

The National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues provides regular commentary on bicultural issues. It aims to explain their implications for the activities of psychologists, and for the practices and policies of the Society

The Treaty of Waitangi in Clinical Psychology Training at the University of Waikato¹

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This is the first of two articles discussing the Treaty of Waitangi model for the post-graduate clinical psychology training programme at the University of Waikato. This article sets out the structural framework and introduces the rationale for the programme protocol. The second article will elaborate on the bicultural protocol underpinning the programme.

Introduction

The challenge to operationalise the Treaty of Waitangi (the Treaty) and make it meaningful has come from the National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI, 1995). Additionally, recommendations have been made over the last decade to increase the numbers of Maori psychology trainees and to increase Maori staff in university psychology departments (eg., Abbot & Durie, 1987; Cram & McCreanor, 1993). Most of these recommendations have addressed structural changes for the presence of Maori and the accommodation of Maori systems of knowledge (Cram, 1995; NSCBI, 1995; Sawrey, 1991; Thomas, 1993).

Up to the 1960's, the Maori presence in tertiary institutions was rendered largely invisible by a lack of validation of the role of Maori in the structure and functions of the university. There was no accommodation or recognition of Maori systems of knowledge in formal study, and little evidence of providing Maori protocols in any of the university ceremonies. These actions were consistent with the then prevailing views in Aotearoa/New Zealand

that assimilation was appropriate. In psychology, likewise, western paradigms and practices have prevailed (Lawson-Te Aho, 1984; Stewart, 1995). For example, while Durie (1994) was able to identify mental health professionals who had established appropriate mid e cultural practices, there was no general recognition for such practices until the 1970's.

With increasing numbers of Maori now enrolled in university courses (Waikato University recorded 20.3 % Maori in the student roll in 1997) much subject matter now consciously reflects the need and interest in bicultural systems in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Many tertiary institutions now have a policy recognising Treaty obligations, and less commonly, some associated procedures. Acceptance of written work in te reo Maori is one such policy which usually has a clear set of procedures. Developing and implementing bicultural practice in training programmes is less clear, and this discussion of a model based on a Treaty framework is intended to provide guidelines for developing such procedures.

Parata (1996) defined the relationships and arrangements set out in the Treaty of Waitangi by describing the parallel infrastructures of Crown and iwi.

Article I, the *kawanatanga* Article, provides an overall, national principle of *good government*. How that is defined and applied differs over time in accordance with what is acceptable and appropriate to the circumstances, expectations, and demands of society. Parata (1996) suggests that in the 1990's the principle of *good government* has come to mean

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recognition of a Treaty imperative (ie., the principle that partnership exists, and that each partner has a formal status).

Article II, the *tinu rangatiratanga* Article, provides for the principle of self-determination or regulation by *iwi* and *hapu*. Parata (1996) notes that there is significant variance in *iwi* and *hapu* understandings and definitions of full self-determination. Bridgman (1993) states that Article II gives Maori rights and responsibilities as members of whanau, hapu and iwi to those properties or taonga such as land, rivers, forests and language that they hold as important. It gives Maori the right to pursue *tinu rangatiratanga* or self-determination on matters affecting their well being. For example, it is vital that Maori are given the opportunity to be involved in shaping mental health legislation, the development of mental health policies, and to have resources to develop their own mental health services (Bridgman, 1993). Under the Treaty framework as presented, these determinations are the domain of *tangata whenua*, and relate to the principle of active protection (The Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988).

Article III, or *oritetanga*, provides for the rights of individual citizenship. Parata (1996) notes that prior to the signing of the Treaty, there were no individuals within indigenous society

with the same rights and status that British citizenship bestowed under Article III. The key principle of this Article is that of the democratic commitment to *one person one vote* and establishes that Maori should be recognised as individuals, as equal partners with equal access and equal participation in society's benefits.

Article II has a solely Maori focus, and at a practical level this requires a different relationship with Maori in comparison with the more general bicultural provisions in Article III which would be typified by fairness, equity and equal access. Examples of issues that can be described as Article II are: particular Maori perspectives on ceremony, theoretical constructs influencing perception and presentation of knowledge, principles of whanaungatanga, and aspects of mental health management.

The status of Maori citizenship is different from the status of Maori as *tangata whenua*. Such a dual role for Maori identity allows for a range of organisations, often urban or sector interest, to represent Maori interests additional to representation through an *iwi* base. These urban Maori organisations have a different foundation and different accountability from *iwi* and *hapu* groups. The measure and type of difference is currently being

debated in a legal setting. The urban status claim rests on the assertion that *iwi* functions can and should be delivered by cultural rather than tribal services for those Maori who may be unwilling or unable to identify through *hapu* connections, and who choose to rely on pan tribal or urban Maori organisations.

Discussion

Debate as to the role and functions of *iwi* illustrates and affirms diversity in Maori identity. The dual nature of citizenship and *tangata whenua* status also underlines the importance of recognising and accommodating both of these roles. These relate to the partnership and participation under Article III as citizens, and the principle of active protection of *tangata whenua* rights under Article II. If Maori are assumed to represent *tangata whenua* status by their mere presence as citizens, then an unacceptable and inappropriate role may be imposed on them. They may be asked to advise on a Maori perspective in situations where they may have the knowledge but not the right or status to do so. These situations have arisen in the past but have seldom been documented. Paterson (1994), did however report on her experiences in a clinical training programme, and described these as a combination of insensitivity and inappropriate consultation.

The cultural dilemmas facing Maori students and staff have raised awareness of the need to properly address bicultural issues and provide information and guidelines on these. The formation of the National Committee on Bicultural Issues in 1992 was such response from the New Zealand Psychological Society. This Committee continues to provide a key role in examining many of the Society's policies and practices as well as incorporating important values into the rewriting of the Society's Code of Ethics (NSCBI, 1994).

The special recognition of Maori in universities has been referred to by the National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI, 1995, p.15) which recommended "ensuring cultural safety for Maori" by providing support for Maori staff and students, and allowing fair and equal participation on

The Treaty of Waitangi Framework

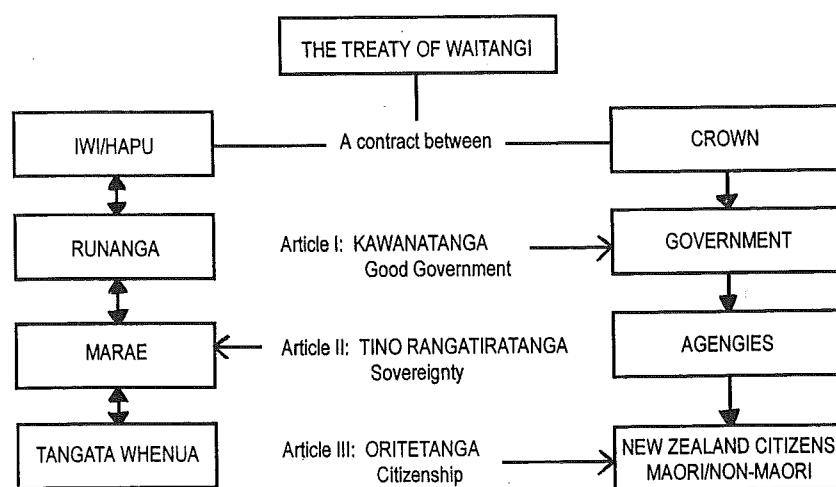


Figure 1. A diagrammatic representation of the signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi.

the same basis as other staff and students. This suggests an implicit understanding that Maori are not required in these setting to provide the tangata whenua perspective unless it is appropriately required and requested. It is when these different responsibilities are not clearly understood and respected that the "double burden on Maori staff.." may develop. Cram (1995). described the role of Maori staff as fulfilling the professional duties required of the academic positions, and then additionally fulfilling duties which particularly require Maori input such as advising or undertaking roles in Maori protocols, identifying Maori needs, consulting in special situations. Such extra duties require personal characteristics that are often not explicitly identified or recompensed in academic positions.

Together with the Articles of the Treaty, the Treaty principles are referred to in both policy and practice. It is important to note that there is no universal agreement as to what the principles are or should be (The Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988). Over time, however, there has been general acceptance of principles that have been determined through a series of Court cases that are seen to give practical expression to the Articles. These include the notions of *partnership, participation and active protection* among others. It is important that principles are not isolated from the Treaty itself. Understanding and implementing the Treaty principles rests on understanding the Treaty Articles and the nature of their interpretation in contemporary society. These principles are also implicit in the basis for the bicultural protocol which is discussed in a following article.

The opportunity to develop and apply a bicultural protocol in post graduate training is set in a context of increasing numbers of Maori staff and students in the field of psychology. In the past, the poor representation of ethnic minorities and women in training programmes and, subsequently, their minimal presence in teaching and professional bodies has meant that their particular needs and values have rarely been adequately represented. The current situation in training programmes

relies on either Maori personnel or staff networking with Maori to represent these values, often in an ad hoc way. Programmes rely more on individual commitment and advocacy than on a mutually understood and accepted model integrated in theory, research and practice.

Although the status and relationships of Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand are now more clearly defined in a bicultural society, within the discipline of psychology, the paradigms and methodologies of psychological theory and research remain almost entirely shaped in the U.S.A. and the U.K. (Hirini & Nairn, 1996).

Further, because much research has been conducted in the culturally homogeneous context of the universities, the needs and values of other than the dominant culture have been observed as a "variance". John Rangihau in the Ministerial Advisory Committee (1986) explicitly defined this as "cultural racism".

Conclusions

The Treaty framework as presented has the advantage of describing equivalent infrastructures for both Treaty partners, iwi and Crown. In the first instance, each individual is represented as New Zealand citizens (Maori and non-Maori) within the Crown structure and as tangata whenua within the iwi structure. For Maori this provides an identity in both. The framework is also a reminder of the role of agencies and institutions for iwi and Crown. For iwi and tangata whenua it recognises the marae and cultural functions, for the Crown and New Zealand citizens, it recognises equivalent government agencies that deliver services as part of government responsibilities. It highlights the resourcing and funding which is available for government services and functions and the lack of resourcing for marae and cultural functions, even though in practical terms, both iwi and government actions and involvement are expected for fair bicultural development.

A model using this Treaty framework and developing a bicultural protocol must firstly recognise and accommodate tangata whenua and citizenship representation. The roles

and responsibilities for Maori staff and students should be consistent with the Treaty principles, recognising partnership, participation and protection. Particular activities require appropriate resourcing.

The broader responsibilities of the organisation and the departments should also be reflected under the Article I governance by the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi and a willingness to accept and accommodate bicultural development.

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