



Upholding mana and educational success

Sharnee Escott¹ & Quentin Abraham²

¹Independent Researcher

²Greenstone Consultants

Correspondence: sharn_escott@hotmail.com

Abstract

How do we lift the mana of ourselves and all cultures in our practice? Are we actively welcoming, valuing, and enthusiastically supportive of Māori and other cultures in our workplaces? Young people tell us that the relationships and the way in which educational professionals engage can make a difference to their learning at school. Their voices, voices from the past and young voices to come, continue to urge for an education system that acknowledges, celebrates, and lifts up the uniqueness of who they are. A diverse, culturally equipped educational psychology workforce that is knowledgeable and willing to challenge the inequities in our education and health systems is needed. Using a composite, fictional case study we aim to explore explicit and implicit structural racism in practice. We then reflect on some of the current practices and the next steps towards decolonising our institutions within education and psychology.

Keywords: Educational Psychology, decolonising psychology, Māori, Mana

Acknowledgement: The authors would like to thank Kahu Flutey (Registered Psychologist of Ngāti Kahungunu, Kai Tahu and Rangitāne, Samoan and Chinese descent) and Jill Phillips (retired Educational Psychologist, of Pākehā descent) and our whānau for their contributions and preliminary comments on the early draft of this paper.

Disclosure: The authors have no conflict of interests related to this publication.

To cite: Escott, S. & Abraham, Q. (2025). Upholding mana and educational success. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 54(1), 27-40.

Ko te ahurei o te rangatahi arahia ō tātou mahi
Let the uniqueness of the young person guide our work

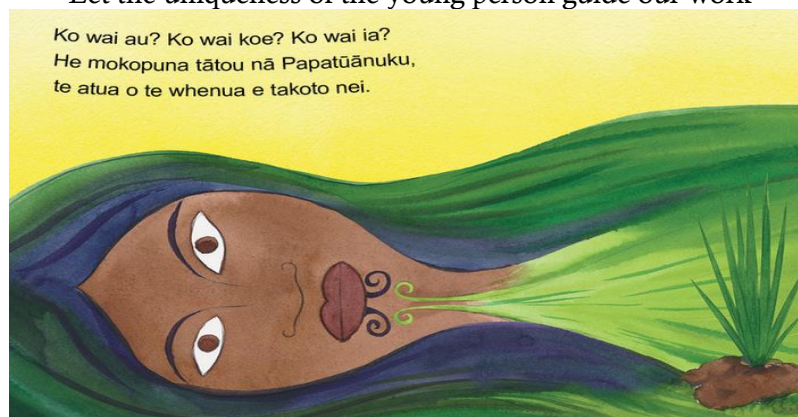


Image source: Stephanie Thatcher with permission from <https://tereosingalong.co.nz>



Position statements

Sharnee Escott

My heritage is a mixture of Māori and Pākehā. Indigenous and English, white and brown. Between this ancestry my wairua sits. One side stands tall, dominant, the coloniser, the other side lies dormant, suppressed, the colonised. My way of being positioned in the middle of two worlds. Some say this is a gift, others say it's a challenge.

My cultural journey has been shaped and formed by the past up to the present day. It began with my Tīpuna and their Tīpuna and so on until it reached me. Now I carry the determination to share lived experience of what ongoing colonisation looks like, to educate, to advocate, to know giving Te Ao Māori equal status is not to be feared.

Quentin and I have arrived from two different pathways. Pathways that have enriched our worlds and now connect to advocate and educate the psychology community. We seek change to the perception of psychology and the systems that have been created from colonised thinking. Our wish is for the uniqueness of Te Ao Māori to be truly free from the constraints of western thinking, to become the true psychology of Aotearoa to help the people of this land.

Quentin Abraham

I am a 60 year old, English/Scottish, cis-gender, heterosexual man estranged from my Indian ancestry. Culturally I identify as English brought up in the flat, rich soils of Norfolk, England by my single mother and brother and later caring for my two younger sisters in the wake of mothers mental and physical health challenges. Against the odds, with much luck I gained an all expenses paid scholarship to a boys boarding grammar school rather than re-enter local government care. At the end of the 70s in Thatcherite Britain, racism was and continues to be a vivid memory as our music lessons deteriorated into the tolerated chaos. As one of the blackest classmates, a group of boys attempted to set me alight to the sound of Klu Klux Klan chants. In a Religious Education lesson, I naively wrote that "nigger bashing" in Birmingham was the worst thing I could imagine. Asked to read this account aloud, the class fell about laughing. It was the slight quiver of a smile on the lips of the gowned master and vicar leading the class that taught me at an early age about how institutional racism and oppression is sustained and inculcated.

I migrated to Aotearoa in 2002 as an educational psychologist, required to complete an additional internship which I used to focus on bicultural relationships in an attempt to start my journey in becoming a better Te Tiriti partner. This has involved ongoing learning and functional use of Te reo Māori, becoming more familiar with Te Ao Māori spaces and using whatever power and privilege to challenge systems that prevent equity for our first people. Te Tiriti serves as a relational framework that allows all settlers to be fully acknowledged and to bring ourselves and our cultures without reservation, while affirming Māori tino rangatiratanga (Jackson, 2020). This does not promise to be easy, without mistakes, setbacks or messiness. It is unlikely in my lifetime to be a job completed. There will always be a tension between being a part of the status quo that has a tendency to maintain oppressive forces and inequity versus the loss of social, financial and political capital by standing in solidarity with those oppressed. Now more than ever, in the current political climate, it requires me as someone who has acquired a privileged position, as Tauīwi to be available as an ally, to have courage and be prepared to suffer discomfort. This discomfort can never be as great for those who experience the daily micro-aggressions and violence delivered by our established institutions (Smith et al., 2021).

I have been privileged to receive the love, honesty and tolerance by the majority of Tangata Whenua over the years including my friend and colleague, Sharnee. This began in December 2020 after I reflected on the absence of Te Tiriti issues recorded in an evaluation report for educational psychology training in Aotearoa and how it mirrored the experiences of Black psychology trainees in the UK. Sharnee responded to this online post and this led to our ongoing collaboration to address these matters in writing, delivering workshops and online talks (Escott and Abraham, 2021; Escott and Abraham, 2022; Escott and Abraham, 2023). I am grateful to Sharnee for frequently bringing our conversations back to our day-to-day work in educating our young people in our communities. No amount of clever words, theories, exhortations on their own will be enough.

Intention

In this paper we consider the way in which racism and oppression operates within psychology in Aotearoa/New Zealand. We draw on our own personal experience within educational psychology and then explore a way to challenge some of these processes with the use of a fictional case study. This composite case study is one way to capture some of



the complexity of embedded relationships, roles, whānau, institutional expectations and how the political context plays out for the young people we seek to support.

Introduction

Educational psychology, alongside other western practices of psychology, arrived in Aotearoa in the 20th century. Early educational psychologists based in Europe and the US, Alfred Binet, Cyril Burt and Lewis Terman were intent on categorising and sorting the worthiness of young people to determine their educational potential. Many were closely linked to the eugenics movement (Stobart, 2008; Awad et al., 2024). Psychology has contributed to these ideas and therefore colonisation which bolstered the inherent assumption that it was legitimate to assert power over ‘unfit’ populations (Tinirau et al., 2021). These ideas were used to give false scientific idea that the weakest should not have babies (Stace, 2022), that we need to rank pupils by their worth usually determined by criteria and forms of measurement that favour white, able-bodied, wealthier children. This resulted in those from ethnic minority cultures being overrepresented in poor quality, segregated education (Shannon, 2021; Hunziker, 2022).

Other state institutions also systematically disenfranchised young people from their communities, culture and wellbeing (The Royal Commission of Inquiry into Abuse in Care, 2024). As the Royal Commission noted once Māori children were removed from their whānau they experienced harsher treatment across different settings, being degraded because of their ethnicity and skin colour. They were denied access to practicing mātauranga, tikanga, reo Māori, and to connect to their whakapapa with a resulting intergenerational loss. These findings were known to professionals, including psychologists and the Crown who spent considerable resources to avoid being held to account for colluding with these transgressions (Smale, 2024).

White superiority that elevates British and European culture continues to structure the socio-political culture in which our work operates and the way it is fashioned (Thomas, 2020). These effects are likely to be experienced disproportionately, for example if you have wealth. However, there is still evidence that the level of “whiteness” is a significant protective factor for the young people in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Simon-Kumar et al., 2022). The ideas from psychology have been used to justify colonisation and continue to allow racism to flourish in Aotearoa (Human Rights Commission, 2022). They are the

backdrop that radicalise our citizens online, fuelling to hateful ideologies such as the “great replacement” and part of the context that contributes to extreme acts of violence directed against ethnic minority and marginalised groups, both in the past and more recently (Bing, 2023, The Disinformation Project (2023).

These ideologies were imported to Aotearoa. In 1921, children and young people with disabilities were denied education and confined to institutions (Education Gazette Editors, 2021). Psychologists were at the forefront of identifying the cause of learning and behavioural challenges that were observed in educational settings. From this process those students deemed ineducable were grouped and labelled as unable to achieve educational success and therefore, not expected to reach the top of society with a high achieving occupation.

From there they were “guided” towards a life that was considered best fit for someone of that calibre. Māori were disproportionately placed in special education or segregated into native schools (Bartholomew, 2022; Barrington, 2008). They were denied the right to speak their own language, have access to academic subjects or mātauranga Māori. Instead, they were taught a curricula aimed at training them in woodwork, metal work, cooking and cleaning to upskill them for a career in lowly paid jobs to serve the colonisers (Hunziker, 2022).

Static assessment rather than focusing on assessing and changing the environment around the student continues to be popular in Western educational psychology (Farmer et al., 2020). Intelligence testing has proven to be remarkably resistant to change overseas (Elliott, 2000) and to some extent in Aotearoa, promoted and used by a significant group of psychologists practicing in Aotearoa (Ross-McAlpine et al., 2018; Schaverien, 2020). These tests continue to be used to make decisions about young people despite the caution of regulatory board as to their suitability (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2020).

There has been a shift towards designing a more inclusive education system and proposals for how educational psychologists can operate within these environments. Annan and Priestley (2012) outlined themes for school psychology practice in Aotearoa orientating to (i) an interactive perspective involving reciprocal relationships (ii) locating problems and solutions within dynamic relationships (iii) valuing inclusion and giving respect to diversity (iv) drawing on strengths-based and positive psychology (v) being driven by the rigor of our ethical codes. However,



deficit thinking is still evident in education settings and there is a mismatch between the expectations of teachers and educational psychologists who attempt to work in a more dynamic and ecological manner (Bevan-Brown, 2006; Coleman, 2011; Williams, 2016).

Navigating oppressive forces within the education system

The education system in Aotearoa is fraught with biases, ignorance, misperceptions, and assumptions about the nature of education which are believed to be absolute truth (Blank et al., 2016; Smith et al., 2022). These mis-truths are kept alive by systemic processes operating from a Western perspective. Much has been made of the relatively poor school attendance of Māori and Pacific students (39.1% and 41.0% respectively) compared to European/Pākehā and Asian (55.0% and 65.6%) with the consequences for learning (Ministry of Education 2024). The focus of the blame is on whānau and rangatahi with punitive fines and the prosecution of parent and guardians (RNZ, 2024). There is less acknowledgement of absences caused by systemic barriers, including racism, lack of resources and poor teaching to meet their needs (Blank, 2024).

For whānau whose tamariki have been referred for behaviour support, navigating the education system can be challenging and overwhelming. Their way of thinking and being can be overridden by an authority, a Western view, and assumptions that they are the cause for their tamariki challenging behaviour at school (Waipara-Panapa and Huygens, 2010). Calder-Dawe et al. (2023) interviewed rangatahi who explained how they do not feel valued and therefore alienated from school.

"I just thought that I was dumb, until now like I actually reflect, it's like oh that was a reason why I didn't care about life, there was a reason why I didn't want to go to school, or I just didn't listen to the teachers, yeah (Ana, 19: Tongan)" (see p.63)

Māori, Pacific and youth from ethnic minority backgrounds (Asian, African, Middle Eastern, Latin American) have poorer mental health and wellbeing compared to Pākehā and European youth. This disparity is especially marked when considering intersectionality and the converging effects of ethnicity, gender, sexuality and disability (Williams et al., 2018; Roy, et al., 2023). Young people continue to tell us that racism and discrimination is a major theme that contributes to reducing their wellbeing in their day to day lives alongside other forms of discrimination in Aotearoa, such as sexism,

homophobia, transphobia and ableism in their communities and media (Stubbing et al., 2023).

Young people tell us in their own words

- We experience racism in lots of different ways
- Racism is everywhere
- Connection to my culture helps me feel that I belong
- We have aspirations for an Aotearoa that is free from racism
- We have lots of solutions to end racism, but action is essential.

Tawhai (2024) reminds us about what others have referred to as the "politics of distraction", where the function of racism is to keep you explaining, to justify your reason for being, repeatedly challenging your culture and language. There is a need to avoid the daily demands of relatively small matters so as to keep our eye firmly on the horizon. Māori living as Māori demands tino rangatiratanga and as psychologists working within a Te Tiriti framework, as Tangata Tiriti we are required to support these aspirations.

Berryman and Woller (2013) argue that if inclusive education is to have real meaning for these students and their families, then those working in schools need to move towards pedagogies founded on relationships that are more inclusive of cultural differences. Effective interventions were connected to a "Māori worldview and begin by taking the time to develop relationships with Māori families, to regularly listen to them and seek to work and learn alongside them (p.827).

As psychologists working in schools we are often contracted to work with individually identified young people. This is not enough. Ethically we are required to challenge and not collude with systems that maintain and continue to create problems for our tamariki, rangatahi, especially Tangata Whenua and other minoritised groups (Abraham et al 2016).

Educational psychology practice in Aotearoa

Educational Psychology training is dominated by Western psychology with "add on" connections to Te Ao Māori as and if the practitioner deems it necessary. The workforce remains a predominantly Pākehā/Tauīwi workforce. Māori represent an estimated 17.8% of the overall population of Aotearoa but are significantly underrepresented in the psychology workforce. In the educational psychology scope Māori account for 3.5%; and across the broader Ministry of Education workforce, 6.8% (StatsNZ, 2024; NZPB, 2022; Levy, 2018).



Pākehā and Tauīwi are the gatekeepers to new psychological knowledge. Diverse content in the Journal of New Zealand College of Clinical Psychologists and New Zealand Journal of Psychology was 22.7% and 62.6% respectively (Tan et al., 2023). The core of academic psychology in Aotearoa does not orientate to minoritised identities including Indigeneity, ethnicity, religion, gender, migrants, refugees and rainbow.

Our psychology training courses in Aotearoa are also limited in their cultural content where, 2.9% had a specific Maori-focus, 36.0% included Maori-focussed content and 21.6% had a reference to culture (Waitoki et al., 2023a). This culturally unbalanced training establishes mātauranga Māori as the second best to western thinking and only required in short bursts when deemed necessary. This creates further discord as trainee psychologists are not immersed or experiencing Te Ao Māori equally therefore are unable to grasp deeper understandings. This has consequences for psychologists trained in this manner entering the workforce with a thin and watered down experience and understanding of mātauranga Māori.

In recent years there has been a big push for all avenues of society to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi and incorporate Te Ao Māori equally with western thinking. Those passionate for Te Ao Māori have earnestly taken this on board.

What might psychology look like using expertise and knowledge held in models of change and well being from a Te Ao Māori perspective?

There are many alternative Māori models that offer guidance to practitioners, for example, Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1998); Meihana Model (Pitama 2007), Te Pikinga ki Runga (MacFarlane 2009); Whiti Te Ra (McLachlan et al, 2021); and Ka Awatea Mana Model (Macfarlane et al 2014; Duckworth et al 2021).

Johnson et al. (2024) recently proposed the Ngaruroro model, citing Marsden “Māoritanga is a thing of the heart rather than the head” (p. 2). The boundless nature of wairua has resulted in most frameworks avoiding specific detail to allow for room for interpretation and subjective understandings, which protects the concept from being narrowed and misrepresented. But at the same time, having fewer descriptive details can leave people who do not possess a foundational understanding of wairua without guidance as to how they can start feeling their way into their Māoritanga.

The slavish application of a “model” could reduce mātauranga Māori to the service of seeking a technical fix, akin to a machine and not beings within complex networks across space and time. There could be an overemphasis on finding a “tool” for “doing” something to a specified individual rather than a relational “being” within a network of community/communities. The quality of relationships is a vital and significant component of any change making process (Norcross and Karpiak, 2023).

Western psychology encapsulates what we think, feel and behave but indigenous psychology extends itself to the concept of mauri, that is our life essence, spirit, power, sacredness (Waitoki in Bosch 2020). The consideration of mauri places us all, in a holistic way in relation to others, our life’s journey with the family, the land, the spirit, the genealogy and the language. If the family is well, I am well. If I am well, the family is well. If we are well the land is well. If the land is well, we are well.

Supporting teachers

The work of educational psychologists is to use our expertise, knowledge and relational skills to support teachers and those working in educational settings to enhance whakawhanaungatanga and manaakitanga so our young people have a sense of belonging and standing in their communities. This is important for all young people but especially for those who identify as Māori (Timperley et al., 2007).

It is not always necessary for the teacher to identify as Māori but to be relational and to have knowledge and respect for their culture.

The teacher I liked best wasn't Maori, but he could have been. He knew all about our stuff Like, he knew how to say my name. He never did dumb things like sitting on tables or patting you on the head [laughter]. He knew about fantails in a room. He knew about tangi. He never stepped over girls legs. All that sort of stuff. He never made us sit with people we didn't want to and he never made a fuss if the girls couldn't swim or do PE. He expected us to work and behave well. He could take a joke, and he could joke us. He had the best April Fools day tricks ever. What did he do? I'm not telling because I want to use it some time. He always came and saw our whanau at home, more than once during the year. He invited the whanau into our room anytime. We went on picnics and class trips, and the whanau came along. We always planned our lessons together. He was choice. (Bishop and Berryman, 2006, p10).

Johnson et al (2024) goes on to comment that there is a need to decolonise and indigenise our



understandings and practices related to wellbeing, how ancestral knowledge is related to waiora. Sources of mātauranga include “waiata (songs), haka (posture dances), mōteatea (chants), pūrākau (story), whakataukī (proverbs of unknown origin), whakataukāki (proverbs of known origin), and pēpeha (tribal sayings) (p.19).

Case study

This next section discusses a fictional case study with an example of how a Kaupapa Māori approach might support a student in a Western schooling environment, using understandings from pūrākau. The intention is to illustrate how we might avoid some of the assumptions that maintain racism and oppression within our work. Although this young person does not exist we draw on composite experiences of the challenging situations Māori rangatahi face within current systems in order to ground our suggestions in practice.

Jackson who has whakapapa to Ngāti Kahungunu, is a year 6 student who has been exhibiting challenging behaviours during both class and break time. The school describes his behaviour as threatening and violent, picking fights with his peers during play and lunch time, which continues into the classroom after break times have finished. He was recently stood down for 3 days for fighting another student and swearing at the duty teacher when they came to assist. The principal believes Jackson would be best going to an alternative school. In the classroom Jackson's teacher describes him as disruptive and defiant, always seeking attention and arguing with his peers and talking back to her. These behaviours have had an impact on his learning. Assessments indicate he is behind in most subjects. The teacher does not feel safe with Jackson in her class and she has noticed that other students are scared of him as he is often talking about an uncle who is in a gang. She believes he has oppositional defiance disorder, ADHD and trauma and that medication would help him greatly.

Upon receiving the referral, the educational psychologist gained consent from the whānau and began their assessment by gathering information about the student. The process is one of whakawhanaungatanga, getting to know the whānau and student. The views of the young person are collated from significant whānau members regarding the perceived concern from school and any other concerns that are held. The educational psychologist sought to gather information which described the strengths and positive behaviours. Yet, there can be tension for an educational psychologist completing

the necessary formal consenting paperwork and establishing a connection, especially with whānau who have not been treated well by government agencies.

The updated informed consent guidelines provide a more flexible approach by including whakawhanaungatanga, addressing questions about “who are you?” and “where are you from” in order to establish a relationship (NZPB, 2024). It is possible to offer a karakia and the sharing of a mihi as the starting point for creating a safe space.

Bevan-Brown (2001) describes how important these processes are when meeting with Māori whānau.

...conducting interviews in Māori homes, interviewers must leave their shoes at the door, bring food to share, and spend time establishing whakapapa (genealogy) links with the people involved. This can be very time consuming, but it must be done before getting down to the "business" of interviewing. When interviewers do not adhere to these protocols, they are likely to gather limited or inaccurate data as evidenced in the previously related story of the mother who was concerned about being thought racially prejudiced (p. 142).

Once preliminary consent is established, with the acknowledgement consent can be withdrawn any time, and, the whānau have a right to see and have copies of any documentation (with some caveats about risk to themselves or others), the educational psychologist gathers information from the school.

A joint meeting with school staff such as the class teacher and the SENCO (Special Needs Coordinator), the whānau and the educational psychologist is arranged. A further individual meeting with Jackson is also arranged.

The educational psychologist found multiple narratives from the school were constructed about Jackson and his whānau which were open to question and did not seem to promote success. However, after prompting from the educational psychologist the teacher did identify some of Jackson's strengths. She observed when he was having a good day he could be very helpful in the classroom. He was also very good at basketball, helping younger students with their work or in the playground, and there were times he worked well even if it appeared he was not paying attention to the teacher's instructions.

The information received from Jackson's whānau, was that the school was failing their son and they were concerned that he was getting behind with his learning. They were guarded about the education



system due to their own experience of school growing up. They hoped things would be better for Jackson as he was intelligent and smart enough to go to university. The whānau were fed up with the constant phone calls from the school asking them to pick Jackson up after a fight and wished the school would do their job. They felt that the school did not like Jackson or want him there. Jackson's mother, Mere, was heart broken when she signed the form for behaviour support and read what the school had written about her son. She knew he was not perfect and he had a bit of a temper but she did not feel the description of her son was a true representation. She did not see similar problematic behaviour at home and felt the school disbelieved her when she told them so. Mere describes Jackson as very caring who loved playing with his younger brothers and the family dog. He helped feed his siblings at dinner time and he was keen to help walk the dog. At the weekend, Jackson and his dad go out on the boat to get kai moana for the whānau. Jackson has told his parents that he does not like school because other students are bullying him and his teacher is mean. His dad has told him, if anyone hits him hit them back, while his uncle has been showing him how to fight.

Jackson shared that the teacher “didn’t get him” and that he wasn’t good at anything because he was always getting into trouble. He also said when he was trying to do his work, other students would distract him or take his things.

The educational psychologist needs to be selective from the large amount of gathered information. It will not be a neutral position but one that will be subject to biases. All of those working to support this young person, including ourselves will be interpreting information through our own lens/lenses as an individual, at a local school/community level and within the wider influence society (Hoffman, 1990; Annan et al 2006; Annan and Priestley, 2012). It is not possible to be free from these biases, only to keep questioning our processes (Kahneman, 2003). Fox (2003) goes further to suggest that experienced educational psychologists do not mimic a linear pseudo-scientific approach of assessment, formulation, intervention, and evaluation, but use their “knowing-in-action”, “naming and framing” and “pattern recognition” to sift large amounts of data to propose options to help make decisions alongside the expertise of other educators and the expertise of the whānau.

Observations conducted after discussions with the whānau and school, showed numerous factors that were possibly influencing the behaviour the school

were concerned about. One possible influence was every interaction the teacher had with Jackson was either negative or from an instructional purpose, another influence were the behaviours of other students towards Jackson which went unnoticed by the teacher.

From the data collected an attempt is made to formulate an understanding of the function of behaviour. Here the educational psychologist reflected on a number of questions and creating a working hypothesis's which can be linked to a Te Ao Māori way of thinking and being. For example, at home is there an attempt to uphold mana by hitting back at others? What kind of instructions were offered from the parents and whānau? How can this understanding be reframed to encourage more helpful ways of coping with bullying. Is Jackson's mauri out of balance? Does his identity need restoring? How is his mana acknowledged and valued? How do the students and the teacher acknowledge the mana of the class and lift it up not just for Jackson but the whole class/school? What does whanaungatanga and manaakitanga look like amongst all students and staff in this school?

Next, themes from a Te Ao Māori lens were generated to assist the team with devising and implementing culturally appropriate interventions. They were linked to the explicit values held by the school. A meeting with the whānau and school was conducted to share this feedback and suggestions for supporting a culturally safe change in the school environment (Macfarlane et al, 2007; Savage, 2009; Hargraves, 2022). The intervention focused on using explicit teaching to practice the acknowledgment and uplifting of mana with the aim of strengthening whanaungatanga and improving manaakitanga amongst the students and the teacher. Resources were made available to the school from Te Mana Tikitiki to support the use of pūrākau from Te Ao Māori as part of the teaching plan (Ministry of Education, 2022; Hammond, 2021).

One such resource is the pūrākau of how Māui slowed the sun. This story is filled with examples of behaviours and natural consequences when tangata whenua work together (Grace, 2020). Māui demonstrates leadership and initiative to devise a plan with his brothers when a problem arises which affects the whole community. These actions can be used by the teacher to create a discussion around leadership – what it looks like; that leadership can be big or small; that we are all leaders; we are all courageous – and connecting it with roles inside and outside of the classroom. As the teacher delves further into the story, other behaviours are identified.



For example, Māui's brothers are not happy with being a part of Māui's plan but in this instance a lack of action would not make the problem go away. They choose to work cooperatively to support Māui with solving the problem that is affecting them all.

This statement also leads into another discussion about making good choices and identifying appropriate action when asked to do something by a peer or an adult. It can also support the students with reflecting about what being part of a team looks like and show that working together can make it easier to solve a problem rather than trying to solve a problem individually.

The next phase of the intervention was to bring the discussions and insights learnt about being a courageous leader to life. How do the students demonstrate the desired behaviours required to show manaakitanga and consequently lift mana? What will it look like in their classroom? Collectively identifying and frequently practicing behaviours through role play can help engage the students' senses with consolidating new information. To further support new learning, a consistent approach of acknowledgement from the teacher and even the students themselves throughout the day, can support students with identifying when they have exhibited the appropriate behaviour. Group support, focused on strengths, teaching, modelling, and connected with Te Ao Māori concepts, all help lift mana both collectively and individually which in turns helps balance one's mauri.

The whānau were very positive at the end of the joint school meeting especially the sense that school staff were willing to see the other side of Jackson. They talked about sharing other pūrākau at home about Ngāti Kahungunu, especially Jackson's ancestors Tamatea Arikinui and Tahu Pōtiki who steered the Tākitimu waka from Hawaiki to Aotearoa (Whaanga, 2017). There was a discussion about other famous contemporary people from Ngāti Kahungunu. The educational psychologist was able to witness this re-storying of Jackson within his whakapapa and the past/present strength and qualities of leadership and competence that exist within these networks.

The educational psychologist would go on to monitor the progress by checking in with Jackson, who reported the teacher was firm but fair and no longer mean to him in the classroom. His teacher reported an improved relationship between herself and Jackson and with other students in the school. The educational psychologist took time to acknowledge the collective success from all those

working with Jackson at home and school, upholding their mana. Jackson began to make more effort with his class work, especially with the recent topic about animals. He was able to bring his dog to the "Bring Your Pet to School" day. His mana was enhanced by his ability to talk and demonstrate about how he was training and caring for his dog to his school community. His teacher reported that Jackson was much more relaxed and able to approach her if he needed any help with his work.

Summary and next steps

At the heart of an educational psychologist's work is the uniqueness of rangatahi, their whānau and their wider constellation of relationships to people and place. It is a role that brings together a narrative of strengths, possibilities, success and, if delivered well, a change for a better educational future. Yet it is a challenging role steeped in navigating endless assumptions, unfiltered belief systems, racism and Western/colonised thinking. It is not easy to live as Māori or work as a psychologist against Pākehā dominated, colonised systems.

When a young person exhibits a different way of being at school, there is potential for the creation of alternative narratives, misperceptions and assumptions which are often detrimental to the well being of the student and their whānau. These low expectations from teachers regarding Māori and Pacific student's home lives has had negative consequences on students learning has been well documented (Turner et al., 2015).

Conversely, when rangatahi are embedded and celebrated within their culture they become more successful and achieve to an exceptional level. Research evidence indicates, the five optimal cultural conditions for supporting Māori student success include:

- Mana Tangatarua – the skills knowledge and confidence to navigate success in two (or more) worlds
- Mana Tū – efficacy, courage, humility, tenacity and resilience
- Mana Motuhake - A positive Māori identity and a sense of embodied achievement
- Mana Ūkaipō – belonging and a connection to place
- Mana Whānau – a belief that they occupy a central position of importance in their family (Webber and Macfarlane, 2020; p.35)

Our mokopuna tell us in their own words how to make changes. They offer solutions grounded in te



ao Māori, empowering mokopuna, supporting whānau and families, focusing on community, creating societal change, targetting the system and solutions that are education-focused (Mana Mokopuna, National Iwi Chairs Forum, & Ministry of Justice, p.16-22). Examples include:

- “Make te reo Māori compulsory in schools, not just in Māori schools”.
- “(Hold a) culture day in schools to showcase all diversity in the school”.
- “Jump jam – bring back in te reo Māori”.
- “Schools and teachers should act when there is racist bullying”.
- “More Māori and Pacific parents needed on the school board”.
- “Hire teachers from other cultures, religions and backgrounds”.
- “Celebrate and integrate culture in all ways such as artwork through school, school architecture, speakers invited to school”.
- “Workshops – run by young people for young people – (to) talk about different cultures, experiences in a new country and belonging”.
- “Learn about Te Tiriti o Waitangi”.
- “Not just Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori, extend (it) beyond the week”.
- “Have mentors like tupuanga in every school
- Children are not born racist they are influenced by the people. So, in order to break this chain, it is about being active in schools, community. It’s also about standing strong and standing up not only for yourself but for everyone in times of adversity.
- That people can communicate their concerns in a way that ensures that they are heard and safe if action is taken.
- Needs to be driven by community.
- Help us learn about our culture, about our language, give our land back, support our family.

Our role as educational psychologists is to create an environment where all our rangatahi flourish. It is a litmus test of our success in applying good quality anti-racist and anti-oppressive practices to changing our education institutions. This means avoiding blaming individuals, upholding their mana but also with high expectations for social justice and equity.

For Māori and other minoritised groups, racism and oppression within psychology is likely to be integral to their daily lives. We might expect them to be more sensitised to these matters as it is part of their daily experience. However, as both authors can attest, just because you have a brown skin does not mean you

will not internalise racist ideas or maintain oppressive systems (Barnes, 2013).

After 40 years of explicitly naming the limitations of our monocultural psychology as an academic discipline and profession that fails to meet Māori aspirations, we would have expected this matter to have already been truly unmasked for Pākehā and Tauīwi (Levy, 2018). This is not only a requirement as a profession that purports to uphold Te Tiriti but also necessary to uphold the goals of our professional bodies the rigor and quality of psychology in this country (NZPsS, 2019).

There is no shortage of ideas for action and what we need to do. It is now time for all of us in control who maintain this inequity, to share our power and privilege, to make a real, accountable and sustained effort for change.

If we want a relevant and meaningful educational experience for Māori students then the school curriculum will need to change, the history that is taught needs to change, the language of instruction will need to change, the type of teaching approaches will need to change and psychologists will need to be rigorously trained to work and promote such Te Ao Māori environments. If we are serious about decolonising psychology training we can implement the most recent advice from a survey of Pākehā/Tauīwi and Māori psychology educators (Waitoki et al., 2023b) addressing:

1. Programme Staff
 - a. Pre-requisites for hiring staff
 - b. Ongoing training for staff
 - c. Number of Māori staff
 - d. Shortage of Māori staff
 - e. Steps to address shortage of Māori staff
 - f. Difficulty in hiring Māori staff
2. Māori Advisory Body
 - a. Role of Māori advisory bodies
3. Programme Students
 - a. Prerequisites for applying into training programmes
 - b. Interview selection process
 - c. Shortage of Māori students
4. Programme Content
 - a. Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous Psychologies
 - b. Institutional enablers and barriers to incorporate Māori content into training
 - c. Outsourcing Māori content



This should not be “a nice to have” when funding is available but an essential requirement. Implementing this broad vision will extend beyond the influence of educational psychologists, however we should add a clear and loud voice. The alternative is to continue to be complicit in systems that disenfranchise our rangatahi by being called to fix or discard them. We no longer want to have whānau tell us that “when a psychologist sees our kids - they give them back to us wrong” (Waipara-Panapa and Huygens, 2010).

Mason Durie (2003) proposed that the well being and the educational advancement of Māori focus on:

1. To live as Māori;
2. To actively participate as citizens of the world; and
3. To enjoy good health and a high standard of living.

At present the political status quo prevents these basic human rights by denying our first people “tino rangatiratanga”; the restitution of lands and stolen resources; the control over their affairs. As a result Māori students suffer the consequences of being alienated to suffer poor educational, limited spiritual sustenance and wellbeing by being forced to assimilate in Pākehā/Tauīwi systems. The large number of Māori, Pacific and other minoritised students absent from school is a damning indictment on the failure to effectively educate all our young people in Aotearoa (ERO, 2024).

We have offered a case study of how an educational psychologist can help negotiate changes in the school and whānau environment in a dynamic and relational way to achieve positive results for all those involved. It is an example of how we can extend our thinking beyond the limitations of Western psychology to bring the framing offered by pūrākau to offer a different conversation, a different understanding of past and present cultural strengths. It offers a language for re-storying behaviours in terms of Māuitanga - celebrating, innovation, courage, being different, agility, learning, curiosity and planning for the future.

However, if we are to achieve a more permanent and lasting change in Aotearoa, we will need to apply our psychological skills and influence on the broader political, educational and community systems.

In a similar way The American Psychological Association notes how difficult it is to dismantle racism in psychology in a hostile political climate. They argue it is not only morally right to avoid perpetuating past wrongs but “necessary for the advancement of psychology as a rigorous science

that is capable of self-correcting in the face of past pseudoscience.” (Awad et al 2024, p.482).

A recent report catalogues the current racism and oppression by psychologists, academics and students within our profession (Waitoki et al., 2024). We agree that now is the time for psychology in Aotearoa to be accountable, to offer an apology for the ways we have contributed to past and ongoing racist and oppressive systems with some ideas for redress.

This work is not only ethically required to make amends for the wrongs of those oppressed but also has potential benefits for the oppressor (Freire, 2018). The relational nature and reciprocity of Te Tiriti with the aspirations of the equitably distribution of resources and self-determination allows us all to hold our heads up high, enables us all to flourish.

Ka ora pea ki a koe, ka ora koe i au

(Perhaps I survive because of you and you survive because of me)

Authors

Sharnee Escott affiliates to Ngāti Kahungunu ki te Wairoa and has English, Scottish, Welsh and French heritage. She is an Educational Psychologist working in Aotearoa. She provides support to schools and individual children. Previously, Sharnee was a primary school teacher with teaching experience in both London and Aotearoa.

Quentin Abraham is an educational psychologist with over thirty years experience, working in the UK, Aotearoa, in public, private practice and universities. He is the former president and director of social issues for the New Zealand Psychological Society. He was born in England with English and Indian heritage and he has lived in Aotearoa for the past 22 years.

Glossary

Aotearoa - New Zealand

Iwi - tribe

Kai moana - seafood, shellfish

Kapa haka: Māori performing group

Korowai - cloak

Mana (tangata) - power and status accrued through one's leadership talents

Manaakitanga - the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others.

Marae: Māori tribal or community, cultural centre

Māoritanga - Māori culture, Māori practices and beliefs, Māoriness, Māori way of life

Mātauranga Māori - Māori knowledge

Mauri - life principle, life force, vital essence



Māui (- pōtiki; -tikitiki o Taranga) - well-known Polynesian character of narratives
 Pākehā - New Zealander of European descent
 Pūrākau - myth, ancient legend, story
 Rangatahi: younger generation, youth
 Taniwha - water spirit, monster, dangerous water creature, powerful creature, powerful leader
 Tamariki - children
 Tauīwi: foreigner, European, non-Māori, colonist
 Te Ao Māori – The Māori world
 Te Rā (Tama-nui-te-rā): sun
 Te reo Māori: the Māori language
 Tangata whenua - original inhabitants of Aotearoa/New Zealand.
 Te Tiriti o Waitangi: The Treaty of Waitangi
 Tino rangatiratanga - self-determination
 Tikanga: customs
 Tipuna/Tūpuna: ancestors
 Tohu: sign, mark, symbol
 Waiata: song, chant
 Wairua: a spirit of a person which exists beyond death
 Whakapapa: genealogy, decent
 Whakawhanaungatanga - process of establishing relationships, relating well to others
 Whānau: extended family, family group
 Whakatauki: proverb

References

- Abraham, Q., Feather, J., & Harre, N. (2016). Bigger than self issues implications for psychological practice in Aotearoa New Zealand. In Waikaremoana W. Waitoki, J. S. Feather, N. R. Robertson, & J. J. Rucklidge (Eds.), *Professional practice of psychology in Aotearoa New Zealand* (3rd ed., pp. 543-559). Wellington: New Zealand Psychological Society.
- Annan, J., & Priestley, A. (2012). A contemporary story of school psychology. *School Psychology International*, 33(3), 325-344. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0143034311412845>
- Annan, J., Priestley, A., & Phillipson, R. (2006). Narrative psychology: A tool for ecological practice. *Kairaranga*, 7(2), 20-27. <https://doi.org/10.54322/kairaranga.v7i2.53>
- Awad, G. H., Cokley, K. O., Comas-Díaz, L., Hall, G. C. N., & Gone, J. P. (2024). Dismantling racism in the field of psychology and beyond: Introduction to the special issue. *American Psychologist*, 79(4), 477-483. doi:10.1037/amp0001378
- Barnes, A. M., Taiapa, K., Borell, B., & McCreanor, T. (2013). Māori experiences and responses to racism in Aotearoa New Zealand. *MAI Journal*, 2(2), 63-77. <https://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/content/m%C4%81ori-experiences-and-responses-racism-aotearoa-new-zealand>
- Barrington, J. M. (2008). *Separate but equal?: Māori schools and the Crown, 1867-1969*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.
- Bartholomew, R. (2022). *No Māori Allowed: New Zealand's forgotten history of racial segregation*. Auckland: Robert Bartholomew.
- Berryman, M., & Woller, P. (2013). Learning about inclusion by listening to Māori. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 17(8), 827-838. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2011.602533>
- Bevan-Brown, J. (2001). Evaluating Special Education Services for Learners From Ethnically Diverse Groups: Getting It Right. *The Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 26, 138-147. doi:10.2511/rpsd.26.3.138
- Bing, O (2023). *Is Aotearoa New Zealand spending enough time regulating white supremacist hate crime? Equal Justice Project* [Blog]. <https://www.equaljusticeproject.co.nz/articles/is-aotearoa-new-zealand-spending-enough-time-regulating-white-supremacist-hate-crime>
- Bishop, R., & Berryman, M. (2006). *Non-engaged students culture speaks: Cultural relationships and classroom learning* (pp. 7-73): Huia Publishers.
- Blank, A. (2024). *Expecting more for Māori from our teachers*. <https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/expecting-more-for-maori-from-our-teachers/>
- Blank, A., Houkamau, C., & Kingi, H. (2016). *Unconscious bias and Education: A comparative study of Māori and African American students*. <http://hautahi.com/static/docs/BlankHoukamouKingi.pdf>
- Bosch, R. (2020). Clinical Psychologist and researcher Dr Waikaremoana Waitoki explains the essence indigenous psychology and talks her research project looking at racial oppression. *Whakaata Māori, Ki Tua*, S1, Ep18 [Podcast]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pCyGyCQj78M>
- Calder-Dawe, O., Carlson, T., Mulholland, J., & Squire, D. (2023). *Rangatahi perspectives on hauora and wellbeing: A qualitative report from Aotearoa*. Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga – Māori Centre of Research Excellence. https://toitangata.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Rangatahi-Perspectives_Report-Final.pdf
- Coleman, P. (2011). Special Education 2000 policy: Our leaky home? *Kairaranga*, 12(1), 10-22. <https://doi.org/10.54322/kairaranga.v12i1.150>
- Duckworth, F., Gibson, M., Macfarlane, S., & Macfarlane, A. (2021). Mai i te Ao Rangatahi ki te Ao Pakeke Ka Awatea: A study of Māori student success revisited. *AlterNative*, 17(1), 3-14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1177180121995561>



- Durie, M. (2003). *A framework for considering Māori educational advancement in Nga Kahui Pou: Launching Māori futures*: Huia (NZ) Ltd. pp 183-196.
- Durie, M. (1998). *Whaiora: Māori health development*. Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.
- Education Gazette. (2021). *Evolution of learning support in Aotearoa*, 100(1).
<https://gazette.education.govt.nz/articles/evolution-of-learning-support-in-aotearoa/>
- Elliott, J. G. (2000). The psychological assessment of children with learning difficulties. *British Journal of Special Education*, 27(2), 59-66. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8527.00161>
- ERO (Education Review Office). (2024). *Left behind: How do we get our chronically absent students back to school?*
<https://evidence.ero.govt.nz/media/notdbxih/left-behind-how-do-we-get-our-chronically-absent-students-back-to-school.pdf>
- Escott, S., & Abraham, Q. (2021). Colonisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Navigating two cultures of psychological being, education and wellness in educational psychology. *Educational and Child Psychology*, 38(4), 48-62.
<https://doi.org/10.53841/bpsecp.2021.38.4.48>
- Escott, S., & Abraham, Q. (2022). *Colonialism and educational psychology*. Online hui: National Standing Committee on Bicultural Issues (NSCBI).
- Escott, S., & Abraham, Q. (2023). *Colonisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Navigating two cultures of psychological being, education and wellness in educational psychology*. 14th Educational Psychology Forum, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, Aotearoa/NZ.
- Farmer, R. L., McGill, R. J., Dombrowski, S. C., & Canivez, G. L. (2020). Why questionable assessment practices remain popular in school psychology: Instructional materials as pedagogic vehicles. *Canadian Journal of School Psychology*, 36(2), 98-114.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0829573520978111>
- Fox, M. (2003). Opening Pandora's Box: Evidence-based practice for educational psychologists. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 19(2), 91-102.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02667360303233>
- Freire, P. (2018) *Pedagogy of the oppressed: 50th Anniversary Edition*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Gerritsen, J. (2024, 30 October). *Chronic school absences reaching 'crisis levels', ERO says*.
<https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/532253/chronic-school-absences-reaching-crisis-levels-ero-says>
- Grace, W. (2020) *How Māui slowed the sun*. Te Kete Ipurangi, Te Tāhuhu o Mātauranga.
<https://eng.mataurangamaori.tki.org.nz/Support-materials/Te-Reo-Maori/Maori-Myths-Legends-and-Contemporary-Stories/How-Maui-slowed-the-sun>
- Hammond, K. (2021). *Te Ara Whakamana - Mana Enhancement Evaluation*. AATEA Solutions and Ministry of Education.
https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0020/208208/Te-Ara-Whakamana-Mana-Enhancement-Evaluation.pdf
- Hargraves, V. (2022). *How to support Māori children with culturally responsive teaching*. The Education Hub [Blog].
<https://theeducationhub.org.nz/how-to-support-maori-children-with-culturally-responsive-teaching/>
- Hoffman, L. (1990). Constructing realities: An art of lenses. *Family Process*, 29(1), 1-12.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.1990.00001.x>
- Human Rights Commission. (2022). *Ki te whaiao, ki te ao Mārama: Community Engagement Report for developing a National Action Plan Against Racism*. Te Kāhui Tika Tangata | New Zealand Human Rights Commission.
https://tikatangata.org.nz/cms/assets/Documents/Ki-te-whaiao-ki-te-ao-Marama_Full-Report_PDF.pdf
- Hunziker, C. (2022). *No Māori allowed*. Kindred Films.
<https://www.tvnz.co.nz/shows/no-maori-allowed/episodes/s1-e1>
- Jackson, M. (2020). Where to next? Decolonisation and the stories in the land. In Elkington, B., Jackson, M., Kiddle, R., et al. (Ed.), *Imagining Decolonisation* (pp. 133-155). Bridget Williams Book.
- Johnson FN, Wehi P, Neha T, Ross M, Thompson V, Tibble S, Tassell-Matamua N, Shedlock K, Fox R, Penman Z, Ritchie T, Winter T, Arahanga-Doyle H, & Jose PE. (2024). Introducing 'Ngaruroro', a new model for understanding Māori wellbeing. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 21(4).
<https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph21040445>
- Kahneman, D. (2003). A perspective on judgment and choice: Mapping bounded rationality. *American Psychologist*, 58(9), 697-720.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066x.58.9.697>
- Ross-McAlpine, K. S., Leatham, J. M., & Flett, R. A. (2018). A survey of psychologists administering cognitive and neuropsychological assessments with New Zealand children. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 47(1), 13-22.
<https://www.psychology.org.nz/journal-archive/A-survey-of-psychologists.pdf>
- Levy, M. (2018). *Indigenous psychology in Aotearoa: Reaching our highest peaks*. <https://www.psychology.org.nz/journal-archive/Reaching-Our-Highest-Peaks-2018.pdf>
- Macfarlane, S. (2009). Te Pikinga ki Runga: Raising possibilities. *Set: Research Information for Teachers*, 2, 42-51.
<https://doi.org/10.18296/set.0458>
- Macfarlane, A., Glynn, T., Cavanagh, T., & Bateman, S. (2007). Creating culturally-safe schools for Māori students. *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 36, 69-76. <https://hdl.handle.net/10289/3297>



- Macfarlane, A., Webber, M., McRae, H., & Cox, C. C. (2014). *Ka Awatea: A tribal-based study of high-achieving rangatahi*.
<https://www.maramatanga.ac.nz/media/207/download>
- Mana Mokopuna, National Iwi Chairs Forum, & Ministry of Justice. (2024). *"Without racism Aotearoa would be better": Mokopuna share their experiences of racism and solutions to end it*.
https://www.manamokopuna.org.nz/documents/728/Mana_Mokopuna_-_Without_racism_Aotearoa_would_be_better_Digital.pdf
- McLachlan, A., Waitoki, W., Harris, P., & Jones, H. (2021). Whiti Te Rā: A guide to connecting: Māori to traditional wellbeing pathways, *Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing*, 6(1), 78-97.
https://journalindigenousewellbeing.co.nz/journal_articles/whiti-te-ra-a-guide-to-connecting-maori-to-traditional-wellbeing-pathways/
- Ministry of Education. (2024). *Students attending school regularly - Term 2 2024*.
https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0007/247147/Term-2-2024-Attendance-report.pdf
- Ministry of Education. (2022). *Te Mana Tikitiki. Positive behaviour for learning*.
<https://pb4l.tki.org.nz/content/download/941/3512/file/Te%20Mana%20Tikitiki%20overview.pdf>
- NZPB (New Zealand Psychologists Board). (2022). *Annual Report: 1 April 2021 – 31 March 2022*.
<https://psychologistsboard.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/2022-11-29-NZPB-AR-2022.pdf>
- NZPB. (2020). *Guidelines on the use of psychometric tests*.
<https://psychologistsboard.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/BPG-Psychometrics-June-2021.pdf>
- NZPB. (2024). *Updated informed consent guidelines*. Ngā Aratohu Whakaae.
<https://psychologistsboard.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/Informed-Consent-Guidelines-May-2024.pdf>
- NZPsS (New Zealand Psychological Society). (2019). *Rules: New Zealand Psychological Society Inc - Revised September 2019*. <https://www.psychology.org.nz/journal-archive/2019-changes-to-Rules.pdf>
- Norcross, J. C., & Karpiak, C. P. (2023). Relationship factors. In S. D. Miller, D. Chow, S. Malins, & M. A. Hubble (Eds.), *The field guide to better results: Evidence-based exercises to improve therapeutic effectiveness* (pp. 107-130): American Psychological Association.
- Pitama, S., Robertson, P., Fiona Cram, Gillies, M., Huria, T., & Dallas-Katoa, W. (2007). Meihana model: A clinical assessment framework. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 36(3), 118-125.
https://www.psychology.org.nz/journal-archive/Pitamaetal_NZJP36-3_pg118.pdf
- Roy, R., Greaves, L., Fenaughty, J., Fleming, T., & Clark, T. C. (2023). Mental health and wellbeing for young people from intersectional identity groups: Inequity for Māori, Pacific, Rainbow young people, and those with a disabling condition. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 52(1), 25-40.
<https://www.psychology.org.nz/members/professional-resources/new-zealand-journal-psychology/nzjp-current-issue>
- RNZ. (2024). *Crackdown on teacher-only days, parents face prosecutions in truancy push*.
<https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/529079/crackdown-on-teacher-only-days-parents-face-prosecutions-in-truancy-push>
- Savage, C. (2009). Culturally responsive behaviour management. In V. Green & S. Cherrington (Eds.), *Delving into diversity: An international exploration of diversity in education* (pp. 35-44). New York: Nova.
- Schaverien, P (2020). *Cognitive Assessment. What is its place in assessment for educational psychologists?*
<https://www.psychology.org.nz/events/nzpss-events#cid=884&wid=301>
- Shannon, L. (2021). *Subnormal - A British scandal*.
<https://lyttanyashannon.com/subnormala-british-scandal>
- Simon-Kumar, R., Lewycka, S., Clark, T. C., Fleming, T., & Peiris-John, R. (2022). Flexible resources and experiences of racism among a multi-ethnic adolescent population in Aotearoa, New Zealand: an intersectional analysis of health and socioeconomic inequities using survey data. *The Lancet*, 400(10358), 1130-1143.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(22\)01537-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(22)01537-9)
- Smale, A. (2024). *Finally heard, seen – and believed*.
<https://newsroom.co.nz/2024/07/27/finally-heard-seen-and-believed/>
- Smith, H., Grice, J. L., Fonua, S., & Mayeda, D. (2022). Coloniality, institutional racism and white fragility: A wero to higher education. *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 51(2). <https://doi.org/10.55146/ajie.v51i2.34>
- Smith, C., Tinirau, R., Mana, H. R.-T., Tawaroa, M., Barnes, H. M., Cormack, D., & Fitzgerald, E. (2021). *Whakatika: A survey of - Māori experiences of racism. Te Atawhai o Te Ao Charitable Trust*.
<https://whakatika.teatawhai.maori.nz/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Whakatika-Report-March-2021.pdf>
- Stace, H. (2022). Aotearoa New Zealand's Royal Commission on abuse in care and making our disability history visible. *Public History Review*, 29, 156-167
<https://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/journals/index.php/phrj/article/download/8193/8051>
- StatsNZ. (2024). *2023 Census population counts (by ethnic group, age, and Māori descent) and dwelling counts*.



- <https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/2023-census-population-counts-by-ethnic-group-age-and-maori-descent-and-dwelling-counts/>
- Stobart, G. (2008). *Testing times : The uses and abuses of assessment*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Stubbing, J., Simon-Kumar, N., & Gluckman, P. (2023). *A summary of literature reflecting the perspectives of young people in Aotearoa on systemic factors affecting their wellbeing*. <https://www.mhwc.govt.nz/assets/Youth-wellbeing-/Koi-Tu-Literature-Review-for-Te-Hiringa-Mahara-May-2023.pdf>
- Tan, K., Stolte, O., Waitoki, W., & Scarf, D. (2023). How well does psychological research in Aotearoa New Zealand reflect diversity? *Journal of the New Zealand College of Clinical Psychologists*, 33(1), 79–91. [://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.818784](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.818784)
- Tawhai, V. (2024). "He Māori Ahau" Conference, Tākina, Wellington Convention and Exhibition Centre. LinkedIn [Blog]. <https://www.linkedin.com/posts/dr-veronica-mh-tawhai-686b781b-toitutetiriti-activity-7212927793632804864-RURD>
- The Disinformation Project. (2023). *Race and rage: Examining rising anti-Māori racism and white supremacist ideologies in Aotearoa New Zealand*. <https://thedisinfoproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Race-and-rage-Examining-rising-anti-Maori-racism-and-white-supremacist-ideologies-in-Aotearoa-New-Zealand.pdf>
- The Royal Commission of Inquiry into Abuse in Care. (2024). *Māori survivors' experiences of abuse and neglect in care*. Abuse in Care, Royal Commission of Inquiry. <https://www.abuseincare.org.nz/assets/Whanaketia/Summaries/Summary-Maori.pdf>
- Thomas, A. (2020). Pakeha and doing the work of decolonisation. In R. Kiddle, B. Elkington, M. Jackson, O. R. Mercier, M. Ross, J. Smeaton, & A. Thomas. (Eds.), *Imagining Decolonisation* (pp. 107 -132): Bridget Williams Books.
- Tinirau, R., Smith, C., & Haami, M. (2021). *Whakatika: How does racism impact on the health of Māori? A national literature review for the Whakatika Project*. Te Atawhai o Te Ao Charitable Trust. <https://teatawhai.maori.nz/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Whakatika-National-literature-review.pdf>
- Timperley, H., Wilson, A., Barrar, H., & Fung, I. (2007). *Teacher professional learning and development: Best evidence synthesis iteration (BES)*. <https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/series/2515/15341>
- Turner, H., Rubie-Davies, C. M., & Webber, M. (2015). Teacher expectations, ethnicity and the achievement gap. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 50(1), 55-69. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-015-0004-1>
- Waipara-Panapa, A., & Huygens, I. (2010). Psychologists practising in the presence of history. *Psychology Aotearoa*, 2(2), 120-123. <https://www.psychology.org.nz/journal-archive/Psych-Ao-Nov10-Aroha.pdf>
- Waitoki, W., Tan, K., Hamley, L., Scarf, D., Stolte, O., & Chan, J. (2023a). How far are we with Indigenising psychology training curriculum in Aotearoa New Zealand? *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 136(1577). <https://doi.org/10.26635/6965.6152>
- Waitoki, W., Tan, K., Stolte, O., Chan, J., Hamley, L., & Scarf, D. (2023b). Four decades after a 'Whiter Shade of Pale': An update on professional psychology programme responsiveness to Indigenous Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 52(3), 4-14. https://www.psychology.org.nz/application/files/9317/1697/3381/WAITOKI_4-14.pdf
- Waitoki, W., Tan, K., Hamley, L., Stolte, O., Chan, J., & Scarf, D. (2024). *Racism and oppression in Psychology: Voices from psychologists, academic staff, and students*. WERO and University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.25244.71047>
- Webber, M., & Macfarlane, A. (2020). Mana Tangata: The five optimal cultural conditions for Māori student success. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 59(1), 26-49. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jaie.2020.a798554>
- Whaanga, M. (2017). *Ngāti Kahungunu - Ancestors*. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ngati-kahungunu/page-2>
- Williams, O. J. (2016). *Teachers' perceptions of psychological services in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. (Masters in Educational Psychology), Massey University, Manawātū, New Zealand. <https://mro.massey.ac.nz/server/api/core/bitstreams/bdd59c2e-a393-4fa3-99cd-1173a282f45f/content>
- Williams, A. D., Clark, T. C., & Lewycka, S. (2018). The associations between cultural identity and mental health outcomes for Indigenous Māori youth in New Zealand. *Frontiers in Public Health*, 6, 319. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2018.00319>

