5 Indigenous psychologies and the social psychology of everyday life

Core questions to consider while reading this chapter

- What makes a person indigenous?
- Why is culture important in social psychology?
- What is acculturation?
- Can you explain the process of enculturation?
- Why are processes of colonization important for the social psychology of everyday life?
- What is the difference between etic and emic approaches to knowledge production?
- What is minority group influence?
- Can you explain the cobweb self?

117

PROOF

Chapter scenario

Sue and William are in their mid-thirties and live in a tribal housing project in Localville. The city of 200,000 people stands on the traditional lands of their ancestors. They are happy to be raising Mike (aged eleven) and Anna (aged ten) in this place. This morning, the family is visiting the indigenous health centre across the road. The centre has been running for three years. It was set up with compensation funds that the tribe received from the government as the result of a long-standing legal battle over the theft of the land that Localville is built on. Tribal leaders have been investing in health care, education programmes and local business ventures. Sue comments to William, "It's good that we can come here and get the kids checked out. We could have done with this place when we were children." William: "Yeah, seeing our people helping each other is a really good thing for them. Uncle Bob is coming today, and the nurse wants us to help out with managing his diabetes." Sue: "Makes sense; if we want his diet to change then we probably all need to think about supporting him and changing as well." William: "As long as I still get pork ribs on Saturdays, I'm down with that." As they enter the car park, Mike recognizes his cousin Nigel, and Anna runs off to play with the girls from the cultural group. Sue and William enter the building knowing that the kids are happy playing with family until it is their turn to be seen by the doctor. There are plenty of children playing outside, as the local total immersion school is located on the same premises. Bob is their oldest living relative, at seventy-five years of age. "How's that boy of ours, William?" asks Bob. "Good he's out there with Nigel throwing a ball around," William replies. Bob: "Good mates those two, hey." "How are you feeling Bob?" asks Sue. Bob replies, "A lot better now that I'm seeing the doc here. That boy actually understands me, and it makes such a difference to be able to speak in your own language." Bob then recounts how the clinic staff have asked him to help out with a mentoring programme for local youth. "I'm getting a real kick out of helping. This place really shows what we can do for our people when we have the opportunity." Ronald (the doctor) comes out to meet them all. Ronald is a cousin of Sue's, and his son Nigel attends the school with Mike and Anna. The children are called in, and the consultation continues with the doctor, a traditional healer, a nurse and the family.

This scenario invokes a young family's relationship with a local indigenous health centre in the context of a tribal community that has been severely impacted by colonization. The clinic is linked with the family members as individual users of the service and as people who have complex interconnected relationships within the broader indigenous community. As community spaces, the clinic, school and housing facility reflect the interconnectedness of aspects of indigenous people's lives. Efforts to promote health (see Chapter 8) are enhanced at a community level through the creation of such spaces for interaction and caring. The existence of these spaces highlights the tribe's progressive orientation in providing immediate healthcare alongside education and cultural development. The emphasis on the interconnections between aspects of people's lives, relationships and places sets the stage for the exploration of indigenous world views, indigenous selves and optimistic futures.

The scenario invokes core themes explored in this chapter in terms of colonization, decolonization and the preservation of indigenous

knowledges, practices and identities. We will focus on both the consequences of colonization for indigenous peoples and their resilience and ability to respond, preserve their heritage and maintain a sense of self and place (Chapters 6 and 10). The broad focus on and recognition of links between indigenous lives, colonization and health are crucial for developing a responsive social psychology of relevance to the daily lives of such people. After all, as a result of colonization, local indigenous people die on average seven years younger than members of settler societies, and indigenous citizens are more likely to suffer from a range of contagious and chronic diseases, violence, poverty and homelessness (Hanselmann, 2001; Waldram, Herring & Kue Young, 2006). As will be discussed in Chapter 8, health inequalities are not reducible to the individual health-related behaviour patterns of indigenous peoples. They relate more directly to social determinants of health, including social stratification.

Many processes affecting the lives of indigenous peoples, despite having political and economic dimensions, are fundamentally psychological in nature. These include processes of colonization and decolonization, mainstreaming and domination, discrimination and prejudice, adaption and culture change, and connectedness. Social psychologists have often responded to the concerns of indigenous people in a manner that has not been as effective as it could have been. Indeed, some actions have contributed to the continued colonization of indigenous peoples. Effectiveness has been limited, in part, because we have assumed certain things, such as a common understanding of the nature of self, and that this common understanding is shared between social psychologists and the people with whom we work. Sometimes it is, but more often than not understandings diverge across our own interpretive communities (Chapter 4). Different cultures have different perspectives on the nature of individuals and groups and on the extent to which people and environments influence us. In fact, the very notion of a separation of individuals and environments is a particularly Western and historically recent one (Chapters 2 and 3).

This chapter illustrates that there is not just one legitimate approach to social psychology or to understanding the people involved in our scenario. Extending the discussion of Western social psychology, the chapter provides an account of indigenous psychologies. These psychologies offer broad orientations to the social world, the place of different people in it and frameworks for conceptualizing social relations. This chapter does not constitute an attempt simply to appropriate knowledge from indigenous communities into social psychology. Rather, our goal is to expand the possibilities in the discipline to include different ways of thinking about, understanding and approaching social psychological phenomena. The chapter is about valuing and including

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capacities from new world and Asian contexts in order to increase the inclusiveness and relevance of social psychology. This is important because indigenous psychologies remain marginalized in the broader discipline of psychology. The omission of insights from indigenous psychologists from many texts constitutes a missed opportunity. In short, indigenous psychologies offer a means for broadening social psychological engagements with how people think and act in various cultural and historical contexts every day.

Chapter overview

The first section considers what it means to be indigenous. We cannot escape a discussion of processes of colonization as being central to the lives of indigenous peoples. The second section explores processes of colonization and draws upon the voices of indigenous scholars and leaders. The third section considers indigenous cosmology and acculturation. The fourth section discusses the place of indigenous voices in psychology. What is crucial at this point is a discussion of the process of indigenization as a means of developing local psychologies. The fifth section examines the relationship between emerging indigenous psychologies and the global discipline of psychology. The sixth section relates processes of colonization to the need to decolonize psychology, and in doing so draws on the example of psychological testing and culturally appropriate assessment. The seventh section explores issues of the self and the ways in which many indigenous notions of the interconnected self are compatible with concepts emanating from the collectivist stream of Western social psychology, such as the dialogical self. The chapter is completed with a brief summary section. The three key themes of this chapter are:

■ The origins and nature of indigenous psychology (psychologies)
■ The need to decolonize psychology
■ The importance of the interconnected self (selves)

Indigenous peoples

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems. (Martinez, 1995, p. 86)

Two prominent narratives characterize the histories of indigenous peoples and Martinez's (1995) effort to conceptualize the term 'indigenous peoples'. The first, reflected in the first part of the quotation, tells of how indigenous peoples, their territories, environments, ways of life and worldviews have been impacted by invading or colonizing

groups. For those whose voices have not been forever silenced by the resulting trauma and discrimination, the second narrative tells of struggle, survival, adaption, resilience and self-determination in the face of invasion and globalization. This is an important aspect of the latter part of the extract from Martinez (1995). Continuity of a connection to land and sustaining ecologies and ways of life remain important and are, in many instances, critical to the survival of indigenous peoples. Indigenous people are resilient (Chapter 10) – frequently surprisingly so in light of the destruction of food sources and social systems, and in some cases mass slaughter, oppression, poverty and persistent ill health. This resilience is dependent on a capacity to change, to make adaptations, to harness new technologies and to remain self-determining. The health clinic in the opening scenario is a manifestation of such community resilience.

Nobody knows exactly how many indigenous societies there are in the world. Some suggest around 7,000 (Hughes, 2003); others as few as 5,000 (International Labour Organization, 2009, p. 9). Estimates depend on whether the figures include subgroups or enumerate only those groups that fall within the official working definitions of various governments. Worldwide there are at least 350 million people considered to be indigenous, including the forest peoples of the Amazon, the tribal peoples of India, the Inuit of the Arctic and the Aboriginal peoples in Australia. One key point to recognize is the mobility of indigenous peoples, as they can remain indigenous to the areas in which their cultures and languages were developed even when residing away from those areas. This is an important point because many indigenous peoples have been forced to leave their own lands. The term 'indigenous' includes those who self-identify as being indigenous and whose claims of belonging are recognized by other groups. Criteria used to describe indigenous people include place, history, ethnicity and culture. Many indigenous people live in fourth world contexts (e.g. in New Zealand, Australia, the United States and Norway) (Box 5.1).

BOX 5.1   Fourth world

'Fourth world' is a term used to refer to a subgroup of a population that faces social exclusion. The term is often associated with nomadic and hunter–gatherer peoples living outside advanced capitalist economic systems, even when they reside in nation-states with such systems. 'Fourth world' refers to marginalized or stateless peoples. It refers to non-recognized nations that exist without states. People in these contexts are characterized by having remained 'in place' for centuries; having their own unique cosmologies, worldviews, cultural life ways; and actively identifying as indigenous peoples. In addition, their worlds are in continued interaction with and reaction to the nation-states in which they are embedded and that have resulted from the process of colonization (Manuel & Posluns, 1974).

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Claims to, and the affirmation of, cultural identities and rights to particular places by indigenous peoples are common responses to colonial experiences of oppression. Claims to indigenous identities can be interpreted as a form of 'strategic essentialism' and efforts to regain sovereignty over one's sense of self and place in the face of ongoing pressure by a settler society (cf. Dudgeon & Fielder, 2006; Martin, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2003). These identity claims are tied to political projects aimed at achieving social justice (Chapter 9) within a broader social and historical context of colonialism and ongoing oppressive race relations. These claims are strategic and offer a form of authenticity, a sense of belonging and the basis for gaining human rights (Smith, 1999).

Colonization and the consequences for indigenous peoples

Processes of colonization remain central to the lives of many indigenous peoples and are of direct relevance to social psychology. Colonization involves the invasion of an area by some new group leading to the subjugation and displacement, both 'in' and 'out' of place, of the existing indigenous peoples (Box 5.2). It often occurs when a nation-state seeks to extend its sovereignty and does so by establishing colonies that expand to exploit the resources of an invaded area. Resources include land, minerals, forests and fisheries. The term 'colonization' also refers to situations where the population of an area is subjugated by a new group. This can occur through confining people within a particular geographical area or reservations. The process can also involve the displacement of existing indigenous groups who are moved and assimilated into the rules and practices of the settler society.

BOX 5.2   Colonization

Colonization is often associated with genocide, which usually results from the actions of authoritarian governments or groups who dehumanize and seek to exterminate indigenous groups. This occurred in Tasmania in Australia in the nineteenth century when the indigenous people were hunted and killed by British settlers (McPherson & Manuta Tunapee, 2005). Colonization is also associated with segregation (Chapter 6). This involves the separation of different groups in activities of daily life, such as eating in a restaurant, drinking from a drinking fountain, using a rest room, attending school and going to the movies, or in the rental or purchase of a home.

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In developing a local liberation psychology in response to ongoing processes of colonization, the Filipino indigenous psychologist Enriquez (1995) proposed that colonization involves six stages of cultural domination (cf. Dueck, Ting and Cutiongco, 2007):

1. The colonizer denies the existence of a local culture and dismisses the legitimacy of indigenous legal and education systems, while also promoting the settler culture and institutions. Local languages are suppressed and the language of the colonizer is imposed on indigenous groups.
2. The colonizer destroys local cultural artefacts and desecrates sacred sites. The culture is further decimated.
3. The colonizer marginalizes and denigrates local peoples. Traditional cultural practices are dismissed as being primitive.
4. Traditional cultural practices are tolerated in a limited manner in that some dance forms and songs are assimilated into the settler society and in the process are redefined.
5. The settler society draws selectively on elements of the indigenous culture (e.g. medicines and healing practices).
6. The settler society exploits aspects of the indigenous culture for commercial gain.

Colonization is not a new process; it is one that has occurred throughout human history. The ancient Roman and Chinese empires were founded on conquest and colonization. The city of London was a key site for this process, being founded by the Romans as the city of Londinium. From the time of Christ onwards, and over a 400-year period, parts of England were subjected to colonization by the Romans. Centuries later, the English were to engage in extensive processes of colonization in establishing the British Empire. All such histories of colonization reveal how power relations between different ethnic groups are complex and often contradictory. For example, English people engaged in a campaign of highland clearances in which Scottish clans were gathered up, forced to the coast and exported from their home territories to the British colonies. These expulsions occurred between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as part of a process that sought the disarmament of the clans, the depopulation of traditional rural areas and the enculturation of clans-folk into the newly formed agricultural sector and British economic system (Prebble, 1963). Members of these clans were in turn pro-actively involved in the colonization of countries such the Americas, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia (Box 5.3).

The impact of colonization is still felt by indigenous peoples today in locations in Africa, the Americas, Asia and the Pacific, and its history can be traced to the expansion of European powers from the 1800s onwards. Despite diversity in location and culture, common experiences and issues stemming from colonization are evident across different indigenous groups. Colonization often involves the loss of language and culture, rights, identity and

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BOX 5.3   Consequences of colonization

Many indigenous societies have been significantly affected by processes of colonization. These are often processes of cultural, social and economic domination and assimilation. Moane (2009) analysed colonialism and identified six mechanisms in the establishment of domination. These mechanisms have significant implications for social psychological functioning and are:

- Violence involving force, conquest invasion and occupation of territory
- Political exclusion from voting and representation, and restrictions of assembly
- Economic exploitation, which includes low-paid labour, taxes, seizure of land and restrictions on trade
- Sexual exploitation, which includes prostitution, rape, sexual slavery and control of women's sexuality
- The control of culture, including restrictions on using and expressing indigenous languages, art, systems of representation, stereotyping, othering and denial of voice
- Fragmentation of community and division along ethnic, religious and linguistic lines

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resources. In this regard, it is an ongoing process for future generations, who have often been dislocated from their history and home territories through forced migration and 'education'. In colonial settings, colonization is associated with the disruption of place-based identities (Chapter 6), sense of control and self-efficacy. It involves the treatment of indigenous people as ethnic minorities by the settler society and the loss of sovereignty. Core challenges faced by many indigenous peoples include reducing discrimination, poverty and disparities in health (Chapter 8) and improving education. Indigenous groups must work to overcome oppression and social exclusion, to dispel stereotypes and to gain autonomy and access to resources. The scenario at the beginning of this chapter reflects the progressive possibilities of efforts by indigenous groups to respond to the legacies of colonization and to remake their lives together.

Despite commonalities of process, colonization can be experienced differently by different peoples and in different places. It is possible to separate processes of colonization into two phases: colonization in the 'old world' and in the 'new world' (http://www.un.org/WCAR/e-kit/indigenous.htm). If a point in time were to be established between old and new world acts of colonization, then 1492, the year that Christopher Columbus reached the islands of the 'new world', would mark that point. The old world is the world that Christopher Columbus sailed from, a world with knowledge of Europe, Asia and Africa and a long history of encounters between peoples, resources, lands and markets. The new world was the one that Columbus and subsequent 'discoverers' set sail to. For the old

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world, exposure to the new world held the promise of more prosperous and powerful empires. For the new world, it inevitably meant long-term subjugation, exploitation, dispossession and domination by some more powerful old world nations. An account of such experience by a Hawaiian scholar (Box 5.4) raises the importance of history and cosmology to understanding indigenous peoples and the situations they often find themselves in today.

Like people in many other new world nation-states, readers in the United States are often taught to celebrate the settling of the country and not to think of themselves as living within a colonial nation. For this reason we have included inserts from prominent indigenous

BOX 5.4 Importance of history in understanding indigenous peoples

Geologists tell us that the Hawaiian archipelago was created by volcanic activity and natural erosion over the millennia. Anthropologists tell us that the Kānaka Maoli (meaning true or real humans and used to refer to all Hawaiians today) are descendents of early Polynesians who migrated out of Southeast Asia and Malaysia, and eventually settled in Hawai'i about 2,000 years ago. However, our kūpuna (ancestors) have a different account of our existence. They tell us that the islands of Hawai'i-nui-ākea (the great and vast Hawai'i) were born of the gods – Papa-hānau-moku (mother earth) and Wākea (sky father) – and that all Kānaka Maoli share a common genealogical lineage to Hāloa – the first human. And because of this, our kūpuna were part and parcel of the 'āina (land) that nurtured them, of the kai moana (ocean) that surrounded them, and of the lewa (space) that embraced them.

We contemporary Kānaka Maoli are direct descendants of ancient Kānaka Maoli who inhabited the islands of Hawai'i for nearly 2,000 years. Although we are no longer biologically and socio-culturally homogenous as were our kūpuna, we still maintain the traditional values and beliefs that connect us to our 'āina and our mo'okū'auhau (ancestral lineage). We continue to hold fast to our unique identity and way of life as a distinct ethno-cultural group amidst a multi-ethnic society that now comprises Hawai'i. And, like our kūpuna, we continue to believe that our physical, emotional, and spiritual wellbeing are directly tied to our 'āina, kai moana, and lewa. As were our kūpuna, we are the younger siblings of Hawai'i. We are Kānaka Maoli. Huli Aku, Huli Mai: Change Was Not for the Better

Lawe li'ili'i ka make a ka Hawai'i, lawe nui ka make a ka haole
Death by Hawaiians takes a few at a time; death by foreigners takes many.

The Kānaka Maoli world, as our kūpuna understood it to be, was forever altered in the year 1778 – the year Kānaka Maoli were fortuitously introduced to the western world. This was the year Captain James Cook haphazardly came across the Hawaiian archipelago. The writings of Cook and his crew shed some light on the health and social status of our kūpuna at the beginning of contact between these two worlds. They observed that the inhabitants of the islands of Hawai'i were "above middle size, strong, well made and of a dark copper color, and...a fine handsome set of people" (Beaglehole, 1967, p. 1178). On a socio-psychological note, these fair-skin strangers also observed that Kānaka Maoli were "truly good natured, social, friendly, and humane, possessing much liveliness and...good humour" (Beaglehole, 1967, p. 1181). By these first-hand accounts, it is clear that our kūpuna at the dawn of western contact were physically and emotionally healthy.

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By healthy, I mean the absence or very low prevalence of chronic medical (e.g., obesity and diabetes), psychological (e.g., depression), and social (e.g., poverty and marginalization) diseases (for a review of the pre-western contact health status of Kānaka Maoli see Blaisdell, 1993). This is in sharp contrast to the poor health status of contemporary Kānaka Maoli.

Current United States (US) and State of Hawai'i health data indicate that we Kānaka Maoli, as an ethnic group, have the worst health and social status compared to all other ethnic groups in Hawai'i and most other ethnic groups in the US (for a review of the health status of contemporary Kānaka Maoli see Johnson, Oyama, LeMarchand & Wilkens, 2004). We are among the most impoverished, undereducated, and socially disadvantaged people in our own homeland (Marsella, Oliveira, Plummer & Crabbe, 1995). We have the highest rates of chronic medical diseases such as diabetes, heart disease, and certain types of cancers of most ethnic groups in the continental US and Hawai'i. We have the poorest health behaviors as reflected in the high prevalence of cigarette smoking, drug and alcohol use, and obesity (State of Hawai'i Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System [BRFSS], 2003). It is suspected that we Kānaka Maoli also suffer from high rates of emotional distress (Crabbe, 1999; Marsella et al., 1995). Consequently, our overall mortality and morbidity rates far exceed those of most other US ethnic groups. Indeed, the poor health condition of contemporary Kānaka Maoli is a far cry from the excellent health condition our kūpuna enjoyed before the arrival of foreigners to Hawai'i. What has happened to us Kānaka Maoli to create such an ominous circumstance?

Source: Extracted reproduced with permission from: Kaholokula, J.K. (2007). Colonialism, acculturation, and depression among Kanaka Maoli of Hawai'i. In P. Culbertson, M.N. Agee & C.O. Makasiale (Eds.), *Penina Uliuli: Contemporary Challenges in Mental Health for Pacific Peoples* (pp. 180–195). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. See original publication for the details of references cited herein.

scholars (Box 5.4) and leaders (Box 5.5) from within the US jurisdiction. Later, we will refer to work emerging out of the Philippines (Box 5.8), a country with a long history of oppression as a colony of Spain and more recently the United States. When Filipinos refused to submit to the United States following the Spanish American war, more than 100,000 people paid with their lives (Dueck, Ting & Cutiongco, 2007).

BOX 5.5   An account of the situation of the Navajo People in the USA

The Navajo People believe in President Obama's call for change in our country. His inspiring statement of belief conveys the same thought taught to generations of Navajos that there are no impossibilities in life. Our grandparents have always told us "T'áá hó ájit'éegó," and President Obama's election shows how true that teaching is and remains. It speaks to Native nations in our determination to do for ourselves, to regain the independence that was lost so long ago, and to hold on to our beloved homelands, languages, sacred songs, ceremonies, and ways of life. With this renewed sense of hope, we have worked hard in the hope of taking advantage of the $825 billion economic and infrastructure stimulus package that President Obama has proposed for the country.

We have prepared and submitted a $2.9 billion stimulus package on behalf of the Navajo Nation. I thank the members of the Intergovernmental Relations Committee for their valued input and approval of the request submitted to the Obama-Biden Transition Team and the 111th Congress.

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While I believe the heart of the Obama Administration is with us, as always, we must begin by telling others who the Navajo People are, and how we live, that Navajoland is the largest among Native nations, equal in size to the New England states of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Vermont. We need them to know that within the vast space of our homeland there are too few employers for our people, thousands of miles of rough dirt roads that are traveled daily and inadequate means of communication. As other Americans deal with the national financial crisis in their ways, more than half of our families still heat their homes with wood they cut themselves, drink water hauled in barrels in pickup trucks, while many of our students do their homework each night by the light of kerosene and gas lanterns. Our people's wealth is not measured by what's in a savings or retirement account, but by what's in their sheep corral or held in a border town pawn shop. Still, our people need an income, a home and a vehicle, and most struggle as best they can to make their payments. Ironically, the Navajo Nation is at the geographic centre of the fastest-growing region of the United States. We are at the very crossroads of Albuquerque to the east and Las Vegas to the west, Denver to the north and Phoenix to the south. We are a corridor for energy, for food products, for manufactured goods, and for national defense. Railroad cars and interstate highways carry untold cargo and passengers along our boundaries. Truck stops, depots and train stations just beyond our reach to realize any benefit are laden with prosperity meant for others. We are encircled by more national parks and tourist destinations than anyplace else in the country.

No place and no people are more deserving of the help an economic stimulus program could provide than Navajos. In the past, when American farmers received federal subsidies, Navajos received federal live-stock reduction that dispirited every family. When we see American financial institutions and auto-makers receive multi-billion dollar federal bailouts to fix problems of their own making, Navajos recall a federal law that halted home repairs and the slightest development for 40 years, and another that forced 10,000 of our most traditional people to relocate from their homes to resolve a problem they did not cause.

Source: Extracted from 'State of the Navajo nation address' by president Joe Shirley, JR. Presented to the 21st Navajo Nation Council, January 26, 2009 (pp. 2–3);
http://opvp.org/cms/kunde/rts/opvporg/docs/622850067–01-30–2009-09–22-53.pdf.

Indigenous cosmologies and acculturation

The content of Box 5.4 raises the point that indigenous peoples have many and diverse origin narratives, also known as cosmologies. These seek to explain the existence of the universe, our relationship to and purpose in it and what will become of us (Kaholokula, 2007). Cosmologies answer the questions:

- Who am I?
- Where do I fit in?
- Where am I going?
- What are the important things to do?

For many Europeans of the old world, these questions were answered through Judeo-Christian beliefs in one God, who created heaven and earth and all that is between, including humankind. This dominant

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cultural narrative has come to displace or at least alter indigenous cosmologies.

Consideration of the cosmologies of indigenous peoples is crucial for developing understandings of indigenous worldviews. These cosmologies are central to the psychologies of indigenous peoples. For the indigenous Polynesian peoples of the Pacific, questions regarding who, where and what are also answered within the framework of cosmological and historical precedent. Such precedents explain and position Pacific peoples as tribal, island or village beings, who explore lives together before returning to Hawaiki, the place of ancestors, upon death. They prescribe relationships such as those with the land, sky and sea and to the flora and fauna found therein. Kinship relationships carry responsibilities that are also prescribed. The firstborn is obligated to care for younger siblings, and younger siblings carry a responsibility to support and respond positively to the guidance and care of older siblings (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1985, p.189). Among the Maori people of New Zealand, it is accepted that one's ancestors remain as an ongoing presence and influence in one's life (Box 5.6).

Cosmologies are carried forward and modified across generations, always in parallel with the modern world, and serve to structure human existence, providing ways of knowing, understanding, relating, valuing and being. They are also a basis for responding to, and resisting, colonization and associated processes of acculturation

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BOX 5.6   Ancestor worship

Fundamentally, ancestor worship refers to the belief in, and often the propitiation of, the spirits of the dead. These dead are not, however, merely generalized ghosts. Instead, there is the belief that the spirits of one's dead kinsmen are of special concern. Thus, Bradbury insists that we should confine ancestor worship to those instances in which there is a genealogical relationship between the spirits and the living. The involvement of these spirits in human life differs from one society to another. Ancestor worship can be classified in terms of the degree to which the ancestors involve themselves with their descendants. One such classification has been suggested by Swanson and a modified version of it will be adopted here. The activity of the ancestors is of course at its weakest when this religious type is totally absent. The next level is otiose ancestor worship, in which the ancestors are believed to exist and are aware of the activities of their living descendants but refrain from acting in the lives of those descendants. Active ancestor worship exists when the ancestors are involved in the lives of their descendants but do so on a largely capricious basis – for example, compliance or failure to comply to kinship obligations is not linked to rewards or punishments from the ancestors. The strongest form of ancestor worship, supportive ancestor worship, obtains when the ancestors involve themselves in the lives of their descendants and reward or punish for fulfilling, or failure to fulfill kinship obligations.

Source: Sheils (1975, p. 428).

BOX 5.7   Acculturation

'Acculturation' is a general term used to describe processes by which a particular culture, or a minority group, comes to adopt the cultural knowledge, practices and language of another culture – often that of a dominant group. Acculturation is central to processes of colonization in that indigenous peoples are assimilated, to varying degrees of totality, into the settler society and are expected to adopt the values and practices of this new culture. Acculturation occurs through ongoing contact between the groups and involves a process of resocialization and learning (Chapters 2 and 3). Ideally, cultures should be in dialogue with each other, sharing understandings and enhancing options for addressing complex social issues. Unfortunately, contact usually involves domination of one culture over another. Dominant groups can often function with little or no understanding of minority and indigenous cultures with whom they share a society.

'Enculturation' refers to the process of adaption by which people learn the values, norms and requirements of the surrounding culture and as a result are able to function within that culture (Grusec & Hastings, 2007). This process shapes who each of us becomes and is associated with the cultivation of 'acceptable' and 'functional' members of a cultural group. It is thought to occur through both conscious and unconscious means. The term 'inculturation' is often used interchangeably with 'acculturation' and 'socialization'.

Despite the efforts of the dominant groups to pacify local populations, indigenous groups are not simply passive in the acculturation process. Minority groups can and do act strategically in their interactions with dominant groups (Lewin, 1948). Strategies undertaken by minority groups in response to acculturation include assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization (Rudmin, 2003). Members of indigenous groups may differ in their responses: some may attempt to assimilate fully into the dominant culture; others may defy assimilation and defend their own culture; others may attempt a bicultural weaving together of the two cultures; and others may attempt to live in both worlds. An emphasis on these strategies reflects how indigenous groups do not necessarily give up their strong traditional identities through the process of acculturation (cf. Berry, 1986). We discuss these concepts further in Chapter 7 and in relation to immigration.

(Box 5.7). Such cosmologies offer alternative identities and knowledge to those being imposed by a settler society. Cosmologies shape the practices and relationships of people across the health centre, school and housing facility, and beyond, in our opening scenario.

Indigenous voices in psychology

It seems appropriate to reflect on the role of psychology in processes of colonization and on the inclusion of indigenous voices in the discipline as a means of challenging the colonizing tendencies of our discipline. So-called Western or North American psychology has been criticized for its colonizing tendencies, culture boundedness and culture blindness (Gergen, Gulerce, Lock & Misra, 1996; Sinha & Kao, 1997). The uncritical application of Western psychological

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technologies of psychological assessment, education and therapy in different cultural contexts can be interpreted as an example of symbolic colonization. Eurocentric assumptions, such as the independent and autonomous self, and other values and norms have been used to assess the lives and mental health of groups who may not share these assumptions and norms. As Nsamenang (in Allwood & Berry, 2006a) writes: "Psychology is much more an intellectual arm of Europe's civilizing mission and much less a universal science of human behavior" (p. 258). One might think of the Borg in *Star Trek*, who travel the universe seeking to assimilate other species and cultures into their collective. Their catchphrase is "Resistance is futile. Your distinctiveness will be added to our own. ... Your culture will be adapted to service ours." The Borg collective can operate as a metaphor for processes of symbolic colonization that are far too evident in the discipline of psychology. In most countries, psychologists are trained in the current dominant Western tradition. Indigenous psychologists must 'unlearn' the tradition imposed from outside their cultures as part of developing locally relevant versions of psychology. The quote from the Borg collective also invokes a tension we have experienced when writing this chapter. On the one hand, we want to showcase the importance of indigenous psychologies for the social psychology of everyday lives. In doing this, we also do not seek simply to assimilate ideas and insights from indigenous groups into the Western tradition of psychology. Indigenous psychologies remain distinct in their own right. Resistance is far from futile. The situation in psychology shows signs of change with the recognition of indigenous psychologies in areas such as cultural psychology (Valsiner, 2009) and the proliferation of courses across many new world universities.

Until recently, the discipline that came closest to exploring the psychologies of indigenous peoples was social anthropology. This discipline engages communities at the level of everyday life, typically employing ethnographic and naturalistic forms of enquiry. Research explores local customs, economic and political organization, law and conflict resolution, patterns of consumption and exchange, kinship and family structures, gender relations, childrearing and socialization, religion and so on. Social anthropologists are also interested in the role of meanings, ambiguities and contradictions of everyday life, patterns of sociality, violence and conflict, and the underlying logics of social behaviour. The research products of social anthropology are often detail-rich and layered descriptions of complex community life. Many scholars within this tradition look first at customs and then seek to understand the negotiations and motives that lead to various practices.

Indigenous psychologists – that is, those psychologists who are indigenous and committed to developing a psychology of and for

PROOF

their own communities – have adopted similar approaches. For example, Lyndon (1983, p. 188), a Maori woman situated and versed in the customs of her own indigenous community and trained in the methods of Western psychology, explored the Maori customs of *tapu* (prohibitions), *mate maori* (culturally induced sicknesses) and *makutu* (culturally based curses) and their relevance to the diagnosis of mental illness among the Maori. In a similar fashion, Durie (1999, p. 190) proposed a model for understanding Maori social behaviour based on customary encounter rituals. He described nine domains, broad conceptual zones, within which distinctive psychological activities occur. These are the domains of space, time, reciprocity or circularity, mind and earth, safety, metaphor, authority and generosity, interconnectedness and synchronicity. Such models of health often inform the development of health centres such as the one in the opening scenario and provide a basis for combining medical (emphasizing the repair of bodies) and traditional healing practices (also emphasizing spirituality, connectedness and local cosmologies) with education, housing and economic development initiatives (emphasizing the social determinants of health discussed in Chapter 8).

Durie's indigenous psychology model, while firmly emerging from within the Maori world, is not unlike psychologies developed by other indigenous psychologists in locations such as Hawaii and the Philippines (Box 5.8). Another example worth exploring is the work of the Hawaiian psychologist Rezentes (1996, p. 191), who synthesizes traditional Hawaiian concepts and practices with contemporary issues and approaches to build culturally relevant therapy and healing efforts for individuals and families of Hawaiian descent and heritage.

Filipino psychologists Virgilio G. Enriquez and Rogelia Pe-Pua have both been firm advocates of indigenous psychologies in the Philippines since the 1970s. Their work is part of a broader effort to represent *emic* ways of seeing and giving voice to indigenous realities and psychologies. Such work draws on both emic and *etic* approaches to knowledge production (Chapter 4) in contemporary indigenous communities. Enriquez (1993) discuss two forms of indigenization in the context of the discipline of psychology. The first involves indigenization from the outside and the second indigenization from the inside (cf. Berry, 1999). The outside, or etic approach, involves indigenous psychologists taking existing insights, methods and approaches from outside the culture or society and adapting these for use in local contexts. External ideas are integrated into existing cultural frames so as to be made more applicable to local settings. This often occurs in the adaptation and translation of psychological tests and other practices developed in the European countries and the United States for use in other countries. This practice is associated with cross-cultural

PROOF

BOX 5.8   Interesting study (methodology)

Pe-Pua (2006) provides a useful overview of the development of indigenous psychological research in the Philippines and of how associated local methods can be adapted across indigenous psychologies emerging in other locations. Pe-Pua's work involves the application of specific cultural concepts to psychological research. It emerges from a movement towards developing Filipino psychology during the 1970s (Enriquez, 1993). This movement sought to explore local people's experiences and actions from an indigenous perspective, as part of an attempt to decolonize psychology in the country. Many Filipino psychologists used local knowledge and cultural concepts to guide the development of research and theoretical understandings. The concept of shared identity, or *Kapwa*, became central to Filipino social psychology because it refers to practices through which Filipinos treat other people as fellow human beings. This concept shapes the way indigenous research is conducted. Much of this work involved adapting interview, focus group and participant-observation methods and refining these techniques to meet the cultural needs and practices of Filipinos. The methodological approach is ethnographic in nature and involves practices such as 'dropping in' on participants when 'in the neighbourhood' or 'passing by'. This meets with cultural requirements of building relationships and trust over time through frequent visits, or *Pagdalaw-dalaw*. As relationships develop between researchers and participants, more 'formal' methods such as interviews and group discussions are employed. In discussing the indigenous interview, Pe-Pua refers to the Filipino cultural practice of *Pagtatanong-tanong*, which can be translated as 'asking questions'. In daily life, *Pagtatanong-tanong* involves people spending hours exchanging ideas and chatting. This practice is the basis for an indigenous interview that is participatory in nature in that research participants have input into the structure of the conversation. Questions can be asked by both parties during the interview. This is consistent with the cultural concept of *Kapwa* in that research participants are engaged in open dialogue as fellow human beings with equal status as the researcher, rather than as the 'subjects' of research (Chapter 4). In a Western methodological sense we might say that *Pagtatanong-tanong* interviews are unstructured interviews (see Flick, 2009). However, it is more accurate to describe these as culturally structured interviews designed in response to local cultural practices. Pe-Pua sees the development of indigenous methods as part of the refinement of psychological research globally. Indigenous Filipino methods have been applied to research outside of the Philippines, with Korean, Hawaiian and Japanese participants, with some success. Modifications need to be made to such methods when they are used with different cultural groups. However, the principles of sharing, equal status and open dialogue remain. Important are efforts to facilitate research participants having input into the focus of research and the framing of issues and concerns.

psychology. The emic, or 'insider', approach involves developing insights, methods and approaches from within a culture by drawing on indigenous knowledge, as in the examples referred to above. Some indigenous psychologies have drawn heavily on historical and religious texts for underlying philosophical bases, including Chinese use of Confucian classics and Buddhism, Indian use of Hinduism and Western use of Descartes (Kim, Yang & Hwang, 2006b). This emic approach is evident, for instance, in the work of Pe-Pua (2006), which offers an alternative to individualistic models of the self, which have come to dominate Western psychology. Alternative conceptions of the self are based on local cultural knowledge and often place more

PROOF

emphasis on relationships and contexts than the Western notion of the self-contained individual (Chapter 4).

Ideally, the relationship between emic and etic approaches is symbiotic. Increased insight can come from a combined approach that draws on insights from both the inside and outside (Berry, 1999). In fact, in introducing these terms to psychology, Pike (1967) saw these approaches as overlapping or being shaded by each other. Both have value in allowing the foregrounding of indigenous and universalist perspectives in a research project. The emic approach allows for the development of local concepts and insights that might be missed by outsiders. The etic approach allows for comparisons and dialogues across cultures. Thus, both etic and emic approaches can be used together to add depth and diversity in perspective to a study. Sinha (1996) contends that indigenization is a process of bringing imported understandings into conversation with locally derived understandings. This process can happen when structures within the society can produce and disseminate local knowledge, when psychology is used to address social issues, or when new theories and methodologies that are based in the local frame of knowledge and worldviews are developed and reflect local realities and lived experiences.

In short, anthropologists have historically been an indigenous community's first encounter with agents of Western institutions of higher learning. As noted in Chapter 2, many psychologists no longer assume the universal applicability of Western psychological concepts. Since the crisis in social psychology in the 1970s, increased effort has been made to develop psychologies that are localized, relevant to people's everyday lives and in concert with the connections and relationships that people have, rather than psychologies that defend the dominant Western individualist stream of social psychology. More localized or embedded psychologies are not necessarily directly related to specific indigenous peoples. Some relate to nation-states (Adair, 1999), some to religious philosophies such as Buddhism (Sugamura, Haruki & Koshikawa, 2007), some to ethnic or racially defined groups such as African Americans (Jones, 2004) and some to locales such as cosmopolitan India (Sinha, 1996). Such approaches emphasize the development of diverse understandings of human action in the context of localized and culturally, historically and politically enmeshed practices.

Indigenous psychologies and the global discipline

Local traditions of psychology have existed, in one sense, alongside the inception and growth of modern psychology. It is only during

PROOF

recent times that indigenous psychologies have begun to gain greater currency in the discipline, in particular since the publication of Kim and Berry's (1993) seminal book. Their edited collection showcased different indigenous psychologies and introduced general issues concerning the place of such psychologies within the global discipline. These discussions have been continued in more recent collections (Allwood & Berry, 2006a; Kim, Yang & Hwang, 2006b), which illustrate substantial developments in this diverse and complex field. In this chapter, we offer a general overview of the ways indigenous knowledge and processes of indigenization can inform the development of social psychology around the world. We cannot hope to cover all such psychologies, and thus we provide only an introduction to core issues and insights. Our stance is that there are a range of indigenous psychologies around the world that offer much to inform the reconstruction of a relevant and culturally anchored social psychology. Indigenous psychologies are coherent systems in their own right, and the relationship with social psychology needs to be one of dialogue, rather than one of assimilation. We respect the stance of many indigenous scholars who converse with the broader international discipline of psychology while maintaining their autonomy and distinctiveness. It should become apparent that indigenous psychologies offer much more than simply the study of 'exotic native peoples' or people living in so-called developing countries.

Cross-cultural psychology emerged from a recognition that assumed universal psychological processes may not operate equally across different cultures (Cole, 1998). Cross-cultural psychology continues to produce some interesting insights into cultural variations. However, it is limited by the tendency to treat culture (Box 5.9) as yet another independent variable upon which comparisons can be made across groups in terms of unidimensional cultural constructs such as individualism versus collectivism. Cultural psychology (Chapter 7) is moving beyond this early preoccupation and is beginning to engage more fully with the richness of indigenous psychologies. The latter are viewed as cultural psychologies in their own right (Valsiner, 2009) that talk to the mainstream global discipline but remain focused on local needs. This conversation contributes new insights into how certain groups of people think, understand themselves and perceive the world, and why they tend to conduct their everyday lives in particular ways (Chakkarath, 2005).

Indigenous psychologies often emerge from an engagement with the everyday life practices and ways of knowing of the groups developing these psychologies. Local ways of being and conducting life and relationships stem from indigenous cosmologies, from ancient precedents, from knowledge derived over generations of living in place, with each other and with newcomers. These include ways of

PROOF

BOX 5.9 Culture and psychology

Valsiner (2009) provides a useful review of cultural psychology and the relationship of this broad subdisciplinary area to indigenous psychologies. In the process, he notes that *"Culture* is in some sense a magical word – positive in connotations but hard to pinpoint in any science that attempts to use it as a core term" (p. 6). It is a concept that has been in play within psychology for more than 100 years, but which has not been as prominent as it could have been due to its slippery nature. The concept is increasingly prominent as psychologists attempt to respond to the diverse needs of different peoples, including indigenous and immigrant groups who experience the world differently and whose lives are often regulated by different norms and shared practices. Here we see the emergence of a particular orientation towards culture as a dynamic symbolic system and set of social practices shared by particular group of people. Culture is often conceptualized as an all-encompassing way of life, or a consensus that contains the specific rituals, beliefs, habits, institutions and language of a group. This perspective can, however, lead to the glossing over of complexities and inconsistencies in a given culture. As Tanner (1997) states, coherence is often given to cultures by researchers from an outsider perspective. Cultures are often more incoherent to those living within them, who often experience more fluidity, contradiction and change, particularly when different groups come into contact with each other and take on new practices and beliefs. "In an age of global travel and communication, local communities are seldom 'pure' or untouched by other cultures. A certain level of hybridity emerges" (Dueck, Ting and Cutiongco, 2007, p. 68). This can add further layers of complexity to issues of indigenization and the orientations members of particular communities wish to develop.

experiencing, understanding and making meaning in the world. Historically described as superstitious, folkways (e.g. Shortland, 1980) are ways of knowing that are entwined with and shape what Sumner (1907) considered to be the patterns of conventional behaviour in a society, norms that apply to everyday matters. These include the conventions and habits learned from childhood and are in effect psychologies that span centuries and emerge from the engagement of people in their everyday lives, most often in the absence of psychologists. Because such practices are embedded in culture and place, the nature of an indigenous psychology is more visible when contrasts or clashes occur between interacting people, perspectives or worldviews; otherwise, it is simply that which is taken for granted on a day-to-day basis.

Indigenous psychologies legitimate traditional knowledge and allow us to bring new perspectives and concepts to bear on a raft of social psychological phenomena that occur in everyday life. Mkhize (2004) defined indigenous psychologies "as forms of knowledge that arise out of the social and cultural realities of the people concerned. They are not imposed from the outside. They also investigate mundane (everyday) rather than experimental (laboratory) behaviours" (pp. 4–6). However, Mkhize also suggested that this definition may be too narrow, and that cultures are not static and impenetrable.

Responses to queries re: Mkhize (2004) are unclear. Please check here and in References

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Therefore, we need to clarify processes and practices of indigenization as these evolve over time and through social transformation.

Review exercise

Think about a cultural group to which you belong:

■ Does this group have a 'recognized' psychology?
   – If so, what are the core assumptions of this psychology and how does it relate to the broader discipline?
   – If not, why do you think this is?

Indigenous psychologies are highly relevant to the social psychology of everyday life because they are grounded in the daily realities and lives of diverse groups of people. These approaches are particularly useful as they are often built from the bottom up, growing out of the need to explain local phenomena (Allwood & Berry, 2006a, 2007). Central to these psychologies is the idea that human experience and actions are shaped within a range of social, historical and cultural contexts. Broadly speaking, the discipline of social psychology in North America and Europe is also one such context. As a result, Western social psychology is more applicable to Western societies, and other psychologies are more applicable to the particular groups developing them. Allwood and Berry (2006b) note that:

indigenous psychologies may be described as a set of approaches to understanding human behaviour within the cultural contexts in which they have developed and are currently displayed. They can also be seen as attempts to root psychological research in the conceptual systems that are indigenous to a culture, including the philosophical, theological, and scientific ideas that are part of the historical and contemporary lives of people and their institutions. (p. 214)

Indigenous psychologies offer a means of reinvigorating the global discipline of social psychology. The development of indigenous psychologies allows for the diversity of human life and being to be brought to the fore, and for us to move beyond the limited cultural view of the dominant American–European perspective. After all, there is more to see and learn about human beings than Western psychology is able to show us. As Kuo-Shu Yang (in Allwood & Berry, 2006a, p. 250) notes, indigenous psychologies, or at least those emerging in non-Western countries, constitute attempts to redress the global dominance of North American-inspired Western psychology. These indigenous psychologies represent efforts to develop locally based understandings of people's everyday actions and experiences.

The continued development of indigenous psychologies involves the refinement and application of local knowledge. In pursuit of this, some confusion may arise in terms of historically located knowledge systems and the development of a modern psychological system. Both are interrelated in that the modern system incorporates and refines traditional concepts and insights. Although drawing on traditional knowledge, contemporary indigenous psychologies are distinct from such knowledge (Allwood & Berry, 2006a). For example, in various indigenous psychologies located in Asia the Buddhist notion of the interconnected self can be used to develop an alternative to the Cartesian notion of individuals. As we will show later in this chapter, this alternative notion of the self can also be used to challenge or relativize core elements of the dominant North American tradition. The development of distinct conceptualizations in psychology can be seen as part of a process of indigenizing psychology. Further, the use of indigenous resources need not be totally relativized to local settings. Many indigenous ideas, such as a more holistic understanding of what it means to be human, can also be applied in other settings and to improve global understandings. Reflecting on the general outcome of their survey of different indigenous psychologists, Allwood and Berry (2006a) note, "Somewhat more than half of the contributors discussed the possibilities of developing a more universal psychology via a comparative integration of the different IPs [indigenous psychologies]" (p. 265). While an integrated social psychology may be informed by different indigenous psychologies from around the world, it also needs to recognize its local anchorage points from which any interpretation is constructed.

As some countries have experienced the suppression of their cultures through colonization, they will differ from countries that have not experienced such trauma in the ways in which indigenous psychology develops. Sociopolitical and historical contexts shape indigenous psychologies, and these differences should not be lost when we consider the place of different approaches in the global discipline of psychology. Dueck, Ting and Cutiongco (2007) note that just as it would be a mistake to homogenize culture as a monolithic whole rather than a pluralistic space, we need to avoid trying to produce one coherent discipline. Just as we need to recognize the pluralist character of our global community and ethnic diversity, we might also recognize multiple psychologies that relate to local identities.

It is important at this point in our discussion to acknowledge that Western psychology is also made up of a number of indigenous psychologies. Dueck, Ting and Cutiongco (2007) propose that "North Americans would do well to examine and recognize the indigeneity of their own psychology" (p. 55). This is an important point because it challenges the idea that Western psychology is somehow

PROOF

non-indigenous and thereby universally relevant. What we are left with is the realization that, despite their ubiquity, Western psychologies are also particular cultural interpretations, or indeed comprise a cluster of local ways of viewing people and the human condition (Box 5.10).

In brief, indigenous psychologies often arise in colonial settings as part of a broader process of decolonization. Indigenous scholars have advanced the idea that Western social psychology is as culturally located as any other psychology and is therefore an indigenous psychology that has colonized other cultures and regions (see contributions to Allwood & Berry, 2006a). This is a direct challenge to the individualistic stream in social psychology that asserts objectivity and neutrality as normative goals (see Chapters 1 and 4). Critiques of the relevance of many Western theories to the psychology of indigenous groups around the world can be read as central to a process of developing a more relevant and responsive social psychology of everyday life. In other words, we can see the relationship between dominant and minoritized groups (Box 5.11) being played out in our own discipline. For example, in Chapter 2 we explored how the structure of the intergroup experiments of Sherif and colleagues was in effect the product of culturally located power relations.

BOX 5.10   Indigenous psychology and the crisis in social psychology

The rise in prominence of indigenous psychologies since the 1970s can be linked to the crisis in social psychology (Chapter 2) and to calls for the development of historically located approaches that offer responses to diverse needs in the real world. Fourth world psychologists were also raising concerns regarding such issues prior to the 1970s. As Uichol Kim and Young-Shin Park (in Allwood & Berry, 2006a) note:

The limitations of psychological theories came to be recognized by third world scholars in the early 1970s, who began to question the validity and generalizability of western psychology. Similar criticisms emerged in Europe, which resulted in the creation of numerous critical psychology European associations and journals. (p. 249)

Moghaddam (1987) notes that from the 1960s European social psychologists such as Henri Tajfel and Serge Moscovici worked to re-establish European psychologies that were distinct from the dominant individualistic and North American approach (Allwood & Berry, 2006a). Although these psychologists sought to develop a more inclusive social psychology, the voices of non-European indigenous psychologists remained less prominent, in part due to the emphasis the latter place on practice rather than academic writing in many parts of the world. Both collectivist-oriented social psychologists and indigenous psychologists agree that psychology needs to be responsive to social injustices (Chapter 9), economic conditions that undermine the health of communities (Chapter 8), the complexities of knowledge production in daily life (Chapter 3) and increased global diversity and displacement (see Chapter 7).

PROOF

BOX 5.11   Minority group influence in social psychology

In explaining what a minority group is, scholars often invoke inequities in power between minority and dominant groups. In many respects this conceptualization is preferable to a simple distinction in terms of group size because historically many minority groups have actually been numerically superior to dominant groups that are often referred to as the majority. Based on the work of Feagin (1984), we might propose that minority groups contain five elements. First, they experience discrimination and subordination. Second, they have cultural characteristics and practices or physical traits that distinguish them from a dominant group that often disapproves of minority group behaviour. Third, they share a sense of identity, suffering and displacement. Fourth, their social status is determined by rules about who belongs and who does not belong, and such rules are often determined by the dominant group. Fifth, despite being the numerical majority they are subjugated to the rules and culture of a dominant group that sets the rules of the game in the society and monopolizes resources.

It is important not to assume that minority groups have no influence on the dominant group or culture. Social psychology contains a mass of research into minority group influence. As is explored in Chapter 4, Serge Moscovici (1981, 1994) has spent a career studying the collective construction of knowledge among different groups of people and how knowledge is appropriated and changed over time and through daily use (for a recent account of Moscovici's work and the production of knowledge, see Jovchelovitch, 2007). Moscovici investigated minority influence and how the ideas and practices of small groups can influence larger groups. He proposed that if majority influence were as all-encompassing as some social psychologists had suggested, then people would likely all think the same way. He pointed to how small groups of like-minded people have grown into larger groupings in which their ideas have become mainstream. Examples include major religions and even communism.

The concept of minority group influence can be used to understand the development of indigenous psychologies. The development of indigenous psychologies is in part an attempt to expand and diversify the dominant Euro-American tradition of Western psychology (Allwood & Berry, 2006a). Attempts are being made to make the discipline more relevant to diverse social, historical and cultural contexts through the integration of indigenous psychologies into the broader discipline. This is a process of de-centring the individualistic stream of Western social psychology. In short, one goal of indigenous psychologies is to have a minority influence on the broader discipline and its future development – participation on one's own terms.

The development of many indigenous social psychologies has been closely associated with processes of decolonization and with assisting minority groups to find a voice and gain access to resources for self-determination (Allwood & Berry, 2006a). Dissatisfaction with individualistic strands of Western psychology has led indigenous psychologists to look outside and to the edges of the discipline in order to begin solving the pressing problems of their own communities (Henry Kao in Allwood & Berry, 2006a). The following section explores processes of colonization and decolonization with reference to psychological testing.

PROOF

Decolonizing global psychology

The circumstances of many indigenous peoples appear to be improving in specific locations around the world. However, basic human rights continue to be violated in other locations (Dean & Levi, 2003). A key process in ensuring more positive futures for indigenous peoples is decolonization (Box 5.12). Decolonization is a process of recovery, re-establishment of culture and legitimacy and the assertion of rights – it is anchored in indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing. This process includes the preservation and expansion of language and culture, access to land rights, control over resources and autonomy. Writing about research practice, Smith (1999) suggests that decolonization requires that scholars be aware of and work to redress processes of colonialism. "For researchers one of the levels is having a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations, and values which informs research practices" (p. 20). Issues of power and privilege are exposed in taken-for-granted processes of knowledge production, and there are calls for different methodologies and approaches that will ensure that "research with indigenous peoples can be more respectful, ethical, sympathetic, and useful" (p. 9). Along similar lines, Martin (2003) writes that indigenous research "is culturally safe and culturally respectful research that is comprised of three principles: resistance as an emancipatory imperative, political integrity in Indigenous research and privileging Indigenous voices in Indigenous research" (p. 205). She goes further to state that indigenous research is both reactive and about opposition; it is about valuing the strength of being Aboriginal and "viewing anything Western as 'other', alongside and among Western worldviews and realities" (p. 205).

BOX 5.12   Decolonization

The decolonization project has significant implications for psychology: it means rethinking how psychology does business. It does not simply require the proliferation of multiple local ethnic psychologies or research methodologies. Although such a proliferation is useful in many respects, decolonization also requires examinations of issues of power and privilege in modes of practice and the machinery of knowledge production (Sonn, 2006). This can include:

- Research and action strategies that privilege the lived experiences of individuals and their communities
- Valuing different forms of knowledge, ways of knowing, and ensuring that in practice (i.e. praxis) we work against oppression and exclusion
- Promoting everyday practices that recognize our embeddedness in sociopolitical realities as part of the process of working for change at individual, interpersonal and institutional levels

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Here we use the example of psychological testing to explore the implications of indigenization and decolonization. The psychological test is a particularly prominent technology in our discipline of Western psychology that has been employed with colonial tendencies. Concern about the theory and practice of assessment and testing in culturally diverse settings is not new (Jones, 1996; Kearins, 1999). There are many cogent and thorough reviews of the problems of assessment and testing in general with cultural groups (Anastasi & Urbana, 1997; Groth-Marnat, 1997). The first set of arguments revolves around the appropriateness of standardized tests and the extent to which they misrepresent the actual abilities of the person being tested (Anastasi & Urbana, 1997). A number of issues are conflated in this area, including the relevance of the attributes being assessed to different cultural groups, the interpretation of the attributes by different cultural groups, the omission of potentially relevant cultural attributes, the modalities used to assess the attributes (verbal, nonverbal), cultural taboos in the exploration of certain attributes, the intra-psychic versus public expression of attributes, the validity of comparisons of attributes across cultural and other differentiating boundaries (e.g. gender) and the sociohistorical, cultural and political climate of both the micro (assessment) and the macro (societal) setting (Box 5.13).

The consequences of poor assessment in general can be profound. At the school level, the consequences for indigenous children may include overrepresentation in 'remedial' classes. Mike and Anna, from the opening scenario, may be kept back at school. This is not because of a problem that they have personally. It is due to the

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BOX 5.13   Culture-free, culture-fair and culture-specific tests

Attempts to deal with the problems of assessment and testing gave rise to the development of so-called culture-free tests (Jones, 1996). Culture-free tests have, however, proven impossible, because they could not be separated from the culture in which they were developed. Similarly, the movement towards culture-fair tests was confounded by the fact that they measured only the transcultural aspects of the phenomena being tested (Suzuki, Ponterotto & Meller, 2001). It was found that despite best efforts these tests again tended, inevitably, to favour the culture in which they were developed. The final turn was towards culturally specific tests, and this has also been a mixed bag. The concepts being tested may not be culturally relevant, and, generally speaking, the results of indigenization add nothing to our understanding of cultural difference beyond the mere observation (Lindsey, 1998). A further, broad set of issues are the contextual or circumstantial factors that affect performance in assessment. There is ample evidence that the modes of administration, including the cultural identity of the tester and the physical location of the assessment, can have an impact on the assessment outcomes (Padilla, 2001). Very rarely, if at all, are members of cultural minorities involved in the development, conceptualization and validation of assessment tools and processes (Jones, 1996).

PROOF

problems psychologists often have with using tests inappropriately. This will inevitably have knock-on effects on self-worth, feelings of marginalization and alienation and ultimately on retention, which has been related to health outcomes in later life (SGRGSP, 2007). This type of overrepresentation can contribute to stereotyping (Chapter 4) and the pathologizing of indigenous people as problematic students (Padilla, 2001). Similarly, poor assessment practices may lead to the provision of a basis for disadvantageous comparison and lower expectations from indigenous people themselves (stereotype threat), leading to self-fulfilling prophesies with respect to their performance and self-evaluations (Lindsey, 1998). Lidz (2001) summed it up nicely when she observed that "assessment has proven benign and malignant" (p. 523). To paraphrase Holland (cited in Brown, 2001, p. 35), there is only one thing worse than being poorly assessed, and that is to be poorly assessed and indigenous.

Assessment practices are still on the whole in the thrall of the dominant traditions, and "little has been done to shake up the assessment community despite the development of alternative practices" (Suzuki, Ponterotto & Meller, 2001, p. 666). Gone (2007) provides an impassioned plea for us to "reimagine wellness" in the interests of creating services that "collaboratively engage and competently incorporate local conceptualizations of emotional experience and expression, prevailing communicative norms, cultural notions of disorder and its treatment and implicit meanings of personhood, social relations and spirituality" (p. 298). Decolonizing assessment practices involves foregrounding the importance of cultural competence. As a foundation for good assessment practice, cultural competence provides the capacity to analyse, reflect on and, if necessary, name the monocultural tendencies of many service providers (Riggs, 2004). Culturally competent practice is a dynamic reflexive and reflective process of engagement that requires us to step away from the traditional role of objective mirror on people's life world (Lidz, 2001). Without it any assessment regime will be fatally flawed. No technology, technique or framework can overcome the absence of cultural competence. Without it assessments will be reproductive not transformative, disabling not enabling, disempowering not empowering. It is clear that the lack of cultural competence in past practice has been a contributing factor to the overall failure of systems of care, including assessment, for indigenous people (Garvey, 2007).

On the basis of this discussion, there are two complementary elements to the reflective process of engaging with indigenous communities as culturally competent practitioners. The first is a commitment to indigenous terms of reference. Indigenous terms of reference place indigenous people at the centre of the interaction

PROOF

or process that impacts them (Garvey, 2007; Oxenham, 2000). The second is a commitment to a critical examination of 'whiteness' (Chapter 7). Both are crucial forms of perspective taking that position practitioners in relation to indigenous people. Both promote decolonizing practice (Sherwood & Edwards, 2006). The reproduction of Western dominance in practice should no longer be tolerated as a form of secondary colonization (Green, Sonn & Matsebula, 2007; McCabe, 2007).

This dual lens is an imperative element and component of the processes of deconstructing colonizing Western psychological practices in the interests of decolonizing practices. Both strive to move the practitioner towards cultural competence as a necessary precursor to working *with* rather than *on* (Chapter 4) indigenous people (Danzinger, 2006). Typically, the education of non-indigenous practitioners does not adequately address the relationships between culture and the sociocultural, historical, political and cultural realities of indigenous people. This issue can be addressed by working *with* people, and this has important ramifications for decolonization.

Next we take the topic of decolonizing psychology further by displacing the Cartesian notion of the independent self (Chapter 4), which has informed social psychological theory and research for several centuries. This independent self limits our understanding of people and everyday life. A key link to the present section is that indigenous psychologies do not have to be modelled on the physical sciences or adopt quantitative methods such as testing (Dueck, Ting and Cutiongco, 2007).

Interconnected selves

Another way of decolonizing psychology is fundamentally to rethink the core subject of the discipline – the self. This section presents an account of notions of interconnected selves that are informed by various indigenous psychologies. The emphasis placed on interconnected selves is important because it offers a more pluralistic understanding of who people are and what it means to be human. Danzinger (2006) provides further comment on the link between the growth in indigenous psychology and the limitations of the Cartesian-oriented Western psychology based on individualistic notions of the self (Chapter 4). He notes that dialogue between Western psychology and different indigenous psychologies is important for the refinement of the individualistic focus that dominates the discipline in many countries. It is useful to note that 'interconnected', 'interdependent' and 'dialogical' selves, often

PROOF

promoted within Asian (Kim & Park, cited in Allwood & Berry, 2006a) and other indigenous psychologies (Mikulas, 2007), are not unique to indigenous peoples. As is recognized by proponents of the collectivist stream of social psychology (Chapters 2 and 3), we are all interconnected and interdependent beings. This way of conceptualizing the self takes us beyond a dichotomous view of subject–object relations and into the domain of interobjective relations (Chapter 3).

A core element of notions of the interconnected self is that the human life is woven into relationships and situations and is not independent of context (Box 5.14). Community narratives discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 exemplify the interconnected character of the self in that our own stories are often based in collective tales. Notions of an interconnected self are evident in a raft of cultures and are far more complex and diverse then we could hope to do justice to here. Our task is to provide an alternative view to the self-contained independent individual that dominates social psychology at present.

According to notions of the interconnected self, human beings are much more than fixed personality-based entities residing within the heads of individuals (Mikulas, 2007). This assertion is counter to the current cultural emphasis in many Western countries on individuals as separate inner beings. Indigenous psychologies informed by Buddhism draw on the notion of 'dependent origination', or the idea that everything is interlinked and stems from dependence on something else. Mikulas (2007) advances the idea that the feeling of being separate from the social world and environment, and of having independent self-entities, is a particular Western construction. It is important not to get lost at the personal level and focus only on our individuality. People need to consider the broader contexts shaping their lives, including the social networks within which they are situated. From this perspective, rather than being detached observers of social life, we are submerged in the sea of daily life. The self is an

BOX 5.14   Interesting study

Uichol Kim and Young-Shin Park (in Allwood & Berry, 2006a) refer to *Chong,* the Korean concept for "affectionate attachment for a person, place, and thing" (p. 250). This concept is useful in expanding our understandings of the material basis of daily life and the importance of people, place and objects in self-construction (Chapters 3 and 6). *Chong,* and other such Asian concepts, bring into question notions of the independent or disconnected Western individual and emphasize the relational nature of human beings and our identities. Who we are is connected to the places we inhabit, the things we use and the people we interact with. As Kim and Park note, Korean, Chinese and Japanese words for 'human being' translate into English as 'being between'. In other words, it is what happens between human beings that makes us human.

PROOF

ongoing project, which owes its existence to the lifeworlds within which one is embedded. It follows that if we are to understand people we must understand these connections and contexts, and how one element affects other elements:

our understanding of even a simple event must depend on all sorts of complex relationships, because everything in the universe is related to everything else in some way. One can understand nothing in isolated pieces. The parts are meaningful in their relations to the whole, just as individual musical instruments are to an orchestra. Understanding parts requires us to investigate the whole. (Peng, Spencer-Rodgers & Nian, 2006, p. 255)

In focusing on human lives as complex wholes, we need to study more than the various elements or parts of a person's life. We need to study the relationships between interconnected parts making up the whole person. To understand people we must understand the groups to which they belong and how these groups relate to other groups. For example, Bob from the chapter scenario is a sentient being in his own right (Box 5.15). Yet, to understand him and his health, we need also to engage with processes of colonization, the cosmology of the indigenous group to which he belongs and the broader relationships and historical developments surrounding the health centre and his life.

BOX 5.15   Individuals and groups

A key tension that emerges with this orientation to the interdependent self is the threat of losing the individual to the social context or group. It is important to retain the uniqueness of each human being. None of us is totally reducible to the contexts of our life or the relationships within which we engage. Humanistic psychologists have noted for some time that people are always more than the social categories according to which we theorize them and their lives (Chapter 11). People can act in unanticipated ways within the restraints of their lifeworlds (Valsiner, 2009). This raises the classic tension between structure and agency in the social sciences. What is clear is that each person is solely the product neither of his or her culture nor of his or her own individuality or traits. Recently, Howarth (2009) noted that social psychologists need to be wary about essentializing racial categories onto actual people because the lives of individuals and the daily practices they engage in are often more complex and varied than such categories can account for. This is an important observation that reminds us that it is necessary to avoid stereotyping people (Chapter 4). People can give up an invitation to fit in with their communities and cultures from time to time. The critical humanist perspective outlined in Chapter 10 takes the view that both the social and the personal are woven into a dynamic relationship. Such thinking is also reflected in many Asian psychologies that assert autonomy within life webs, and how one's own actions can affect and be affected by other people linked into our webs (Yang, 2006). A key point here is that we are not passive objects shaped from the outside through processes of socialization. We are active participants in the daily rituals and practices that shape who we are and who we are to become. We can play with, revise and extend these very shared practices and in the process ourselves (Goffman, 1959).

PROOF

In considering the Chinese self, Yang (2006, p. 345) articulates the important point that the self does not necessarily cause an individual's actions. A person's actions in a particular situation can be seen as being the self, regardless of the causes for particular acts. In this way, each situation is associated with an expressed self. It is through the locating of the self in relationships and situations that a person's actions have influence on others. According to Yang (2006):

the self is a cobweb connected to many other people, each of whom is also a web. The cobweb is a dynamic field in which the person, as an action-taker pursuing everyday life and adjusting to the environment, has to think and do things affecting not only the self, but also those people linked to the web. Many actions may result in reshaping the web and all other webs associated with it. A person's deliberation and choice of action reflect that person's self. (p. 345)

From this perspective, because we affect and shape each other we need to learn to live harmoniously together and accept that we can grow into one another (Figure 5.1). Processes of self-refinement and adjustment to the environment are ongoing and in turn shape the environment and everyday life.
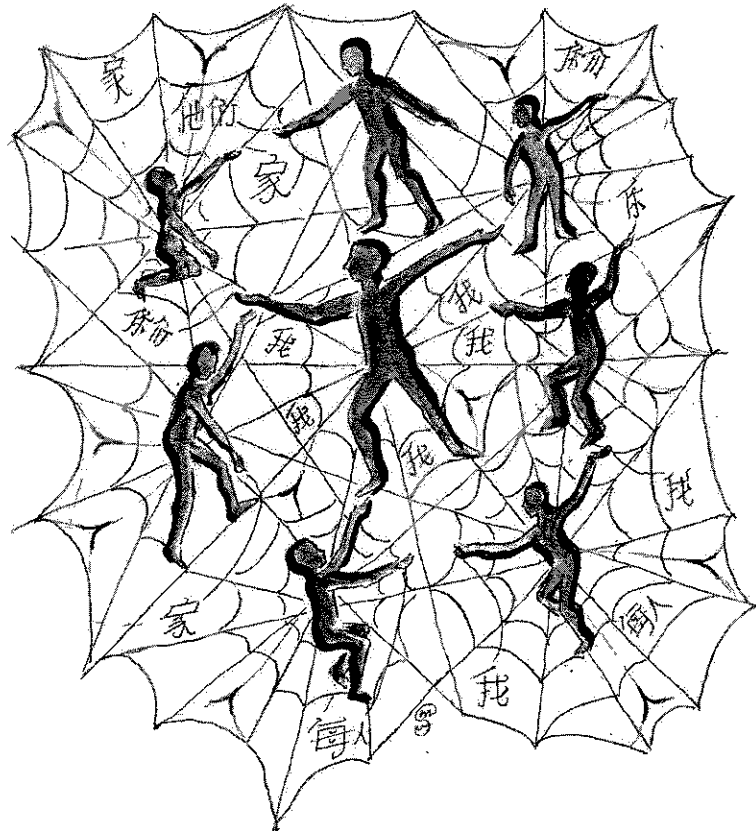

Figure 5.1. Illustration of the cobweb self

Review exercise

Draw a spider web. Now put in the names of family members, friends and colleagues. You might also put in places you feel at home and your prized possessions. Consider the following questions:

- What selves are linked to these elements in your web?
- What do these reflect about you?
- What sort of relationships enact the links between the 'I' at the centre of the web and the various 'me's out on the strands?

Ideas regarding the social and interconnected nature of human beings have been evident in the collectivist stream of Western social psychology for some time (James, 1890; Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1932). The Chinese conceptualization of the self as is reflected in the metaphor of the cobweb resembles aspects of some Western conceptualizations in social psychology which emphasize a holistic perspective (Billig, 2008). As Hermans (2001) writes:

The dialogical self is "social", not in the sense that a self-contained individual enters into social interactions with other outside people, but in the sense that other people occupy positions in a multivoiced self. The self is not only "here" but also "there", and, owing to the power of imagination, the person can act as if he or she were the other and the other were him- or herself. (p. 250)

The dialogical self is evident in how people can experience themselves as a mother or father through their relationships with their children. A key to notions of the dialogical self is continuity and discontinuity, in that what is experienced as 'mine' is often experienced in terms of continuity between partner, children and friends, whereas discontinuity in experience can occur when there is tension between the self as father, for instance, and as employee who cannot spend time with his children due to work commitments. Such situations raise discontinuity in experiences of the self as a coherent whole (Box 5.16).

Hermans (2001) proposed that self and culture are mutually constituting, and that, therefore, it is possible to study cultures in selves and people in cultures. This is possible because individuals are not self-contained and are in fact participating in, and developing through, culture in concert with others. At the same time culture is not simply an abstract set of concepts or practices. Culture is a field of human action and meaning making. It is through culture that we construct and make sense of the world and ourselves.

Theories of interconnected, cobweb and dialogical selves allow us to explore more fully the interwoven nature of self and collectives in everyday life. These connections are of increasing interest to social

PROOF

BOX 5.16   'I' and 'me' in the dialogical self (Hermans, 2001)

In addition to the work of the Russian novelist Bakhtin, the concept of the dialogical self draws heavily on the work of William James (1890) (see Chapter 2) and his distinction between *I* and *me*. The *I* is the self as knower and a sense of personal identity and continuity over time. At least in the West, this *I* is experienced as being distinct from other people. This *I* exercises personal volition in processing experience and rejecting unwanted thoughts. The *me* is the self as known or as seen and experienced by others. According to James, we all have as many selves as there are people who recognize us. The *me* extends to one's possessions and relationships, and as such extends out beyond the mind and body to parents, partner, children, friends, house, reputation, creative products and so forth. The notion of *me* in the world contrasts with the Cartesian self in that who we are exists in the environment and not simply in our minds. It is a view of the self that provides the basis for contemporary notions of the dialogical self and that is compatible with many indigenous notions of self emerging from around the world (Chung-Fang, 2006). What we get from notions of interconnected selves is the idea of unity in experience and multiplicity in manifestations of ourselves across different situations and social interactions. According to James (1890), the *I* organizes the various aspects of the *me* into a conscious whole experienced as a coherent self. This stance is compatible with the Chinese idea that there are as many selves as there are situations.

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psychologists, which reflects a shift beyond the focus on how individuals behave in group settings (see Chapter 2) that is reflected in the Asch (1952) studies on conformity and work on bystander apathy (Cherry, 1995). This focus has been extended more recently to how groups behave within individuals. For example, Liu and Liu (1999) explore interconnectedness as a dynamic value emerging from Confucian philosophy and increasingly central to Chinese psychology because it allows for a focus on complex relations and contradictions. Interconnectedness enables a focus on not only the self within the society, but the society within the self. A goal of psychological research becomes to increase our awareness of our embeddedness in the lives of others and ability to support each other. This focus on the collective within the individual reflects that assumption "that social categories to which people perceive themselves to belong have a profound impact on their psychological functioning" (Hermans, 2001, p. 261). A collective focus also necessitates a shift from viewing culture as an abstract system out in the world and external to the self to viewing culture as something inside and central to the self. This is a logical extension of notions of socialization, which we have been discussing throughout this book. In a sense, culture provides many of the fibres that make up the strands in our self-cobwebs. The pattern of the webs and links is influenced by norms, values and shared narratives of the groups we live among and grow from. The focus becomes how people and cultures evolve and grow within the dialogical exchanges of everyday life. It is important to note here that notions of the dialogical self are not restricted to verbal dialogue and

PROOF

encompass other shared social practices and community participations, such as body language (Hermans, 2001). We often are engaged in dialogue without noticing it. An approach based on the cobweb self transcends the individualistic and collectivist dualism because the collective is seen as being central to the creation of the individual. Concurrently, individuals and their voices or actions make up the dialogue through which cultures are constructed.

Taking these ideas further, we might add that just as there are multiple voices in individuals so can there be multiple cultures in a person. Think, for example, of social identities, such as black British, and what happens when a black British youth learns Kung Fu. In a sense, elements of African, British and Chinese culture become woven into the person's sense of self. The central point here is that cultural identities are often fluid, dialectical and hybrid when manifest in daily practices (Howarth, 2009). Aspects of different cultures can be brought into dialogue, and new identities and practices may emerge as a result (Box 5.15). These processes of hybridization can become intensified through access to mass media (Chapter 11), which expose us to a broader range of beliefs, practices and other people with whom we may interact. Further, we might extend our discussion of interconnected selves to interconnected communities. After all, people can reside in more than one ethnic space, depending on the context. Such issues are taken up in the following two chapters in relation to how groups share particular places and issues surrounding immigration, and in relation to notions of place-based identities (Cuba & Hummon, 1993) and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In the context of the present chapter, it is important that indigenous psychologies are developed to provide concepts and insights rich enough to aid us in investigating such complex, social and global processes of human interaction and self-development (Hermans, 2001). This also necessitates investigations of the pain and disruption that can occur for individuals and groups who become caught between worlds and cultures.

Chapter summary

In many respects indigenous psychologies remain marginalized in the discipline of psychology. We have not to date come across a chapter on this topic in another social psychology textbook. This omission reflects a missed opportunity. Engagements with indigenous psychologies enable us to extend social psychological engagements with human diversity. Such psychologies provide insights into how people think and act within different historical and cultural contexts. Indigenous psychologies are having a minority group influence by encouraging social psychologists to deal with diversity in more complex and relevant ways. This is necessary because everyday life is

PROOF

a diverse and complex place. Complexities need to be reflected in a responsive social psychology. Indigenous psychologies should be recognized as a core part of the social psychology landscape. Scholars can draw upon insights from these psychologies to expand and pluralize the discipline and to ensure responsiveness to the diverse ways of being and needs of the world's population. In this chapter, we have attempted to open the door to these diverse psychological realities. The references cited in this chapter provide valuable resources for you to explore these emerging approaches further.

We have noted that discussions about indigenous peoples are often engaged in with reference to processes of colonization and acculturation that often rupture existing ways of life and connections of people to places and their shared identities. Despite hardship, many indigenous peoples survive and flourish today. A range of unique psychological understandings and frameworks are offered as moves are made to decolonize areas of psychology. As part of this process, indigenization can occur from the inside and the outside of a community. The insider, or emic, approach involves developing methods and approaches from within one's own culture and local knowledge. The outside, or etic, approach involves indigenous psychologists drawing on existing insights, methods and approaches developed outside the community culture and appropriating and refining these for local use. Both approaches provide insight and a means of extending the discipline of social psychology and ensuring increased utility across a range of cultural settings. Part of the process of decolonizing psychology also involves rethinking the core notion of the self as an independent entity and replacing it with notions of the interconnected self, which reflect the complexities of being in everyday life.

It is crucial to acknowledge that many of the issues and concerns raised by indigenous psychologists, such as the orientation of social psychology and the need to respond to the particularities of groups and diverse life situations, are shared by many social psychologists in Europe and North America. Indigenous psychologies from around the world are compatible with the collectivist stream of Western social psychology outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. There are also similarities in calls for responsiveness, relevance and attention to contexts. There are also differences in emphasis, orientation and language. While recognizing the differences, we do not wish to be misread as advocating a rigid distinction between all Anglo-American-inspired psychology and indigenous psychologies. In the end, all psychologies are based on cultural knowledge and local histories.

A key point of contrast between prominent variants of the dominant individualistic stream of social psychology in the West and indigenous psychologies relates to context. The individualistic stream seeks to develop theory and insights that transcend historical and

PROOF

cultural contexts. Kim, Yang and Hwang (2006b) draw on the work of Albert Bandura when they reflect on the limitations of the individualistic stream of North American psychology and the emphasis on developing context-free theory:

Existing psychological theories are not universal since they have eliminated the very qualities that allow people to understand, predict, and control their environment. Bandura (1999) points out that "it is ironic that a science of human functioning should strip people of the very capabilities that make them unique in their power to shape their environment and their own destiny" (p. 5)

Conversely, indigenous psychologies seek to embrace those very contexts and to explore the lives of people as they are enmeshed by, shape and are shaped by these contexts. This orientation towards people in context has been called for around the world (Kim, Yang & Hwang, 2006a). Ensuring a diverse range of theories, themes and concerns is put forward as a way to drive the discipline beyond the agendas of dominant cultures. Such a broadening of the discipline is aimed at inclusion, rather than exclusion, and opening dialogue across cultures regarding social psychological issues. However, a key complicating factor is that this dialogue cannot be based in the social psychology of any one culture, and, therefore, much work is yet to be done on establishing the basis for discussion. As we saw in Chapter 4, from the work of Bartlett (1932), it is important to be vigilant in such exchanges in order to ensure that in translating the approaches and insights from one culture to another we are aware of how our own cultural standpoint influences the meanings we make and of our blind spots. This is why open and ongoing dialogue across social psychologies from around the world is crucial for the further development of the discipline. It is important that we strive towards understanding people from their own cultural and historical frames of reference as much as possible. This is, in part, why the voices of indigenous scholars are included in this chapter.

Finally, we can have multiple psychologies within social psychology. There is diversity in the world, and we need to embrace it if we are to understand everyday life.

Review exercise

Consider your own country of residence and answer the following questions:

- Who are the indigenous people and what is their history?
- Have processes of colonization occurred and, if so, what have been the consequences?
- Do these groups still control the legal and social structures that govern everyday life?
- What is the status of these groups in society?

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