

Four Decades after a ‘Whiter Shade of Pale’: An Update on Professional Psychology Programme Responsiveness to Indigenous Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand

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I te tau 1987, i whakaputaina e Max Abbott rāua ko Mason Durie te pepa, ‘A Whiter Shade of Pale’ i tiro whānui ai i ngā taunakitanga mō te mahi whakatuānui ahurea tahi (te arotūāpori rātō) i waenga i ngā hōtaka whakangungu kia huri te ākongā hei kaimātai hinengaro rēhita. E whā ngā ngahurutau (2023) i muri mai, ka tāruatia e mātou te rangahau, ā, i tonoa ngā kaihautū hōtaka (n = 15) kia whakahoki kōrero mai mō ngā kaimahi o te hōtaka; ngā ranga tohutohu Māori; ngā ākongā o te hōtaka; me ngā kaupapa ako o te hōtaka. I whakaaturia e ngā tātari whakataurite te whakapiki ake o ngā nama o ngā kaiako Māori, ngā kaupapa aronga Māori, me te whakapūmāutanga o ngā hononga ki ngā ranga tohutohu Māori. Heoi anō, ko te nuinga o ngā kaihautū i whakapuaki mai i ngā āwangawanga mō te iti haere o ngā ākongā Māori e tono ana ki ngā hōtaka ngaio. Ko tā mātou rangahau e miramira nei, ahakoa ngā whakapikinga, nā ngā tauārai mauroa i whakaaweawe ai ngā urupare whai tikanga ki Te Tiriti o Waitangi i ngā wāhi katoa o te akoranga.

In 1987, Max Abbott and Mason Durie published the ‘A Whiter Shade of Pale’ paper that outlined evidence of monocultural (Eurocentric) dominance within training programmes to become a registered psychologist. Four decades (2023) later we replicated the study and invited programme directors (n = 15) to comment on programme staff; Māori advisory bodies; programme students; and programme content. Comparative analyses revealed improvements in the number of Māori teaching staff, Māori-focused content, and established links with Māori advisory bodies. However, most directors (77%) expressed concerns about the limited number of Māori students applying to the professional programmes. Our study highlights that despite improvements, ongoing barriers impact meaningful responses to Te Tiriti o Waitangi in all areas of the discipline.

Keywords: *Psychology; Indigenous; Māori; decolonising psychology*

INTRODUCTION

Psychology in Aotearoa New Zealand has a colonial history that reflects Western psychological concepts, ideals, models, theories, and practices (Groot et al., 2018; Love, 2002; Levy & Waitoki, 2016; Older, 1978). The dominance of these settler-colonial ideologies is not unique to Aotearoa and has been well-documented by Indigenous scholars in Australia (Dudgeon & Walker, 2015), Canada (Ansloo et al., 2019) and the United States (Fish et al., 2023). In the past four decades, Māori scholars and their allies have highlighted the impact of internationalised (Eurocentric) and monocultural knowledge production within psychology (Nikora, et al., 2016). This critique emphasises the need to recognise and value Māori knowledge - mātauranga Māori and to address systemic racism to improve the relevance of the discipline for Māori (Groot et al., 2018; Hamley & Le Grice, 2021; Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Levy, 2007; Levy & Waitoki, 2016; Love, 2002).

In the late 1980s in Aotearoa, concerns about racism in psychology reflected several important historical points. These included the Māori Language Act in 1987, enacted to protect and promote the Māori language; the

Pūao-te-Āta-tū Report, published in 1986, which highlighted the role of institutional racism in social services; and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in addressing historical grievances and promoting treaty settlements between the Crown and Māori (The Māori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1998). Together, these developments highlighted the efforts in Aotearoa to recognise and uphold Māori rights, language, culture, and economic and social well-being. Importantly, the developments offered insights into how psychology should consider its relevance to Māori.

In 1985, Abbott and Durie (1987) conducted a seminal study that surveyed directors of professional psychology programmes, including clinical, educational, and community programmes. The study reported that none of the programmes had any Māori graduates in the preceding two years and lacked Māori staff members. The findings revealed a significant absence of Māori perspectives among both staff and students, as well as limited inclusion of culturally relevant material in curriculum delivery. Compared to other professional programmes such as medicine and social work, psychology was found to lag behind in incorporating Māori-focused content and establishing links with Māori advisory bodies. Abbott and

Durie's study exposed the presence of institutional racism within professional psychology programmes, highlighting the discipline's monocultural nature.

In a replication study conducted by Siaan Nathan a decade later (1999) with clinical psychology directors ($n = 5$), the concerns regarding inadequate training and support for Māori-focused content were still present. Nathan's study revealed little progress, with only one Māori academic staff employed and just two programmes incorporating substantial Māori-focused content. Despite advocacy to recognise Te Tiriti o Waitangi¹ obligations in the field, curriculum change was minimal. Subsequent studies that monitored the growth of the Māori psychologist workforce and examined the presence of Māori-focused content within professional programmes revealed the persistent dominance of monocultural psychology (Levy, 2007; Levy & Waitoki, 2015; NSCBI, et al. 2018; Scarf et al. 2019; Waitoki, et al. 2023). In 2002, Dr. Catherine Love described three long-standing issues affecting Māori development within the psychology discipline in Aotearoa. These issues were reported to include: 1) the lack of Māori-focused content in psychology courses, which leads to inadequate culturally-responsive knowledge amongst psychologists to work with, or for Māori; 2) workforce issues, such as the low number of Māori professionals in psychology; and 3) the dominance of Eurocentric psychology, which resists the legitimate inclusion of Indigenous knowledge bases within the discipline (p.13-14).

Since 1985, mainstream psychology had shown limited commitment to fulfilling its responsibilities in fully implementing changes to align with Te Tiriti. In 2018, Dr. Michelle Levy filed a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal highlighting substantial breaches of Te Tiriti by the Crown and its agencies in the areas of regulation, training, and employment of psychologists. Furthermore, the 2018 commissioned report titled "Reaching our Highest Peaks" (NSCBI et al., 2018) highlighted the concerning fact that key seminal documents intended to provide guidance for the psychology profession were not being utilised as intended. The report emphasised the necessity for systemic change to be initiated and driven by Māori themselves, highlighting the importance of self-determination and empowerment in shaping the future of Indigenous psychology.

The New Zealand Psychologists Board (2018) currently mandates all registered psychologists in

Aotearoa to demonstrate an understanding of the significance of Te Tiriti in the provision of psychology. This requirement is also outlined in the Code of Ethics for Psychologists Working in Aotearoa (2004). However, it is important to assess whether significant changes have occurred in the profession since Abbott and Durie's report to gauge the responsiveness to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Objective

Our study offers a timely analysis that builds upon the research conducted by Abbott and Durie (1987), which focused on surveying directors of professional psychology programmes to assess the level of cultural responsiveness to Māori. Through this examination, we aim to identify areas of improvement and guide future developments in psychology education, ensuring that cultural responsiveness to Māori and the articles of Te Tiriti are central to the training of psychologists in Aotearoa.

METHOD

This study constitutes part of the larger WERO project that examines three dimensions of racism in psychology in Aotearoa: its costs, systems, and the potential responses that exist. The project comprises both Māori and tauīwi (non-Māori), and Pākehā (scholars who are informed by a Tiriti o Waitangi and antiracist agenda. Our research approach is guided by the overall project's Takarangi framework² which centers a decolonising and anti-racist objective. We drew data from the first series of the Kia Whakapapa Pounamu³ Survey that focused on the responses of professional psychology programme directors. Questions included in the survey were primarily adapted from previous questionnaires which challenged monocultural psychology in Aotearoa (Abbott & Durie, 1987; Nathan, 1999), as well as additional questions to capture content relevant to the contemporary context (e.g., cultural competency training). We also revised the survey based on consultation with both Māori and tauīwi (non-Māori) researchers in psychology. The final survey comprised both open- and closed-ended questions that were categorised into four sections: programme staff; Māori advisory group; programme students; and programme content.⁴ Ethics approval for this study was granted by Te Kāhui Manu Tāiko: Human Research Ethics Committee, Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies at the University of Waikato.

¹ Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand that establishes the bicultural foundation of the nation. Te Tiriti was signed between the British Crown and Māori hāpu (collectives of family related through a shared ancestor) in 1840 (Jackson & Mutu, 2016). Te Tiriti confers the Crown the right to kāwanatanga or authority to govern its own settlers (Article I). In return, Te Tiriti warrants tino rangatiratanga (absolute and paramount power and authority including sovereignty) of the rangatira (chief), of the hāpu and of the people (Article II). Article III of Te Tiriti guarantees Māori the equal rights and privileges (mana ōrite) of British subjects. Article IV, as an oral article, promises a commitment to wairuatanga that includes spiritual and religious freedom.

² Takarangi encompasses diverse strata of a dual spiral pattern that encapsulates how the underlying assumptions of research (positioning, ontology, axiology, ethics, epistemology, and research goals) impact pivotal phases within the research process (see The

WERO Research Team, forthcoming). Alongside this, a set of values (such as mana ōrite for power sharing and taonga tuku iho for acknowledging ancestral knowledge) and ethics (including āta for humility and mana aki for empowerment) work in conjunction with foundational constitutional documents like Matike Mai to shape our research approaches. Link:

<https://wero.ac.nz/research/takarangi-wero-values-and-roadmap/>

³ Kia Hora te Marino, Kia Whakapapa Pounamu te Moana was a tongi (saying) uttered in 1884 as a blessing for Kingi Tawhiao who travelled to England to petition Queen Victoria to establish an independent Māori parliament. The survey was gifted the name 'Kia Whakapapa Pounamu' to accentuate our aspiration to end racial oppression in psychology.

⁴ The survey questions can be found on <https://wero.ac.nz/resources/research-material/>

Purposive sampling was used to recruit current directors of professional programmes from seven universities in Aotearoa. These programmes are accredited (including provisionally) by the New Zealand Psychologists Board (2023) to provide registration pathways for students training as a psychologist across sub-disciplines including Behaviour Analysis, Clinical, Counselling, Educational, Health, Community, Child and Family, Organisational, and General Psychology Practice. A personal email was sent to all directors of professional programmes (N = 17) in September 2022 to inform them of the survey and to extend the invitation to participate.

We also attended a hui (meeting) with clinical psychology directors and hosted individual hui with directors who showed interest in understanding more about the survey. This process centred around core Māori relational values of aroha (love), manaakitanga (care, hospitality) and whanaungatanga (establishing relationships), built on respect, kindness and generosity. The relational encounter with directors aimed to foster a safe and empowering space for constructive dialogue, trust, and sharing experiences. The research approach focused on being non-judgmental and strengths-based, allowing directors to address existing issues in professional programmes and the challenges of training culturally competent psychologists. The response rate was high, with 15 (88.2%) directors returning the survey before February 2023. All completed the survey online on Qualtrics except for one who requested a paper-survey.

Participants

On average, participants had been in the role of programme director for four years (range = less than one year to 12 years). A majority (93.4%) identified as Pākehā (NZ European). Two-thirds (n = 10; 66.7%) completed their psychology training at a university in Aotearoa. For those who received training from an overseas university (including the United States, Australia, and South Africa), the average number of years involved in psychology training in Aotearoa was 11 (range = three to 19 years). Two training programmes did not enrol any students in 2022; one programme was suspended and the other was newly established and provisionally accredited. These directors were asked to share their experiences retrospectively, their vision for the programme, and/or skip questions irrelevant to their situation.

Analysis

We undertook descriptive analyses in IBM SPSS version 29. Statistical findings were derived from the responses of all directors (n = 15) and we conducted comparative analyses with statistics from Abbott and Durie’s (1987) study using chi-squared tests in MedCalc (MedCalc Software Ltd, 2023). Qualitative responses were restricted to directors of non-clinical psychology backgrounds (n = 9) as there is a forthcoming study (Chan et al., forthcoming) that specifically examines the responses of directors of the clinical psychology programme (the largest branch of psychology in Aotearoa). Not all directors responded to the open-text box. Where possible (when sufficient details were provided), an inductive content analysis (Vears & Gillam, 2022) was utilised to categorise the open-text responses based on the questions asked. The aim was not to produce

content categories that are generalisable to all programmes; rather, we wanted to capture the breadth of the content within the dataset. The details of the directors and the specificity of the programmes were anonymised to protect the interest of the programmes.

RESULTS

Table 1. Description of attributes and perceptions of programmes, 1985/1986 and 2022/2023

Data collection period:	'85/'86, n (%)	'22/'23, n (%)
Programme staff		
Programmes incl. Māori staff	0	13 (86.7)
Māori advisory group		
Link to at least a Māori advisory body	0	11 (73.3)
Programme students		
Perception that number of Māori applying is inadequate	7 (77.8)	10 (76.9) ^a
Perception that number of Māori graduating is inadequate	7 (77.8)	7 (53.8) ^a
Took steps to address imbalance of Māori students	3 (33.3)	9 (69.2) ^a
Prerequisite in Māori culture ^b for entrance into programmes	0	8 (53.3)
Programme content		
Instruction on Māori culture ^b	4 (44.4)	15 (100.0)
Took initiatives to incorporate Māori culture ^b into professional psychology programmes	3 (33.3)	15 (100.0)
Endorsement on contracting part of the programme to Māori educational organisations	6 (66.7)	15 (100.0)

Note: Nine directors contributed to the Abbott & Durie (1987) study. Fifteen directors contributed to the 2022/2023 study.

^aTwo directors did not respond to this question as their programmes did not enrol students in 2022.

^bAspects of Māori culture that we provided as examples include tikanga (protocol), te reo (language) and health models.

Table 1 outlines the statistics for four components of the professional psychology programmes that draw on findings from Abbott and Durie's analysis in 1985 and the present study (2022). Our findings are grouped into four topics: programme staff; Māori advisory body; programme students; and programme content.

PROGRAMME STAFF

1a. Prerequisite for hiring staff

When asked about the prerequisites pertaining to knowledge of Māori culture and customs that are required of teaching staff prior to their appointment, 12 (80.0%) directors selected "Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi)", seven (46.7%) selected tikanga Māori, three (20.0%) selected Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous psychologies, and one (6.7%) selected te reo Māori. However, the directors informed us that these prerequisites are difficult to uphold as there is a small pool of staff competent in Māori culture and that "we have not been able to recruit staff that fit these criteria" (Director 1). Director 2 noted the greater leniency of these prerequisites for staff employed from overseas: "I doubt a candidate would be excluded if they had no knowledge (such as if they were from overseas); however, the candidate would be guided toward increasing their knowledge once they accepted the position."

1b. Ongoing training for staff

All programmes offered ongoing training for staff to familiarise themselves with Māori culture and customs; although Director 2 alluded that "none are REQUIRED, but many or all would be encouraged if not outright recommended." Training opportunities included workshop(s) delivered by an external faculty ($n = 12$; 80.0%); workshop(s) delivered by Māori staff from the same department or faculty ($n = 9$; 60%); and workshop(s) delivered by an external Māori organisation ($n = 9$; 60%). Some of these workshops were catered to tauwi staff, as Director 1 noted "tauwi and non-Māori staff will be required to constantly develop their knowledge of Te Ao Māori and be able to demonstrate that appropriately. These staff will be encouraged to develop good ally/accomplice skills." A majority ($n = 12$; 80.0%) of directors also supported staff members undertaking tertiary teaching courses that include kaupapa Māori content.

1c. Number of Māori staff

Compared to 1985, when there were no Māori staff in any of the professional programmes, most ($n = 13$; 86.7%) in 2022 had at least one Māori staff member. This statistic included 12 (80.0%) programmes having Māori employed in the faculty and ten (66.7%) programmes employing Māori external to the faculty. At the time of the survey, there were 14 Māori staff teaching into psychology courses at undergraduate and graduate levels. In terms of staff who contribute to the professional programmes, there are only six Māori academics.

1d. Concern about shortage of Māori staff

All directors indicated that the shortage of Māori teaching staff members in psychology departments was of concern. Elaboration for these responses were summarised into two themes.

Category 1: The dominance of monocultural psychology

The dominance of monocultural psychology in Aotearoa is evidenced by its propagation of cultural convictions, practices, and norms intrinsic to western cultures, often at the cost of downplaying the diversity of other knowledge sources. Director 1 called for the offering of "a more balanced psychology" and the acknowledgement of the limitation of western psychology in responding to bicultural needs of the Aotearoa society. Māori psychology is grounded in a worldview that values "balance, continuity, unity, purpose, and interconnection" (Groot et al., 2018, p. 204); yet, he tirohanga Māori (Māori worldview) is rarely reflected in the existing psychology discipline. Director 1 shared a criticism about how psychology continues to uphold institutional racism:

"Because staff continue to perpetuate WEIRD⁵ ways of doing psychology. Psychology as it stands remains largely racist, or at least biased against mātauranga [knowledge] Māori and Māori worldviews. Of the staff that do support Māori in psychology or claim some allyship status, most still privilege their own wellbeing and that of western thought."

Western norms continue to hold position as the 'most valid' foundation for psychology, which means Māori and Indigenous knowledge are routinely considered as an "add on" to the mainstream core of the discipline. As highlighted by Director 4, there is an urgent need to, "honour the obligations of Te Tiriti, incorporate he tirohanga in psychology teaching, and consider the health and wellbeing of Māori more broadly". In turn, improving the relevance of psychology for Māori can address the academic pipeline for Māori (Levy, 2007; Naepi et al., 2019), to ensure more Māori embark on study and careers in psychology. Director 2 touched on the importance of diversifying psychology and expanding the Māori psychology workforce:

"More Māori staff to serve as role models for the Māori students we want to attract into our programme would be wonderful, too. We can't reflect the communities we serve if we can't get a diverse cohort into the programme, and we won't get Māori students into the programme if the programme environment is not culturally safe and responsive".

Category 2: Aronga takirua cultural double-shift

Aronga takirua refers to the double-shift role that Māori play in academia (Harr & Martin, 2022). Māori experience additional cultural labour that is not expected of Pākehā; for example, performing a karakia, ensuring research and psychological practices are carried out in a culturally safe manner, and offering cultural expertise in

⁵ There is evidence of long decades of Aotearoa prioritising Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) psychology that displaces and marginalises

Indigenous Māori knowledge sources such as mātauranga and tikanga (Groot et al., 2018).

leadership and supervisory roles in the institution. For Māori staff not employed to offer cultural advice, such labour comes on top of existing workloads and is usually not compensated appropriately (Harr & Martin, 2022; Johnson et al., 2021). Two directors raised concerns about the significance of aronga takirua for Māori in the department of psychology:

“We are focusing on increasing the diversification of psychology, yet Māori students don’t have the ability to choose Māori supervisors for their MA or PhD sometimes because there just aren’t enough. Māori staff who are there are already overloaded with their work, so taking on more is just not possible.” (Director 2)

“We are very lucky to have a PTF [Permanent Teaching Fellow] who is specifically employed to support incorporation into courses. She has been amazing in supporting the programme. However, I worry that she is overworked.” (Director 3)

1e. Steps to address shortage of Māori staff

To compensate for the low numbers of Māori psychology teaching staff, most directors had actively recruited Māori staff (86.7%) and implemented a more culturally responsive recruitment process for Māori (60.0%). Close to one-third (33.3%) provided career development opportunities for current Māori staff by supporting their doctoral research and/or psychologist registration. Other strategies employed to recruit or create a position for Māori included redirecting (limited) programme funds to employ a kaiārahi (advisor); increasing the FTE (full-time equivalent) of Māori staff (13.3%); growing the cultural responsiveness of the programme for Māori (13.3%); increasing the Māori graduation rate (13.3%); supporting the academic promotion of Māori staff (6.7%); and shoulder-tapping existing networks (6.7%).

1f. Difficulty in hiring Māori staff

Many programmes struggled to recruit Māori teaching staff, with nine (69.2%) directors reporting that no Māori applied for advertised roles. Thirteen directors recruited Māori staff through public advertisements. Two (15.4%) programmes received applications from Māori who were not trained or registered psychologists. The compulsory criteria set by universities (such as holding a PhD and being registered as a psychologist) poses obstacles in augmenting the presence of Māori teaching staff. This concern was shared by two directors:

“There is a very limited pool of Māori psychologists who have expertise in our programme’s particular area. There are even less who also have a PhD which is the usual requirement for appointment of academic staff in our department. Without a PhD, the salary banding is low and does not appropriately value the other skills and expertise that a Māori candidate would bring to the role.” (Director 4)

“According to the NZPB [New Zealand Psychologists Board] in their October 2021 newsletter, there were less than 15 Māori registered [specific discipline] psychologists in Aotearoa. The ones that we know of do not have PhDs. Due to this shortage, we recruit guest lecturers to speak to our intern psychologists,

but we have not found a PhD-level registered psychologist who is Māori.” (Director 5)

1g. Low number of Māori staff as a barrier to incorporate Māori content into training

In some programmes, directors relied on recent Māori graduates to return to academia to teach Māori content that was not otherwise available, due to the low number of existing Māori staff. Notably, the employment conditions for these new Māori graduates are often unfavourable due to the cultural labour they are expected to provide while also fulfilling university requirements (e.g., publishing, supervision and bringing in research grants).

“Funding restrictions limit our ability and we ask a lot of the same Māori graduates of our programme to mentor and teach our students. As our numbers of Māori graduates grow we hope this pressure on the same people will reduce.” (Director 5)

MĀORI ADVISORY BODY

2a. Role of Māori advisory bodies

More than two-thirds ($n = 11$; 73.3%) of professional programmes now have established links with at least one Māori advisory body. This is a significant increase from 1985 when no programmes had links; $\chi^2(1) = 11.67$, $p < .01$. Examples of how Māori advisory bodies contribute include providing training or supervision for psychology training students ($n = 8$; 72.7%), research consultation ($n = 7$; 63.6%), offering input into the selection interview process ($n = 7$; 63.6%), supporting staff bicultural development ($n = 1$; 9.1%), reviewing programme progress ($n = 1$; 9.1%), and arranging kaupapa Māori internship placements ($n = 1$; 9.1%). Of the four programmes without an established link with a Māori advisory body, three (75.0%) were seeking contacts with either the Māori department, faculty, or division at the university, and one (25.0%) was seeking contacts with Māori organisations external to the university.

PROGRAMME STUDENTS

3a. Prerequisites for applying into training programmes

Application for entry into psychology training programmes involves various procedures. In 2022, the standard assessment included completing an application form, obtaining reference letters and attending a selection interview process. Two-thirds ($n = 10$; 66.7%) of programmes required students to obtain evidence of community experience. Slightly over half required students to provide evidence of knowledge about Māori culture (e.g., tikanga, te reo Māori, Māori health models) ($n = 8$; 53.3%) and cultural diversity (e.g., ethnicity, socioeconomic background, religion, LGBTQIA Takatāpui+) ($n = 8$; 53.3%). Prerequisites regarding knowledge about Māori culture and cultural diversity were not necessarily set as mandatory requirements; some directors only assessed applicants’ abilities to demonstrate these competencies during the interview, or sought some indication of the applicants’ openness to learning if knowledge in these areas was not demonstrated.

Directors were asked to rank five factors in their decisions to admit students into the training programme. Out of the 14 directors who responded, the degree of

influence for each factor (from 1: highest influence to 5: lowest influence) in descending order are as follows: 1) Commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi ($Mean = 2.57$; $SD = 1.02$); 2) Previous work experience and community engagement ($Mean = 2.79$; $SD = 1.12$); 3) Whakapapa Māori identification (Māori genealogical lineage) ($Mean = 3.00$; $SD = 1.52$); 4) Academic performance ($Mean = 3.07$; $SD = 1.59$); to 5) Interview performance ($Mean = 3.50$; $SD = 1.74$).

3b. Interview selection process

Out of the 13 directors who conducted an interview selection process in the last year, ten (76.9%) always had Māori representation on the interview panel. The majority ($n = 12$; 92.3%) encouraged Māori applicants to bring whānau support to the interview. Ten directors (76.9%) explicitly made this clear during the application process, while nine (69.2%) informed the interview candidate via phone and/or mail prior to the interview. In nine programmes (69.2%), all applicants were asked questions about Māori culture. Examples include the relevance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi to psychological practice ($n = 9$; 69.2%); knowledge of working with Māori ($n = 9$; 69.2%); differences between Māori and Pākehā approaches to mental health ($n = 6$; 46.2%); fluency in te reo ($n = 3$; 23.1%); Māori health models ($n = 2$; 15.3%); and impact of colonisation on Māori ($n = 1$; 7.6%).

3c. Shortage of Māori students

The expression of concern among directors regarding the low number of Māori applying (76.9% vs 77.8%; $\chi^2(1) = 0.00$, $p = .96$) and graduating (53.8% vs 77.8%; $\chi^2(1) = 1.26$, $p = .26$) from the training programmes remains, even after almost four decades. Directors considered the main issue being the inadequate number of Māori students progressing through the undergraduate and postgraduate programmes, which is a prerequisite to entering a training programme.

“We don’t have enough Māori students coming through our Masters degree programme, which is a necessary prerequisite for our psychology training programme.” (Director 5)

“We cannot accept Māori students if none apply! To apply, there have to be enough Māori students coming through the psychology programme as a whole.” (Director 6)

Funding for Māori student enrolments and completions (e.g., scholarships), therefore, ought to begin from the undergraduate level. As Director 7 noted: *“The level of investment precludes Māori students – 6 years before getting to internship. Investment requires so much cost carried by students”*. Among the ten directors who thought the annual intake of Māori students was inadequate, some steps were taken to rectify the imbalance. This included the incorporation of Māori-focused content into the psychology curriculum (90.0%); active recruitment of Māori staff (80.0%); active promotion of training programmes for Māori students (80.0%); having a more culturally responsive selection process for Māori applicants (70.0%) and scholarships for Māori students (70.0%). However, the proportion of directors taking steps to address the low intake of Māori

students in 2022 did not differ significantly with 1985 (69.2% vs 33.3%; $\chi^2(1) = 2.64$, $p = .10$).

PROGRAMME CONTENT

4a. Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Psychologies

The number of programmes offering Kaupapa Māori content have significantly increased since four decades ago (100% vs 44.4%; $\chi^2(1) = 10.10$, $p < .01$). Directors were asked to rate the extent to which Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Psychologies (a cultural knowledge base that centres the philosophies and worldviews of tangata whenua Māori) were incorporated into the psychology training curriculum. On a scale of zero to 100 percent, the mean across 15 programmes was 29.73% (range = 10.0% to 82.0%). Content relating to Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Psychologies was mostly covered through guest lectures ($n = 15$; 100%), Māori input into the delivery of training programmes ($n = 14$; 93.3%), and workshops ($n = 13$; 86.7%).

Half of the programmes included a visit to marae (Māori communal centre) ($n = 8$; 53.3%) or consulted with a Māori advisory body ($n = 7$; 46.7%). Less than two-fifths included a visit to a Māori health service ($n = 6$; 40.0%), or consultation with Māori staff or departments within the university ($n = 5$; 33.3%), or kaumātua ($n = 5$; 33.3%). Two programmes (33.3%) provided Kaupapa Māori cultural supervision and/or placement. Overall, compared to 1985, there was a statistically significant increase in the proportion of directors making initiatives within programmes to incorporate aspects of Māori culture (e.g., tikanga, te reo Māori, Māori health models) (100.0% vs 33.3%; $\chi^2(1) = 12.79$, $p < .01$).

On a scale of one (much more) to five (much less), directors were asked to rate how much more or less time should be dedicated to Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Psychologies content within the training curriculum. Amongst the 14 respondents, the mean was 1.50, with eight (57.1%) reporting that ‘much more’ specific content on Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Psychologies should be delivered. Eight directors (53.3%) responded that their programmes did not have adequate Kaupapa Māori content. The two most prominent issues highlighted were the limited Māori staff available for consultation ($n = 6$; 75.0%), and the lack of funding support ($n = 4$; 50.0%). Other directors reported the absence of established relationships with Māori organisations ($n = 2$; 25.0%); students being overloaded with other training requirements thus leaving little room for Kaupapa Māori training ($n = 2$; 25.0%); or difficulties in doing the right thing without being seen as tokenistic ($n = 1$; 12.5%).

4b. Institutional enablers and barriers to incorporate Māori content into training

In an open-text box, directors were asked to list factors that helped (or did not help) with incorporating aspects of Māori culture into the training programme.

Enablers. A commitment to indigenise the psychology discipline at various institutional levels provided the lever for directors to implement changes and hold the relevant individuals and departments accountable. Director 2 named all the entities that play key roles in increasing Māori content within psychology training:

“What helped was having professional bodies (our School, our department, our university, our

professional body (NZPsS [New Zealand Psychological Society], our Board (NZPB [New Zealand Psychologists Board] and its committees, such as the accreditation committee) that have expectations that taha Māori can, should, and must be incorporated into all aspects of our programme. They gave me a leg to stand on when I pushed for change.”

Barriers. Divergent approaches exist across universities in addressing their Te Tiriti o Waitangi responsibilities. Director 7 shared that “*university policy and their lack of value or recognition for cultural knowledge, Indigenous processes and values*” led to less provision of resources to prioritise the growth of Māori-focused content. Funding restriction was reported by Directors 5 and 9 and this was the reasons for Director 5 to “*ask a lot of the same Māori graduates of our programme to mentor and teach our students*”.

Director 2 also shared the isolating journey as an ally and the challenges faced in gathering solidarity amongst (predominantly tauwi) staff members who did not understand the need to address Māori inequity in psychology.

“What didn’t help was having to re-fight to re-gain ground all the time, especially within the programme staff. Because not all members of the programme staff agreed with the importance of incorporating taha Māori or changing our course content or examining barriers for Māori, I sometimes feel very alone and therefore have to call on others for support.”

4c. Outsourcing Māori content

Directors were asked about their perceptions of contracting out parts of the training programme to Māori educational organisations or institutes of learning. Compared to 1985, there was a significant increase in directors endorsing contracting out parts of the programme (100% vs 66.7%; $\chi^2(1) = 5.47, p = .02$), especially given the current shortage of Māori staff. For example, two directors shared:

“In truth, I would prefer to have permanent FTE added to our programme so we can integrate the expertise throughout the programme, but, when that’s not possible, contracting in would be an option to consider.” (Director 2)

“Although I think it is incumbent on all programmes to have in-house representation of Māori staff and weave elements of Te Ao Māori across the curriculum, I am also aware of how this can put pressure on the few Māori psychologists who currently have the skills and availability to provide this. I would like to see programmes working together more to pool resources and I think working with other organisations such as Te Whare Wananga o Aotearoa makes good sense.” (Director 4)

Universities that were unable to attract and retain sufficient Māori staff took a pragmatic option of collaborating with external Māori organisations. However, financial barriers, bureaucratic structures, and the lack of previous experience of collaborating with Māori and external organisations were usually significant barriers.

“We would be doing it already if the university was willing to pay for it. Last year, we had zero budget to contract out training and had to rely on personal connections and relationships for guest lectures.”

(Director 5)

As is apparent in the comment directly above, a lack of resourcing means that programmes resort to work-arounds and favours, which is not a sustainable or ethical way of providing Māori content.

DISCUSSION

In this study, we made comparisons to Abbott and Durie’s 1987 study to assess the progress in cultural responsiveness of programmes towards Māori across four aspects of psychology training: programme staff, relationship with Māori advisory bodies, programme students, and programme content. Overall, we observed a higher degree of action to increase the number of Māori staff and integrate Māori-focused content within psychology training compared to four decades ago. In 2022, the majority of the programmes (86.7%) have at least one Māori staff member and more than two-thirds (73.3%) have established links with a Māori advisory body. However, concerns persist regarding the participation and graduation rates of taurira Māori in the programmes, despite heightened awareness and a greater willingness to rectify the historical disparity in Māori representation within psychology. Echoing Dr Michelle Levy’s tribunal claim that calls for the New Zealand Psychologists Board to “actively support the recruitment and retention of taurira Māori into psychology training programmes” (2018, p.21), our finding identified the sustainable growth of Māori student representation and psychologist workforce to be a crucial avenue for future advancement.

A key concern highlighted in the findings is the contradiction in the hiring process, which means that tauwi staff members are not being required to possess knowledge of Te Tiriti o Waitangi or being held accountable for immersing themselves in Māori-centric environments after being recruited. Consequently, Māori staff find themselves tangled within the “politics of distraction” (Smith, 2003, p.2) where they become the on-demand cultural advisor, or perform cultural labour to ensure that tauwi staff provide a culturally safe learning environment for Māori students (Smith, 2021).

There were two programmes without any Māori staff representation, and all directors expressed concerns about the shortage of Māori teaching staff members within their schools. The current situation for the small Māori workforce in psychology is a reflection of previous research that examined the inaction of the New Zealand Psychologist’s Board and schools of psychology to actively provide an environment conducive to Māori participation in psychology (Love, 2002; Levy, 2018; NSCBI et al., 2018). Although funding issues and the low number of Māori individuals with PhDs available to teach within academic programs have been identified as core reasons for the lack of Māori staff, this is a rhetorical device that conveniently shifts responsibility to Māori to be more available, and frames equity and Te Tiriti obligations as simple financial issues (Nikora, 2001). Māori and tangata Tiriti psychologists have long

contributed solutions to defining how to not only increase the number of Māori, but also the relevance of psychology for Māori (Lawson-Te Aho, 1994; Levy & Waitoki, 2016; NSCBI et al., 2018). The evidence continues to show that these recommendations have not been implemented or monitored. A significant impact of inaction results in ongoing inequity of access for Māori consumers. In 2002, Dr Levy wrote: “Despite ongoing attempts to recruit and retain more Māori within the discipline of psychology, the numbers of Māori psychologists continues to remain low, raising serious concerns about the ability of the profession to effectively meet the needs of its clientele” (p. 27). The same concerns persist even after 20 years.

There is an urgent need for directors and key personnel within schools of psychology to: 1) develop career paths for Māori staff and students; 2) create inclusive, culturally-responsive teaching environments; 3) remove gatekeeping hiring criteria placed on Māori (e.g., Eurocentric publications); 4) provide senior, full-time, continuing positions for Māori staff; 5) set performance criteria for all current and incoming staff to implement Te Tiriti o Waitangi in their coursework; 6) and uphold the tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty) of Māori staff to influence outcomes, directions, and priorities to improve Māori participation in psychology (Herbert, 2021; Johnson et al., 2021; Love, 2002; Naepi et al., 2019). To ensure that academia becomes a culturally safe and attractive employment option for Māori, it is crucial for universities to address the systemic racism that exists within these institutions (Smith et al., 2022). This implies recognising and actively working to dismantle the racist practices and structures that hinder Māori representation and engagement in higher education.

Four of the programs lacked affiliations with a Māori advisory body, thereby presenting challenges for the meaningful incorporation of Māori content within psychology training. The Māori value of whakawhanaungatanga can be used to guide directors to establishing meaningful and trusting relationships with Māori organisations. Relationships with Māori that facilitate the development of a shared set of goals based on mutual respect, and grounded in Te Tiriti o Waitangi reduces the problem of engagement that serves as mere symbolic gestures (Rata & Al-Asaad, 2019). There was an increase in desirability of outsourcing parts of psychologist training to Māori organisations or institutes of learning, with most directors citing the lack of Māori staff members to be the fundamental reason. This was also a recommendation put forward by Abbott & Durie (1987) if a programme was not in the position to deliver Māori-focused content. Such an approach is unsustainable and should not be seen as a way for psychology training to exempt itself from the responsibility to grow Māori capacity within schools, and across Māori organisations. A partnership model between the professional programmes and Māori organisations, if executed in accordance with the relational sphere outlined in Matike Mai (Jackson & Mutu, 2016), can provide a platform for students to be trained through practical Indigenous-focused solutions (Fish et al., 2023). A relational sphere offers opportunities for Kaupapa Māori practitioners and programme directors to share power and make joint decisions that respect the mana (authority) of all involved

(Herbert, 2021; Jackson & Mutu, 2016). During this partnership, there should be minimal control of what constitutes “psychology”, as Māori are guaranteed tino rangatiratanga to determine the type of content and training that are essential to care for tangata whaiora (Māori health service users).

Addressing the barriers for Māori to meaningfully participate in psychology cannot be done in isolation. Director 1 noted, “It would be good for programmes to come together to share experiences of how to improve.” Given the current situation wherein leadership roles within Schools of psychology are largely held by Pākehā and tauīwi staff, there is a pressing need for directors to identify, test, and execute solutions in response to the issues highlighted in this paper as a collective responsibility. Ihimaera and Tassell (2004) contended that “collective responsibility means the onus rests with the relevant organisations, not with Māori who do not have the critical mass and should not be expected to progress a much needed and overdue bicultural development” (p.16).

The prospect of deferring progress by an additional four decades, only to observe a gradual implementation of changes, is untenable. At this current juncture, directors are presented with a distinctive and consequential opportunity to form allyship in honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Jackson & Mutu, 2016) by identifying opportunities for inter-program knowledge exchange and to reciprocally assume accountability through the ongoing assessment of progress made by other programmes. Part of this process requires directors to clearly articulate their positionality and purposefully overcome facets of fragility (discomfort stemming from fear of making mistakes) to actively participate in dialogues and initiatives aimed at addressing the issues raised in the Waitangi Tribunal claim (Levy, 2018) and transforming the existing unjust structures for Māori (Crawford & Langridge, 2022; Ngata & Dutta, 2023). Any efforts to hold Psychology liable to respond to Te Tiriti o Waitangi cannot be accomplished in a silo.

Agitating for an end to monoculturalism in psychology requires a deep dive into the wider (ongoing) impacts of settler colonialism and racism on Māori. Much like the 1980s, the current decade in Aotearoa has seen the Crown’s attempt to address its role in perpetuating widespread societal injustices via punitive policies and institutions. Ongoing Waitangi Tribunal hearings continue to expose the impact of colonisation on Māori economic, social and health outcomes (Hauora report; Waitangi Tribunal, 2023). These wider issues must be centred in psychology training – arguably, psychology training should be trauma-informed and cognisant of how it perpetuates systemic inequity. Significantly, yet unacknowledged in research writing, is the intergenerational privilege and wealth that has been afforded to Pākehā via colonisation at the expense of Māori (Ngata & Dutta, 2023). The impact of psychology’s privilege in academia is entrenched having drawn on its self-imposed epistemic superiority from foundations of racism and oppression. As Professor Pihama stated (2023), universities in Aotearoa are built on land stolen from Māori. These structural issues are the drivers of the limited Māori-focused content in psychology, and the corollary pipeline issue of not enough Māori staff, too few

Māori students, and a lack of Māori psychologists. The discipline's assumption of its own superiority and universality generates a deficit thought-trap and perpetuates the status quo.

Limitations

Towards the end of the survey, directors were given the opportunity to comment on the utility of the questions in open-text boxes. Some of the issues and recommendations are summarised below. One director raised a question about the use of percentage to measure the degree psychology training incorporates Kaupapa Māori content: "I'm also not sure about the use of a percentage, how do we measure these things if the core of who we are or what we do is from a Māori and a community world view?" This feedback prompted us to consider asking another question about the integration of Kaupapa Māori psychology into all aspects of teaching rather than as a separate provision in future surveys (Herbert, 2021).

Furthermore, the information on Māori staff can be further nuanced by examining their role and FTE (the number of paid hours) to identify the extent of Māori resource within programmes. A few directors commented that their responses to the survey were based on a broad reflection of the programme and they wished there were more specific questions on formal classroom teaching, internship, and supervised practices. Other topics they felt warranted future research should include: pay equity in psychology, the monopoly of clinical psychology, and the different training needs for different branches of psychology. There is also a forthcoming study from (anonymised) that report on students' perspectives of the training programme that will allow us to discern disparities (if any) alongside directors' responses.

Conclusion

It is time to break the cycle of 'not enough tauira Māori—not enough Māori staff and psychologists—no capacity to decolonise psychology' that has slowed the progress for psychology to meet its goal to be culturally responsive for Māori. The discipline of psychology in Aotearoa has been referred to as a tool of colonisation (Levy & Waitoki, 2016) for its history of engendering a racial hierarchy of defining whose knowledge is valid while compelling others to assimilate (Groot et al., 2018; Smith, 2021). For psychology to gain acceptance amongst Māori, it is necessary for all agencies that can influence the operation of psychology to facilitate the empowerment of Māori leadership and create specialised channels and initiatives that invigorate Kaupapa Māori psychology. Aotearoa New Zealand has the potential to be the champion of Indigenous psychology at the international scale. Further, we have Te Tiriti o Waitangi to serve as a relational framework in psychology, alongside esteemed Māori scholars who are pioneering anti-racism work in psychology, promoting Indigenous worldviews, and contributing to the sustainable future of relational psychology (Herbert, 2021; Love, 2002). To end, we pose the wero (challenge) for key stakeholders of psychology (the Board, schools of psychology, universities, organisations employing psychologists) to renew our efforts to work collaboratively to accomplish Te Tiriti aspirations.

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