will be important to establish which aspects of preventing and responding to workplace bullying will have the most lasting effect on improving New Zealand workplaces.

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Reviewed Article
"There's no cloud of shame on me": Māori men's

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Abstract

Bi-cultural practice is of paramount importance for New Zealand-based practitioners. Over the next two editions of "Psychology Aotearoa" we will be exploring the role of bi-cultural practice in the delivery of psychological treatment within a New Zealand correctional setting. In Part I, we present an overview of the circumstances surrounding bi-cultural practice in the broader context of colonisation and correctional policy. We briefly review some of the literature which currently informs treatment approaches within prisons. We identify an over-reliance on quantitative research and a lack of studies of Māori men's lived experience of treatment regimes. In Part II we make a modest effort to address this lack by presenting a study of three Māori men who underwent the Special Treatment Unit – Rehabilitation Programme (STU-RP) in a New Zealand prison. Bi-cultural practice was of particular importance to these men. Amongst their many reflections, they explained how a specific bi-cultural therapy intervention played a prominent part in each of their treatment experiences, most notably in the development of a robust therapeutic alliance. We follow this up by drawing upon our collective encounters as Pākehā (New Zealand European and first generation European immigrants respectively) working in bi-cultural settings to outline some considerations which may assist other practitioners in reflecting upon and developing their own bi-cultural awareness.

Keywords: prison; rehabilitation; colonisation; bi-culturalism; Māori; qualitative.

Methods of social control and effective mechanisms for addressing transgressions of acceptable behaviour are fundamental to the welfare of communities and societies. For many centuries, tikanga prescribed what was right and proper in Aotearoa. The processes for addressing transgressions and restoring relationships were typically led by kaumatua and rangitira and involved mechanisms or tools such as whanaungatanga, whakapapa, whakama muru and utu (Ministry of Justice, 2001). Such structures, mechanisms and tools were in good health well into the nineteenth century, the arrival of sailors, whalers and settlers notwithstanding. However, despite the promises of Article II of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the ability of hapū and iwi to maintain control over the processes needed to address transgressive behaviour was hugely undermined by the imposition of a British criminal justice system which reconceptualised transgressions as offences against the Crown, established an adversarial justice system and imposed an individual-

experiences of prison-based psychological rehabilitation - Part I

focused corrections regime. The imposition of a British-style justice system, along with other impacts of colonisation, has resulted in the incarceration of large numbers of Māori. The United Nations has expressed concern regarding Māori imprisonment rates, in particular, raising questions about the degree to which "conditions of detention respect the dignity of the person detained" (Human Rights Commission, 2003). Both ethical practice and the commitments made in Te Tiriti, mandate the provision of a culturally appropriate environment for Māori prisoners. Practitioners tasked with the provision of treatment are ethically-bound to promote wellbeing through the most effective treatment models and recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi (Code of Ethics Review Group, 2002).

> *The imposition of a British-style justice system, along with other impacts of colonisation, has resulted in the incarceration of large numbers of Māori.*

Commentators, such as Jackson (1987), contend that the English common law system underpinning the New Zealand judiciary fails to acknowledge Māori rights and forms of social control (p.12). Jackson argues for the implementation of an indigenous justice system within New Zealand, one which is specifically designed to honour traditional Māori ideals of law, traditional ways of maintaining order, and tikanga-based ways of dealing with those who transgress. According to Jackson, whanau, hapū and iwi would play a central role in such a system which would "see itself through the eyes of the community from which most of its defendants come" (p.44).

In their ongoing efforts to respond effectively to the cultural needs of Māori, the New Zealand Department of Corrections has developed the Framework for Reducing Māori Offending (FReMO) (McFarlane-Nathan, 1999). FReMO is a process-focused model which seeks to inform service provision so that it is best suited to support Māori cultural needs on a Department-wide level. It is described by its author as having been developed to "…guide the development of effective policy, interventions and research targeted at the reduction of Māori offending" (p.8).

FReMO, and its associated discourse, has inspired compelling academic reflection. Armon Tamatea has described FReMO as a critical first step in creating space for Māori appraisals of Department-run initiatives concerning Māori offenders. He noted, however, that the paucity of appropriately knowledgeable and mandated Māori consultants conversant in iwi (tribe) concerns, multi-level Departmental issues, and research processes limited the fidelity of the FReMO process (A. Tamatea, personal communication, June 26, 2013).

Supporting the need to appreciate cultural phenomena in the assessment and treatment of Māori offenders, Tamatea and Brown (2011) furthered McFarlane-Nathan's (1996) original work by affirming how a lack of cultural understanding can present a substantial treatment barrier.

Tamatea and Brown recommended that therapists are best-served to recognise the importance of the treatment context and adjust their approach accordingly when working therapeutically with indigenous offenders and their whānau/fono (extended family). For example, they advocate the sharing of food and the inclusion of spiritual and musical content as conducive to the enhancement of therapeutic relationships in Pacifica settings.

Thanks largely to the humanistic schools, the psychotherapeutic literature openly acknowledges the value of interpersonal relations in the treatment delivery process. For example, commentators regularly discuss the significance of appropriately reflected empathy in building and sustaining rapport, and the importance of therapist-client interactions in achieving positive treatment outcomes (Miller & Rose, 2009). Less well-understood, however, are the benefits of cultural competence in therapeutic relationships. In conjunction with the views of Tamatea and Brown (2011), advocates of culturally-informed practice emphasise the need for therapists to continue developing their understanding of cultural factors (Dadlani & Scherer, 2009). Highlighting the relevance of socio-cultural identity (both therapist and client alike), Dadlani and Scherer draw upon the work of Hays (2008) in affirming the need for therapists to examine the relationship between their own and their client's cultural identities (e.g. morals and values) particularly in regard to the possible effects of the two upon the client's self-perceptions. Nevertheless,

Dadlani and Scherer suggest there is a dearth of literature regarding cultural self-assessment. They insist studies into cultural competency - and its impact upon patient engagement and therapeutic outcomes - are gravely overdue. To successfully develop cultural competence one must consider the context within which the culture is situated.

When examining prison-based cultural matters, it is important to acknowledge the long-established view that the prison environment itself harbours a distinct culture. Clemmer (1940) first suggested a series of distinct cultural features, which manifest exclusively within the prison environment and have a profound impact upon inmates' values, opinion and behaviours. Clemmer termed this "prisonization." The effects of prisonization are now recognised by many who operate in correctional settings. Consistent with this view, there is substantial international agreement (Cheliotis & Liebling, 2005; Jackson, 1988; Keith, 2006; Narey, 2001:7) that correctional systems have the potential to imbue and to manifest conditions of institutional racism.

In this regard, prisons could be thought of as a particular instance of the wider process of colonisation, as a result of which many Māori found themselves disempowered by feelings of prejudice and direct acts of discrimination including the loss of land and natural resources. Amongst the numerous consequences of colonisation, physical displacement and a loss of identity and social structure are likely to be amongst the most detrimental.

For Quince (2007), this phenomenon is exemplified in that archetype of disenfranchised urban Māori, Alan Duff's "Jake the Muss". Quince observes how, for many Māori, the

embittered, destructive anger of this character illustrates the loss of critical protective components of Māori identity: whakapapa (genealogy), whenua (land) or whānaungatanga (kinship) through the dispossession and alienation of colonisation.

Given the role of colonisation in disadvantaging Māori it is necessary to discuss some of the possible ramifications of this process openly within the penological literature.

As mentioned, Māori are overrepresented in the criminal justice system (Gilbert & Wilson, 2009; Tauri, nd; Wilson, Tamatea & Riley, 2007). It is also apparent that Māori detainees are at greater risk of developing mental health difficulties, including schizophrenia and obsessive compulsive disorder (OCD) (Simpson, Brinded, Farley, Laidlaw & Malcom, 2003) and suicidality whilst in a secure setting (Bridgman, & Dyall, 1996; Davey, 2000; Mason, Bennet & Ryan, 1988; Department of Justice, 1995; Simpson et al (2003); Skegg & Cox, 1993). Moreover, Māori are deemed more likely to recidivate at a higher rate than non-Māori (Gilbert & Wilson, 2009), thereby perpetuating the cycle.

The comparatively high rate of recidivism among Māori suggests that we should at least investigate the impact of favoured treatment modalities on Māori inmates. In many parts of the Western world, the dominant view is that cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT)-styled interventions are the most effective way of reducing re-offending (Friendship, Blud, Erikson, & Travers, 2002; Friendship, Blud, Erikson, Travers, Thornton, & Thornton, D, 2003; McGuire, 2002; Polaschek, Wilson, Townsend, & Daly, 2005; & Vaske, Galyean & Cullen, 2011). Numerous theories have been proposed to account for this; for

example, Ross and Fabino (1985) contend that an offender's cognitive impairments hamper his or her ability to establish an offence-free lifestyle by making them less able to formulate adaptive behavioural choices. Andrews and Bonta (2006) maintain that CBT is highly responsive to (capable of changing) those factors most proximally linked to recidivism (in particular antisocial cognitions, attitudes and beliefs).

In further support of the link between problematic cognitions, recidivism and therapeutic treatment, dialectical behavioural therapy (DBT), a version of CBT which emphasises a dialectical "here and now" approach to cognitive behavioural change (Shelton, Sampl, Kesten, Zhang & Trestman, 2009), has been shown to be effective in addressing treatment interfering behaviours such as emotional dysregulation and violent impulsivity in forensic samples (Evershed, Tennant, Boomer, Rees, Barkham & Watson, 2005; Nee & Farman, 2005). However, little is known about the efficacy of such approaches with Māori, although, numerous authors have raised several concerns about the impact of Eurocentric models of treatment (Lammers, 2011).

…. prisons could be thought of as a particular instance of the wider process of colonisation, as a result of which many Māori found themselves disempowered by feelings of prejudice and direct acts of discrimination including the loss of land and natural resources.

With the introduction of the FReMO protocol (McFarlane-Nathan, 1999), it is clear that the Department of Corrections recognises these concerns and is taking direct steps to address it. What is missing, however, are detailed, comprehensive understandings of the

experiences of Māori during periods of incarceration. A more nuanced, bi-culturally-orientated, spirit of inquiry into the interpersonal dynamics of criminogenic rehabilitation may assist in identifying possible limitations of current (CBT) approaches to the

> *Qualitative research into the experiences of Māori inmates offers a direct opportunity to inform the overall literature and to assist the Department of Corrections in honouring its commitment to bi-cultural practice.*

rehabilitation of Māori offenders. In more general terms, it may further the discourse surrounding the bicultural enrichment of contemporary (New Zealand-based) CBT practices per se.

Today's political climate of accountability has fuelled a demand for outcome-focused, quantitative research. From the research discussed it is apparent that such studies are dominating the contemporary literature regarding rehabilitation within the criminal justice system. Whilst this approach adds empirical rigour to the field of criminogenic research, a substantial bias towards the quantitative is problematic. Many of the assumptions inherent in the quantitative approach pre-determine the definition and perceived meaning of fundamental discursive terms (for example "high-risk", "motivation" and "remorse" to cite but a few). As such, a heavy reliance on quantitative research may limit the overall depth of insight available to the criminogenic research community. Numerous commentators have acknowledged this point. Chwalisz, Shah and Hand (2008) observe "Qualitative research methods have much to contribute to theoretical and applied knowledge in

rehabilitation psychology. However, as a discipline, rehabilitation psychology has been behind the curve in employing qualitative methods" (p.387). Pattenaude (2004) observed how research regarding correctional facilities is, for the most part, quantitative in nature. He noted that as a consequence of the methodological and epistemological paradigms underpinning it, research of this nature overlooks the "richness of meaning, depth of understanding, and flexibility that are the hallmarks of qualitative research" (p.70s). Pattenaude further identified the need for prison-based research to be "pragmatic and policy-orientated" (p.70s) in order for it to be beneficial to practitioners. Drawing from Sabatier (1993), Pattenaude suggested a methodological shift, emphasising the point that qualitative research is ideally suited to obtaining the subjective understanding inherent in policy-orientated learning.

Qualitative research into the experiences of Māori inmates offers a direct opportunity to inform the overall literature and to assist the Department of Corrections in honouring its commitment to bi-cultural practice. Moreover, the sort of subjective, policy-orientated learning inherent in this approach is consistent with the FReMO principles as it will aid in the development of cultural competence in research and as a corollary, inform the application of cultural safety in clinical practice.

Research of this nature provides insight into the "big questions" - the delicate processes, characteristics and interactions which occur during treatment. Qualitative analyses of offender rehabilitation programmes explore the intricate themes of offender treatment; themes which are critical in establishing a

holistic understanding of offender rehabilitation and, in the case of the New Zealand Department of Corrections, responding with sensitivity to the needs of Māori. Therefore, one may conclude, to neglect qualitative studies is to limit the overall credibility of penological research.

In our view, qualitative inquiry into the experiences of Māori offenders undergoing intensive rehabilitative treatment will broaden the discourse within the field of corrections. A deeper knowledge of the experiences of offenders undergoing treatment should advance both the implementation of treatment and the policies which govern it.

In Part II we present a study involving three Māori men who undertook an intensive criminogenic rehabilitation programme (STU-RP) in a New Zealand prison. The men's views highlight the importance of bi-cultural therapy in a correctional setting and provide insight into salient practice issues, including those interpersonal relations which are unique to the Māori worldview.

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