far. Such a comprehensive account of the indigenous psychology journey in Aotearoa has not been undertaken before. My analysis, a combination of literature, data, ideas, thoughts, and conversations I have had along the way, draws together the component parts to better understand the whole. This is represented in my interactional framework for consolidation and the elements contained within it. It is the strength of the analysis and the arguments derived from that analysis which adds the new element to our existing understandings.

There is, however, one possible limitation of the framework which is conspicuous. In the previous chapter I commented that resistance to the validity of indigenous knowledge bases within psychology is a major factor which is undermining the ability of the Leaders and Producers to progress indigenous psychology discipline development in Aotearoa. Despite identifying this, addressing resistance does not appear to form an element of the interactional framework for consolidation I have proposed. This requires explaining.

Environments in which resistance is actively addressed are a central element of what I have defined the 'right places'. Environments in which Māori aspirations are central and Māori worldviews and knowledge bases are the frame of reference for analysis are critical to the development of indigenous psychology. As noted throughout this chapter, these environments are crucial for training programmes which provide opportunities to strengthen and affirm cultural identity, advance knowledge and skills relating to indigenous practices and contribute to discipline development. However, this does not mean mainstream environments have no responsibility. As is identified throughout this

thesis, collective responsibility is fundamental, with all stakeholders having a responsibility to address the resistance to the legitimacy of indigenous knowledge bases which exists.

Resistance is primarily manifest in the exclusion of Māori knowledge bases, enabling definitions of inclusion and exclusion to be maintained. Because the discipline of psychology requires one to draw on concepts from the literature, the dearth of Māori content means that until a substantial literature base exists, Māori knowledge bases will continue to be explicitly excluded, fuelling ongoing resistance. The self determined aspirations of Māori are at the core of this thesis. In seeking to contribute to the development of a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit for Māori communities, I have focused on what we as Māori need to do to realise our own self determined aspirations within psychology. As identified earlier, the most effective mechanism to address resistance to the legitimacy of indigenous knowledge bases within psychology is the development of indigenous knowledge bases which can challenge the theoretical conversations which have controlled definitions of inclusion and exclusion. Accordingly, I have not focused on what is required of non-Māori psychologists, precisely because to do so would detract from the central aim of realising Māori self-determined aspirations in psychology.

Concluding Comment: A Psychological Discipline of Relevance and Benefit to Māori

We have an internationally unique contribution to make to the field of indigenous psychology: indigenous psychology in Aotearoa positions the aspirations of Māori as central. The point at which irreversible change will occur in indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa is when: Māori knowledge bases are a legitimate part of psychology in Aotearoa; resistance to the legitimacy of Māori knowledge bases in psychology is not a characteristic of our landscape; environments supportive of indigenous psychology development are commonplace; and responsibility for contributing to indigenous psychology development is shared among and sustained by the

collective capacity of the Leaders and Producers. I have argued that we have yet to reach this point.

The point of irreversible change will be achieved when the right people are in the right place, at the right time. The right people in indigenous psychology development in Aotearoa are the Leaders and Producers who will build a discipline which is relevant and of benefit to Māori aspirations. The right places are environments which support the legitimacy of Māori knowledge bases within the discipline of psychology. The right time will be when the right people and the right places are drawn together to achieve the point of irreversible change.

Consolidation is fundamental to drawing together the right people and the right places. It is the process by which multiple and interrelated pathways are connected to form a unified whole. The challenge in the ongoing journey is to effectively utilise the collective capacity of the Leaders and Producers who exist in all three pathways to progress indigenous psychology to the point of irreversible change. In my original interactional framework for consolidation I have identified two key consolidation mechanisms which are needed to realise collective capacity: These mechanisms are: Collective Vision: Kaupapa Māori Psychologies; and Collective Capacity: Kaupapa Māori Psychologies Research and Training Centre.

The description of Kaupapa Māori Psychologies which I have provided offers a mechanism by which the multiple and shifting positions Māori occupy within psychology can be encompassed, providing a shared vision which facilitates collective capacity and commitment for ongoing discipline development. This description enables the Leaders and Producers across the three pathways, wherever they are positioned along the continuum, to find their own valid place in the journey towards a psychological discipline which is relevant and of benefit to Māori communities. Developing an indigenous psychology will require building on the incremental gains made so far to form a visible and identifiable discipline, which, in turn, will provide a basis for further development. A Kaupapa Māori Psychologies Research and Training Centre is the second

consolidating mechanism, focused on practically facilitating the collective capacity of the Leaders and Producers to contribute to discipline development.

No one pathway can achieve alone what all three can together. The solutions are to be found in the relationships which exist between the pathways. It is the connections between the otherwise independent elements which contain the unrealised potential in terms of reaching the point of irreversible change in achieving a psychological discipline of relevance and benefit to Māori communities.

This thesis opened with reference to the journeys to Aotearoa from far across Te-Moananui-a-Kiwa, where knowledge of physical and spiritual realms combined to result in intentional arrival on the shores of Aotearoa. It seems fitting to return to that theme. I have chosen to close my thesis with the words of Professor Mason Durie:

> Endurance will depend as much on skilful navigation as on the direction of the tide or the size of the canoe. Successful navigation needs a capacity to plan well ahead and to convert vision and possibility into sensible realities. It will draw on the past to sign-post the future, and will be clearly focused on the ongoing development of alliances, networks and resources to sustain future generations (Durie, 2005e, p. 251).

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Appendix One

Barriers and Incentives for Māori Participation in the Profession of Psychology

Tena koe,

In April 2002, the New Zealand Psychologists Board commissioned me to undertake a small study aimed at identifying the, barriers to and incentives for:

- Improving the recruitment and retention of Māori in the profession of psychology; and
- Māori to gain and maintain registration as a psychologist.

The aim is to provide the New Zealand Psychologists' Board with recommendations to promote and enhance Māori participation in the profession of psychology.

I am interviewing, either over the telephone or face to face, approximately 15 key informants. Key informants have been selected, in consultation with the Treaty of Waitangi Committee of the New Zealand Psychologists' Board, to ensure the inclusion of Māori practitioners and academics, both clinical and non-clinical, registered and non-registered.

At the completion of the interviews, I will prepare an issues paper for the Psychologists' Board. Unless you would prefer to be named, I will refer to you only by your role. While this will protect your anonymity in a general sense, it is possible that readers familiar with your work may be able to identify you. You are also free to withdraw from this study at any time.

It should be noted that the information obtained will also be used within my PhD research programme which is aimed at investigating mechanisms which can be used to facilitate the development of indigenous psychologies in Aotearoa. The information may also be used for teaching purposes.

Should you have any further questions please feel free to contact me on (Ph) 856 2889 extn 8607 or Email levym@waikato.ac.nz.

To assist you to prepare for our interview attached is some questions which I would like to cover when we meet.

Manaakitanga,

Michelle Levy

Information to assist you prepare:

A) Demographic Details

There are a number of demographic details which I would like to collect from you. These are to be used to demonstrate that views for this project have been collected from a range of Māori psychologists. Information I wish to obtain includes gender, age, place of training, focus of

training/type of psychologist (ie clinical, community, I&O etc), current employment (sector, location), registered, and membership of professional organisations. I will provide you with a form to record these details.

B) Recruitment and retention within psychology training programmes

Key themes from previous studies:

Emerging from previous projects are three key themes related to the recruitment and retention of Māori within psychology training programmes. These are the exclusion of Māori content within the discipline of psychology; the shortage of Māori staff within academic institutions; and the need to actively support Māori psychology students. Underpinning all these is resistance to change. These are briefly described in more detail below.

Exclusion of Māori focused content within psychology

The primary critique in relation to this theme is that psychology continues to rest on dominant western based psychological theories. There is little evidence to suggest that this paradigm is being challenged. Consequently, the psychology which both Māori and non-Māori students learn is about Pākehā defined constructs; Māori psychology is given no place or is dismissed. It has also been recognised that Māori students undertaking professional psychology training face particular challenges in that they are required to adhere solely to western models in order to succeed. Māori students may be put in the position of having to challenge the dominant ideology and/or fulfill the role of cultural watchdog in order to protect their own well-being as Māori. Moreover, they are expected to manage competing tensions with regard to meeting both academic and whānau/hāpu/iwi expectations.

Shortage of Māori academic staff within psychology

The shortage of Māori staff within psychology and the need for active Māori workforce development plans, incorporating both teaching and research, within psychology departments has emerged as a key theme. It has been recognized that Māori staff spend time creating and maintaining culturally safe environments for Māori students and staff, at the expense of devoting time to the development of Māori based psychologies and their own professional development.

Support for Māori psychology students

The provision of support for Māori psychology students is a key theme in relation to the successful recruitment and retention of Māori psychology students. It has been suggested that Māori students are negatively influenced by a lack of peers and role models, resulting in limited support for those who do undertake training which is reflecting the perspective of the dominant culture. Issues relevant to supporting Māori psychology students include increasing the confidence of Māori students to succeed within psychology, assisting with course planning, providing kaupapa Māori support at all levels of study and financial assistance.

Structural resistance to change within psychology

The majority of previous studies have identified structural resistance to the changes needed to support Māori participation in psychology. Indeed, psychology appears to have actively resisted calls for change, more so than other social and health sciences. The changes which have been made have been almost solely achieved by the hard work of a small number of people. To effectively address the low Māori participation in psychology is likely to require the commitment of psychologists, both Māori and non-Māori, at all levels, both within academia and organisations

employing psychologists. This commitment will need to be matched with decisions about resource prioritization and allocation.

Following are a set of questions that I would like you to consider.

1) What do you think are the 3 primary barriers to Māori participation in psychology?

2) What are some practical ways the barriers identified in Question 1 can be addressed (ie incentives for Māori participation in psychology)?

3) Who should have responsibility for the resourcing and implementation of those initiatives you specifically identify above – universities, professional organisations, agencies who employ psychologists etc etc …?

4) Should initiatives aimed at addressing the recruitment and retention of Māori students within psychology be co-ordinated in some way? Who should have responsibility for this?

5) What are some ways the institutional resistance within psychology to the inclusion of Māori paradigms, perspectives and psychologies can be addressed?

C) Retention of Māori within the psychological workforce (clinical, community, academic, consultancy, I&0 etc)

These questions aim to investigate issues relating to the retention of Māori within the psychological workforce.

1) Are the issues you identified in Section B similar to those faced by Māori psychologists within the workforce? How can these issues be addressed?

D) The New Zealand Psychologists' Board

The Board is specifically interested in the decisions behind Māori psychologists choosing to register (or not).

1) Are you registered with the New Zealand Psychologists' Board? Why/why not?

2) What would encourage you to become registered and maintain your registration with the New Zealand Psychologists' Board?

Glossary*

Atua	ancestor with continuing influence, god, supernatural being, God.
Aotearoa	literally the land of the long white cloud – used as the Māori name for New Zealand
hapū	sub-tribe
hinengaro	mind, thought, intellect
hui	gathering/meeting
iwi	tribe
karakia	prayer
kaupapa	plan, theme, matter for discussion, agenda
kaumātua	elder, elderly man, elderly woman
kāwanatanga	government, governance
kuia	elderly woman
mātauranga	education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
rangatiratanga	sovereignty, authority, self-determination
taonga	property, possessions, treasure, something prized
tangata whenua	local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	correct procedure, custom, rule, way, code, reason
tinana	body
tohunga	skilled person, chosen expert, priest, a person chosen by the agent of an atua and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation

* Definitions have been sourced from Māori Dictionary Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary - Online Version, Retrieved 29 January 2007 from http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/index.cfm

wairua	spirit, soul
whānau	extended family, family group
whare wānanga	university, place of higher learning
waka	canoe, vehicle