

**ENTERING THE VOID**

Exploring the relationship between the experience of colonisation and the experience of self for Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa, and the implications for clinical practice.

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**ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP**

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material, which to a substantial extent, has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or institution of higher learning, except when acknowledgement is made in the acknowledgements.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## NGĀ MIHI WHAKANUI

Tihei Mauri Ora!

Ka hoki whakamuri ngā whakaaro ki aku tīpuna, ki aku kuia, ki aku koroua, ki aku rahi kua mene atu ki te pō. Moe mai, moe mai, moe mai.

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Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) granted ethics approval for this study at their meeting on the 27/04/04 (Ethics application number: 02/33).

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the relationship between the experience of colonisation and the experience of self for Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. The study suggests that an indigenous experience of self exists within a discursive relationship to colonisation processes.

Using a modified systematic literature review located within a kaupapa Māori research framework, the study considers colonisation and the resultant disruption to an experience of indigenous 'selves'. The work examines the process of racialisation: the construction and resulting interiorisation of Indigenous Peoples as 'Other'. The review contends that this process has the effect of disrupting indigenous ontologies creating a divided and alienated experience of self for Indigenous Peoples. Within Aotearoa, the phenomenon of whakama and mate Māori are hypothesised as the indigenous experience of this alienated and divided self. The study suggests that arguably all psychological issues for Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa arise to some degree from these experiences.

Implications for psychotherapy are considered. Psychotherapy and psychotherapists are challenged to re-evaluate both the underlying positivist conceptualisations of self, and ongoing processes of colonisation, in order that they may be more fully equipped to effectively work alongside Indigenous communities in Aotearoa.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

*Ko Maunga Pōhatu te maunga*

*Ko Ōhinemataroa te awa*

*Ko Te Rewarewa te marae*

*Ko Te Purewa te tangata*

*Ko Te Māhurehure te hapū*

*Ko Tūhoe te iwi*

*Tihei Mauri Ora!*

As a Māori researcher, one walks alongside the community being researched, with the responsibility to ensure that Māori research by, with and for Māori is about regaining knowledge and our resources. We are thus enacting our *tinu rangatiratanga* over research that investigates Māori issues. (Cram cited in International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, 2006, p. 9)

I have grown up within a generation of urban Māori whose parents left their rural upbringings in search of new futures in shining metropolises. Being the child of a bicultural marriage, I embody the struggle between Māori and Pākeha. My life has been defined by a constant search for belonging. Being a brown Pākeha or a pale Māori, I have always experienced myself as ‘Other’. The question of who I am and where I belong has coloured the lens through which I perceive the world.

In my work as a psychotherapist, I have often witnessed what Durie (2001) refers to in Māori clients as a sense of “identity diffusion and anomie” (p. 131). As in my story, these existential phenomena usually manifest around questions of identity. Fanon (1982) identifies these experiences for Indigenous Peoples as “the zone of non being” (p. 8) and L. Smith (1999) as a “state of nothingness and hopelessness” (p. 88).

This research arises out of my observations and experiences of contemporary psychological and social issues effecting Indigenous Peoples. This study explores the subjective experience of self for Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. It considers the experience of a fragmented sense of self and the struggle of Indigenous Peoples to manage the relentless effects of a violent colonisation process, and the search for a future in a modern and post modern world. It is hoped that the study will contribute to advancing issues of self determination and healing for Indigenous Peoples.

### **Overview of the study**

Numerous authors (Clothier, 1993; Cram, 2001; Hoskins, 2001; Pihama, 1993; Pohatu, 2004; G. Smith, 1997; L. Smith, 1999; Stewart-Harawira, 2005; S. Walker, 1996) identify the problematic nature of research for Indigenous Peoples, with research simultaneously used as a mechanism for colonial oppression and a contested site for emancipation. This study utilises kaupapa Māori research theory (KMT) to mediate this tension. Fanon's (1983) three stages of liberation are also co-opted to progress the study towards the KMT principle of emancipation. These methodological frameworks are further outlined in chapter two.

Chapter three explores literature relevant to the relationship between psychological issues for contemporary Indigenous Peoples and the historical and ongoing processes of colonisation.

Chapter four considers the concept of racialisation: the construction of Indigenous Peoples as 'Other'. Expanding on concepts explored in chapter three, racialisation is posited as a critical component of the colonisation process. Theorists argue that the concept of race is utilised to organise and maintain differences between groups of people. Literature reviewed suggests that the construction of Māori as 'Other' by British and European settlers is strongly linked to destructive psycho-social and political aspects of the colonising process. Clinical vignettes illustrating these processes are provided.

Chapter five further explores the effects of racialisation, suggesting that the primary psychological effect of colonisation is the internalisation of the



objectified 'Other' incorporated into the experience of self by colonised peoples. Literature reviewed describes the internalisation of the objectified 'Other' resulting in the experience of an objectified and divided self. The experience of whakama and mate Māori are introduced as indigenous expressions of the divided and alienated self. The chapter concludes with vignettes illustrating these experiences for Indigenous Peoples in the clinical setting.

Chapter six summarises the findings of the literature review and considers the clinical implications for psychotherapeutic practice. The limitations of the study are identified and areas of further research suggested. The discussion challenges assumptions inherent in Western psychotherapeutic practice and invites psychotherapists to consciously reflect on psychotherapy's contribution in maintaining the status quo and continuing the oppression of Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Methodology

It is surely difficult to discuss *research methodology* and *Indigenous Peoples* together, in the same breath, without having an analysis of imperialism, without understanding the complex ways in which the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices. (L. Smith, 1999, p. 2)

Māori researchers carry a responsibility to ensure they help lift the mana of Māori (Bishop, 1997; Cram, 2001). This research is a modified systematic literature review, nourished within an indigenous research methodology: kaupapa Māori research theory (KMT).

This chapter outlines the research methodology including the pedagogical approaches that influenced the research. It examines the context and parameters of the literature review and notes the challenges inherent for the indigenous researcher. The chapter concludes by describing the literature reviewed and the definition of key terms used to interpret data in this study.

#### **Modified literature review**

In this literature review the experience of self for Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa is explored. The study considers the relationship between an indigenous self and an indigenous experience of colonisation. The intention of this research is to highlight the various socio-political, ecological and psychological processes that contribute to an indigenous experience of self. The study hopes to develop and add to understandings of these processes. Personal and clinical vignettes are incorporated to illustrate the literature.

Systematic literature reviews are a widely used research method in determining best practice. Literature is usually located utilising regulated inclusionary and exclusionary search criteria. Data is then analysed with findings summarised and

critiqued (Sackett, 2000). Implications for practice and further areas of research are also identified.

Systematic reviews generally use quantitative data gained from randomised control trials. This is problematic for psychotherapy, which has “relatively few research projects of this kind” (Margison, Barham, Evans, McGrath, Clark, Audin, & Connell, 2000, p. 123). However, Goodheart (2004) asserts that psychotherapists could utilise evidential sources, which may include observations, experiences, discussions and general literature. Consequently, this literature review will be modified to include psychotherapeutic literature, qualitative studies and clinical vignettes.

### **Kaupapa Māori research theory (KMT)**

Many indigenous authors (Bishop, 2005; Clothier, 1993; Cram, 2001; Jackson, 1996; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 1993; Pohatu, 2004; L. Smith, 1999, 2005; Stewart-Harawira, 2005; S. Walker, 1996) argue that research and research methodology has been intractably interwoven within the colonising ideology. Research has been utilised as a device legitimatising colonial oppression of Indigenous Peoples. L. Smith (1999) states: “In a very real sense research has been the encounter between the West and the Other” (p. 8). Cram (2001) describes researchers as the mediators of both the space and power differentials that potentially exist between themselves and those with whom they are doing research.

Mainstream research methodologies are essentially invisible whilst indigenous research methodologies involve a process legitimised through the referencing of the author and obligations to local communities (L. Smith, 1999; Stewart-Harawira, 2005; S. Walker, 1996). KMT was chosen as an appropriate indigenous methodology to guide this literature review.

KMT is an attempt by indigenous researchers to develop their own methodology in order to take ownership of research. KMT draws from an indigenous knowledge base to construct meaning (Pihama, 1993) and includes rectifying the damage of oppressive practices and promoting a social change agenda. “It

addresses Māori concerns in our own land” (Pihama, 1993, p. 207). KMT is an evolving framework that strives to be critical and self reflective (Hoskins, 2001). Several key principles have been identified to guide indigenous research (Cram, 2001; Hoskins, 2001; Pihama, 1993; Pohatu, 2004; G. Smith, 1997; L. Smith, 1999).

1. The principle of the Treaty of Waitangi: Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) provides a basis through which Māori may critically analyse relationships, challenge the status quo, and affirm Māori rights (Pihama, 2001).
2. The principle of collective philosophy: The kaupapa refers to the collective vision, aspiration and purpose of Māori communities.
3. The principle of emancipation: Tino rangatiratanga relates to sovereignty, autonomy, control, self determination and independence.
4. The principle of socio-economic mediation: This principle asserts a need for kaupapa Māori research to be of positive benefit to Māori communities.
5. The principle of cultural aspiration: Within a kaupapa Māori paradigm, Māori ways of knowing, doing and understanding the world are considered valid in their own right.
6. The principle of growing respectful relationships: The principle of āta (Pohatu, 2004) relates specifically to building, nurturing and maintaining wellbeing in relationships with Māori.
7. The principle of extended family structure: The principle of whānau acknowledges the relationship that Māori have with the world around them and to one another. It also identifies the intrinsic connection between the researcher, the researched and the research.

The kaupapa of this study embodies the principles of KMT as it concerns the emancipation and critical development of indigenous understandings of the experience of self in Aotearoa. The KMT principles have been utilised to prioritise indigenous perspectives and to assist with consultation and engagement with other Māori. Utilising the principle of āta, all clinical material used in this study has been collected with respect and informed consent. In addition, the author has clearly identified himself within the research; thereby allowing the reader to contextualise the study and reduce the inherent power differential between researcher and researched.

### **The process of liberation**

The KMT principle of emancipation is also guided by Fanon's (1983) three stages of liberation. These stages provide a developmental framework to locate and define the parameters of this literature review. Fanon proposes that Indigenous Peoples primarily experience the following three stages in response to the experience of colonisation.

1. Unqualified assimilation.
2. The resurgence of tradition.
3. The time of action.

This literature review concentrates on Fanon's first stage, exploring the consequences of the internalisation of the objectified 'Other' perpetuated through colonial ideology. While the stages outline a developmental process, central to this research is the idea that the stages are not strictly linear. Processes experienced in stage one continue to influence the experience of self of Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa.

This study therefore concentrates on the initial and continuing effects of colonisation and reflects an indigenous position in the ongoing debate between colonialism and post colonialism. 'Post' modern, 'post' structural and 'post' colonial are contested by Indigenous Peoples as new sites of oppression exploiting and de-legitimising indigenous experiences (Bishop, 1997, 2005; L. Smith, 1999, 2005; S. Walker, 1996). L. Smith (1999) in addressing this debate comments:

There can be no ‘post modern’ for us until we have settled some business of the modern. This does not mean that we do not understand or employ multiple discourses, or act in incredibly contradictory ways, or exercise power ourselves in multiple ways. It means that there is unfinished business, that we are still being colonised (and know it) and that we are still searching for justice. (p. 34)

### **Definition of terms**

‘Self and identity’ and similarly, ‘Indigenous and Māori’, are interrelated concepts which share multiple connections and are often used simultaneously or consecutively within the literature. In order to delineate the parameters of this study working definitions of these and other key concepts are outlined.

### **Self and identity**

The ground between identity and self often shifts depending on the orientation of the author. According to Dalal (2002) this occurs because: “‘who I am’ and ‘what I am’ is the same as ‘where do I belong’ ... there is an isomorphism between the sense of self and identity” (p. 187).

Dana (1998) declares, “identity is described by the self and the personality” (p. 17). Dalal (2002) states that identity is the sense of self. Both Dalal (2002) and Dana (1998) describe identity (the sense of self) as a description of social relationships between groups and individuals. In fact, Dalal (2002) asserts identity is not a possession but the name of a relationship between people. These ideas of self are contrasted with the positivist’s notion of self as a thing or object, exemplified by authors such as Kohut (1970, 1977) who delineate between self as core and identity as surface.

In line with Dalal (2002) and Dana’s (1998) explication of self and identity, this study suggests that an indigenous self is a description of a matrix of fluid and interconnecting relationships (the idea of indigenous ‘selves’ will be discussed in

chapter three). Identity is the name given to define a specific grouping of qualities pertinent in those relationships.

### **Indigenous and Māori**

Indigenous is a universal term that includes many diverse communities, language groups and nations. Māori or tangata whēnua is more frequently used to describe the Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. The term Māori has been identified as a label, which defines a colonial relationship between ‘Māori’ and ‘Pākeha’ - see chapter three (L. Smith, 1999). ‘Indigenous’ is a contemporary term that “internationalises the experiences, the issues and struggles” of peoples who “have been subjected to the colonisation of their lands and the denial of their sovereignty, by a colonising society” (L. Smith, 1999, p. 7). I have chosen to privilege the term Indigenous over Māori in this research, as the concept of Indigenous is contrary to the construction of Māori as ‘Other’ to Pākeha. The designation of *Indigenous Peoples* throughout this study reflects both an indigenous reclamation of naming experiences and also mirrors Indigenous Peoples re-assertion of the collective power of Indigenous communities. In addition, Māori words are not italicised as ‘foreign’, reflecting the movement of this study towards tino rangatiratanga.

### **Colonisation**

Colonisation is a mechanism of the active process of imperialism. Whilst a full exploration of the ideological and historical context of colonisation is beyond the scope of this work, I refer the reader to *Decolonising methodologies* (L. Smith, 1999) and *Ka whawhai tonu matou* (R. Walker, 1996) for excellent descriptions and analyses of these processes.

This study asserts that an indigenous experience of self exists within a discursive relationship to colonisation processes. Morice (2003) captures this commenting, “colonisation past and present is the ongoing context for the emancipatory struggle of Māori to reclaim our *selves*” (p. 7) (*italics added*).

### **Literature review**

The literature review involved library searches of electronic databases, books, the inter-loan system, reference lists and bibliographies. The following databases were used:

- Psychoanalytic Electronic Publishing (PEP)
- EBSCO Mega File Premier
- Proquest International 5000
- PsychINFO

Initial searches indicated that the volume of literature and research exploring the effects of colonisation on indigenous culture was extensive. In contrast, literature on the notion of an indigenous experience of self and its relationship to colonisation was more limited. Narrower still was research exploring an indigenous experience of self, specific to Aotearoa.

Given the wide range of literature, it is beyond the scope of this study to review all material on all Indigenous Peoples. Searches have therefore been restricted to exclude non-Indigenous and non-Māori literature, instead focusing specifically upon Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. Certain key international authors' writings regarding the universal impact of colonisation on the experience of self of Indigenous Peoples are also considered (Dalal, 2002; Elias, 1994; Erikson, 1959; Fanon, 1982; Foulkes, 1975; Wolfenstein, 1993). This international literature, which describes overall psychological processes of colonisation between Indigenous Peoples and colonising nations, provides a conceptual framework within which the experience of Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa is considered. Literature unrelated to psychological information was eliminated as was literature written in languages other than English or Māori.



**Table 1**

**PEP**

<b>Search Words</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>Useful</b>
Māori or Indigenous and colonisation.	20	2
Māori or Indigenous and self.	2	0
Māori and self and colonisation.	0	0

**Table 2**

**EBSCO Mega File Premier**

<b>Search Words</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>Useful</b>
Māori and Indigenous and colonisation.	58	8
Māori and Indigenous and self.	112	10
Māori and self and colonisation.	28	4

**Table 3**

**Proquest International 5000**

<b>Search Words</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>Useful</b>
Māori and Indigenous and colonisation.	18	1
Māori and Indigenous and self.	38	3
Māori and self and colonisation.	5	1

**Table 4**

**PsychINFO**

<b>Search Words</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>Useful</b>
Māori and Indigenous and colonisation.	210	20
Māori and Indigenous and self.	531	13
Māori and self and colonisation.	28	4

### **Conclusion**

In this modified literature review the experience of self for Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa and its relationship to colonisation is explored, with the aim that this study will contribute to advancing issues of self determination and healing for Indigenous Peoples. The following chapter reviews the impact of colonisation on the indigenous experience of self.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Tangata Whēnua: People - Land

This chapter begins by exploring the initial effects of colonisation on indigenous ‘selves’, exploring the ontological conflict between Indigenous Peoples and settler nations. The chapter investigates the estrangement of Indigenous Peoples from land and other natural resources and the impact this has on the experience of self.

#### **Colonisation and the alienation of an indigenous self: loss of land**

According to Durie (2005) the experience of colonisation for Indigenous Peoples across the world has been disastrous and can be defined by a common pattern of loss: “the loss of culture, loss of voice, loss of population, loss of dignity, loss of health and loss of traditional methodologies” (p. 136). Literature reviewed argues that the damage experienced by Indigenous Peoples is a reflection of the disruptive patterning inherent in the colonisation process. Colonisation is motivated by an imperialist desire to acquire land and greater resources (Durie, 2005; Fanon, 1983; Renwick, 1991; R. Walker, 1990; Williams, 2001). The principal consequence of this process has been the alienation of Indigenous Peoples from land.

In Aotearoa, in 1862 and 1865 the new settler government (established in 1854) imposed the Native Land Acts (Durie, 2005). These new laws replaced indigenous systems of collective land tenure with individualisation of title. Durie (2005) observes that this legislation impacted directly on Indigenous Peoples at two interconnecting levels. Firstly the acquisition of land by settlers was vastly simplified, resulting in swifter erosion of indigenous land title. Secondly indigenous systems of land tenure were destroyed, further alienating Indigenous communities while simultaneously assimilating them into British culture.

In response to the erosion of indigenous rights and loss of natural resources, armed conflict between Crown and Indigenous Peoples erupted in the Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Taranaki between 1854 and 1872. The Indigenous Peoples were labelled as insurgents and tribal lands forcibly confiscated by the Crown. In 1840, Māori owned 29,880,000 hectares of land in Aotearoa. By 1900, land

alienation had eroded tribal estates to 3,200,000 hectares and by 2001 Māori land holdings had fallen to 1,515,071 hectares (Durie, 2005, p. 60).

As land tenure, fishing rights, hunting and gathering rights and other natural resources were progressively legislated and lost, Māori became increasingly alienated from the land and its ecology. The reorganisation of land usage heralded the disappearance of an indigenous ecologically based society underneath the weight of the British colonising initiative (Durie, 2005, pp.13-15). According to Price (cited in Park, 2006, p. 222) the indigenous predicament is one of lost access and rights to resources; an ecological system on which culture and history depend.

Significantly, the apparent demise of the Māori population in the 1890s was mirrored by the systematic destruction of the indigenous landscape and ecology. Park (2006) notes in that decade alone “British settlers torched forests equivalent to 14 percent of New Zealand’s land area, making it one of the most active frontiers in the world in terms of the ecological change wrought” (p. 222).

Park (2006) traces the impact of the superimposition of an alien ecology on Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. He states that the venture to create the “Britain of the South had pitched the Māori landscape from a productive ecology to one of loss” (p. 88). Park links the loss of physical resources with the felt experience of psychological anguish and pain for Indigenous Peoples:

When a long-term association with the land - long enough to define yourself as being *of* it, long enough to know it as what fed your mother and hers - is summarily injured or reorganised, as most of the Māori landscape was between 1840 and 1890, it causes psychological pain. (p. 88)

Furthermore, documentation as far back as the early nineteenth century records this link between the alienation of Indigenous Peoples from natural resources and

the resultant negative impact on physical and psychological wellbeing. According to Newman (cited in Park, 2006):

Mental depression is held by many authorities to have a large effect upon the Māoris, and certainly the loss of their former cropping grounds, of their burial grounds, of the rivers and lakes wherein they formerly fished...and the evident decrease of their race does probably affect a few.

(p. 88)

Durie (2001) uses an analogy of attachment between infants and their mothers to describe the effect of the disruption of the ecological attachment on an indigenous self. Optimal development and the creation of a secure identity for an indigenous self, requires a secure attachment between the person (infant) and the land (mother). When this bond is disrupted and confused, an insecure sense of self follows (p. 79). According to Durie the disorganised identity crisis experienced by contemporary Māori, is a direct result of the disruption of this ecological attachment. The alienation from the land and ecology which colonisation heralded also meant alienation for Indigenous Peoples from their indigenous self.

### **The ontological conflict**

A number of authors have suggested (Clammer, Poirier & Schwimmer, 2004; Fleras, 1999; Havemann, 1999; Hill, 2004; Kawharu, 2003; Linnekin & Poyer 1990; McCarty, Borgoiakova, Gilmore, Lomawaima, & Trisanina, 2005; Renwick, 1991; R. Walker, 1987) that when conflicts are closely examined from an anthropological perspective, at their roots lie not only material factors but also ontological conceptions. Cosmocentric as opposed to anthropocentric understandings of peoples place in the universe are central to this conceptualisation: images of nature, ideas of the self, of the body, of gender and of mind-body relationships to name some of the most significant (Clammer et al., 2004, pp. 5-6). These in turn are linked in profound ways to ideas of health, healing, religion, identity, food, aesthetics, symbolism, and architecture.

The loss of land is not simply the loss of property, but something closer to the loss of soul, of the material mediator between humans and the universe...in the final analysis, the explication of culture cannot ignore the question of ontologies. (Clammer et al., p. 5)

Arguably, conflict in Aotearoa New Zealand centres upon land and the struggle for control of natural resources. The ontological heart of this conflict is the radically different conceptualisation of self in relation to land and natural resources. Park (2006) offers a detailed example of ecological conflict between European and Indigenous Peoples.

### **The ecological self**

Indigenous Peoples (and the concept of indigeneity) are defined through their primary relationship with the land and environments they inhabit and embody. An indigenous self is “fused” with the land (Durie, 2005, p. 137). The land permeates identity, customs, language, lore and rituals (p. 137). This understanding of an indigenous self is echoed by other authors (Pere, 1988, 1994; Ra, 2002; Shirres, 1997; L. Smith, 1999; Stewart-Harawira, 2005; R. Walker, 1987). Park (2006) states that for Indigenous Peoples:

The wing beats of tūī and kererū overhead spoke of the pulse of the land alive. These people ate from the forest and fished from the sea: forest and sea flowed through them. Living close to other native species, they understood themselves joined in a reciprocal coherence to them. Any sickness or damage that befell the forest befell them. (p. 89)

Park’s (2006) poetic descriptor captures an intensely intimate relationship between an indigenous self and the surrounding environment. The premise of an interconnected self, described by Durie (2003, 2005) and Park (2006) is a central notion within the formation of the concepts of indigeneity and an indigenous self. The extract also serves as an illustration of the dangers inherent in reconstructing

the indigenous self. Park's comparison of Indigenous Peoples as "other native species" (p. 223) is a relic of the dehumanising process of colonialism. The tendency to romanticise the relationship between the Earth Mother environment and her children, Indigenous Peoples, effectively draws upon unconscious constructions of Indigenous communities. Dalal (2002) talks of romanticism as idealisation, and denigration as a projection, both of which have their roots buried in the ideology of imperialism. These processes and the surrounding literature will be explored in more depth in chapter four.

### **New ways of being**

Several authors (Belgrave, Kawharu, & Williams 2005; Durie, 1997, 2001; Kawharu, 2003; Ritchie, 1963; R. Walker, 1987, 1990; Williams, 2001) have noted that initial contact between Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa and early settlers was marked by the ease with which Indigenous Peoples embraced new technologies, ideas, symbols and objects into their communities. Durie (2001) describes the paradigm of transcending old into new as characteristic of the first stage of an indigenous response to colonisation. This concept is symbolised in takarangi (Stewart-Harawira, 2005) with the continual reconstitution of an indigenous worldview, in relationship to the surrounding environments.

Figure 1 Takarangi.



Stewart-Harawira (2005) in his explication of an indigenous global ontology uses the metaphor of the double spiral or takarangi to capture the ontological and epistemological position of an indigenous worldview. Takarangi literally means chaos and the double spiral represents the concepts of pre-existence and potentiality. The spiral is a symbol representing the interconnectedness of all existence. The centre of the spiral is te kore: The void or the realm of potential being which contains movement towards te ao mārama - the world of light and actualisation - while simultaneously moving back into nothingness.

Stewart-Harawira (2005) observes that an indigenous understanding of interconnectedness is central to indigenous relationships with the environment, both physically and metaphysically. Sampson's (1988) concept of an ensembled indigenous self and Roland's (2006) description of a "we self" (p. 8), also reflect the fundamental element of interconnectedness in the construction of the indigenous psyche. Stewart-Harawira compares indigenous ontologies and epistemologies with critical hermeneutic existential, post modern and interpretive approaches that understand subject and object as an interrelated whole. Hence the interpretive and explanatory 'circle of understanding' has been expanded into an indigenous 'spiral of understanding'.

L. Smith (1999) makes a strong case for the prominence of interconnection with the environment. She claims that Indigenous Peoples learnt that survival depended on a social structure that simultaneously emphasised cooperation whilst incorporating mobility and adaptability to change:

I believe that our survival as peoples has come from our knowledge or our contexts, our environment, not from some active beneficence of our Earth Mother. We had to know to survive. We had to work out ways of knowing, we had to predict, to learn and reflect, we had to preserve and protect, we had to defend and attack, we had to be mobile, we had to have social systems which enabled us to do these things. We still have to do these things. (p. 13)

### **Granular society**

In a similar vein, Ritchie (1963) describes Māori society prior to colonisation as 'granular' rather than 'individualistic' or 'cooperative'. Granular according to Ritchie describes society organised around potential rather than formal lines of structure or power. Ritchie's description of a 'granular' Māori society is written in response to the Western projection of a collective or communistic Māori mentality. Although Indigenous communities emphasise concerted harmony and



mutual cooperation, the projection of a collective mentality is value laden and sits alongside notions of ‘primitive’ organisations of ‘tribal’ societies.

Fanon (1983) maintains that colonising communities fear Indigenous Peoples grouping together and overthrowing the colonial oppressor. Consequently reification of the idea of the individual occurs. The individual is privileged and promoted as liberal, enlightened and the group or society demoted and denigrated as primitive. In this process Indigenous Peoples become naturalised to the echelon of other animals and are described as possessing a hive or swarm mentality (p. 33). These suppositions will be revisited more fully in chapters five and six.

### **Mana ake**

Several authors have considered the contradiction inherent in the idea of an individual indigenous self (Durie, 1995, 2005; Fanon, 1983; Pihama, Cram, & S. Walker, 2002; L. Smith, 1999; S. Walker, 1996). Developing these ideas, the concept of ecological ‘selves’ is posited in this study as a series of intersecting relationships, a matrix of people and events that are interconnected to the wider environment. This is contrasted with a Western notion of self, the “I-self” (Roland, 2006, p. 2) that is singular, individualised and contained.

This indigenous notion of self is captured by the concept of mana ake (Pere, 1994). The relationship between mana ake and ‘selves’ can be conceptually traced through a series of interconnected concepts merging the person and the environment. Mana ake is based on the concept of mana whēnua. Mana whēnua is derived from the concept of tangata whēnua, describing the infusion of people with the environment, which is embodied by the concept of whēnua. Whēnua is both land and placenta, both of which nurture, sustain and contain life. This in turn can be associated to the concepts of birth and existence. Mana ake reflects a concept of a fully integrated ecological self, derived from an indigenous paradigm and worldview. The developing body of literature describing a growing awareness of the ecological self, led by authors such as Rosak (1992) is outside the scope of this study. Bragg (1996) also provides an interesting analysis of the intersection of indigenous, ecological and positivist psychology, which is again beyond the scope of this study.

### **Western notion of the individual self**

By contrast, a Western notion of self is informed by the humanistic model, which splits human from nature and body from mind (L. Smith, 1999). The individual self is contained and internal (Dalal, 2002; Gertz, 1975; Harrington, 1993; Plouffe, 2002; Roland, 2006; Sampson, 1998; Wolstein, 1977) and created and maintained by a regimented sense of the boundaries between individual and society (Ritchie, 1963). Deeply embedded Western assumptions of the individual and individualism are profoundly entrenched in psychological theorising and normative structures (Dalal, 2002; Kleinman, 1998; Krawitz, & Watson, 1997; Roland, 2006). In making this distinction it is not simply the comparisons between an indigenous experience or notion of self and a Western concept of self that are emphasised; but more significantly it is suggested that it is the imposition of the Western perception of self upon the indigenous understanding of self, that has been key to the devastation of Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. This process is essentially the colonisation of indigenous 'selves'. The superimposition of a Western notion of self over indigenous 'selves' and consequences for psychotherapeutic practice will be explored further in chapter five and chapter six.

### **Māori tanga: a Māori Pākeha dialectic**

The central premise of this chapter is that the British colonising venture was motivated by the acquisition of land and natural resources. As more land was acquired, Indigenous Peoples were driven further from a symbiotic relationship with the land, from an indigenous worldview and ultimately their 'selves'. The consequences of these disruptions have had profound psychological effects (see subsequent chapters).

These colliding ontological realities and the resulting disruption of indigenous 'selves', are analysed by Ritchie (1963) who explores the shift from an indigenous being towards an essential Māori identity. Ritchie traces a parallel internal process mirroring the external patterns of the colonising process. As competition for resources increased, Ritchie argues, so did sensitivity and understanding of how the dynamics of competition were being organised in this new colonial era. The boundaries between people had shifted, creating a new sense of 'us' and 'them'. The 'us and them' had become organised along racial lines. Fanon (1983) stresses

that as the divide between human and non-human intensifies, the external split in the colonial situation is mirrored by the internal psyche of Indigenous Peoples.

Ritchie (1963) states that as a response to these dynamics, Indigenous Peoples began to operate along increasingly fixed boundaries and social structures. As these external structures solidify so do internal structures. According to Ritchie, colonisation created a rigid sense of self as Māori that is ‘Other’ to European and British. The dichotomy between Māori and Pākehā was consolidated. Ritchie (1963) asserts that this process was encapsulated by the phenomenon of a proto national Māori culture which further evolved after the land wars between 1854 and 1872 and combined with a series of social pressures: the emergence of the young Māori Party, post war demands and the dynamic urbanisation of Māori. According to Ritchie, these crises cumulated in an indigenous insurrection led by Smith, Best and the Māori Board of Ethnological Research. The intention of the movement was to recover, reconstruct, rectify and revive an image of the Māori past. It heralded the emergence of Māori tanga: essential ‘Māoriness’.

### **Clinical vignette<sup>1</sup>**

*Tāwhiri is a middle aged Māori man who has experienced urbanisation, as his mother and father moved to the city with the intention of creating a better life. Tāwhiri currently lives in poverty in State housing, working tirelessly to provide for his whānau with limited skills. Tāwhiri presents in psychotherapy with a crisis of identity and a fragmented sense of self. His dislocation and disconnection are reflected through his deeply felt ignorance of cultural traditions and language, which he experiences as whakama. He feels like he is in “limbo”, that he “is a failure in both worlds”. Tāwhiri relays his shameful experience at his father’s tangi where “on the paepae there was no one to reply in Māori”.*

*Tāwhiri’s experience of whakama also stems from the transference of his interdependent relationship with Indigenous communities and resources to*

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<sup>1</sup> Names and other identifying information have been altered in all clinical vignettes, to ensure client anonymity.

*his dependence upon the State. This is primarily in the form of State housing in apartments (no access to land or natural resources) and meagre supplementary income (ensuring that the family remains impoverished and dependent). Tāwhiri explains: "I feel trapped, stuck in this dump, there has got to be more to life than this hell hole. You know I'm sick of the gangs destroying our people. I want to build a community with our own gardens, kai moana, creating a paa where we can protect our kids...kind of like the old ways, where my parents came from. But we ain't got a hope, this is our lot, we're all coconuts brown on the outside, white on the inside..."*

Intergenerational processes have resulted in increasing disconnection and alienation from indigenous experiences of land and natural resources. Tāwhiri has embodied these processes presenting within psychotherapy with a crisis of self, fragmentation, hopelessness, and despair. He is striving to make changes in his whānau and claim his tino rangatiratanga, yet feels isolated, under resourced and constantly returns to questioning his own authenticity.

Tāwhiri's disconnection from his ancestral heritage, his awareness of his whānau's dependence on the State, and his alienation from his indigenous identity appears to powerfully reflect an internal split and loss of 'selves', mirroring the split which colonisation perpetrated on the Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has explored the idea that indigenous being or self is co-created through interconnected, symbiotic relationships with the land and other physical resources. An indigenous self is ecological 'selves' and is central to an indigenous worldview.

The British colonising project concentrated on the acquisition of land and resources for settlers. As a prerequisite to achieving a colonial state, indigenous claims to land were first extinguished and/or displaced. The consequent alienation and destruction of indigenous 'selves' created a solidified sense of self, which is locked into and constructed by an ongoing relationship with the colonising power.

It is suggested that the conflict between settler nations and indigenous 'selves' is a direct reflection of the ontological conflict between British imperialism and an indigenous worldview.

The chapter concludes by emphasising that the loss of land for Indigenous Peoples equates to a parallel loss of 'selves'. The processes and consequences of colonisation discussed in this chapter are considered further in chapter four, which explores the concept of racialisation: the construction of Indigenous Peoples as 'Other'.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **The Māori ‘Other’**

Chapter four continues the themes investigated in chapter three by exploring the relationship between colonisation and the construction of Indigenous Peoples as ‘Other’. This chapter contends that the construction of Indigenous as ‘Other’ is a primary mechanism of colonisation.

International literature (Dalal, 2002; Erikson, 1964; Fanon, 1982; Wolfenstein, 1993) relevant to Indigenous and colonial contexts is reviewed. The chapter continues by exploring the construction of the ‘Other’ in Aotearoa, utilising themes developed in international literature. Finally, a series of brief vignettes are presented to locate the literature within a psychotherapeutic context.

#### **International perspective**

According to Fanon (1982) colonialism is disseminated and maintained by a range of mythology that saturates the social context with denigrating racial material. Racial myths are perpetuated through unthinking repetition and eventually permeate the psyche of those it disparages. Other authors (Elias, 1994; Foulkes, 1975; L. Smith, 1999) parallel Fanon’s (1982) concept of mythology. Foulkes (1975) talks about the ‘social unconscious’ and ‘social matrix’: The notion that ‘group’ is a social construction, a matrix of interpersonal relationships and communications. He includes the concept of a ‘social unconscious’ where the interpersonal penetrates and constructs the psyche of individuals. Similarly, Elias (1994) uses the term “gossip”(p. 93) to describe a method of maintaining the status quo. L. Smith (1999) observes that the ‘Other’ in Aotearoa was constructed by “travellers tales” (p. 8) described as stories and experiences which created a system of ‘scientific’ classification, ultimately informing a “European cultural archive” (p. 60). The significance of these concepts, with particular emphasis on the social matrix (Foulkes, 1975) will be revisited in chapter five and chapter six.

The concept of history and pre-history are essential elements of the colonial myth of European superiority. Hegel (cited in L. Smith, 1999, p. 32) conceived the fully

human subject as someone capable of creating 'his' own history. 'Others' who were not regarded as human (capable of self actualisation) were *pre*-historic. Dalal (2002) summarises Fanon's (1982) perspective, commenting "the mythology that colonialism constitutes itself by itself is that it is a civilising project of humanising of the primitive native, and so disguises its true intentions which are exploitive and economic" (p. 94).

Fanon (1983) passionately critiques the myth that, "the settler makes history" (p. 39). Possessing a history is to have a past as a self reflective being, to be human. According to Fanon (1982, 1983) the appropriation of history by colonial settlers is a method of dehumanising Indigenous Peoples. If a people do not have history and therefore culture, they may be consigned to nature. The conflation of history and humanity are key components in the colonising ideology of the West. Dehumanisation of the Indigenous is supported by the appropriation of unconscious structures, systems and material embedded within the settler's language. "Every colonised people, in other words every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality - finds itself face to face with language of the civilising nation" (Fanon, 1982, p. 18).

Fanon (1983) emphasises the profound power differential inherent in the colonial situation between the colonised and the coloniser. This power differential is maintained by a colonial discourse that defines human according to the coloniser and his entire world system. "When you examine at close quarters the colonial context, it is evident that what parcels out the world is to begin with the fact of belonging to or not belonging to a given race, a given species" (Fanon, 1983, p. 31).

Fanon (1982) observes the fact that everything of consequence is white, which means that the colonised has to do everything in its power to name itself wholly white. The internal world of the Indigenous now mirrors the overwhelming external social split.

Wolfenstein (1993) develops Fanon's (1982) emphasis of power relations between groups within a Marxist framework. In a Marxist worldview humans are sensuous beings; both objects impacted by the external reality and subjects that respond actively to external conditions. According to Wolfenstein (1993), it is the alienating objectification processes inherent in capitalist structures that generate a false consciousness and are the foundations of an alienated and divided self.

Wolfenstein (1993) theorises that the concept of race is a vehicle to sustain the social divide. While the 'in-group' is narcissistically aggrandised the 'out group' is contemptuously devalued: "The black race serves as a mirror in which white people see reflected their own unconscious repressed or alienated selves...the black person is what the white person is not. He is the alienated white self" (p. 354). Wolfenstein states that racism is an "inter group relationship" (p. 353) mirroring Foucault's (1975) notion of a social unconscious. Importantly, Wolfenstein (1993) emphasises that it is the hierarchical power structure of society and a person's location within this construction that constrains character formation. Those subordinate in the hierarchy are forced to identify with the oppressors and white becomes "the incarnation of both right and reason, as civilised humanity" (p. 355).

### **Evil prototypes**

Similarly, Erikson (1966) suggests that the oppressor in an ethnically prejudiced society has a vested interest in the evil prototypes of the oppressed. According to Erikson the evil prototype is a projection of aspects of the oppressors own feared and stigmatised unconscious. Moreover, the public creation of an evil prototype for the minority group allows members of the majority to manufacture a sense of their own superiority.

The impact of the internalisation of the evil prototype upon the oppressed minority is profound (see chapter five). Erikson (1964) resonates with other theorists (Dalal, 2002; Elias, 1994; Fanon, 1982; Foulkes, 1975; Wolfenstein, 1993) as he argues that the interiorisation of an evil prototype takes place on a fundamental level. It is literally absorbed as a combination of good (like mother,



honesty and hard work) and bad (like nightfall, fear, pain and filth). In this sense the process of ethnic interiorisation is truly rudimentary, it involves the embracing of the prototypical person even before the concept of their racial difference is attained.

### **Racialisation and Dalal's (2002) general theory of difference**

Dalal (2002) suggests in his general theory of difference that the construction of Indigenous Peoples as 'Other', managed under the auspice of 'race', has systematically justified and facilitated the process of colonisation. Dalal (2002); Rustin (1991); Wolfenstein (1993) and other researchers disprove race as an objective natural category. Furthermore, Dalal (2002) states the concept of race only exists to organise and maintain differences between groups of people. Dalal utilises Winnicott's (1982) conceptualisations of identity formation to critique the processes of the colonial construction of Indigenous Peoples as 'Other'. Winnicott (cited in Dalal, 2002, p. 59) asserts that when a group names itself, it also names what it fears: "The anti name". Accordingly, if the name of the group is racialised then the group will inevitably fear a racialised 'Other'. Dalal (2002) disputes that racialisation and therefore racism is the result of projection: Racism is not the splitting off and then projection of unwanted aspects of the self into others who are *different*. Dalal contends that racism is the use of projection to maintain the *illusion* of difference.

Identity formation serves a sociological function. The decision to include or exclude specific elements is dependent on the function of power relations between people and resources, with groups cathected with aversive or charismatic material (Elias, 1994). Consequently abstracted similarities and differences are mobilised to split those who are permitted access to resources from those who are not. The charismatic and aversive material is the content of the social unconscious and in this case is manufactured from the socio-genetic process of colonialism (Dalal, 2002). As this material is present prior to birth and literally ingested by the infant, identity will be constituted as much by those elements that have been excluded as those that have been included. Dalal (2002) states that how one feels about oneself and towards others is critically informed by the milieu one grows up in. Inevitably large socio-historic movements are necessarily deeply embedded in identity

formation (p. 198). Dalal notes that there are two aspects to this process of colonial subjugation “one being the actual practice of subjugation, and the other is their interiorisation” (p. 191) (see chapter five).

### **The ‘Other’**

“We, Indigenous Peoples...have a presence in the Western imagination, in its fibre and texture, in its sense of itself, in its language, in its silences and shadows, its margins and intersections” (L. Smith, 1999, p. 14). Imperial and colonial identities historically and currently are constituted by representations of the ‘Other’. “The shape of the ‘other’ culture is always impressed into the shape of ‘our’ culture - if only through negation (but actually much more). Thus, when we take in ‘our’ culture, we also take in something of ‘their’ culture” (Dalal, 2002, p. 202).

Ideas and experiences about the ‘Other’ shaped and delineated the essential differences between Europe and the ‘rest’. The concept of the ‘Other’ is a projective mechanism: “...which the West came to ‘see’ to ‘name’ and ‘know’ indigenous communities” (L. Smith, 1999, p. 60). Importantly the construction of the “Other” is linked with changing societal, environmental and historical circumstances. Several authors (Durie, 2001; Goldie, 1989; Kawharu, 2003; R. Walker, 1987; S. Walker, 1996) document early constructions of Indigenous Peoples that were favourable, idealised and romanticised. These constructions assisted settler’s survival and the establishment of their new identity in an unknown land. As pressure on natural resources and conflicting ontologies increased, the image of the ‘Other’ became progressively ‘darker’ and more alien. This shift highlights the function of the ‘Other’.

### **Aotearoa, New Zealand context**

Goldie (1989) in his literary study of images of the Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa, Canada and Australia describes the desire of European settlers to belong and feel entitled to a new land as a wish for “indigenisation” (pp.12-13). Conversely, this desire directs the settler’s feelings of alienation to be displaced

onto indigenous populations. Goldie (1989) suggests two distinct processes were employed by colonial settlers to manage their shifting sense of self. The first choice was to incorporate the ‘Other’ in a process of indigenisation via temptation. The second process was indigenisation via fear, where the settler rejected, excluded and replaced the native ‘Other’. The process of indigenisation through fear justifies the violence of colonisation. Beets (2003) analysed colonial New Zealand children’s literature published between 1862 and 1917. She concluded that indigenisation via fear served to position Indigenous Peoples as “object[s] of terror or distaste deserving of elimination, or as a non presence which has already been eliminated” (p. 51). Beets outlines a number of ways in which Māori as ‘Other’ are characterised.

### **The savage and primitive ‘Other’**

Many authors (Beets, 2003; Hokowhitu, 2004; Park, 2006; L. Smith, 1999; S. Walker, 1996) investigate the construction of Māori as the savage ‘Other’. Included in this context are the primitive, the barbaric, the cannibal and the tattooed ‘Other’ (S. Walker, 1996). The purpose of these constructions are to establish Māori as non-human, essentially denying human rights, property rights and placing the Indigenous beyond the protection of moral societal norms. Furthermore extreme states of depraved degradation called for harsh and extreme measures from the settler for the ‘good’ of the native populations. According to *The Wellington Independent* (July 21, 1868, cited in Archer): “We must smite, and spare not...they are determined to fight, and we, in self protection must treat them as a species of savage beasts which must be exterminated to render the colonisation of New Zealand possible” (p. 6).

In the narrative of ‘Other’, Indigenous women are represented as the degraded ‘Other’, powerless, invisible and immoral. S. Walker (1996) contends that Māori women are doubly oppressed in terms of gender and race. Beets (2003) hypothesises that Western portrayals of female degradation have clear ideological function in firmly establishing the moral and actual degradation of the Māori race.

Indigenous women are targeted, as they are perceived as directly connected to birthing and raising indigenous populations.

### **Māori as the Gypsy ‘Other’**

Beets (2003) compares the denigrated Romany Gypsy community and the Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. She asserts that Gypsies make a helpful reference point for settlers to compare ‘alien’ peoples. Both Gypsy and Māori fulfil the function of the alien ‘Other’. Māori and Gypsies are characterised as culturally primitive, tainted and immoral. They are simultaneously the feared and desired ‘Other’.

The most convenient projection of Gypsies and Māori are of mobile, itinerant populations who disposed themselves of land willingly. Māori as Gypsies were portrayed as greedy, idle thieves who lived a dirty, disorderly and squalid existence. Both peoples were invested with a naturally impermanent cultural origin. Hulme (cited in Beets, 2003, p. 79) refers to the colonial tendency to locate itinerant behaviour experienced in Indigenous Peoples as a “disowning projection”. Beets submits that the reality was that in new colonial territories, settlers struggled with feeling (and being) displaced and alien, *not* Indigenous Peoples. The gypsification of Māori created a familiar ‘Other’, which in turn served the ideological function of justifying land acquisition.

### **Māori as the non-human ‘Other’**

Dalal (2002) suggests that colonial discourse constructs the colonised, the ‘Other’, as “something not human” (p. 95). Wade (1977) describes boys and girls stark naked and the women with “only a rough garment around the loins, running up the pole as readily as monkeys” (p. 157). Wakefield (cited in Best, 1925, p. 120) believed the Māori proficiency for storytelling had all the sensibility of a primate: “nothing can remind one more forcibly of a monkey as one who has seen a Māori relating the news”. Manning (1863) likened kapahaka to a “dance and capper

performed by mad monkeys” (p. 44). If the ‘Other’ is allowed to be human, then it is only so far as being an ‘early’ human in the shape of a child or a primitive.

Arthur Thomson (1859) states:

It was ascertained by weighing the quantity of millet seed skulls contained ...that New Zealanders heads are smaller than the heads of Englishmen, consequently the New Zealanders are inferior to the English in mental capacity...this analysis shows the New Zealanders have the minds of children. (p. 81)

Social Darwinism and Western scientific models constructed Indigenous Peoples as ape like simians or children. In these perspectives, Indigenous Peoples are located in lower levels of evolutionary development in comparison to superior more advanced European races. These scientific models subjugate Indigenous Peoples to a series of evolutionary relegations. The first phase involves the division of disconnected races, which are then formed into hierarchies of race. In later stages Indigenous Peoples become sub races, which in turn becomes conflated with species. Eventually Indigenous Peoples have become non-human.

Darwin (cited in Park, 2006, p. 85):

Whenever Darwin remembered New Zealand during the writing of *The Origin of Species*, it was Kororāreka’s Māori being so ‘filthily dirty’ and his fear of their ‘cunning and ferocity’. On his evolutionary scale of civilisation, with Terra del Fuegians as zero, ‘I am afraid the New Zealanders would rank but a few degrees higher, while Tahiti...would occupy a respectable position’.

### **The dying and/or absent ‘Other’**

The presentation of Māori was as a degenerative, dying race with negative capacities of reproduction, trapped within an evolutionary dead end. Darwin (cited in Park, 2006, p. 85) lends credence to and reinforces the fatal impact thesis: The idea that the disappearance of Indigenous Peoples is a natural and inevitable result of the clash of an inferior culture with a superior culture. The construction of the dying Indigenous ‘Other’ allowed European settlers to imagine and shape an Indigenous *European* community and justifiably claim the land Terra Nullius. The next phase was the reconstruction of landscape in the image of the settler, relocating the Indigenous outside the environment. Doctor Newman (1882) addressing the Wellington Philosophical Institute declared: “The disappearance of the race is scarcely subject for much regret. They are dying out in a quick, easy way, and are being supplanted by a superior race” (cited in Park, 2006, p. 87).

Images of an absent or willingly mobile indigenous population helped establish Europeans with a sense of tenure in a land either free or soon to be free of any native presence. In addition images of Māori violence, degeneration and demise provided the colonialist discourse with justification for the exploitative aspects of European settlement (Beets, 2003).

### **Stereotypes**

Early constructions of the Indigenous ‘Other’ described above remain in contemporary New Zealand society categorised as stereotypes. Thompson (1954, 1955) surveyed 10,000 news items in 6000 papers reporting that 50% of articles devoted to crime, sports and accidents were about Māori. He concluded that the “Māori of the press is hospitable...a physically able rugby player...musical, a naturally good soldier and also irresponsibly abuses social security benefits, is superstitious, lazy and happy go lucky” (pp. 62-64). Ausubel (1958) described universal stereotypes of the Māori as “lazy, shiftless, unreliable, improvident and happy go lucky” (p. 7).

In a psychological study of racial stereotypes in New Zealand school children, Archer (1975) found that Māori were perceived as “musical, happy go lucky, having big families, unsuccessful, strong and unattractive” (p. 19). Hokowhitu (2004) investigates the construction of Māori as the physical, unintelligent dolt. He concludes that the stereotype of the Māori labourer and the naturalisation of the Māori athlete are relics of colonial projections of the physical primitive, which have been promulgated through the New Zealand education system.

Archer (1975) comments on universal id stereotypes for minority groups: “Lazy, happy go lucky, naturally musical, naturally athletic, stupid, fecund, dangerous and violent, erotic, stronger, odorous, superstitious, easy going and promiscuous” (p. 19). This is opposed to the universal superego stereotype: “Hardworking, over ambitious, too careful with money, unfairly competitive, selfish, individualistic, ungenerous, tireless workers” (p. 19). The id stereotype is a projection: “A reversal of the protestant relish for hard work, a puritanical orientation to sex and sexuality, a great value on reserve and dignity, and a belief in tidiness” (p. 19).

### **Vignettes**

The following vignettes illustrate the stereotypes derived through the colonising process and their continuing presence in contemporary New Zealand society.

*During psychotherapy a young Māori mother is relating feeling unsupported and alienated in parenting her children in a nuclear family setting. She feels angry towards a society, which she generally experiences as apathetic and hostile towards mothers and their children. She feels strongly that these experiences are compounded for her by being Māori. She highlights her experience by recounting a recent event she had at the beach. On a hot summers day the family are playing in the waves. The children have no clothes on. A middle aged Pākeha couple walk by, the man calls one of the children “a dirty little savage”. The mother responds protectively with anger confronting the offender. They ignore her and walk on (2004).*

*Similarly the author of this study, as a young anxious father to be, attends antenatal class with his partner in an affluent suburban setting. During the coffee break he talks with an elderly Pākeha woman who proceeds to earnestly instruct him that “you cannot beat your children”, referencing several cases within the media where Māori men had violently harmed or killed their children. She continued the conversation stating “you can’t be a dole bludger now, but need to get a job”.*

The woman’s multiple racist assumptions are reflective of the findings of a study by Harris, Tobias, Jeffery, Waldegrave, Karlsen, & Nazroo (2006) who found that “Māori are almost ten times more likely to experience three or more types of discrimination than are their European counterparts” (p. 4).

*A young Māori man is talking in psychotherapy about the repetitive, ongoing strain of the racial discrimination he experiences on a daily basis. In this instance he describes the difficulty of finding a place to live. The client and his partner approach a residential flat for rent in a desirable area, which has been advertised in the local newspapers. As the couple arrive they witness the owner talking with a young Pākeha woman and her mother. They pass on the pathway and notice the owner quickly shut the door. The Māori couple proceed to the doorway and knock. An elderly Pākeha woman answers the door partially opening it and peering at the couple, seemingly fearful. The couple say that they are interested in the property; the woman asks how the couple got her address. When the couple explain, she informs them “the property would not be suitable as it was an affluent area and needed to be kept clean” and “perhaps they should be looking in another area”. Still peering through the tiny gap in the door the couple attempt to engage with the woman, she tells them to “go away and don’t come back” (2005).*

Harris et al. (2006) notes that: “The most obvious inequality was in housing (buying or renting) which Māori were 13 times more likely to report being treated unfairly because of their ethnicity than were Europeans” (p. 4).



*In psychotherapy, a young Māori father of small toddlers relays his experience at a popular Eastern beach. While exploring the rock pools together with his children and partner, a Pākehā couple running past offer the comment “you better stop breeding now (laugh)”(2006).*

Harris et al (2006) comment: “Verbal attack was the most common form of racial discrimination” (p. 4).

These vignettes illustrate the way colonist constructions of the ‘Other’ continue to recurrently be imposed on Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa in contemporary society.

### **Conclusion**

The chapter began presenting literature investigating the psychological processes of racialisation of the ‘Other’. The authors reviewed promulgate that the construction of ‘Other’ is effectively a dehumanising process designed to create and maintain a colonial settler identity. The settler identity depends on its constituted parts: if the construction of British settlers was civilised, Indigenous Peoples were required to be savages.

The ‘Other’ also functioned as a rationale for colonisation. Intimately related to identity formation, the construction of the ‘Other’ justifies and rationalises the colonisation process: the acquisition of land, acculturation and/or extermination of Indigenous Peoples. Ultimately the construction of the ‘Other’ concerns the function of power relations between groups of people.

This is intricately explored by Dalal (2002) who suggests that identity formation is an existential phenomenon precipitated by shifting power relations between people. Dalal contends that the concept of the racial ‘Other’ is a construction harnessed to justify and maintain the social delineation between groups of people. This delineation between groups mirrors a recursive relationship between the psychological need to belong and the maintenance of social power structures.

The chapter continues by describing literature regarding the appearance of an Indigenous 'Other' of Aotearoa. Primarily categorised as primitive, wild, savage, childlike, cannibal, immoral (women), invisible (women), Gypsy itinerant, degenerate and dying. These base constructions continue to inform stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples in contemporary times. These stereotypes are extensions and combinations of earlier simulacra.

Dalal (2002) specifies that if the name of the group is racialised then the group will inevitably fear a racialised 'Other'. In Aotearoa, Māori and therefore Māori identity exists historically and in contemporary times to embody the antithesis of a European and British psyche. Māori is the feared and racialised 'Other'.

The construction of the colonial settler identity has constituted the emergence of a Māori identity. The pluralistic, organic and fluid Indigenous being of chapter three is heavily contrasted with the newly crystallised Māori identity, constructed within the objectifying crucible of colonial oppression.

The consensus of authors reviewed in this chapter, conclude that the external societal split between settler and Indigenous (human and non-human) is replicated in the psyche of the Indigenous. The vignettes offered Māori experiences from perspectives of the 'Other'. Disturbingly these examples are a tiny sample of many indigenous experiences along the same theme: the objectification of the 'Other'. The effects of these colonisation processes upon the Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa and in particular the ingestion of the 'Other', will be explored in chapter five.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Internalisation of the objectified ‘Other’

This chapter explores the idea that the primary psychological effect of colonisation is the internalisation of the objectified ‘Other’ incorporated into the experience of self by colonised peoples. The chapter begins by introducing Durie’s (1998b, 2001) critique on contemporary social and health disparities between Māori and non Māori. General psychological issues affecting Māori are presented, re-emphasising the link between colonisation and an indigenous psyche of Aotearoa. Literature considering the experience of self for Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa is then considered, utilising the concepts of several authors (Dalal, 2002; Durie, 2001; Elias, 1994; Fanon, 1982; Wolfenstein, 1993) introduced in chapter four. The chapter concludes with the contention that internalisation of the objectified ‘Other’ has resulted in an objectified and divided self. The experience of whakama and mate Māori are posited as indigenous expressions of the experience of colonisation. Clinical vignettes are outlined which illustrate how these experiences present in the clinical setting.

#### **Contemporary Māori mental health**

Multiple authors (Baxter, Kingi, Tapsell, Durie, & McGee, 2006; Bhopal, 2006; Durie, 1998b, 2005; Harris et al, 2006; McCreanor & Nairn, 2002) note that significant disparities between Māori and non-Māori exist across most social and health related outcomes. Durie (2005) states that Māori patients, particularly Māori women have higher rates of mental illness. Māori are at greater risk for all common mental health disorders, dominating statistics concerning anxiety, depression and substance abuse categories. In addition Māori tend to exhibit a greater severity of symptoms (p. 32).

Durie (2005) observes social disparity and elevated levels of cultural alienation amongst Māori. He asserts that social and material deprivation factors by themselves cannot account for the entirety of disparity between Māori and non-Māori (pp. 42-43). Both Durie (2005) and the MaGPIe research group (2005) note that additional “ethnicity-specific factors” (p. 42) appear to be implicated. Durie (2005) ascribes these factors to an indigenous experience of colonisation and the

ongoing practice of discriminatory behaviour practiced by the majority group (p. 43). Several authors (Beautrais & Fergusson, 2006; Skegg, Cox, & Broughton, 1995; Tatz, 2001) note that the qualitative and quantitative experience of suicide is significantly different for Indigenous than non-Indigenous Peoples. Furthermore, Tatz (2001) links Indigenous suicide with the experience of colonisation and emphasises the need to understand suicide from without rather than within.

Durie (2001) expresses the colossal effect colonisation has had upon the Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa: “Threats [to wellbeing] come from many quarters often traceable to the process of colonisation and its almost universal accompaniments: depopulation, violence, dislocation, poverty and cultural repression” (p. 35). Durie asserts that it is impossible to understand Māori mental health without understanding the wider historical, cultural and political forces and to appreciate the dimensions of adversity. “The foundations for mental health are to be found as much outside the mind and the body as within” (p. 35).

### **Divided self**

“Like the external colonial situation the internal world of the Negro is inevitably and deeply divided...the self division is a direct result of colonialist subjugation” (Fanon, 1982, p. 17). The literature reviewed throughout the previous chapters suggests that the colonising ideology defined ‘human’ as identical to the coloniser and his world system. Inversely, the colonising ideology worked hard to construct the colonised, the ‘Other’ as something not human or primitive.

Dalal (2002) compares Freud (1930) and Winnicott’s (1965) developmental concept of the necessity of discovering oneself through and in the eyes of the ‘Other’, with Fanon’s (1982) explication of the indigenous “object” (p. 109).

In the colonial situation, the black person has to look in the white mans’ eyes to give himself substance, to find himself, but instead of himself he

finds the white mans' perception of himself, in effect he is torn asunder and becomes an object to himself. (Dalal, 2002, p. 97)

Fanon (1982) describes the peculiar and devastating phenomenon where in the black man's mind he thinks of himself as white. In this moment the external colonial divide, the split between humanity and bestiality has become interiorised. This occurs when Indigenous Peoples are forced to choose and accept the distinctions between the civilised European and Indigenous primitive native.

The external structure is institutionalised in the psyche, rendering the superego white and id black. Now according to Fanon (1983) the Indigenous Antillean has a phobia against blackness. Nonetheless the black person cannot withdraw from their black skin, leading to an experience of self alienation. Essentially the black person is alienated in their black body.

When I had to meet the white mans eyes ...an unfamiliar weight burdened me ...in the white world the man of colour encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema. Consciousness of the body is solely a negating activity; it is a third person consciousness. (Fanon, 1983, pp. 110-111)

Wolfenstein (1993) critiques Fanon (1983) using a Marxist perspective suggesting the division between the oppressed and oppressors results from an alienating objectification process inherent in capitalist structures. Those subordinate in the hierarchy are forced to identify with the oppressors leading to a divided self. Consequently "the character structure of black children will be partially formed in the oppressors image...white power defines reality and white authority fuses with black parental authority in the formation of conscience" (p. 356). Wolfenstein declares there are now only two possibilities before the marginalised black individual: conformism or rebellion. In either case "the individual is trapped in the vicious circle of self destructive aggression" (p. 356).

Elias (1994) in his critique of power relations between groups, states that a coalescence of a 'we' group which is positively cathected, results in the subjugation of a 'them' group which is negatively cathected. The social function of 'we' is to defend the status quo and maintain power differentials. The greater the power differential, the less able the subjugated can defend themselves from internalising these images at fundamental structural and emotional levels. The perceived bad 'them', and therefore self, cannot be escaped and has dire and debilitating effects on the psyche. This eventually leads to depression, anger and self hate.

Elaborating upon Elias (1994), Dalal (2002) states the 'we' idealised images divide and project the bad leaving behind the good. However if the 'we' image is a denigrated one, then the good will be projected out in order to protect it from the badness within. Both processes effectively reinforce the images of both idealised and denigrated groups simultaneously, effectively maintaining the ideology of the status quo. Dalal (2002) concludes that denigrated images of the 'Other' are deeply embedded in language and societal structures and their images and associations will remain deeply embedded in the psyche of those born into those systems. Effectively the psyche has been racialised.

Erikson (1959) comments: "It is usual in our culture that the unconscious evil identity (that which the ego is most afraid to resemble) is composed of the image of violated (castrated) body, the ethnic out-group and the exploited minority" (p. 30). According to Erikson, children come to interiorise historical or actual people as prototypes of good and evil (p. 24). Erikson suggests that the oppressor in an ethnically prejudiced society has a vested interest in the evil prototypes of the oppressed. Furthermore, the impact upon a person identified as belonging to the oppressed minority is profound.

The individual belonging to an oppressed and exploited minority which is aware of the dominant cultural ideals but prevented from emulating them is apt to fuse the negative images held up to him by the dominant majority with his own identity. (Erikson, 1966, p. 237)

Erikson (1959) states that therapeutic efforts as well as attempts at social reform verify the sad truth that in any system based on suppression, exclusion and exploitation, the suppressed, excluded and exploited unconsciously believe in the evil image which they are made to represent by those who are dominant (p. 31). Consequently a person will form a negative identity, which is based perversely on all the identifications presented to the individual as most undesirable and dangerous (and real) at critical stages of development (p. 131). The interiorisation of an evil prototype by minority groups is imbibed on unconscious levels and results in a morbid self hate. The evil prototype is interiorised even before the concept of racial difference is obtained.

Several authors (Dalal, 2002; Erikson, 1959; Fanon, 1983; Wolfenstein, 1993) reflect on influences of the socio-political environment on the immediate family structure and refer to the ingestion of social material by the developing infant through the nurturing process. Bollas (1982) describes the mechanism of this process from an object relations perspective:

In my view, each individual transfers elements of that maternal care system that handled them as an object when in infancy and childhood by relocating this parental care system into the person's own way of managing themselves as an object. (p. 10)

### **Aotearoa, New Zealand context**

The ideas of the abovementioned international authors (Dalal, 2002; Elias, 1994; Erikson, 1959, 1964, 1966; Fanon, 1983; Wolfenstein, 1993) are powerfully reflected in the indigenous experience of colonisation of the self in Aotearoa. According to Durie (2001, 2005) colossal cultural alienation has been a momentous consequence of the colonisation process:

Fewer than one third of Māori are proficient in Māori language; Less than one half have access to traditional lands; Less than fifty percent are enrolled on the Māori electoral roll; One fifth do not know their tribal

origins; Approximately one third have regular access to marae, and more than four-fifths live away from tribal areas. (Durie, 2005, p. 44)

The predominant psychological effect recurring alongside the process of cultural alienation has been the destruction of an indigenous identity, creating a confused identity. Durie (2001) comments:

In response to colonisation and attempts at assimilation, Māori identities were often crushed or reconfigured in a fatalistic light. Many Māori rejected their own cultural and social underpinnings of identity and either tried to imitate Pākeha New Zealanders or played out second-class roles as carefree, un-ambitious and inoffensive labourers. (p. 56)

Identity confusion was resolved either through ‘opting out’ of society or through the creation of a strong negative identity. This reflects the shift from indigenous ‘selves’ to a colonised Māori identity.

### **Mana ake**

Durie (cited in Pere, 1998, p. 59) contrasts a colonised Māori identity to a prior indigenous self. He describes an indigenous self-concept, mana ake, observing that mana ake describes a unique being who is in a constant flux between inner and outer energies and who embodies “a locus of multiple interactive pathways” (p. 59).

Vaughan’s (1964, 1972) psychological studies of ethnic awareness in Māori and Pākeha children, found Māori subjects between four and nine years, failed to show that they are able to identify with individuals of the ethnic in-group (Māori) (p. 5); and up to the age of six years more than half of Māori think that they look like Pākeha. Vaughan concluded: “This phenomenon suggests young Māoris find a Pākeha world attractive to the extent that they see themselves as Pākehas” (p. 56).



Archer (1975) challenges Vaughan's (1964, 1972) conclusion that Māori find the "Pākeha world attractive" (p. 52), as understated. Archer (1975) asserts that what Māori think of themselves and their own world, is the more significant issue. He argues Vaughan's (1964, 1972) results reflect research findings with regard to American 'blacks' that are described as "conditioned into morbid self-hatred, inferiority feelings and a negative identity" (Archer, 1975, p. 34). Vaughan's (1964, 1972) supposition is a chilling echo of Fanon's (1982) observation of the Indigenous Antillean coming to think of themselves as white.

### **Whakama**

Ritchie (1963) establishes that the Pākeha experience of Māori as 'happy go lucky' is a Māori response to Pākeha expectations and stereotypes. It functions to hide internal conflicts resulting from a divided self. According to Erikson (cited in Ritchie, 1963, p. 30) the division of self, results from the disruption and disturbances in identity formation. Culturally and uniquely expressed it is experienced as whakama. Whakama resonates with uncertainty and results in the experience of self alienation, effectively destroying any capacity to connect with self or others. Ritchie hypothesises the experience of whakama is pivotal in creating and shaping Māori and Pākeha relations: "In terms of future whakama is a significant potential difficulty, more so than Pākeha prejudice against Māori" (pp. 178-179).

According to Metge (1986) whakama cannot be understood purely as a psychological problem. Māori see it as an illness with a spiritual dimension, an unease "which affects the whole person body mind and spirit" (p. 78). Whakama are "feelings in the sense of awareness which are characterised by unresponsiveness, that is a withdrawal from communication with others" (p. 25). Metge observes the experience of whakama is interwoven with the lack/loss of mana in relation to others. Metge uses the English idiom "to suffer by comparison" (p. 32). According to Marsden (cited in Metge, 1986, p. 77) the loss of mana involves "not only outward alienation from significant others but also inward alienation from oneself". This links with Wolfenstein's (1993) assertion that self alienation is a direct consequence of objectifying capitalist processes. According to Barclay (cited in Metge, 1986, p. 32):

In my time, when a Pākeha talks to us...their mind reflects their environment in comparison to ours. We showed we were aware of this by bowing our heads. We sort of drop down in our way of thinking. Everything drops with it if asked a question. We are trying to answer the question and our mind reflects on our environment. If we were on the same level we could look them in the eye... I have been whakama. In my own mind it's a comparison, comparing the environments, comparing my worth with his worth.

Indeed many of Metge's (1986) vignettes describe the occurrence of what Wolfenstein (1993) refers to as a false conscience: "A divided self who judges the rationality of his actions against the standard of his alienated reality and who therefore acts as to reproduce that reality" (p. 351).

Metge (1986) and Durie (2001) cite Māori author Pere (1994) who describes the concept of *tou ake mana* "the total individual store" (p. 59). Metge relates *tou ake mana* to Western psychological terms of self-image and self-concept. *Tou ake mana* stresses both the uniqueness of the individual and the importance of membership in the group, individual mana being linked reciprocally with that of the group. Metge (1986) observes that both mana and self-image share the characteristic of being sensitive and responsive to the environment. In hostile or infertile conditions mana and self-image will be weak and accompanied by a corresponding experience of powerlessness. Metge states this is both the origin and personification of whakama. Depending on the severity of whakama, symptomology can progress into the realm of *mate Māori*. The person with little or no mana has no protection against the mana of others and more readily falls prey to *mate Māori*.

Metge (1986) significantly identifies mana as a self-concept, a socially constructed reciprocal relationship. As explored in chapter four, the concept of 'selves', constructed within a social matrix is strongly reiterated by authors

reviewed in this section. Of particular interest is Foulkes' (1971) central premise: "the group, the community is the ultimate primary unit of consideration, and that so called inner processes in the individuals are *internalisations* of the forces operating in the group to which he/she belongs" (p. 212) (italics added). Foulkes hypothesises that illness is a malfunction in the communication field. Thus while a person might be ill, "mental sickness has a disturbance of integration within the community at its very roots - a disturbance of communication" (Foulkes & Anthony, 1957, p. 24). In terms of understanding whakama and mate Māori, while particular individuals may express ill health and neuroses, they are in fact expressing symptoms of some malfunction in the larger communication field. As Dalal (2002) comments: "The illness is *located* elsewhere in the system" (p. 114).

Metge (1986) outlines the limitations of her study on whakama, recommending that the experience of whakama for culturally alienated young (especially urban) Māori be investigated and explored (p. 149). A later research project authored by Van Meijl (2006) investigates this experience of alienated Māori youth within an urban marae setting.

### **The dialogical self**

Van Meijl's (2006) central thesis is that the dissonance between political presentations of the Māori self which are experienced as "theatrical" (p. 4), and the "personal self" (p. 4) representations cause a crisis within Māori, particularly urban youth. Personal self presentations according to Van Meijl are internalised perceptions of Māori culture as 'Other', characterised by a "second rate status in New Zealand society" (p. 4). It is important to note that 'the Other' Van Meijl focuses on his study is not 'the Other' constructed by a colonial majority as investigated in this study. Instead Van Meijl's 'culture of 'Other' focuses upon the 'post' colonial presentation of a crystallised Māori culture as authentic and singular arising from the period of Māori renaissance.

Van Meijl (2006) argues that Māori identity reflects the fragmented nature of a 'post' modern society. He utilises Bakhtin's (cited in Van Meijl, 2006, p. 14) notion of the dialogical self as a framework to locate and explain the phenomena of a post modern multiplicity of 'selves' and the fragmentation of self within

marginalised people. The dialogical self is continuously recreating itself and only exists as part of a tensile relationship with all that is ‘Other’, and most importantly with other ‘selves’. Hermens (cited in Van Meijl, 2006, p. 15) describes the dialogical self as “a society of the mind”, where there is virtually no distinction between a self and a society, “both self and society function as a polyphony of constant dissonant voices”.

The notion of a dialogical self is remarkably similar to Foulkes’ (1966, 1975) idea of a social matrix. It also mirrors Stewart-Harawira (2005) and Metge’s (1986) descriptions of symbolic interconnectedness and interrelatedness. Undoubtedly the dialogical self resonates with the idea of an indigenous concept of ‘selves’ located in a reciprocal social and environmental context.

According to Van Meijl (2006), Māori youth in his study were effectively alienated from themselves due to the internalised culture of the ‘Other’ instigating confusion and dis-unity. The self, torn between numbers of conflicting identifications partially disintegrates (dis-unification) with movement and transfer of energy between multiple ‘selves’ impeded and restricted (p. 16). Van Meijl’s findings of dis-unification, disintegration and compartmentalisation are remarkably analogous to Metge’s (1986) description of whakama. Dalal’s (2002) description of the processes of splitting and categorisation also mirror the internal experience of Van Meijl’s (2006) Māori urban youth.

The findings of Van Meijl’s (2006) study are both insightful and challenging. His assumption that self alienation occurs because of the internalisation of a classical Māori self is problematic due to his omission of the prior processes of the internalised subjugated ‘Other’. Van Meijl’s findings are further obscured by his failure to locate himself within the research. Van Meijl as an older, middle class, European male studying young alienated Māori invariably recreates the very experience he is attempting to observe within his research. L. Smith (1999) illuminates this dynamic when she observes that: “Research has not been neutral in its objectification of the ‘Other’. Objectification is a process of dehumanisation” (p. 39).

## **Clinical vignettes**

The following clinical vignettes illustrate how the internalisation of the objectified ‘Other’ presents in the clinical setting. The implications of these vignettes will be further considered in the discussion section.

### ***Vignette one: Hereturi***

*Hereturi is a middle aged, dark skinned, large Māori man. He currently receives the domestic purposes benefit (DPB) as a solo parent and lives in a state housing area. Hereturi presented at a community health centre where he was referred to psychotherapy to explore a range of crises occurring in his life.*

*In psychotherapy we are exploring the concepts of wellbeing and spiritual connection with the whēnua and environment. Hereturi talks of his desire to be more physically active and relates his enjoyment of walking around the local bush reserve (which is a historic site of local indigenous occupation). Alongside his fondness for walking is his reluctance. Upon enquiry Hereturi reveals that he does not want to “scare Pākeha people” who might encounter him in the bush and be frightened by his “black ‘hori’ appearance”. Hereturi also talks about his discomfort walking through the affluent neighbourhoods to reach the reserve. One day whilst walking to the reserve, a police vehicle stopped beside him and he was questioned as to his reason for being in the area.*

Hereturi does not directly link being questioned by the Police with his discomfort of walking to and within the bush. He relays this incident as “understandable” and believes the police made a natural assumption. This event has further confirmed his chronic and ongoing experience as being constructed as the denigrated, feared, black ‘Other’. Furthermore Hereturi has internalised this feared object into his own experience of self. He sees himself through the eyes of the ‘Other’.

Psychotherapy is necessarily slow, as Hereturi unravels the layers of colonised experience and moves from a position of being whakama towards his own internalised constructions of tino rangatiratanga.

**Vignette two: Moana**

*Moana is an immaculately presented, middle aged, Māori woman with dark skin and a tall strong physique. In psychotherapy, Moana revealed that her Māori mother would often tell her that she was ugly and dirty. Consequently, Moana has grown up with significant feelings of self consciousness and shame around her appearance.*

*Moana talks of her embarrassment in being darker than the other children at school. Despite the weather, Moana always wore a cardigan to protect herself from getting darker and to prevent others teasing her.*

*Moana has a deep-seated history of believing she is ugly and unlovable. To compensate, she has overdeveloped her attunement to the needs of others, so that she may get some of her needs for love and affection met. These core beliefs have also manifested psychologically as eating disorders, identity confusion, obsessive compulsive traits, depression and attempted suicide.*

*In situations where Moana feels dislocated and exposed she experiences her physical self intensely. She is fastidious with her appearance and presentation, as she does not want to be seen as the stereotypical “lazy, dirty Māori”. She is constantly aware of being assessed and negatively judged by middle class, Pākeha. These experiences come to the fore when she is shopping at the supermarket where she feels like she is being watched “just in case she is stealing something” and because she is a “brown, Māori woman”. Sometimes her awareness is so overwhelming she experiences panic attacks.*

*This is again manifested when she goes clothes shopping. Her internalised experience is one of self consciousness and inadequacy. She is acutely aware that she is “bigger than the average Pākeha woman” which the clothes are designed to fit. Moana recognises that she is not the consumer the shops are marketing their products towards – she ‘does not fit’.*

*Moana experiences these occasions with the deepest shame. She talks within psychotherapy of not feeling she has the right to even try the clothes on. "I stand in the doorway and gaze at the clothing on the rack. I see the shop assistants and other people trying on the clothes. I turn and walk away".*

Moana's struggles with everyday life are clearly linked to her early childhood experiences and indicate the presence of an objectified and denigrated experience of self. Moana's experience highlights what Dalal (2002) refers to as the "socio genetic processes of colonisation" (p. 93).

The authors reviewed (Dalal, 2002; Elias, 1994; Erikson, 1959; Fanon, 1982; Wolfenstein, 1993) describe the phenomenon of yearning constrained by power differentials. Moana desires the clothes in the shop, however she believes she cannot have them. She desperately desires to be white and loved, not brown and hated (Fanon, 1982). Nonetheless, there is no escape from her 'self' or as Fanon (cited in Dalal, 2002, p. 97) describes she has become "phobic of her skin". As Metge (1986) might observe, Moana is whakama, she "suffer[s] by comparison" (p. 32.).

### **Conclusion**

The literature that considers the subjective experience of self for indigenous or marginalised groups refers to the phenomenon of a divided self that is experienced as alienated and/or objectified. This self alienation has dire consequences for Indigenous Peoples and is expressed as self destructive aggression and/or morbid self hatred.

These findings are contextualised by authors writing within Aotearoa and link to international literature. Vaughan's (1964/1972) findings replicate Fanon's (1982) observations of a phenomenon whereby the black person desires to be white. Durie (2001) substantiates Erikson's (1959) work stating that the primary psychological effect of colonisation has been immense cultural alienation resulting in confused and negative identities for Māori. Importantly, Ritchie

(1963) proposes that expression of whakama is pivotal to understanding the experience of a divided self in a New Zealand context. Metge (1986) asserts that whakama is *relative* and results from a perceived loss of mana in relation to others. These theories of interpersonal and relational self strongly mirror the indigenous concept of interconnected ecological 'selves' discussed in chapter three.

This study suggests whakama is more than the divided individual. Whakama is the massive external cultural and social schism internalised within the psyche of Indigenous Peoples. As Fanon (1982, 1983) and Wolfenstein (1993) describe (see chapter four) the external spilt created by the ideology of colonialism is replicated by the internal psyche of Indigenous Peoples. Whakama is the experience of divided indigenous 'selves'. This statement is premised on Foukles' (1966, 1975) concept of a social unconscious and a social matrix; the idea of interrelated and interconnected relationships pertinent to an indigenous experience of 'selves'. Following Foukles' premise, divided 'selves' or whakama is an expression of dysfunction occurring in the social environment, expressed by the individual. In this case the dysfunction is caused by the colonisation and subjugation of Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. Whakama is the expression of this societal dysfunction.

Applying Dalal (2002) and Elias (1994), whakama is a uniquely indigenous phenomenon due to its construction from complimentary social roles. It is constituted by rigid power dynamics sourced from and maintained by the imperial colonising ideology: Pākeha at the centre, Māori on the margins.

Metge (1986) and Ritchie (1963) connect the experience of whakama with many underlying contemporary psychosocial and social issues for Māori in Aotearoa. Fanon (1982) proposes that all neuroses for Indigenous Peoples derive from the colonial context and the experience of colonisation. The experience of whakama is pungently intertwined with the experience of colonisation. A synthesis of these statements suggests that perhaps all contemporary psychological issues facing Māori today are to some degree underpinned by an experience of an objectified and divided self. This hypothesis is further explored in the discussion.



## CHAPTER SIX

### Discussion

#### **The objectified and divided self**

This study suggests that conceivably all psychological issues for Māori stem to some extent from an objectified and divided self. Fanon (1983) states: “Every neurosis is the product of his cultural situation” (p. 152). Dalal (2002) defines this in stating “and by culture he means colonial” (p. 92).

At the heart of this dissertation is the idea that an indigenous experience of self exists within a discursive relationship to colonisation processes. This results in alienation of indigenous ‘selves’ and the experience of self as an object. “An object has no life force, no humanity, no spirit of its own, so therefore ‘it’ cannot make an active contribution” (L. Smith, 1999, p. 61).

The clinical illustration in chapter five details Moana’s experience of the divided and alienated self. It is proposed that Moana’s expression of whakama is a consequence of intergenerational colonisation processes. By excluding socio-political experiences and concentrating solely on Moana’s symptomology, Western psychological assessment may well pathologise Moana with a range of clinical disorders.

The theme of an objectified self and the ongoing experience of colonisation is evident in many investigations of mental illness concerning Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. Tatz (2001) states that the experience of alienation, disempowerment and purposelessness inherent in the motivation for Indigenous suicide, stems directly from the experience of colonisation. He correlates these findings with Schulman’s (cited in Tatz, 2001, p. 148) notion of “self murder”. Durie (2001) observes that the experience of deculturation, loss of language, tradition, cultural institutions and imposed cultural sanctions, underlie excessive substance abuse among Indigenous Peoples. Durie states that substance abuse is used to relieve a sense of “identity diffusion and anomie” and provides an escape from a sense of “humiliation and socio-cultural inferiority” (p. 131).

Hereturi's case vignette detailed in chapter five illustrates the experience of humiliation and socio-cultural inferiority. Hereturi exemplifies the constant insidious saturation of cultural projections, which he has come to embody wholly. Hereturi has an innate belief in his powerlessness to effect change in his life, despite his efforts. These negative internalisations are expressed as physical, psychological, spiritual and social illnesses. Hereturi's state of listlessness and disempowerment reflects his experience of an objectified self. He is dissociative, disconnected from his body, using alcohol and drugs to mask his internalised pain; ultimately escaping his body and the emptiness of his world.

### **The construct of self**

This study suggests that the concept of self is as much a socio-political construct as it is an internal experience. The construction of self is a socio-political vehicle to validate the colonial experience and colonising processes (Fanon, 1983; L. Smith, 1999; R. Walker, 1987). This has significant implications for psychotherapy and psychotherapeutic practice.

The intention of legislating individualisation of land title in 1862 and 1865 was to simultaneously disrupt indigenous land use and socio-cultural structures (Durie, 2005; R. Walker, 1987). This was paralleled by an equally insidious process: the individualisation of the self. "The colonialist bourgeoisie had hammered into the natives mind the idea of a society of individuals where each person shuts himself up in his own subjectivity and whose wealth is individual thought" (Fanon, 1983, p. 37).

Colonial ideologies are mirrored and maintained by positivist psychotherapies that split and privilege the internal over the external, the individual over the group and biological over societal (Dalal, 2002; Durie, 2001; Erikson, 1964; Fanon, 1983). These psychoanalytic models value depth over surface and the external world is simply seen as the manifest expression of what is real: the latent content of the psyche. The cause of dysfunction is sought within biology and individual development, emphasising the process of projection and neglecting introjection (Dalal, 2002; Durie, 2001; Elias, 1994; Kleinman, 1998; Wolstein, 1977).

In this approach individuals are closed a-historical systems. Thus when positivist psychotherapies scrutinise indigenous psychological issues stripped of history, all that remains to be considered is the dysfunction of the Indigenous. Dalal (2002) and Krawitz, & Watson (1997) contend that therapists must incorporate socio-political history into the analysis, in order to comprehend the complex nature of indigenous symptomology. Further Dalal (2002) states that neglect of the socio-historical, political and the dynamics of power relations will at best only be a partial understanding of what is actually happening and at worst be “dangerously wrong” (p. 217). These ideas are mirrored by Durie (2001) when he asserts:

...emphasis on relationships reflects a Māori belief that personal understanding, knowledge, and awareness derive from outside the individual, not within. Rather than searching for inner psychological comprehension or analysing emotions and behaviour as if they arose de novo, answers are sought in the restitution of positive cultural links and relationships in order to enhance understanding and confidence. (p. 171)

The concept of self must be extended beyond the contemporary modern notion of self: the independent internal phenomenon (Plouffe, 2002; Roland, 2006). For psychotherapy to serve Indigenous communities, psychotherapists must understand that client’s subjective experience of self has its origins deep within the civilising discourse of imperialism. The Western notion of self was used to subjugate and oppress indigenous populations for exploitation. The unthinking continuation of these models via psychotherapeutic relationships facilitates the ongoing oppression of Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa.

### **Limitations of the research, tino rangatiratanga & areas for further research**

There are many significant areas of potential exploration beyond the scope of this review. There is also a rich body of fictional work, which reflects the experience of colonisation on the indigenous experience of self. However these writings and artistic representations are beyond the capacity of this work. This study concentrates on the ongoing impact of colonising processes. It is restricted in that

it is only a partial analysis of the current socio-political and psychological situation of Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa.

Durie (2001) and Ritchie (1963) both assert that any analysis of the indigenous situation in Aotearoa must include an understanding of the effects of adversity on Indigenous Peoples. Through an indigenous experience of adversity the concept of emancipation has developed. The idea of emancipation in Aotearoa is demonstrated by the concept of tino rangatiratanga. Tino rangatiratanga is a powerful indigenous social movement, which underpins multiple contemporary issues for Indigenous Peoples (Durie, 1998a). Tino Rangatiratanga concerns indigenous ‘selves’ forging connections between the self and the environment: the social, political, ecological, cosmological and more. Tino rangatiratanga is posited in this study as an antidote to the experience of whakama and mate Māori: the divided and alienated experience of self. Tino rangatiratanga has the potential to weave together the split and fragmented ‘selves’. Future research in this field would advance the emancipation of Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. Furthermore this has considerable implications for psychotherapy and psychotherapeutic practice.

Psychotherapy and psychotherapists must carefully consider the positivist Western paradigm that informs their practice, assessment and treatment planning. Tino rangatiratanga demands reconfiguration of the psychotherapist’s worldview. Psychotherapists can choose to collude with the colonial ideology, perpetuating the status quo, and maintaining the oppression of Indigenous Peoples through racist discourse; or begin forging pathways of understanding the complex dynamics contributing to contemporary constructions of self and society. Tino rangatiratanga requires psychotherapists to firstly ‘own’ their privileged position.

### **Stages of liberation (Fanon, 1983)**

Fanon’s stages of liberation describe the initial impact of colonisation. The stages are useful for contextualising concepts of whakama, mate Māori, and tino rangatiratanga. Fanon’s stages of liberation detail his vision of Indigenous Peoples

transcending colonial oppression and transforming their constructed identity of 'Other' into an identity of Indigenous nationhood.

The first stage of liberation is unqualified assimilation: the unquestioned appropriation of colonial ideology. The second stage of liberation is the resurgence of tradition and involves celebrating the very qualities that are denigrated by the settler. Nevertheless this process is inadequate as the Indigenous person still perceives him/herself through the eyes of coloniser and so finds him/herself wanting. The third stage of liberation is defined by action with the formation of politicised groups to counter the ideology of the individual, used against indigenous populations as a divisive mechanism.

This study has focused on stage one of Fanon's (1983) model, as it remains a process current in the experience of self of Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa (L. Smith, 1999). In a contemporary context in Aotearoa, the stages are experienced as non-linear with movement within different stages simultaneously taking place (see L. Smith, 1999).

The movement towards liberation in Aotearoa has resurfaced with the recent arrest, interrogation and violence towards political activists and the Tūhoe community under the guise of the Terrorism Suppression Act. In addition, the resolution (and challenge) by Māori psychotherapists to enter into the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) as a group demonstrates a movement towards tino rangatiratanga. Indeed, there are many examples of diverse groups within Aotearoa contributing to the total effort of emancipation. Psychotherapy and psychotherapists have a choice to engage with these revolutionary processes or to retreat and defend the status quo. With regard to clinical practice psychotherapists must, at the least, hold in mind the wider socio-political context within which the indigenous experience of self emerges; if they are not to perpetuate the very oppression they are purporting to address.

## CONCLUSION

This study has explored the relationship between the experience of self and the experience of colonisation for Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. It has linked notions of an alienated and divided self with the experiences of Indigenous Peoples.

Western research methodologies are problematic for indigenous researchers due to the colonising ideologies inherent within them. This difficulty has been exacerbated within this review due to the focus being specifically on exploration of the relationship between colonising nations and the experience of Indigenous Peoples. The application of kaupapa Māori research theory detailed in chapter two has enabled the study to contribute towards the emancipation of Indigenous Peoples, while remaining alert to the possible objectifying processes.

The third chapter establishes the symbolism of an intentional divisive ‘wedge’ driven by colonial processes through indigenous ‘selves’. The dual physical and ontological nature of the colonising wedge is employed to alienate Indigenous communities from land and other natural resources. Ultimately this estrangement becomes internalised within the self of Indigenous Peoples.

Chapter four examines the scope of the colonising wedge focusing on the split off aspects of the Western self, projected onto and into Indigenous Peoples. These unwanted aspects are projected in order to create the *illusion* of difference and therefore rationalise destructive colonising processes. These processes are disguised behind the facade of the ‘Other’. The tacit intention of colonisation is the acquisition of material resources and the maintenance of social control.

Chapter five continues the inward spiral of this work following the trail of the wedge, now embedded in the soul of the Indigenous. The indigenous self ultimately has embodied the wedge, becoming divided and alienated from within and without. The energy and vitality of the self constricts and fragments, limiting flow between different elements of the psyche, with the Indigenous effectively

becoming an object to itself. Within Aotearoa, *whakama* and *mate Māori* are described as the divided and alienated self: an indigenous experience of the colonisation process.

The discussion considers the idea that all psychological issues for Māori to some degree originate from a fragmented and divided self. The implications drawn from this study are presented as a *wero* for the psychotherapeutic community to engage in a full and meaningful way with Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. The challenging nature of the discussion is intended to provoke and stimulate dialogue between both parties.

In this conversation, psychotherapy must acknowledge the inherent power differential between privileged Western perspectives and oppressed Indigenous voices. By reconsidering the therapeutic paradigm to include historical socio-political and environmental elements, psychotherapy opens to the possibility of clearly *seeing* indigenous psychological issues in their whole context rather than locating the dysfunction within the Indigenous person. This has potentially dramatic implications for contributing to the holistic wellbeing and health of Indigenous communities.

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## Consent to Participation in Research

Title of Project: Entering the Void  
Principal Project Supervisor: Dr. Andrew Duncan  
Supervisor: John O'Connor  
Researcher: Wiremu Woodard

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- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered. I know whom to contact if I have any questions about the study.
- I understand that my sessions will be audio taped or video taped and parts may be transcribed.
- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way and withdrawing will in no way affect my future health care. If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed except those required to be kept as part of my health record.
- I understand that my participation in this study is confidential and that no material, which could identify me will be used in any reports on this study.
- I agree to take part in this research.

Participant's signature: .....

Participant's name: .....

Date: .....

(A copy of this form to be retained by the participant)

Project Supervisor Contact Details: Andrew Duncan 917-9999 ext 7744.

Re-Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 27 April, 2004 AUTEK.  
Reference number 02/33.