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Māori ways-of-being: Addressing cultural disruption through everyday socio-cultural practices of [re]connection

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Abstract

Within the discipline of psychology, many Indigenous scholars have endeavoured to rethink and re-theorise the foundations, focus, and methods used in an effort to construct psychologies that are more reflective of their own cosmologies and contexts. The presented thesis contributes to this Indigenous project by exploring the ways in which the ruling psychology of our times, and its underlying philosophical assumptions, can disrupt Indigenous peoples' attempts to articulate our own understandings of being. Drawing on emic and etic approaches and grounded within Kaupapa Māori approach, this thesis engages with the complexities of what it means to be Māori today through two theoretically (chapters 2 and 3) and two community-based publications (chapters 4 and 5). In the first article (chapter 2), I decentre the dominance of ruling psychology by challenging the idea of a single disciplinary space within the discipline and introduce the notion of multiple sphericules that carry numerous cultural philosophical perspectives that combine to make up the discipline of psychology. Building on these ideas in the second article (chapter 3), I contribute to efforts to theorize Māori ways-of-being by drawing on Māori cultural understandings and associated literature, ideas from the European continental philosophical tradition, and personal reflections. Taken together, chapters 2 and 3 carve out conceptual space within psychology that is then explored through culturally immersive and auto-ethnographic techniques in chapters 4 and 5. Specifically, chapter 4 is set within the context of the low socio-economic urban landscape in which I grew up. Chapter 5 speaks more to issues of [re]connecting with ancestral homelands, communities, and ways-of-being. In chapters 4 and 5, I document how Māori cultural selves are preserved amidst histories of colonization and urbanization by paying particular attention to the role of culturally-patterned social practices evident in the conduct of everyday life. Overall, this thesis contributes to present understandings of the ongoing development of Māori subjectivities that often shift in response to the socio-cultural conditions and structural inequalities that many of our communities continue to face. This thesis provides some insights into how urban Māori, such as myself, construct and reproduce novel, creative, and culturally grounded strategies for dealing with the disruptions that have come with colonization. These efforts work to strengthen and preserve cultural connectedness and distinct Māori ways-of-being.

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Table of contents

Abstract 3

Acknowledgements 5

Table of contents 7

Table of figures 9

Chapter 1: Introduction 11

Chapter 2: Conversations in Indigenous psychologies 41

Chapter 3: Theorising Māori ways-of-being 53

Chapter 4: Preserving Māori ways-of-being 73

Chapter 5: [Re]connecting with Māori ways-of-being. 97

Chapter 6: Conclusion 123

References: 137

Appendices 153

Table of figures

Figure 1: Markus and Kitayama's (1991) contrasting of independent and interdependent conceptualisations of the self........ 25

Figure 2. Wall mural of Māori patterns at the Highbury shops (22.11.2015). 77

Figure 3. A bench at the Highbury shops that is imbued with Māori motifs (22.11.2015). 77

Figure 4. State houses in Highbury (22.11.2015). 83

Figure 5. Saint Michael's marae Highbury (21.11.2015). 86

Figure 6. The boil-up pot (23.11.2015). 88

Figure 7. Sitting down for lunch with the whānau (23.11.2015). 88

Figure 8. Gloriana dairy, Highbury, Palmerston North (23.11.2015). 92

Figure 9. Uncle Charley's fish and chip shop, Highbury, Palmerston North (23.11.2015). 92

Figure 10. Boiling saveloys for dinner (25.11.2015). 93

Figure 11. Saveloys from the pot, chips from the shop, and tomato sauce (25.11.2015). 93

Figure 12. My niece sitting at the table with my contribution to the home: cooking oil, butter, coffee, and potato chips (11.09.2017). 107

Figure 13. Māori bread dough ready for proofing before cooking (07.07.2015). 112

Figure 14. Hunting with whānau in the Hokianga (04.05.2016). 114

Figure 15. Preparing fried bread (11.09.2017). 117

Figure 16. Cooking fried bread (11.09.2017). 117

Figure 17. Brother in-law picking watercress for the whānau (06.07.2015). 120

Chapter 1: Introduction

I was born and raised in a predominantly Māori (Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand) neighbourhood in the small New Zealand city of Palmerston North, Manawatū. My Māori ancestry is not anchored in the Manawatū, but in a place call the Hokianga, almost one thousand kilometres north of the Manawatū. At school in Palmerston North, most of the Māori students I attended with were also from places other than the Manawatū, so stories of cultural disconnection and uncertainty were commonplace. I was born in the late 1980s and experienced the many outcomes that came from the victories of numerous Māori activists, cultural leaders, and politicians. The Waitangi tribunal was established, Treaty settlements were being reached, te reo Māori was being taught in some schools, we had our own television channel *Māori TV*, Māori tertiary education institutions were being set up, and many other positive things were happening, which contributed to the Māori cultural revival. Amidst the Māori renaissance has come a proliferation of sources, or sites, for Māori to culturally [re]connect that, in itself, requires considerable skills to navigate. In conjunction with histories of colonial oppression, land confiscations, cultural assimilation, and processes of urbanization that have fractured and continue to shape the everyday lives of Māori, being Māori today is arguably more complex than ever before.

I open with this brief personalised story as it highlights a shared narrative of Māori that forms the core of this thesis. What does it mean to be Māori? How have our culturally distinctive ways-of-being been modified through colonization and urbanization? Such questions are regularly the subject of lively discussions in the Māori world, which also extends into academia. As a distinct Indigenous people, the last one hundred and fifty years have seen the most rapid changes in our millennia long history (Walker, 2004). Many Māori are still coming to grips with full impact of the most recent disruptions to our ways-of-being that came to these shores with British colonization. Some Māori remain in their ancestral (often rural) homelands living, to varying extents, as their ancestors have done. Others have migrated to urban environments and over generations, continue to link back to their ancestral homelands, again in various ways. Many such urbanised Māori have lost direct or regular contact with their ancestral homelands and have been forced to find new ways-of-being Māori in response to urban life. As a result, we now have additional complexities in Māori ways-of-being that are played out every day across diverse locales, complicating questions of the meaning of being Māori (cf. Forster, 1968).

In this thesis, I focus in on how dominant conceptualisations of human subjectivities within psychology perpetuate forms of coloniality (cf. Egan, 2007; Fanon, 1952/1991), and how

Māori understandings of the self, or selves, that make up a person, can provide a more recognisable, humane, and effective basis for working with Māori (cf. Rua, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2017). Philosophically, dominant conceptualisations of the self within psychology often reproduce Eurocentric individualistic cultural values that frame people as being self-contained and somehow independent from broader social, political, and cultural contexts (Raggatt, 2010). In contrast, most of the world's population do not see themselves as self-contained beings (Li, Hodgetts, & Foo, 2019), and scholars have called for a broadening of the global discipline in order to accommodate and engage more equitably with different ways of understanding human beings (Sonn et al. 2017; Maldonado-Torres, 2017).

Central to our struggles to understand the nuances of contemporary Māori ways-of-being, in an academic sense, is how to do so from a Māori cultural and philosophical position that does not compartmentalise 'being' in the same way as the more reductionist[1] orientations of knowledge production within the discipline of psychology (Hung, 1997; Rua, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2017). For Māori, the breaking apart and decontextualizing of objects of study makes little sense unless the knowledge gained from this process is situated back within the broader context of the whole (Ritchie, 1992). As noted by Smith (2012), these culturally nuanced dilemmas in knowledge production often result from the inherent embeddedness of coloniality within the commonly drawn upon methodologies of academia. Building on such methodological critiques, Sonn and colleagues (2017) argues that decolonization also requires us: "to retrieve and reclaim ways of knowing, being, and doing" (p. 448). In this thesis, I attempt to move beyond the dominant perspectives of psychology, and build upon the work of Māori and Indigenous scholars in order to explore Māori ways-of-being that are both rooted in and made meaningful through Māori worldviews and systems of knowledge.

This thesis is by publication, based on four journal articles, all of which have been published within peer-reviewed journals. Within this first chapter, I begin by exploring the vastness that is the discipline of psychology, its complex and competing histories, in an effort to locate my thesis project within particular traditions of psychology, namely Indigenous and Kaupapa Māori psychologies. As I will argue, calls to pluralise the discipline of psychology offer Māori and Indigenous peoples a more useful intellectual and cultural space to be part of and from which to articulate our own ways of being, knowing, and acting in the world. Building on this positioning within psychology, I then move on to outline theories of human subjectivities within psychology in order to broaden my conceptual understanding of the self and lay the foundations for my published materials (chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5). As I will discuss, Māori selves are complex; relational; often anchored in but not reducible to ancestral home places; impacted by political, cultural, and economic conditions within society; historically contextual; and lived out though everyday social practices (Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Leggat-Cook, 2011; Kawharu, 1975; Rua, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2017). As colonization involves the crafting of colonial subjects (Egan, 2007; Fanon, 1952/1991), I further my exploration of human subjectivities by historicising the colonial disruptions that have impacted and shaped the way Māori are positioned and constructed within modern Aotearoa New Zealand. Building from these theoretical and historical considerations, I outline the culturally immersive approach I employed to conduct the empirical components of this research. To conclude this chapter, I provide an overview to the structure of this thesis and outline the general themes contained within each of the chapters.

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[1] Reductionism is the idea that knowledge of the world can be objectively produced by isolating (decontextualizing) and breaking apart an object of study into its simplest, most fundamental components (Hung, 1997).

Locating the current thesis within psychology

Prior to my exploration of human subjectivities and Māori ways-of-being, it is important to reflect on the scholarly discipline that my thesis contributes towards. This is because psychology, like any other discipline, has its own particular strengths and limitations that shape how research is conceptualised, designed, conducted, and made meaningful (Danziger, 1994;. Andreouli & Figgou, 2019). Psychology is a vast and dynamic scholarly discipline with numerous fields that draw on a wider range of epistemologies, ontologies, and methodologies, which take up a variety of (a)historical, (a)political, and (a)cultural positions towards research, knowledge production, and theory. As such, this section examines some of the key developments and philosophical shifts within the discipline in order to locate my thesis within the broader field of knowledge production and application. As I will show, the history of psychology is complex, which raises questions surrounding whose versions of the history of psychology are told, and subsequently, what constitutions of psychology operate today in relation to these different historical accounts.

As an activity interwoven with what it means to be human, psychology can be dated back to the emergence of the human species (Brinkmann, 2015). This view, however, is not one that is held within the mainstream discipline of psychology. In short, the discipline of psychology is often described as having a long past and a short history in an effort to demarcate the ‘modern’ discipline from its historical roots (see Ebbinghaus, 1908; Lindzey & Aronson, 1985). This ‘long past’ generally refers to psychology when it was still a branch of European philosophy, which drew on a range of methodological and epistemological approaches that were orientated both in terms of the pursuit of 'pure knowledge' and social responsiveness (cf. Danziger, 1990). The short history denotes the epistemological/ideological shift towards positivism[2] and the scientising of the discipline. As argued by Farr (1991), with the adoption of positivism as the philosophy of science within psychology, it became important for the modern mainstream discipline to distinguish itself from its philosophical past. In contemporary times, the history of psychology, as taught particularly in first year psychology courses and textbooks (see Weiten, 2012), begins in the laboratory of Willhelm Wundt in 1879 in Leipzig, Germany, with psychology's rich past often presented as a mere 'pre-history' of the discipline (Farr, 1991).

As the victor writes the history, the view of psychology where "scientific research was based on a common method, independent of the subject matter investigated" (Brinkmann, 2015, p. 164) came to dominate the discipline, particularly in the United States (Farr, 1991). This conception of psychology, however, is at odds with the work of many of the foundational scholars of psychology, such as Freud, Piaget, Bartlett, James, and Wundt, who operated beyond the scope of experimental psychology (Brinkmann, 2015; Danziger, 1990; James, 1890). Wundt – the so-called founder of modern psychology – in particular maintained quite a broad approach to psychological research and theory, as Danziger (1990) writes:

> Even in his period of youthful enthusiasm for the experimental method Wundt recognized the need for another, nonexperimental type of psychology. This was Völkerpsychologie, an untranslatable term referring to a kind of social psychology based on the historical, ethnographic, and comparative analysis of human cultural products, especially language, myth, and custom (p. 37).

Danziger (1979: 1990) argues that Wundt's American students took a radically different form of psychology back to the United States. This uniquely American conception of psychology was entrapped within positivism[3] and extended the application of experimentation well beyond the epistemological and ontological limits that Wundt thought appropriate. A prime example of the Americanisation of psychology can be seen in the field of behavioural psychology that came to prominence in the 1940s which, in quite a radical way, reduced psychological inquiry to the measurement of observable behaviour under experimental conditions (cf. Baum, 2004). Völkerpsychologie, in the English-speaking world at least, was largely abandoned as the discipline developed in the US (United States of America) and was exported to other contexts over the 20th century.

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[2] Positivism is a philosophical view that posits that statements of knowledge are meanful in so far as they can be experimentally verified (Hung, 1997). If a particular knowledge claim cannot be verified in this way, positivists did not view such statements to be untrue or false, but meaningless in an absolute sense.

[3] In Aotearoa New Zealand, our psychology is Americanised despite out histories of British colonization. The connection and relevance within my research here is that the positivist influence within Americanised psychology has its roots in the British intellectual tradition. I expand on the links between colonization and the imposition of British philosophies in chapter 3 of this thesis.

A reaching implication of the turn to positivism was that psychology increasingly became disinterested and disengaged with the historical contexts, and the social and political realities of peoples' everyday lives (Farr, 1991). The mass social upheavals of the early and mid-20th century, such as the two World Wars and the Great Depression, did serve as a rallying point for engaged social psychologists to respond (Cherry, 2009). However particularly during the post-war era, the mainstream of social psychology largely remained focused on espousing a neutral, value-free, decontextualized, universally applicable methods to produce objective knowledge, independent of the subject matter (Andreouli & Figgou, 2019). Moving into the 1960s amidst the political turbulence of the time, tensions grew between social psychologists whose work largely maintained the status quo within US society, which included racial segregation, patriarchal ideologies, and socio-economic inequalities, and those who were working towards political activism and societal change (Fox, Prilleltensky, & Austin, 2009; Hodgetts et al. 2010).

These divergent approaches cannot be simplified to a qualitative vs quantitative dichotomy, nor a rejection of the scientific method outright. Scholars have maintained that there is no fundamental incompatibility between quantitative and qualitative methodological orientations (Brinkmann, 2015; Danziger, 1990; Gergen, 1994). The issue, more broadly, is the neglect of the discipline of social psychology of the social and political realities of everyday life as a result on an over reliance on the experimental methodologies. The incompatibility, then, lies between a view of psychology that is grounded in an "epistemology of an objective science" on one hand, and on the other hand, others that are politically cognisant and socially engaged (Andreouli & Figgou, 2019, p. 150).

Disciplinary tensions built during the 1960s and 1970s into what has come to be regarded as the crisis in social psychology (Gergen, 1994). Following Hodgetts and colleagues' (2010) discussion of the crisis in social psychology, the issues surrounding the dominance of experimentalism within social psychology coalesce around, but are not limited to, three central concerns. The first of which was *social irrelevance*. As 'objective methods' were prioritised over social engagement, much of the social psychological knowledge that was produced at the time was rather limited in its practical application because it did not directly address or challenge the political interests of the status quo and the social issues that emerged from how society was structured. The second was *universal validity*. Within experimental social psychology, there was a grand assumption that findings and theories that had been derived from US based populations could be legitimately applied to contexts outside of the US. Finally was the *presentation of scientific neutrality*. This point spoke to the veneer of scientific credibility that could be used to conceal the political and moral interests of privileged groups who benefited from the way that society was structured.

In conceptualising critiques of mainstream psychology, socially and politically engaged scholars have used a range of terms to distinguished how they operate within psychology from the dominant, mainstream, US based social psychological approach that lay at the centre of this crisis. Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) coined the term WEIRD psychology, an acronym that stands for Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic to acknowledge the limitations of generalising from WEIRD populations to impose universal theories of human nature on all of humanity. Similarly, Seedat (2015) used the phrase 'ruling psychology' to describe mainstream psychology in terms of how it is:

> …performed to manufacture commodified subjects and naturalise extractive relationships with nature, the animal world and human beings. It appeals to impulses related to domination, acquisitiveness and accumulation, and privileges extreme notions of individualism and competitiveness" (https://mg.co.za/article/2015-09-17-we-must-build-on-psychology-of-peace).

Within this thesis, I draw on these two conceptualisations to imperfectly refer to a collection of traditions and ideas that compose the dominant approaches in psychology (cf. Hodgetts et al. 2020). It is tempting to try to pin down the exact origins of the different branches of psychology, including ruling psychology. However, Farr (1991) warns us that this task itself is grounded in a positivist view of historiography that over-simplifies the complex, messy, and often disjointed ways that fields of psychology form and history represents them. As I discuss below, fields within psychology often come into existence in imperfect and fragmented ways that, although not reducible to a single moment, can rally together in a common response.

The field of critical psychology can be seen as an example of one of the many ways that our discipline has re-pluralised as a result of the crisis of social psychology. The critical tradition itself, however, is a sporadic one that spans back to the 19th century when psychology was still considered to be a part of philosophy. In more recent times (since the 1960s), critical psychology has consolidated much of this critical tradition into a field of psychology in its own right (Parker, 2015). Spearheaded by Kalus Holzkamp, the German tradition of critical psychology, for example, developed from a "theoretical and practical elaboration of Marxist thinking on the topic and discipline of psychology" (Painter, Marvakis, & Mos, 2009, p. 139). One of the key aims of critical psychology here was to ground the discipline of psychology scientifically while maintaining a commitment to the political and social realities within society. Growing out of the political movements and awareness of the 1960s, there has been a proliferation of critical trajectories develop across a range of countries[4] that seek to challenge the ways that ruling psychology supports maintaining the status quo within society to the detriment of marginalised peoples. Critical psychology engages with issues of systemic oppression as they relate to gendered, racialized, and class based subjectivities; areas that often lie beyond the scope or interest of ruling psychology (Gough et al. 2013; Morgan et al. 2019).

Similar to critical psychology, the formation of community psychology arose from a collection of community-focused approaches to scholarship and action that also came together in general frustration with the limitations of ruling psychology (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2009). Responding to the locally and contextually bounded social issues, community psychology emerged in a number of ways across a range of different locales that offered an alternative to ruling psychology (Sonn & Quayle, 2012). For example; the emergence of community psychology in South Africa is often associated with the apartheid regime; in the US, the civil rights movement served as an impetus; within former British colonies, such as Australia and New Zealand, issues of colonization and indigeneity have contributed to the development of community psychology (Kagan et al. 2011; Robertson & Masters-Awatere, 2007). Much of what drives community psychology is a commitment to research that is applied, inter-disciplinary and collaborative, that views people as socially located, and maintains a focus on structural inequalities and social justice (Robertson & Masters-Awatere, 2007; Sonn & Quayle, 2012). In contrast to ruling psychology, community psychology is not guided by adherence to methodologies of purported objectivism, but orientates itself towards developing practical responses to the issues within society, drawing on whatever methodologies are available and in principle appear beneficial in achieving these goals (cf. Heller et al. 1984; Rappaport, 1977). In doing so, community psychology overtly rejects the assumption within ruling psychology that the individual is the primary unit of analysis within the discipline (Marecek & Hare-Mustin,

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[4] See https://discourseunit.com/annual-review/5-2006/ for a collection of articles that explore the development of critical psychology in places like: North America, Ocieania, Europe, the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and South America.

2009). As the name suggest, communities themselves constitute a unit of analysis that psychology can and should engage.

The last examples I want to explore in relation to the re-pluralisation of psychology are Indigenous psychologies. This is not because I am attempting to provide an exhaustive account of disciplinary diversity, but rather because Indigenous psychologies can been approached as a particular branch of psychology where I wish to situate my thesis project. Here, my aim is to foreground the development of Indigenous psychologies in a general sense. Within chapter 2, I provide a more detailed account to the current state of Indigenous psychologies and how my thesis more directly contributes to this field. As pointed out by Allwood and Berry (2006), Indigenous scholars trained in ruling psychology during the 1960s and 1970s became increasingly disgruntled with the lack of applicability that their training had within their local contexts. Assumed within the construction of ruling psychological knowledge was the notion of universality, meaning that knowledge produced within the context of a university in the US would somehow be equally valid when applied to different people in different spaces (cf. Sonn, Rua, & Quayle, 2019). Fuelling the ongoing tensions between Indigenous and ruling approaches to psychology was the failure of ruling psychology to acknowledge the cultural context within which it is constructed. As Groot, LeGrice and Nikora (2019) note, WEIRD/ruling psychology offers a very particular:

> … cultural lens through which one can view the social world and too often does so through denying and assimilating other cultural perspectives. When dominated by one way of knowing, the consequence may well be imperialism, racism, cultural violence, and the further denigration of indigenous peoples (Walia, 2013; Watkins & Shulman, 2008). This realisation has fuelled many movements to indigenise psychology in different parts of the world, including those in Aotearoa New Zealand (p.198).

Within a late modern, globalised context of increased movement and contact between different ethnic and cultural groups, the need for meaningful engagement with culture within the discipline of psychology has arguably never been more important than now (cf. Li, Hodgetts, & Foo, 2019). These arguments go beyond being simply ideological, as cultural domination has been shown to have measurable negative impacts on the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples (Durie, 1994; Jackson, 1992). In recognising these issues for some time now, an increasing number of Indigenous scholars worldwide who have experienced similar cultural frustrations when attempting to engage with WEIRD/ruling psychology are mobilising to meet the needs of their local people and contexts. Often, this is done by engaging with knowledge from disciplines other than psychology in order to articulate Indigenous perspectives that centralise cultural concepts to inform their approach within psychology (see Allwood & Berry, 2006; Groot, Rua, Masters-Awatere, Dudgeon, & Garvey, 2012; Sonn & Quayle, 2012).

To provide a specific example, within a recent edited collection of Indigenous writings from the Asia-Pacific region (Li, Hodgetts, & Foo, 2019), the editors conclude the book by making note of the patterns that characterised the submissions. The key trend across 8 of the 10 chapters from different countries in the Asia Pacific region was that psychological colonialism often begins with research on local populations from outsider perspectives, and is then followed by the establishment of schools of psychology that teach content from WEIRD countries. Additionally, local academics are then encouraged to attain advanced degrees abroad, in places like the US, and then return home to apply what they have learned. Although the straight transplantation of ruling psychological knowledge into local contexts such as Indonesia or the Philippines raises issues of effectiveness, many persist in drawing on these foreign materials, whilst others look to the revival of culturally germane knowledge in an effort to decolonise ruling psychology.

Although the emergence and development of Indigenous psychologies have been fruitful in the past 50 years, the global discipline still largely fails to acknowledge Indigenous worldviews and perspectives (Nikora, Groot, & LeGrice, 2019), and is at times openly hostile. An example of open hostility can be seen in a 2016 article published in the journal *Culture & Psychology* entitled “On the rise and decline of ‘indigenous psychology’” (Jahoda, 2016). The purpose of this article was to critically survey the literature on Indigenous psychologies in order to ascertain the viability of the field. Jahoda reviewed the field of Indigenous psychologies from the perspective of ruling psychology and, in doing so, positioned many differences in approach as deficits in Indigenous scholarship. Some of the keywords of Jahoda’s publication included; *inconsistent views*, *do indigenous psychologies exist?* and *lack of realism*. A primary concern raised by Indigenous scholars with this article was the denial of Indigenous psychology as a legitimate field of study. To deny Indigenous peoples their very sense of self and knowledge of being that has been cultivated over centuries if not thousands of years is to deny their very existence (Rua et al. In Press).This denial constitutes a form of epistemological (Teo, 2010) and ontological violence (King et al. 2017) that seeks to maintain colonial beliefs and claims of universal knowledge purportedly underpinning scholarly disciplines. Chapter 3 of this thesis deals with these issues in more detail by working towards a theorising of Māori ways-of-being in an effort to counter the dominance of ruling psychological approaches.

Shifting to the context of Aotearoa New Zealand specifically, Māori scholars from a range of academic disciplines beyond psychology have been working in an effort to decolonise their respective disciplines. An important milestone in these efforts came in the 1990s with the publication of Linda Smith's (2012) book[5]: *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. One of the significant achievements of this book was that it brought together numerous conversations that were taking place among Māori academics nationally, who recognised how modern academia perpetuated colonialism, into a concise and accessible resource. A central theme of this book articulates the embeddedness of imperialism and colonialism within processes of knowledge production, and how Indigenous peoples can resist coloniality through decolonising research methodologies. Since the publication of this book, there has been a proliferation of decolonial literature and research produced within Aotearoa New Zealand that composes a body of work known as Kaupapa Māori research and theory[6].

Developed in response to Eurocentric, individualistic, and colonial orientations of research that are impose *on* Māori, Kaupapa Māori Theory positions a Māori worldview as the starting point for conducting research *with* Māori (Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002). Kaupapa Māori approaches depart from ruling psychological research norms that centralise ridged adherence to methods and appeals to 'pure science' by recognising the power dynamics within society that shape research and the political implications that come with producing knowledge (Chamberlain, 2000; Pihama, 2012). As Māori have experienced massive cultural disruptions through colonization, it is important that my research is positioned in relation to the dominant processes of knowledge production within the settler culture of Aotearoa New Zealand in particular and global discipline of psychology more generally (cf. Teo, 2010). Within my research, Kaupapa Māori Theory provides a cultural basis from which to understand processes of cultural [dis]connection and reconnection (see chapters 4 and 5). Furthermore, operating in this ways also works towards producing knowledge that remains recognisable to Māori, as well as continuing to resist the shaping of Māori as colonial subjects thought material and ideological colonialism (Jackson, 1992; King et al. 2017; Maldonado-Torres, 2017). In the following section, I explore the literature surrounding human subjectivities as they relate to both the major disciplinary conversations on the subject and their connection/disconnections from Māori understandings of the self within the discipline of psychology.

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[5] Originally published in 1999.

[6] See Hyde and colleagues (2017) for a bibliography of Māori and psychology research.

Theorising the self in psychology

There are numerous ways of opening discussions regarding the self, as it is a topic of vast human interest, contemplation, and engagement (cf. Bhatia & Stam, 2005). For the purposes of this thesis, I have opted to begin with the European tradition of psychology that emerged in the late 19th century in Germany for two reasons. First, because it builds upon discussions surrounding the dominant perspectives of ruling psychology that I have just covered, and second, because many of the early social psychological views of the self bear some similarities to many Indigenous understandings of the self. The construction of the self within the current ruling psychology, however, is a kind of self that many Māori struggle to make sense of within their own local contexts and ways-of-being (Rua, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2017). Within this section, I outline conceptualisations of human subjectivity within psychology with regard to the scientising that fractured the discipline during its development in Europe and the US (Danziger, 1990). From here, I explore a central tension within scholarship regarding the independent and interdependent views of the self that, in many ways, reflects this disciplinary and intellectual divergence. My aim within this section is to situate my published articles, which make up the body of this thesis, within the broader disciplinary conversations regarding the self that have taken and continue to take place within psychology.

One of the earliest scholars within the tradition of Anglo-European psychology to consider the self in depth was William James. His theory of the self was plural and consisted of a distinction between the ‘I’ and the ‘me’ (James, 1890). The ‘I’ is described as the self-as-knower, the internal thinker that maintains a sense of continuity and personal identity across time. The ‘me’ on the other hand is plural and the self-as-known by others. This me self is entwined in social relations and external points of self-identification. That is, the ‘me’ is malleable and takes shape in relation to other people, material objects, and particular places.

Much of James’ work on the self laid the foundations for Mead’s (1934) symbolic interactionism, which also evokes an I/me distinction (Von Der Haar, 2005), and emphasises the role of perspectives-taking in the development of the self. This perspective-taking extended to an ability to envision group perspectives, what Mead referred to as the ‘generalized other’, and argued that it is this ‘generalized other’ that provides a person with a sense of a self (Mead, 1925). From his work in child development, Mead further noted that the self develops across time, meaning that the self cannot be seen as a static or fixed phenomena. Both James and Mead highlighted a dialectic of self while also pointing out that who people are at any given time and place is often dependant on their relationships and interactions with others. For example, who a person is with their intimate partner is usually quite different to who they are when engaging with the mechanic who is fixing the car.

Continuing the idea of a relational and dialectical understanding the self, Cooley's (1902) concept of the 'looking-glass self' explored how people develop a sense of self from their interactions with others. For Cooley, this process took place in three stages. First, people think about how others might perceive them. Second, others respond to the person's appearance and behaviours during social interactions. Third, people respond to the feedback they receive from others. In other words, from this perspective the self is constructed and refined through processes of socialization central to which are interactions with and feedback from other people. More broadly, for Cooley the self and society mutually constitute one another or are 'twin born'. This implies that a person cannot be understood by separating them from the social contexts within which they are situated and take form. Conversely, the social contexts in which people engage are also the product of the selves that are co-constructed there. As such, it is through social interactions that we learn about and construct our sense of self and create the very social relations that make up society (Hodgetts et al. 2010).

Drawing insights from Shakespeare, Goffman (1959) conceptualised human subjectivity as performative. He argued that the self is performed through social interactions in a similar way as a character performs within a play. Echoing the thinking of earlier social psychologists, Goffman recognised that the spaces within which we perform the self are not empty containers, but are constructed in such a way as to facilitate or mediate the performance more broadly. This emphasis on space bears resemblance to the sociologist Bourdieu's (1977) concept of habitus, in that different social spaces provide a range of social cues that reflect shared social practices and etiquettes. People shape themselves and others in these settings accordingly. Goffman's view of the self also incorporated the role of everyday material objects, or what he called props. In doing so, he again spanned the Cartesian dualism and situated human subjectivity relationally and materially in the world. Parallel discussions on the role of objects in the construction of the self have been made in philosophy. Heidegger (1927/1962), for example, argued that everyday objects, particularly those whose use are second nature in daily life, are not simply external to us, but are part of our being-in-the-world through their involvement within our everyday practices.

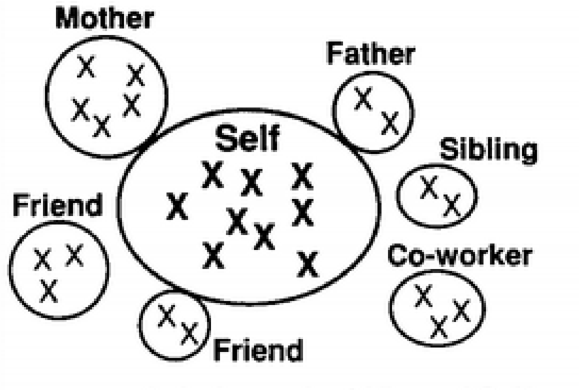
Common among these early European social psychologists (Cooley, 1902; James, 1890; Mead, 1934) was an acknowledgement of both the internal and external dimensions of the self. These seminal social psychologists did not see the need to evoke a form of Cartesian dualism, that is, the separation of the mind (internal) from the body (external). In many ways, they understood human subjectivity as being inherently social, grounded in ongoing human relations, complex, emplaced and dynamic. As psychology became more established in the US context, the focus on the self became more a focus on mental life and the internal psychological dimensions of human subjectivity. US based psychology increasingly looked inwards, into the private mind of individual cognition, constructing a self-contained, autonomous characterization of the human self that has become an almost default way of understanding people within ruling or WEIRD psychology (Jovchelovitch, 2007; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). A prime example of this individualising and scientising of the self can be seen in the work of McCrae and Costa (1999) on personality that dates back to the late 1970s.

Known as the Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEO PI-R), or colloquially as *the big five* personality factors, this body of work conceptualised the self as a personality, consisting of discrete dimensions, which can purportedly be experimentally defined and objectively measured. The five core personality factors include neuroticism, extraversion, openness to experience, agreeableness, and conscientiousness, all of which are reducible to an expanded collection of facets. Couched within the legitimacy of scientific methodology, the self as personality became cast in a manner that reified the Cartesian separation of body and mind, dematerialising the self, leaving us with the presumption that the self is an inherently isolated and autonomous individual (Danziger, 1990; Jovchelovitch, 2007). As argued by Marcus and Kitayama (1991), this inherently individualistic perspective on human subjectivity reflects 'Western' society's "faith in the inherent separateness of distinct persons" (p. 226). The personality orientation to the self reduces the complexities of the self as envisioned by earlier and more collectively orientated social psychologists. The self within personality theory is reduced to a collection of universal measurable variables that restrict the disciplines understanding of people to the point of offering crude caricatures, rather than rich portraits of human subjectivity.

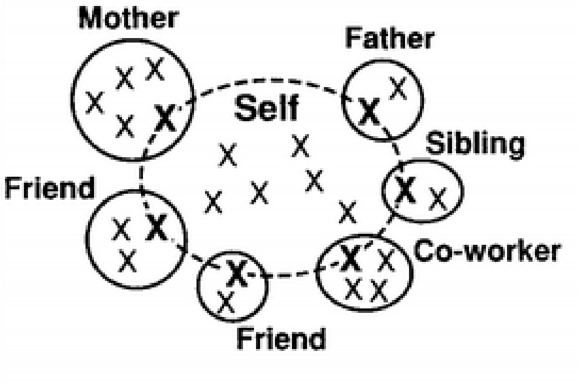
Although this shift towards individualism has remained the dominant conceptualisation of the self within ruling psychology, the discipline still contains much broader conceptualizations of the self, which inform the stance taken in this thesis. Similar to the work of the early social psychologists, social identity theorists of the 1970s and 80s explored the concept of the identity as a relational and social construct (Tajfel & Billig, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979/2001). This theory emphasised personal membership to social groups and how these groups interact with other social groupings within wider society to shape how we see ourselves and others. Central to social identity theory is the concept of self-esteem that is enhanced through a sense of both a personal identity and multitude of social identities (Kassin, Fein, & Markus, 2011). As noted by Von Der Haar (2005), social identity is based on three assumptions. First, that people categorise others in terms of being members of in-groups (same group as me) or out-groups (not the same group as me). Second, that membership within an in-group provides a person with a social identity and thus, increases self-esteem. Third, that a person's self-esteem can be strengthened through identifying with an in-group. The significance of social identity theory within the presented thesis is that it demonstrates that social aspects of identity construction can still find a place within the kind of ruling psychology that so heavily grounded in individualism and reductionist experimentation.

In the early 1990s, the concept of the dialogical self was developed to bridge the internal (the mind) and the external (the body) worlds (Hermans & Kempen, 1993: Hermans, & Hermans-Konopka, 2009) indicative of the Cartesian dualism of ruling psychology. This resulted in a dialogical perspective on human subjectivity as inherently interconnected, constructed in dialogue with others, while also emphasising the role of culture in the development of the self (Adams, 2010; Hermans, 2001). Within critical psychology, theories of the dialogical self has gained momentum in recent years, culminating in what Stam (2010) refers to as the: "second generation of dialogical self scholarship and research, wherein the original conceptualization plays a foundational role that, in turn, lends itself to new developments" (p. 299). Here, Stam (2010) points to work by Adams (2010) that draws on philosophical traditions beyond that of ruling psychology to extend scholarship on the dialogical self by arguing that the: "tension between the *voiced* and the *unspeakable* is itself a key feature of subjectivity" (Stam, 2010. p, 301). By drawing on diverse and localised philosophical traditions, attention to the ineffable aspects of our being opens the door to explore Māori subjectivities and ways-of-being through the use of culturally germane concepts that are often excluded from the scope of ruling psychology (cf. Heidegger, 1927/1962; Mika, 2015).

Around the same time as the dialogical self was being developed within critical psychology, critiques of how the self was being theorised, constructed, and reified within ruling psychology began to mount from psychologists outside of Anglo-European/American traditions. An example of these critiques can be seen in the work of Markus and Kitayama (1991) who point out the inherent cultural biases of so called 'universal' aspects of the self constructed in the US and presented internationally as objectively true. Markus and Kitayama argued that this North American account of the self simply does not hold up when applied to other cultural contexts. These authors took issue with the value based assumptions of independence that were foundational to the dominant individualistic understanding of the self in ruling psychology. They argue that notions of the independent self contrast with notions of the self as interdependent and inherently relational in Asian, African Latin-American, and southern European cultures. Figure 1 below provides a visual depiction of Markus and Kitayama's critique of the self that has come to inhabit ruling psychology by contrasting independent and interdependent views of the self. Figure 1 also highlights one of the central tensions within scholarship on the self that persists in psychology to this day: the tension between individualist and collectivist views of human subjectivity. This is an important in that dialogical and interdependent conceptualisations of the self often find much more resonance with Indigenous peoples, particularly in the global south, than do independent and individualistic views (Li, Hodgetts, & Foo, 2019).



A. Independent View of Self



B. Interdependent View of Self

Figure 1: Markus and Kitayama's (1991) contrasting of independent and interdependent conceptualisations of the self.

With the rise of Indigenous psychologies in the 1970s in response to the cultural limitations of ruling psychology, scholarship on human subjectivity came to be informed by a plethora of distinctive philosophical and cultural perspectives that are grounded within the local contexts of people’s everyday lives, histories, and traditions (cf. Allwood & Berry, 2006). Many of the cultural traditions for conceptualising identities and the self foregrounded human interconnectedness. For example, Yang’s (2006) account of the self that draws on Chinese perspectives highlights the interconnected self through an analogy of a spider’s web to articulate how the self leaks out beyond the skin of the individual, connecting to the cobwebs of others. From these perspectives, selves are couched together within an interconnected network, or web, of relationships. Another example of Indigenous perspectives informing conceptions of the self can be seen in the pan-African concept of Ubuntu, which Kamwangamalu (1999) notes:

> …despite Africa's cultural diversity, threads of underlying affinity do run through the beliefs, customs, value systems, and sociopolitical institutions and practices of the various African societies. Of the value systems, one that is found in most of these societies is the ubuntu system (p. 26).

Ubuntu encompasses notions of solidarity, interdependence, cultural customs, beliefs and values (Makhudu, 1993), human dignity and respect for others (Bhengu, 1996), sympathy and care (Prinsloo, 1996). Within the concept of Ubuntu is an inherent ethic or moral obligation towards others that goes to the core of human subjectivity (Mthembu, 1996). Central here is that people take form through their relationships with others and this is what it means to be a person. In relation to concepts such as Ubuntu, the concept of the self is not restricted to epistemological and empirical inquiry, but also includes elements of ethics and material enactments. Such relational understandings of the self come with obligations towards caring for, sharing with, and reciprocity towards other people.

Also relevant to this discussion is that the Buddhist concept of dependent origination, also referred to as co-dependent origination or causal interdependence (Mikulas, 2007). In contrast to the self-evident separateness of subjects and objects within the Cartesian view of ruling psychology, the concept of dependent origination holds that an event or social phenomena, such as the self, cannot be understood in isolation, as it is connected, in some way, to everything else. As His Holiness the Dalai Lama (2012) puts it: “Because phenomena depend upon other factors for their existence, they are not independent. This absence of independence – or emptiness of inherent existence – is their own ultimate truth” (p. 157).The Buddhist notion of dependent arising, or dependant origination, bare similarities to assertions made by Kant – a European continental philosopher – who stated that a thing-in-itself (in absolute isolation) is unknowable (Rohlf, 2018). Both European and Buddhist philosophers recognise the problematic notion of, or absurdity of, inherent existence. Thus, a Buddhist conception of the self seems to denote oneness, or connectedness, with the wider world from which our existence both depends and emerges from.

The reason I draw on the examples of the cobweb self, Ubuntu, and the Buddhist notion of interdependence is to highlight some of the diversity in human psychologies regarding the self. It is crucial that we understand that the limited and individualistic orientation that dominants ruling psychology is the product of the development of the discipline over the last 150 years. In this development we lost a lot of nuance and complexity in how we understand human subjectivity, which is now being rediscovered with the rise of critical and Indigenous social psychologies. Indigenous peoples already had their own sophisticated ways of thinking about the self that go back for millennia. In foregrounding ideas from these traditions, I do not wish to position Indigenous knowledge in opposition to the established body of knowledge within ruling psychology. I argue that we can further develop our discipline through the cross pollination of perspectives on human subjectivity and work towards creating more inclusive and representative psychologies of the self for a globalised world (cf. Li, Hodgetts, & Foo, 2019).

Turning to consider Māori understandings of the self, I want to first point back to figure 1 that depicts an interdependent view of the self. In this figure, the self is conceptualised as emerging from the social contexts within which a person is situated. For Māori, and other Indigenous groups just outlined, social connectedness/interdependence is only part of the story. For example, Māori in the Whanganui region of Aotearoa New Zealand have a phrase that exemplifies how connectedness extends beyond the social world of humans: “ko au te awa, te awa ko au – I am the river and the river is me.” Similar to social psychologists who argue that the self cannot exists independent of society, Māori believe that the self cannot exist independent of the wider world. Our own being as Māori is inherently entangled with the beings that inhabit our environment, including rivers and mountains as well as plants and animals. Although it may seem strange or obvious to say that a person cannot exist independent of the world in a general sense, the point here is that for Māori, the self cannot exist separate from the world, even in a theoretical sense (see chapter 3 of this thesis). That is, the reduction of the self to decontextualized internal processes, personality factors, or variables for the purpose of measurement and analysis does a disservice to our very being.

The river in the proverb quoted above is only one of the many ways that Māori locate themselves meaningfully within the world as beings. A pepeha (tribal saying/formulaic expression) often contains references to significant landmarks (such as mountains, tribal lands, marae, and rivers), historical events, and membership to social groupings (such extended family and kinships groups, and tribal affiliations), all of which provide cultural grounding for Māori people (Karetu, 1975/1992; Te Awekotuku, 1996). As noted by Durie (1994; 2003), culture is central to Māori identity, and cultural identity provides a basis for the overall wellbeing of Māori. By culture, I refer to the socially constructed, historically and politically located values, beliefs, customs, and artefacts that are shared among a social group, and are transmitted inter-generationally (Misra & Gergen, 1993; Sonn, Rua, & Quayle, 2019). Māori identity consists of interwoven connections to place, social and spiritual relationships, cultural practices, positioning within society, access to resources and cultural connectedness and creation shared narratives that emphasise a fundamental whakapapa (systems of kinship) relationship between people, the natural world and atua (pantheon of gods) (Mead, 2003; Kawharu, 1975; Rua, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2017). Interconnectedness, here, can be understood through the concept of mauri (life force foundational to all living things), which has been described as "the bonding element that knits all the diverse elements within the Universal 'Procession' giving creation its unity in diversity. It is the bonding element that holds the fabric of the universe together" (Marsden, 2003, p. 44). As such, a Māori person's redrawing of Markus and Kitayama's (1991) infographic in figure 1 would probably look a quite untidy and complex, as it would have to provide an account of how Māori fit within the totality of the existence.

To complicate Māori selves further, it is important to consider the bi-cultural, and increasingly multicultural, realities of being Māori in relation to ethnic and societal make up of modern Aotearoa New Zealand. Many Māori today come from inter-ethnic backgrounds, predominantly Māori, and Pākehā (European settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand) (Biasiny-Tule, 2006). What this means is that many of us are not strictly Māori or Pākehā (or whatever else our ethnic and cultural backgrounds might be), and we must negotiate the tensions and spaces between the different ethnic and cultural influences that make up our life-worlds (Ritchie, 1992). These realities can be explored with reference to African American scholars, such as Du Bois (1903/2004) and Fanon (1952/1991), who explore the concept of double consciousness to highlight how marginalised people who live within societies with an established dominant group are required to adopt the perspective of the dominant group in order to function within wider society as well as to maintain their own group uniqueness. For example, Māori generally have to learn how to operate within both the Māori and Pākehā domains of Aotearoa New Zealand society. This is because our legal, educational, economic, and social structures are grounded in a Pākehā way of seeing the world. Pākehā participation in the Māori world, however, is usually optional, as anyone can function effectively within Aotearoa New Zealand without having to take on or consider Māori views of the world. Thus, the construction of Māori selves cannot be viewed in discrete and polarised contrast to the settler society of Aotearoa New Zealand, as most Māori are caught between two, if not multiple, worlds.

My research works in the spirit of the early European social psychologists, such as James, Mead, and Cooley, who conceptualised the self as being social located and constituted. I have positioned my understanding of the self in contrast to the split within psychology, which popularised the individualised self, in order to lay the foundations for a culturally grounded exploration of the self within the studies. Ideas that transitioned into sociology, such as Goffman's concept of props, and others that remained in ruling psychology, such as social identities and the dialogical self, inform my conceptualisation of the self as to bring Indigenous perspectives into conversation with the wider discipline of psychology. The eclectic theorising of the self I employ within this these works towards preserving the complexities of the self (cf. Stevens et al. 2017) in an effort to avoid ridged and essentialist classifications of what it means to be Māori.

In working towards preserving the complexities of Māori subjectivities, I draw on the phrase 'ways-of-being' heavily throughout this thesis in an effort to move beyond dominant conceptualisations of what it means to be human. To close off this section, I want to briefly outline my use of this phrase. Given the interconnection of Māori metaphysics, what it means to be human for Māori inevitably involves other-than-human entities and phenomena, as seen in pepeha, that acknowledge our complex entanglements within the world and beyond (cf. Mika, 2015). Within a Māori metaphysics of interconnection a tension arises in how we can understand 'ways-of-being' between the highly agentic being of the human self, and the wider interconnected world that constitutes the human self. Much of my thesis draws on an auto-ethnographic orientation, which itself privileges human agency within this dialectic. However, I am also mindful of leaving enough space within my use of 'ways-of-being' to allow greater-than-human dimensions (e.g., our home landscapes) of our being to be considered (explored more in chapter 5).

Historicising colonial disruptions to Māori

In setting the scene for this research, it is important that I briefly expand on the historical context from which I am writing about psychology and Māori ways-of-being as outlined in the previous section. This is of significance because the current plight of Māori has a genealogy and to know who we are today we must know how we got here. In outlining the importance of history to current Māori ways of being in the city and beyond I am asserting that histories shape our very being. This section explores some of the key historical, social, cultural, and political events within the history of Aotearoa New Zealand to foreground contemporary Māori subjectivities.

Before European contact, Māori societies were structured along whānau (extended family) and hapū (system of kinship made up of numerous whānau) connections that sat within a loose confederation, known as an iwi (tribe) (Papakura, 1938/1986; Metge[7], 1967/2004). Unlike European, or even some other Pacifika nations, Māori society as a whole functioned in a decentralised and adaptive fashion, with no one central authority figure or institution that could speak for, or represent, all Māori (Forster, 1968). The term 'Māori' is used hesitantly here because the Māori people are composed of various social groupings, and the term itself is often only meaningful when set in contrast to the Europeans, or Pākehā, who arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand (Royal, 2011). For pre-contact Māori, it is thought that self-identification took shape through membership within the aforementioned social structures, and also in relation to affiliations with waka (migration vessel), connections to specific lands and places, such as mountain ranges and rivers, whakapapa (genealogical connections), and cultural practices (Metge, 1967/2004). What is important to note here is that the complexities of Māori subjectivities are often well beyond the grasp of the reductionist and universalist theories of the self within ruling psychology as discussed in the previous section.

First contact between Māori and Europeans came in 17th and 18th centuries (Walker, 2004). The arrival of Europeans brought the prospect of trade, and as this trade increased, the European presence within Aotearoa New Zealand also increased. The historian James Belich (1986/2015) has described the period between first contact and 1840 in Aotearoa New Zealand as consisting of relative peace, attributing this state of affairs to the mutual benefits that came with trade. Māori were able to resupply European ships, and Europeans were able to provide items of trade, such as a guns, tobacco, and alcohol. In 1835, He Wakaputanga, or the Declaration of Independence, was signed by the Northern tribes of Aotearoa New Zealand. This document asserted the rangatiratanga (sovereignty) of Māori within their lands of Aotearoa New Zealand (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). In terms of trade, He Wakaputanga contained a provision that brought Māori into the domain of international trade as defined by the British Empire by way of a flag that protected Māori merchant vessels within international ports and at sea (Ward,

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[7] In providing an account of pre-contact Māori society, Metge (1967/2004) primarily drew on the works of Peter Buck (1949) and Raymond Firth (1929/1959). Much of the writings on pre-contact Māori society were written some time after initial contact and the sources I have drawn on should not be viewed as difinative.

1999). It was not until after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi five years later that violence and outright warfare between Māori and the British would erupt.

Signed in 1840 by more than 500 Māori chiefs and representatives of the British Crown, Te Tiriti o Waitangi stands as the most contested aspect of Aotearoa New Zealand history and society (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999). Central to the dispute were the different meanings and interpretations that lie within this agreement. As noted by Keenan (2012 – drawing on the work of McKenzie, 1985), Māori were an oral people who placed great weight on verbal discourse, whereas the Crown held the written word in higher regard than the conversations held during the meetings between Māori and the Crown that lead up to the signing of the Treaty. In practice, this means that the written text of the agreement stood as the final word within the eyes of the Crown, with many of the understandings that emerged from the meetings being disregarded. To complicate matters, there were two versions of the written text (Orange, 1987). Within the Māori text, the agreement was understood as meaning that Māori maintained their sovereignty as people and control over their land and resources, while allowing for the British to immigrate to Aotearoa New Zealand and set up a legal framework to govern the settler populations. Within the English text, however, the British Crown took the Treaty to mean that Māori ceded their sovereignty to the Crown, which was used as the basis to form a government to rule over Aotearoa New Zealand and all its peoples.

Working on the assumption that Māori had in fact ceded sovereignty to the Crown, the newly formed government began to create, pass, and enact laws within Aotearoa New Zealand (Miller, 1966). Many of these laws acted to empower the New Zealand government and appropriate Māori lands and resources for use by the growing European settler population (Orange, 1987). Examples of this can be seen in the New Zealand Settlement Act (1863), the Loan Act (1863), the Suppression of Rebellion Act (1863), and the Native Land Act (1888), which were used to confiscate Māori land, deter resistance, and exclude Māori politically and economically. Steaming from the actions of the Crown, tensions between Māori tribal groups and Pākehā grew, and a number of wars broke out (Belich, 1986/2015). This was not war with two distinct sides. The Crown came in to conflict with a number of autonomous tribal and hapū groups, such as in the Northland, Taranaki, and the Waikato. Some Māori fought the Crown, others joined the Crown (known as kupapa Māori), and some Māori never formally engaged in acts of war with the Crown at all. However, as Orange (1987) notes: “The sword of war touched only some areas, but the pen of legislation reached out to all Māori” (p. 3). As a result of governmental legislation, warfare, and questionable/illegal land purchases, by the 1930s, Māori maintained less than six percent of their once sovereign lands (Ward, 1999).

New Zealand's involvement in the first and second World Wars significantly impacted how Aotearoa New Zealand history came to be reframed and how Māori would become positioned within Aotearoa New Zealand society. As noted by MacDonald (2015): "New Zealand went to war in 1914 as part of an [British] empire but emerged with a modern memory. So powerful has that force of remembrance been that it has obscured another history: the making of colonial memory" (p. 15). Here, MacDonald is referring to how the complex histories that played out between Māori social groups and Pākehā have become demoted in national importance in favour of what is commonly known as the story of the ANZACs (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps). The ANZAC narrative can be seen as a story of New Zealand's emerging national identity; where its two peoples (Māori and Pākehā) came together as one in solidarity. However, in this reframing of Aotearoa New Zealand history, the brutal treatment of Māori, and the stripping of lands, access to resources, and culture have become easy to forget within the public consciousness of modern Aotearoa New Zealand. These competing historical narratives are not simply ideological, but manifested in socio-material ways that have worked to radically re-orientate Māori society. Examples of this can be seen in the Native Schools Act, the suppression of the Māori language within Aotearoa New Zealand schools, the imposition of European legal systems, which demonstrate the New Zealand government's efforts to forcibly assimilate Māori populations, culturally, socially, legislatively, and economically, into the social fabric of New Zealand society (Jackson, 1992; Orange, 1987).

The post-War era in Aotearoa New Zealand (1945 onwards) marks a time of mass social, cultural, and economic disruption for Māori (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; Forster, 1968). This is particularly evident when we consider the governmental policies enacted during the time of World War II that systematically removed Māori from their ancestral homelands and relocated them to urban centres to both boost the labour force and to free up land for intensive, European styled agriculture (Boast, 2008). Māori were being ushered into European understandings modernity, industrialization, and urbanization, and by way of economic dominance, became entangled within the fabric of Pākehā society (Walker, 2004). However, this was not an entanglement on equal footing or mutual reciprocity, as Forster (1968) notes:

> … for these ex-colonial areas [settlement colonies, such as New Zealand, Australia, and the US] are now among the most affluent societies in the world. Yet, it is a paradox: that in spite of their enormous wealth, these countries contain the descendants of the original inhabitants, who are not fully absorbed into the mainstream of national economic and social life, and

> who, in some cases, have standards of living little different to the peoples of newly emergent nations (p. 98).

The social, cultural, and economic conditions of marginalisation within Aotearoa New Zealand that stemmed from the numerous breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi went on to serve as a rallying point for Māori protest movements that came to national prominence in the 1960s and 1970s (Taonui, 2012). Of particular note was the Māori Land March of 1975, led by Dame Whina Cooper who walked (over 1000 kilometres) from Te Hapua, Northland, to parliament in Wellington to protest the ongoing alienation of Māori land (Walker, 2004). The example of the Māori Land Marches I draw on here is only one of the many stories of resistance and protest that traverse the Māori world, stories which have come to shape what it means to be Māori today.

In returning to the core focus of this thesis, Māori scholars have known for some time now the importance of Māori maintaining a strong sense of cultural identity as a way of coping with life in urban Pākehā society (Druie, 1994; Rangihau, 1992). The maintenance of connections, however, are often complicated and made tenuous by the social, cultural, and economic pressures of urban-life. Although cities hold the potential to better one’s conditions in live, scholars have pointed out that within the current economic climate, cities have also become sites of economic hardships and inequalities for many (Marsden, 2003; Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Historically, urban socio-economic inequities have resulted in high portions of the Māori population entering run-down neighbourhoods, characterised by relative deprivation, hardships, and inequalities (Forster, 1968). A central theme within this thesis focuses on how urbanization and coloniality have shaped Māori selves and how, through the reproduction of culturally informed social practices, Māori communities maintain their cultured ways-of-being and strengthen their sense of self, despite the histories and contemporary issues of marginalisation. Within the following section, I outline the process I undertook to conduct my thesis research and engage with the complexities of being Māori.

Cultural reflexive emersion

As Kaupapa Māori approaches to research (outlined earlier in this chapter) involve critically reflecting on ways to further decolonise our research activities, it is important here that I provide an account of how I have drawn on both Māori and non-Māori knowledge and research practices that have informed the general approach I have taken within this project (cf. Berry, 1999). In considering the cultural and philosophical boundaries, or intersections, between Māori and non-Māori approaches to research, the concepts of etic and emic provides a useful means of unpacking some of the complexities that come with drawing on multiple systems of understanding. Etic approaches involve studying a particular phenomenon from an outsider's perspective, whereas emic approaches engage with a particular phenomenon by drawing on an insider's perspective (Pike, 1967). However, as Pike (1967) goes on to argue, the distinction between these two approaches are not definitive, as once employed within research, they often result in substantive overlap. Within this overlap, emic and etic approaches can be seen to present insights into the same phenomena from two differing perspectives, and in doing so, can work towards bringing the particular (emic – Indigenous perspectives) and the general (etic – the global discipline) into meaningful dialogue within the global discipline of psychology (Berry, 1999; Cassim, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2015)

My dual use of emic and etic techniques is, in part, due to my own bi-cultural upbringing with a Māori father and a Pākehā mother, and my subsequent grappling with disciplinary categories within the psychology that are often rigid and prescriptive (I explore this point in extended detail in chapter 3). Although both approaches have their intellectual merits and can be employed within research discretely, my mutual use of these concepts better reflects my everyday life and lived realities of the communities where my research will take place. From a pragmatic perspective, there is more to be gained for Māori by working with non-Māori knowledge than to commit to intellectual and cultural segregation, as would be entailed by an exclusively emic approach. In positioning my research approach in this way, it is crucial for me to be clear about how I draw on non-Māori ideas, theories, and knowledge. As Sonn and colleagues (2017) note: "theories and methods are always in service of and auxiliary to the issues we study and the communities they affect" (p. 455). Adopting this orientation within my approach meant that I subsumed the non-Māori knowledge and research techniques I drew on to Māori views of the world in order to avoid reifying non-Māori knowledge and constructs onto Māori people. In short, my broad approach taken within research is driven by Kaupapa Māori Theory and is auto-ethnographic in orrientation.

Anchored within a Kaupapa Māori approach, I employed an auto-ethnographic orientation to centralise the importance of engagement with people within their everyday lives over dominant research approaches that seek to view people from a distance (cf. Sheppard, Leitner, & Maringanti, 2013). Unlike other more rigid and bounded methodologies, such as surveys and questionnaires, ethnography more generally can be understood as a collection of qualitative methods (Banister, Bunn, & Burman, 2011; Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2008). Within my research, ethnography offered a flexible methodological approach that could accommodate the often complex processes of negotiations that accompany research with groups who have experienced extensive marginalisation. Furthermore, as people now live increasingly chaotic and precarious lives (Standing, 2016), the range of qualitative techniques offered by ethnography meant that I could design a research approach that minimised disruptions to the communities I worked with. Primarily, this involved taking part in conversations and participating in everyday social practices in an effort to document how cultural connections are established, maintained, and enacted within daily life. A central theme of my thesis is cultural connectedness. Given that I have spent considerable time away from my homeplaces of Palmerston North and the Hokianga, flexible methods provided the space and time to [re]connect with the peoples, social practices, and geography of my homeplaces in ways that were driven by cultural obligations and expectations, rather than methodological prescriptions.

The approach I took within my research can more specifically be regarded as auto-ethnographic, as I am a member of the socio-cultural groups that my research investigates, and I actively position myself within the process of research. According to Lionnet (1990), auto-ethnography "…opens up space of resistance between the individual (auto-) and the collective (-ethno-) where the writing (-graphy) of singularity cannot be foreclosed" (p. 391). For marginalised groups such as Māori, an auto-ethnographic insider's perspective is of particular importance, as it allows for detailed exploration of cultural beliefs and ways-of-being that are often taken-for-granted by in-group members and potentially not understood by, or visible to, out-group members (Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2008). As outlined in previous research (King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Te Whetu, 2015; Rua, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2017), engaged research with Māori communities often involves drawing more on one's own cultural knowledge and understandings of social interactions and etiquettes than on knowledge attained during formal training in psychology. Within my research, this meant prioritising the existing relationships I have within each of these communities, and positioning my research as emerging from the maintaining of these relationships. In short, relationships came first, and my research second (cf. Rua et al. In Press).

Specifically, my fieldwork consisted of four main field trips, two to Palmerston North and two to the Hokianga, with each excursion lasting between one to two weeks each. I also conducted a number of non-research specific (personal) trips to both Palmerston North and the Hokianga, and also to the small city of Taupō where much of my immediate family live. At the time, these personal trips home were not intended as formal (research focused) field trips as such. However, over the course of this thesis project, it became apparent that these personal trips home served as an important touch point for informally (or culturally appropriate ways of) presenting my initial impressions and interpretations of my empirical materials to family and community members. This process helped significantly in refining my understandings of the empirical materials and was done in dialogue with family who were involved with the 'formal' fieldtrips we did together. These materials consisted of 74 pages of field notes, 292 photographs, and two lengthy interviews that were subsequently transcribed. For the remainder of this section, I detail and theorise the various methodological tools I employed to gather these materials and the process of analysis employed to make sense of these materials.

Interviews are a valuable qualitative research method that allow researchers and participants to explore topics in-depth, which can often go beyond the theoretical considerations and preconceptions of the researcher. My approach in conducting interviews followed what Kusenbach (2018) informally refers to as 'go-alongs.' This form of interviewing can be characterised as a form of mobile, ethnographic research method, which through participation and simply going along with participants, insights can be gained into the everyday lives of people and the broader social structures their lives are situated (Højholt & Schraube, 2016). Being mindful of the time I had spent away from my homeplaces, I was reluctant to ask early on for an interview, and prioritised the re-establishment of connections over methodological convenience. My connections with the communities I come from will persist beyond this research, and it was important for me that my academic work did not compromise the processes of reconnection that I have engaged in and attempted documented within this thesis. As such, when I did conduct interviews within my homeplaces, I did so when it simply 'felt right' to ask for an interview. The interviews I conducted can be characterised as semi-structured (Breakwell et al. 2006) that generally took place in family member's homes, particularly in within the family kitchen. Unlike interviews that take place in isolated, private spaces, such as office spaces and interview rooms, the kitchen, as a site of constant comings and goings, meant that interviews took on the qualities of fluid, communal conversations.

I also drew on photographic methods as an additional mode of representation to explore and exemplify shared understandings of spaces, material objects, and social practices as they relate to processes of cultural connectedness. Photographic techniques assisted me in documenting key locales across my sites of research and to further emplace core social practices that reproduce Māori ways-of-being within everyday life. Within the field, cellular photography provided a means of gathering empirical materials while remaining engaged with others in social life. My use of visual methods is grounded in the idea that the meanings of such artefacts are negotiated between people and objects, and evoke shared understandings, histories, traditions, narratives, and culture (following Eberle, 2018; Hodgetts et al. 2007). Photographs do not speak for themselves. They require interpretation and explanations that often speak out beyond the frame (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007). My conceptual understandings and use of photography reflects the idea of participants as co-researchers (cf. Boylorn, 2012). Practically, this involved sitting down with family members with the photographs I had taken, talking with them about the images and how they related to broader issues of being Māori, and then making note of the shared understandings that emerged.

I also employed reflective journaling as a means of detailing my engagements during my field-work (Allport, 1942; Murray, 2018). My field journaling served as a storehouse for bringing together the different research materials and empirical observations, such as photographs, quotes from interviews, and field-notes. While in the field, I would take photographs, make note of conversations, and at times, conduct interviews, most of which were recorded on my cellular phone. During a quiet part of the day, generally late in the evenings or once I returned from the field, I would compile these materials into a word document and story the day's events, paying particular attention to shared understanding that emerged during my field engagements. At the interpretive level, my field journal was also a place where I could make note of my initial impressions and thoughts, which marks part of the broader analytic process I engaged in to make sense of my empirical materials. In keeping with Kaupapa Māori theory and research (Pihama, 2012; Pihama et al. 2002; Smith, 2012), my interpretation of these materials within my journal was often done with reference to Māori worldviews and cultural concepts, the academic literature I have been reading, and the shared cultural narratives of the communities I belong to.

In a broad sense, my process of analysing empirical materials involved me working in the spirit of abductive extrapolation and interpretation. In contrast to deduction (which seeks certainty via formal logic) and induction (which focuses on statistical probability), abduction is more concerned with forming an understanding of a situation or social phenomena with fragmented information and accounts (cf. Douven, 2017). Given the mass disruptions that colonialism and urbanization have had for Māori, abductive approaches are particularly relevant in that, as a culture and people, we are still working to piece our life-worlds back together. As Brinkmann (2014) notes: "The goal of the abductive process is not to arrive at fixed and universal knowledge through the collection of data. Rather, the goal is to be able to act in a specific situation" (p. 722). Being about more than just collecting data, working abductively entails action on the part of the researcher, which Brinkmann (2014) describes as "the abductive tool-user, the bricoleur, the craftsperson" (p. 722). Within my process of analysis, abduction provided me a means of making sense of empirical materials that avoided colonial tendencies towards forming ‘absolute/universal truth’ while emphasising how insights into the lived experiences of being Māori can serve as a basis of understanding and action within psychology.

Specifically, my analysis involved detailed considerations of culturally emplaced everyday moments and events (Hodgetts, King, Stolte, Rua, & Groot, In Press; Simmel, 1903/2003), such as cooking Māori bread, hunting, walking the land, picking watercress, and simply siting with whānau and talking. Following Lévi-Strauss’ (1962) understanding of ‘researcher as bricoleur’, I worked to piece together the fragments from my direct observations, extensive ethnographic field notes, interviews, photographs, and my own participation in the everyday social practices emplaced within my sites of research. These efforts worked towards producing nuanced insights into Māori understandings and experiences of cultural [re]connection and being Māori (cf. Markham, 2005). Of particular importance to my analytic process was the situating of these fragments within the everyday life-worlds of the communities I engaged, rather than wrenching ‘data’ from life-worlds and then presenting them void of context and pre-constructed meaning. As argued by Simmel (1900/1978/2004), macro level structures are reproduced within the micro, and by couching these fragments within the everyday, we can also gain valuable insights into how broader societal structures impact people’s lives (cf. Højholt & Schraube, 2016). My analytic approach positions empirical materials within Māori systems of meaning making as an essential analytic step in moving beyond the level of description to that of general insight concerning how Indigenous peoples seek to work through issues of disconnection that have come with colonization, cultural assimilation, and urbanization (cf. Hodgetts, King, Stolte, Rua, & Groot, In Press).

To broaden my analytic account, I need to briefly revisit my understanding of auto-ethnography. One of the benefits of auto-ethnography is that can provide insider perspectives that privilege Māori worldviews and experiences as a conceptual basis for making sense of empirical materials (cf. Griffin, 2017; Pihama et al. 2002). A potential downside of this approach is that in-group members can often be so close to the context of research that they miss articulating aspects of culture and social practices that are not familiar to out-group members. As argued by Shklovsky, (1917/1965), our perceptions of our own everyday lives can become so taken-for-granted that we often habitually gloss over the details of our own lifeworlds. To provide an example, prior to the commencement of my research, the mundane act of visiting the fish and chip shop seemed so insignificant to me that it was not worth mentioning. However, as outlined in chapter 4, the function of fish and chips in the reproduction of cultural selves across diverse locales became strikingly apparent. To address the issue of over-familiarity and to tease out the ‘taken-for-granted’ within my analysis, I employed defamiliarization as an analytic tool to deepen my understanding of what I took as ’given’ within my sites of research (cf. Kaomea, 2003; Shklovsky, 1917/1965). My supervisors, who each hold specialised knowledge in different areas, such as European philosophy, Māori cultural knowledge, and applied social psychology, acted as an external sounding board, asking me probing questions in an effort to help de-familiarise the contents of my field journal. Within the dynamics of my supervision team, I was able to compile insider’s and outsider’s perspectives on both the emic and etic elements of my research design and analysis. This process of defamiliarisation in dialogue with my supervisors was invaluable for me in making sense of my research activities and materials.

Thesis overview

Within this opening chapter, I have foregrounded issues that arise in conceptualising and presenting the Indigenous self within the discipline of psychology. This includes abstract issues of philosophy and knowledge production, but also the importance of considering the lived realities of colonization, cultural assimilation, and urbanization. Chapter 2 of this thesis is an invited reply to an article published by Professor James Liu (2017) who presented an alternative philosophical basis for the global discipline of psychology, grounded in a Chinese ethic of human heartedness and cultural engagement. Within this published reply (chapter 2), I challenge the idea of a single disciplinary space in psychology and introduce the idea of multiple sphericules that carry multiple epistemologies, and which combine to make up the discipline of psychology. By adopting this orientation to psychology, I attempt to decentre the ruling psychology of our times that is based in the cultural traditions of the US and Europe and argue for a sphericule of Māori psychology that can be brought into conversation with other non-dominant sphericules such as Chinese psychology and other Indigenous perspectives. Developing different sphericules in psychology is important in ensuring that our discipline reflects and responds to the lived realities and cultural understandings of local peoples. In relation to the overall aims of this thesis, the approach I took within my research can be seen as an effort to enact the kind of psychology, or Māori sphericule, I conceptually argue for within chapter 2.

Chapter 3 contributes to the Indigenous project by exploring the ways in which dominant reductionist philosophies in psychology today theorize away Indigenous peoples’ abilities to articulate culturally grounded accounts of being within their discipline. I set dominant theorising and knowledge production regarding the self in psychology against the backdrop of processes of colonization, industrialization, urbanization, and the need for the development of Indigenous psychologies to meet the needs of Indigenous peoples. I draw on the continental and existential philosophical tradition, and Māori knowledge of being, to provide a critique of how the self has been recast in psychology through a reductionist perspective. Subsequently, I argue for renewed disciplinary engagement with the concept of being to widen the scope of psychology and to create space within the discipline to accommodate Indigenous understandings of the self. More broadly, chapter 3, in conjunction with chapter 2, lays out the theoretical grounding for the two empirical chapters that follow.

Chapter 4 explores issues of urbanization and being for contemporary Māori. Of core concern is how Māori have become absorbed into settler society and our Indigenous selves have been recast in ways that, in many respects, reflect the cultural values of settler populations. This transition in ways-of-being is a consequence of colonial economic, legal, and social structures associated with urbanization. However, our transformation into colonial subjects remains incomplete. In maintaining everyday social practices and cultural ways-of-being that traverse rural and urban locales, I argue that Māori preserve and reproduce cultural selves in ways that make the urban more culturally homely. Engaging in and modifying Māori everyday social practices that originate in our rural histories in a new urban setting is presented as an ongoing form of adaptation and resistance to colonial disruption and absorption.

In my fifth chapter, I present an auto-ethnographic study that is set against the backdrop of colonial policies of urbanization and cultural assimilation that continue to impact the everyday lives of Māori. My aim within chapter 5 was to engage with how Māori preserve and maintain their cultural selves while being stretched across a diverse landscape of being that is populated by new urban and heritage rural spaces. Grounded in Kaupapa Māori theory and drawing on formal and informal auto-ethnographic techniques, I offer a case study of my family's experiences of disconnection and our efforts to strengthen connections with our ancestral homelands, communities, and ways-of-being. As my analysis will illustrate, the enactment of culturally-patterned everyday social practices facilitates process of reconnection and the strengthening of connections, and allows the reproduction of Māori selves across space and time. Chapter 5, and the subsequent article, contributes to broader understandings of how Indigenous peoples seek to work through and resist the ongoing impacts of colonial disruption.

Within my final chapter, I bring closure to this thesis by reflecting on the broader implications of the research I have conducted. I do this by situate my findings back within the extensive bodies of literature and Indigenous scholarly conversations I have covered in chapter 1, and the theoretical foundations laid in chapters 2 and 3, and discuss the contributions my research makes to the Indigenous and decolonial projects.

Chapter 2: Conversations in Indigenous psychologies

The chapter that follows presents the first peer-review publication within my thesis (King & Hodgetts, 2017). It provides an example of the broader conversations that are taking place among Indigenous scholars regarding notions of the self and the foundations of psychology as a global discipline. This article was produced after an invitation from the Editor of the Asian Journal of Social Psychology to comment on a seminal piece of work on the importance of revising the ethics that underlies global psychology. The paper this article replies to is written by a prominent Chinese psychologist and philosopher, Professor James Liu. In his article, Liu (2017) draws on an Indigenous Chinese approach to rearticulate the philosophy of science that underlies the ruling psychology of our times. In the commentary, I engage with the cultural and philosophical groundwork laid by Professor Liu's (2017) and call for the embracing of the multiplicity of epistemologies of Indigenous peoples globally. This plurality is presented as one way of keeping research and practice in psychology relevant to the local contexts within which it is enacted through research and practice. My article proposes that the concept of public sphericals can be used to understand more explicit critiques of foundationalism and universalism, which I expand upon in more detail throughout this thesis.

This first publication situates my research within broader conversations that surround Indigenous psychologies and philosophies within the global discipline of psychology. In short, this first article aids me in foregrounding the disciplinary conversations that are occurring around indigenisation and the re-pluralising of psychology. It is to these conversations and subsequent action that I am seeking to contribute to more broadly within this thesis.

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Gathering a few thoughts on 'Neo-Confucian epistemology and Chinese philosophy'

Abstract: In Neo-Confucian Epistemology and Chinese Philosophy: Practical Postulates for Actioning Psychology as a Human Science, Professor Liu offers a critique of the Cartesian underpinnings of psychology as a natural science. Drawing on Chinese cultural postulates, Professor Liu offers a vision for a global psychology more orientated towards the morally centered person and which developed a culturally-informed ethics. This commentary explores the implications of this rethinking of psychology for Indigenous and applied social psychologies in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Key words: analytic philosophy, Confucian philosophy, continental philosophy, Indigenous psychology.

Issues of epistemology in the global disciplinary context

For too long issues of epistemology have been either ignored by psychologists who operate according to a physical sciences approach or dealt with primarily within the Anglo-European/American cultural frames of critical psychology. As psychology diversifies further to better respond to the needs and ways-of-being of diverse cultural groups, it is imperative that we reconsider more fully issues pertaining to the philosophical basis for our shared discipline. The article by Professor Liu advances this agenda in relation to Anglo-European/American and Chinese traditions. In addressing some of the complexities surrounding the epistemological bases of Psychology as a global discipline, the article 'Neo-Confucian Epistemology and Chinese Philosophy' warrants further comment.

Throughout the modern history of psychology, the dominant approach has primarily been to impose a physical science inspired, Anglo-European/American hegemonic psychology on an increasing number of contexts globally. An assumption central to this disciplinary practice is that hegemonic psychology is somehow value free, universally applicable and constitutes the core of our global discipline. This process is particularly apparent in the importing of US textbooks that do not always resonate with the experiences and needs of people in other contexts. Although offering some insights into the human condition, the dominance of the

Anglo-European/American hegemonic tradition has worked to supress local or Indigenous psychologies in contexts such as China and Aotearoa/New Zealand. We share Professor Liu's concerns regarding these processes and the need to rethink issues of culture and the philosophical basis of our discipline. Throughout this commentary the term 'Anglo-European/American' is used to signal the hegemonic approach to psychology that is anchored in modern analytic philosophy and which contrasts with Indigenous and critical approaches that reflect more of the continental philosophical tradition of Europe.

European philosophy shaping psychology: Analytic and continental traditions

Professor Liu rightly questions the cultural positioning of psychology within 'European Philosophy'. In doing so, he focuses on the prominent analytic tradition, which is traced to the ancient Greeks. The modern analytic movement came to prominence within the English speaking world in the early 20th century. Despite the dominance of analytic thinking in contemporary psychology, it is prudent for us to also distinguish the analytic tradition from the continental tradition that also developed in Europe, the United Kingdom, and North America. Distinguishing analytic and continental philosophy enables us to foreground some of the diversity within 'European Philosophy', which has also been carried over into the contemporary discipline of psychology.

Both analytic and continental traditions are part of the philosophical basis of modern psychology. The analytic tradition manifests in physical sciences approaches whilst the continental tradition is more evident in critical and humanistic psychologies. The analytic tradition draws on the work of Locke, Berkley, and Hume who provide the basis for classical empiricism, and the later positivist approaches that was informed by Russel, early Wittgenstein, and the Vienna Circle. As noted by Professor Liu, this tradition is also influenced by French philosophers, such as Descartes, whose ideas surrounding rationalism were actually in opposition to classical empiricism, but have come to frame the modern discipline of psychology as a natural science.

This analytic tradition has been associated with 'blind empiricism' that is central to Anglo-European/American hegemonic psychology, and which excludes European existentialism, critical theory and phenomenology. These later approaches are associated with continental philosophy, which constitutes an amalgam of somewhat diverse approaches that do not subscribe to the kind of categorical reductionism that dominates hegemonic psychology today (King, Hodgetts, Rua & Morgan, 2017). Unlike analytic philosophy that has a central reductionist aim and purpose, continental philosophy offers a default way of referring to non-analytic European philosophies, which are more holistic in orientation (King et al. 2017). These philosophers include Immanuel Kant with whom Professor Liu finds some affinity. The continental tradition is also more in keeping with Māori (Indigenous people of New Zealand) philosophical traditions (cf. Marsden, 2003) and offers us a richer philosophical basis for psychology in contexts such as Aotearoa/New Zealand than does analytic philosophy (King et al. 2017).

The need for multiple epistemologies

The Confucian inspired approach to Height Psychology outlined by Professor Liu offers a flexible pragmatism that affords scholars room to develop a range of disciplinary approaches to address various research and action interests within various contexts. What we see as foundational to this agenda is an increased tolerance for multiple epistemological positions within the global discipline. Diversity of epistemology is necessary because, as is pointed out by Professor Liu, the analytic or natural sciences epistemology serves the biological side of our discipline well. However, even psychologists operating within this approach have known for some time that that natural sciences approach is less effective when dealing with issues of culture, language, meaning and everyday behaviour (Wundt, 1891). Such areas require more context sensitive approaches that come with different epistemologies and ontologies. As a consequence, our discipline needs to sustain more than one epistemological stance.

In qualifying any pluralising of epistemologies in psychology, Liu (2017, p. 23) writes:

> No individual aspirations, and no cultural postulates will be identical, even if there is ample room for hybridity and similarities between them (Liu, 2015); practical reason does not privilege an infinite regress of indigenous psychologies because it is fundamentally about practice.

Professor Liu's concern is to avoid the proliferation of an endless number of psychologies and with it the fragmenting of the global discipline. However, not pluralising the epistemological bases of our discipline carries the risk for minority groups, such as Māori. Without a disciplinary enclave to develop our own psychology we face a future of further subservience to Anglo-European/American hegemonic psychology, even if enrichened by the Height Psychology proposed by Professor Liu. Swapping one hegemonic epistemology (analytic) for another (Neo-Confucian) will likely have a positive impact for many people in China.

However, it will not resolve the dilemmas that come with the diversity of human psychology on a global scale.

In raising this point of contention, we are arguing for more than simply the accommodation of diversity as foundational to a responsive and dynamic global discipline of psychology. This is an argument for the recognition of the philosophical grounds on which civilizational dialogues takes place within our discipline. For colonised peoples, such as Māori, conversations about disciplines like psychology take place predominantly on the philosophical grounds of the coloniser (typically Anglo-European/American hegemonic psychology). This means that Māori scholars must use colonial philosophical concepts and assumptions to represent themselves. This presents a problem in that the philosophical baggage (ontological, epistemological and ethical assumptions) of the coloniser is often taken on board prior to the presentation of Indigenous knowledge in subsequent dialogue (Mika, 2015). Through the process, Indigenous peoples, such as Māori, become recognisable on Anglo-European/American terms rather than their own. As a result, even when aspects of Indigenous psychological knowledge are included within the global discipline, such knowledge is often subject to ontological violence when reconfigured to fit with Anglo-European/American epistemologies and understandings (Hodgetts et al. 2010; King et al. 2017).

The argument for multiple epistemologies extends to our proposing that psychology needs to become more than a singular disciplinary public sphere. Global psychology needs to be made up of a cluster of ‘public sphericules’ (Fraser, 1992) that connect with one another like atoms in a molecule, but which can possess unique epistemologies, ethics, metaphysics, and ontologies. Such a sphericule would enable groups such as Māori to develop unique approaches to the subject matter of our discipline from which to converse with other such culturally-textured sphericules from other contexts. It also reflects how psychology does not require a single underlying characteristic that underpins every cultural expression of psychology. Rather, it is the general commonality and recognisability (see Wittgenstein, 1953/2009, on family resemblance) of the different conceptions of psychology that would unify the global discipline, in line with principles of inclusion, diversity and disciplinary holism. Common strands, such as knowledge of people as morally-centred beings, can run across each sphericule, whilst the discipline itself would not be reducible to any particular strand.

Rethinking the self as core disciplinary subject

The agentive and human centred psychology that Professor Liu associates with the Confucian and Taoist traditions resonates more with Indigenous groups, such as Māori, than does the analytic tradition and Anglo-European/American hegemonic psychology. We also see the potential here in the use of such Chinese philosophical traditions as a means of rupturing the hegemonic of Anglo-European/American psychology and for contributing to the decolonising of the global discipline. What we are offered in Professor Liu's article is an important step towards opening up further space for the development of culturally-nuanced understandings of people in context. Such understandings are crucial if we are to address the needs of local peoples and to make sense to research participants and clients. In this regard, Professor Liu offers one way of presenting psychological knowledge production (theory and research) in a manner that foregrounds the culturally-anchored bases of the discipline.

Of particular importance to the approach advocated by Professor Liu is the call for psychologists from diverse backgrounds to write themselves into the discipline. Similar arguments have been made by Feminist, critical, community, humanistic and Indigenous psychologists, particularly those drawing insights from continental philosophy. However, Professor Liu takes this proposition further to populate the discipline with culturally diverse people whose interests can both coalesce around topics such as the self as well as diverge in terms of how this self is understood and investigated.

Relatedly, we agree with Professor Liu that theories in psychology should be outlined in a manner that reveals the foundational cultural assumptions, the contexts it is applicable to, and how it can practically benefit people. For example, research into the numerous socio-economic and intergroup issues Māori experience today require the contextual backdrop of colonization and the history of bicultural interactions between the Indigenous and settler populations to be considered in order to result in meaningful research outcomes. The setting of context is also culturally appropriate when understanding Māori from their own Indigenous understandings of human beings as fundamentally relational and interdependent beings who populate this planet spiritually, metaphysically and materially as part of the larger whole. For example, on an interpersonal level, a pepeha (tribal saying/formulaic expression) is used to locate the self relationally within the world prior to addressing the central concern of the interaction. This allows Māori to position what is being said in relation to the traditions from which the person is speaking, as the person is a representative of the social groupings to which they claim membership, not simply an individual.

A shift towards better recognising such understandings of the self requires us to decentre the present fixation on Anglo-European/American, highly individualized and reductionist understanding of the self as a ‘lonely thinker’ (Jovchelovitch, 2007). This individual is often reduced to a rather crude information processing machine that behaves in particular ways given particular prompts. Such analytical framing separates the person from the socio-cultural context and allows for atomistic investigations of selected variables that are thought to make up the object of study, as is evident in the Cartesian method of doubt. This lonely thinker is often reified onto groups, who do not see themselves this way, through culturally-anchored methods of measurement that then produce a subject that fits with Anglo-European/American psychological understandings of personhood. The process constitutes a subject-making tautology that is both ontologically and epistemologically violent in obscuring our interdependence as relational beings (King et al. 2017; Teo, 2010).

Well-developed criticisms of this analytic approach to being, human thought and behaviour are evident on the margins or our discipline in critical and Indigenous psychologies. These approaches draw insights from the continental philosophical tradition that do not position reductionism as being central to knowledge production (King et al. 2017). Proponents of such marginalised approaches also call for the need to embrace notions of interconnectedness (Hodgetts et al. 2010), which are foundational to Professor Liu’s call for more focus on the dynamic interactions around the self as existing holistically within the world. Incidentally, such a focus requires psychologists to move further out beyond the mind/body, or subject/object, dualism that is central to psychology’s appropriation of elements of Cartesian scholarship. In promoting such disciplinary shifts, Professor Liu offers a philosophical basis for adapting psychologies to the contexts in which psychologists are engaging in both knowledge production and useful action from the perspective of local inhabitants, grounded with regard to ethical position.

Moving out beyond the Cartesian dualism towards culturally-informed ethics

Professor Liu pays particular attention to issues of the Cartesian dualism, or separation of mind (psyche) and body. This dualism has historically allowed for metaphysics to be positioned outside of sciences such as psychology and in the domain of the Christian Church. With the rise of modern analytic philosophy that emerged from the wake of this dualism, and in particular the Vienna Circle, scholars saw no place for metaphysics, or claims that could not be empirically verified (which can include ethical claims), within the practice of science. Here, we point specifically to Rudolph Carnap's (1932/1980) work on "The elimination of metaphysics through logical analysis of language." In it mimicry of scientific assumptions, the dominant practice of psychology in the 20th century took on board these positions.

Professor Liu's critique of Cartesian dualism, as an ontological statement of reality, clearly outlines the limitations of the natural sciences approach within the Chinese context. We agree that metaphysical issues should not be left to religion and should have a primary place in psychology. This is necessary to redress the destruction of metaphysics and ontological certainty that has come with the analytic philosophy and Anglo-European/American hegemonic psychology. In addition to Liu's critiques on dualism, we would encourage further discussions, on an ontological level, regarding the impacts that positivism, reductionism, and the Anglo-European/American fixation on the metaphysics of presence (Mika, 2015) have had on the development of context specific responses in psychology (King et al. 2017).

Of further concern is how within Anglo-European/American hegemonic psychology inquiry pertains to ethics. The outsourcing of ethics to the Christian church is something that Professor Liu wants to leave in the 17th century by moving forward with a Kantian conception of science that requires ethics to be part of the general philosophical approach. In doing so, Professor Liu recognises Kant's three postulates for practical reason as a product of both culture and time, and proposes a scientific approach to psychology that encompasses an ethics based on the cultural and historical influences that are central to Chinese ways-of-being. Following the approach Professor Liu has taken, other Indigenous groups might well ask themselves the question of what postulates of practical reason may be afforded by their own cultural traditions. Such efforts hold the potential to further open up spaces or sphericules for extending present considerations of the essence of modern psychology as it emerges from the transition of a mono-polar to a multi-polar worldview. Further, foregrounding such space within psychology provides a more level playing field for civilizational dialogues to take place than is afforded within colonial spaces such as Aotearoa/New Zealand.

In offering a practical response to such concerns, Professor Liu recommends the development of a 'Height Psychology' that grounds issues of ethics in terms of a given culture's moral values. Central to his article is the connecting and prioritising of ethics, or the morally-centred person, to endeavours in psychology as a human science that we read as also compatible with continental philosophy, Māori philosophy, and potentially many other Indigenous traditions. This is done in a pragmatic way that echoes Levinas call for ethics as first philosophy (Bergo, 2015), or the starting point for philosophy. The position of Professor Liu on this issue also contrasts with that of Descartes who believed that epistemology was the starting point in philosophy, an assumption that has been carried through the scientific tradition that dominates psychology today.

Both natural science and critical psychologies within Anglo-European/American tradition appear to embrace a preoccupation with epistemology as first philosophy (the body, i.e., natural science), which we and Professor Liu do not share. Admittedly, ethical concerns have been part of the Anglo-European/American science. However, the treatment of ethics has primarily been an impoverished and highly procedural one, fixated on issues such as informed consent and confidentiality, and assumed within epistemological practices of the day. Psychologists need to stop subsuming ethics to epistemology and administrative procedures, such as informed consent. What Professor Liu's paper calls for is an explicit statement of ethical positioning within the practice of psychology as a human science that reflects the cultural and temporal nuances of societal values.

Embracing culturally-informed ethical frameworks enables psychologists to more readily realise the goal of putting human relations in knowledge production at the centre of our discipline. We agree with Professor Liu that a relational ethics can provide a basis for a global psychology that sustains both the physical and human sciences approaches. For many Māori psychologists, for example, this stance makes a lot of sense culturally. It invokes issues of whanaungatanga (the concept of building and maintain relationships) and manaakitanga (the caring for others) in research and practice settings. We are, however, sceptical that proponents of Anglo-European/American hegemonic psychology will relinquish their powerful, epistemological grasp on the global discipline to make way for alternative approaches, such as that proposed by Professor Liu. Many Indigenous groups cannot simply wait for the global discipline of psychology to reform itself in a way that accommodates their ways-of-being and practicing psychology. In a sometimes ad hoc way, many indigenous psychologists "get on with things" by drawing on their own cultural knowledge to inform their practice in a way that can utilises tools from the natural science approach when appropriate, but reject these as an all-encompassing account of reality. In contrast, the natural science approach systematically excludes other epistemologies and has been used as a tool of colonization, of which many developing Indigenous traditions are committed to decolonising. What we do see in Professor Liu's paper is the potential for dialogues in tension between different approaches and epistemic positions within the global discipline, which would include natural science approaches, but does not subsume other epistemologies to it.

Final thoughts

What we find particularly useful in Professor Liu's paper is not necessarily the specifics of what he is arguing for, but rather the broader implication of what he is doing. The article demonstrates, on an experiential level, what can be done to challenge the hegemony of the naive scientising of Anglo-European/American hegemonic psychology. Professor Liu also brings further culturally-germane concepts and insights into the re-theorising of our global discipline. Other groups, such as Māori, can look through and out beyond the light Professor Liu is shining on our discipline. In the process, they can develop their own ways of addressing points of concern and developing a psychology that works within their local contexts. Such efforts can also contribute meaningfully to civilizational dialogues through which psychology needs to be reformulated.

Chapter 3: Theorising Māori ways-of-being

As I argued in chapters 1 and 2, the values and assumptions of ruling psychology that are often presented as the core of the discipline can reduced the scope for developing Indigenous perspectives in psychology in general, and Māori perspectives in particular. Perspectives that do not fit within the epistemological frameworks, cultural assumptions, and ethical norms set by dominant producers of knowledge, such as the US (Liu, 2017), are often marginalized in our discipline. Chapter 2 functions within this thesis to further situate my research within wider conversations among Indigenous scholars regarding how to broaden our discipline and make it more relevant to diverse groups of people. I offer a reply to Professor Liu's contribution to present efforts to [re]populate the globally discipline of psychology with a range of cultural perspectives, philosophical positions and knowledge that reflects diversity in human psychology. Chapter 2 introduces the idea that it is useful to approach the discipline of psychology as a global cluster of public sphericules, many of the contributing spheres overlap in terms of theory, methods and applications, but some features differ as these develop in relation to local contexts and needs. Across such spheres exist a range of way of knowing what it means to be a human being. Taking this assertion a step further, chapter 3 explores what the self or human identity looks like when framed from within the Aotearoa New Zealand sphere of psychology and from a Māori perspective. Chapter 3 also embraces the idea of multiple epistemologies, as this offers an opportunity for indigenous peoples to present, articulate, and theorise our own understandings of ourselves upon the philosophical grounds where such understandings emerge and make sense.

Chapter 3 also contributes to the decolonization of psychology by Indigenous peoples through a detailed consideration of the development of psychology within the specific context of New Zealand. Drawing on the continental (existential) philosophical tradition (Foucault, 1963/1994; Heidegger, 1927/1967; Simmel, 1903), and Māori knowledge of being (Marsden, 2003; Mika, 2015), the following chapter provides a critique of how the self has been recast in psychology through a reductionist perspective. I set dominant theorising and knowledge production regarding the self in psychology against the backdrop of processes of colonization, industrialization, urbanization, and the need for the development of Indigenous psychologies to meet the needs of Indigenous peoples. Of particular relevance here are Simmel's (1903/2003) observations of how modern European monetary structures have come to fundamentally change the relationships between people, ushering in an isolated, consumptive way-of-being.

This article is very much an artefact of my attempts to have a conversation with and find a place within the global discipline where I can be a Māori scholar.

In resisting the crafting of individualised subjects through the imposition of societal structures that accompanied colonialism, chapter 3 also makes theoretical contributions to the needs of Māori to theorise a sense of self and being that reflects the cultural nuances and realities of being Māori (Rua, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2017). Specifically, I provide reflective accounts of how partaking in training within disciplines like psychology impacted my lived experiences and understandings of what it means to be Māori. For myself and many other Māori, this process is not simply theoretical, but involves continued and often heightened entanglement within structures of coloniality that work to reduce the self to a colonial subject. Many Māori scholars encounter dominant reductionist philosophies that limit the ways that Māori knowledge can be utilised for the betterment of their communities (cf. Mika, 2015). Finally, chapter 3 speaks to this dilemma by theorising out from a European philosophical perspective, through the use of continental philosophy, to an Indigenous understanding of the self. This chapter is published as:

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Disrupting being on an industrial scale: Towards a theorisation of Māori ways-of-being.

Abstract: The discipline of psychology grew out of European philosophy into a unique discipline that retained reductionist assumptions regarding knowledge production and ways-of-being. Born out of dissatisfaction with the dominance and ineffectiveness of Anglo-European/American assumptions in psychology, and how the discipline obscured culturally unique ways-of-being and producing knowledge, Indigenous scholars are working to decolonize psychology. This article contributes to this Indigenous project by exploring the ways in which dominant reductionist philosophies in psychology today theorise away Indigenous peoples' understanding of being. Drawing on the continental and existential philosophical tradition, and Māori (Indigenous peoples of New Zealand) knowledge of being, we provide a critique of how the self has been recast in psychology through a reductionist perspective. We set dominant theorising and knowledge production regarding the self in psychology against the backdrop of processes of colonization, industrialization, urbanization, and the need for the development of Indigenous psychologies to meet the needs of Indigenous peoples.

Keywords: Indigenous, Māori, self, being, reductionism, analytic (analytical) philosophy, continental philosophy, colonization, urbanization, industrialization

Diversity in human ways-of-being are often overlooked in the currently dominant form of global psychology, which is fixated on Anglo-European/American (Anglo traditions in both Europe and North America) notions of the self that enact assumptions from Cartesian, British empiricist, reductionist, and positivist philosophical perspectives. This form of psychology is far removed from Indigenous understandings of the self as fundamentally interconnected, and ways-of-being that enact this interconnectedness in everyday practice. Consequently, from the 1970s Indigenous scholars began to decolonize psychology, in part, by introducing into the global discipline culturally anchored ways of understanding people (Allwood & Berry, 2006). This decolonizing process remains incomplete. Much of the training provided to Indigenous psychologists and the regulation of research and practice in the discipline remains moored to notions of what it means to be human that reflect Anglo-European/American philosophical assumptions. This predicament is exacerbated by how, even when Indigenous knowledge of being is asserted, such knowledge is seen and judged according to the standards set by the discipline. Rather than being somehow ‘objective’, these standards reify Anglo-European/American philosophical assumptions onto Indigenous peoples in particular and humanity in general. As a result, what is often drawn into and legitimized within the global discipline are those aspects of the Indigenous knowledge that fit with dominant theories of the self (cf. Mika, 2015).

Indigenous knowledge and associated knowledge production processes remain marginalised within psychology and, when asserted, are often rethought to fit Anglo-European/American colonial assumptions (Hodgetts et al. 2010; Mika, 2015; Nikora, 2007). For example, the multi-dimensional model of Māori identity and cultural engagement (MMM-ICE) (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010), and the subsequent revised MMM-ICE2 (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015), epitomises the way in which psychologists have attempted to ‘capture’ the Indigenous self within an Anglo-European/American philosophical paradigm and associated knowledge production practices. The MMM-ICE model is a quantitative indexing tool that purports to measure Māori identity in a ‘culturally sensitive’ and valid manner. The theoretical conceptualization of the Indigenous self that underpins Houkamau and Sibley’s (2010) inventory is grounded in Self-Categorizing Theory that places particular emphasis on categorical hierarchies (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Weatherell, 1987). Such modes of knowledge production are rooted in reductionist rationales that attempt to reduce a complex phenomenon, such as identity, to an entity made up of distinct categories, which is manageable within an Anglo-European/American philosophical framework (Mika, 2015). Furthermore, these categorical hierarchies reify pre-constructed notions of the colonial self onto the Māori self, functioning as a subject making device that has the potential to pathologize Māori in accord with someone else’s worldview, and at the fundamental level of our very being. This puts the epistemic cart before the existential horse, prioritizing methodological convenience over detailed cultural consideration of the Indigenous self.

To use the term ‘Māori identity’ as a marker of tradition and culture is to ignore the heterogeneity in Māori tribal ways-of-being and conducting everyday life. The term ‘Māori’, when referring to the Indigenous peoples of New Zealand, implies contact with Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent). Pre-colonial Māori (1700’s and earlier) did not refer to themselves collectively as Māori; the term ‘Māori’ was used by Pākehā as a process of othering and categorising the ‘natives’. The word ‘Māori’ homogenizes the diverse and distinct tribal groupings of New Zealand and ignores their heterogeneity (Rangihau, 1975/1992). This is not to argue that the general Māori population today may not experience aspects of themselves as being Māori. It is to argue that Māori identity is a response to colonial constructions and must be understood in this context and against more diverse tribal ways-of-being and understanding the self. This kind of complexity when attempting to understand the self does not lend itself well to colonial measurement practices that are enacted in the development of measures of Māori identity. We also know from critical psychology and work on the interconnected and dialogical self that identities are plural and shift with context (Josephs, 2002; Stam, 2010). For example, when the lead author is in an international context he often identifies as a New Zealander, when within New Zealand he identifies as Māori, when interacting with Māori people from other tribal groups he is Te Rarawa (tribal group), and when with Te Rarawa he refers to himself as Te Waekoi (sub-tribal group), and so forth. Therefore, it does not make sense to impose a reductionist categorisation of identity on dynamic, culturally diverse and evolving processes of identity formation and being.

Anglo-European/American epistemological assumptions that dominate our global discipline are embedded in modes of inquiry and enforced through ridged adherence to reductionist methodologies (cf. Chamberlain, 2000). These assumptions have a colonizing effect on the ability of Māori people (in all their tribal diversity), and other Indigenous groups, to produce culturally relevant psychological knowledge of themselves. The result of the epistemic management according to imperatives associated with Anglo-European/American reductionist philosophy thwarts efforts to understand and conceptualize the self from an Indigenous perspective; only existential aspects of the Indigenous self that are evident to the colonizer are admissible (Mika, 2015). As a result of these epistemic practices, Indigenous modes of knowledge production are obscured as a matter of definition. Such acts have been identified as forms of epistemological violence, whereby dominant group interpretations of research regarding other groups (which can result in harm) are favoured over other equally valid interpretations to the contrary (Teo, 2010). We would extend Teo's reasoning further and argue that through this management of knowledge, the ontological reality of Indigenous peoples is also managed, constituting a form of ontological violence.

The purpose of this article is to explore conceptualizations of the self or *being* (Heidegger, 1927/1967; James, 1890/1983), which draw on particular European philosophical traditions, namely the continental (existential) tradition, where less rigid conceptualizations of being open space for meaningful dialogue with Indigenous ways-of-being. It is not the intention of this particular piece of work to compare Indigenous conceptualisations of reality with proponents of the continental tradition. Rather, our focus is to highlight the dominance of the analytic tradition within psychology and its implications for Indigenous psychologies. Of core interest is how we might bring Māori ways of valuing and understanding being into conversation with insights from European philosophy to inform our practices in psychology. In doing so, we recognize the differing audiences who may engage with this material. Namely, those primarily concerned with theory in global psychology and those with a focus on Indigenous psychologies. We aim to enable meaningful discussion between both audiences as well as opening up an intellectual space for conducting Indigenized research in psychology into Māori ways-of-being that make sense to Māori people, which may also provide insights for other Indigenous groups globally.

This article considers how the same processes of impoverishing psychological knowledge of the self through reductive categorisation, which is impacting Indigenous peoples today, emerged for Europeans with the industrial revolution, urbanization, and development of psychology as a discipline anchored in cultural and social transformations in Europe and the US. We begin by examining the philosophical shift in conceptualizations of being and existence that took place in Europe during industrialization. As Anglo-European/American psychology emerged out of philosophy at the end of the 19th century, this existential shift came to inform the ways the discipline began to view people. There were, however, a number of European philosophers who challenged what became dominant European philosophical understandings and offered a very different way of conceptualizing being and existence. Here, we draw on the work of Georg Simmel (1903/2003), Martin Heidegger (1927/1967), and Michel Foucault (1963/1994) to provide critiques to philosophical assumptions dominating research practices within psychology today. To expand on these critiques, we subsequently reflect on the lead author's (referred to in the first person henceforth) undergraduate education within the disciplines of European philosophy and Anglo-European/American psychology. Of particular note are points of difference in world views between a colonial education system based in Anglo-European/American philosophical assumptions and the lead author's upbringing as both a Māori and Pākehā person. This leads to consideration of Māori ways of understanding people, which we use to highlight some of the limitations of Anglo-European/American philosophical assumptions that are reified upon Indigenous peoples by psychologists. In closing, we explore the ways in which processes of industrialization and urbanization have played out in New Zealand as part of the colonial project and deliberate upon how we might advance the indigenizing of the discipline of psychology within New Zealand.

Devaluing being in modern life

Leading up to the industrial revolution, analytic (or analytical) philosophy began to emerge as an important philosophical movement in Europe that radically changed the way people viewed the world around them and their place in it. The ideas of Locke, Berkley, and Hume laid the foundations of classical empiricism (Lacey, 1995) that went on to inform the development of analytic philosophy in the 20th century (Searle, 2003). Analytic philosophy is a very specific and now dominant kind of European philosophy that is generally contrasted with continental philosophies, which include existentialism, critical theory, and [post]structuralism (Quinton, 1995). Continental philosophy is a term used for 18th century to present European Philosophy that did not subscribe to analytic philosophy. Whereas, from the analytic perspective, the self can be understood through reductive logical analysis, within the continental tradition[s] there are diverse ways to understand the self. The divergence between these two European traditions, although highly debatable, seems to be linguistically based. Analytic philosophy dominated the English speaking world, such as in Britain and its former colonies of the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Searle, 2003)[8]. Continental philosophy became a defaulted 'other' label (i.e., 'not analytic philosophy') that refers to philosophy that took place in continental Europe, which was multi-lingual (Quinton, 1995). This divide also seems to follow the dynamics of political power that emerged out of World War I and World War II that left Britain and the US dominant producers and disseminators of knowledge within the 'Western World'. Analytic philosophy, particularly reductionism and logical positivism, is the form of European philosophy that Indigenous scholars often struggle with, find strange, and seek to critique and move beyond within their work.

With the analytic approach gaining dominance, the philosophical mood of early 20th century moved from contemplating existence itself to what 'objectively' exists. This philosophical shift is mirrored in psychology when we consider the dominance of reductionist approaches within the field in light of Wundt's original conception of psychology as including insights from both experimental (analytic) and phenomenological (continental) traditions (Hodgetts et al. 2010). Like 19th and 20th century Anglo philosophy, psychology has, over time, come to primarily focus on what exists, in a measurable sense, over considerations of existence itself. To examine the nuances of how the concepts of being and existence changed during the 19th and 20th centuries, we use the compound phrase *Das blasé gaze* to evoke the continental scholarship of Georg Simmel (1903/2003), Martin Heidegger (1927/1967), and Michel Foucault (1963/1994).

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[8] It should be noted that our use of a continental/analytic distinction here is more a label of convenience to highlight a board philosophical shift – which has severe implications on a modern theorising of an Indigenous self – than an actual philosophical distinction.

A subtle, taken-for-granted state of existence being lost against the backdrop of the overwhelming benefits of industrialization was a concern of the 19th century Prussian philosopher Georg Simmel (1903/2003). With industrialization came urbanization; mass migration to the cities. Life in the city, for Simmel, compelled a reduction of qualitative values to a quantitative measure. Thus, a homogenous outlook on life emerges within the metropolis. Simmel referred to this outlook as *the blasé attitude*, with the diverse values of existence purportedly able to be expressed as a numerical sum privileged by money. A way of life that once relied on community bonds within small rural towns was replaced by a detached system of monetary exchange within the city; money reframed ways of existing and being. Social connections and traditional cultural ways-of-being became less important in maintaining one's place within the world, reduced by monetary divisibility. Simmel (1903/2003) argues:

> For money expresses all qualitative differences of things in terms of 'how much?' Money, with all its colorlessness and indifference, becomes the common denominator of all values; irreparably it hollows out the core of things, their individuality, their specific value, and their incomparability. All things float with equal specific gravity in the constantly moving stream of money (p. 15)

Simmel recognized that the mass migrations to the cities during the industrial revolution had a profound effect on the way people perceived the world, and more importantly, on the way people perceived and treated one another. People were increasingly reduced to isolated consumptive beings within a market economy, which became reflected in the underlying assumptions of the developing discipline of psychology.

The philosophical remarks of Heidegger (1927/1967) on being are complementary to Simmel's (1903/2003) ideas on the metropolis and mental life. Where Simmel discusses the mechanisms of *how* people were losing aspects of their humanity through migration to the city and the loss of community values and bonds, Heidegger focused on *what* we have lost familiarity with, what he refers to as *Dasein*, or *being*. For Heidegger, *Dasein* begins not with the birth of a human, but with the enculturation of a person within the broader context of society. When we are born, we are *thrown* into existence where language, history, culture, politics and so forth, are pre-constructed ahead of us, from which we then must make sense of our own existence. Heidegger argues that all being is connected, and that through losing our daily curiosity of the strangeness of existence itself – or by adopting *the blasé attitude* – we individualise our experiences and tend to see things as discrete and unconnected; a stand point indicative of atomistic and reductionist philosophy. Or to put it differently, being draws our attention (Heidegger, 1927/1967), while the metropolis consumes it (Simmel, 1903/2003). People can become lost, or at least recast, in an urban milieu characterised by estrangement. It is only during certain moments of insight and clarity that our being again comes into focus. These moments, including the death of a loved one, birth of a child, or a walk in a park, can offer opportunities to rediscover aspects of the interconnection of all being and the sheer value and mystery of existence itself. Such moments in daily life are what Heidegger valued above the commodities produced within the metropolis, and are what he believes modern life has obscured.

The dominant analytic focus on what exists, over the focus in continental philosophy on existence itself, has continued in the Western intellectual tradition of science and social science. Disciplines such as psychology have become more concerned with what humans are made of, in the physical sense, than what makes us human, in an existential sense. Practices of reducing individuals to measurable component parts was criticised by Foucault (1963/1994) through his concept of the *medical gaze*. In his critiques of the medical profession, Foucault pointed out that a patient is no longer seen as a person, but as a collection of mechanical parts, one of which might be malfunctioning and in need of repair. This gaze strips a person of their humanity and the context of their lived experiences by eliminating from relevance all other aspects of the person's being. The totality of a person's value becomes reduced by the medical gaze to a single, measurable problem. This is a dehumanizing process that results from the *blasé attitude* that has found a home in psychology globally. As a consequence, when an Indigenous person who retains a focus on human interconnection and experience participates in Anglo-European/American forms of psychology, they have this analytic gaze presented to them as indistinguishable from the intellectual rigor required of the discipline. Thus, an existential crisis in being can be perpetuated by those who are uncritical of this gaze, inviting colonization into the minds of Indigenous people, akin to the operation of a Trojan horse.

Analytic philosophies, such as positivism, reductionism, and atomism have limited and restricted the ways in which Indigenous peoples can theorise culturally relevant understandings of the self while participating in Anglo-European/American institutions such as psychology. However, and as we have argued, there are critiques within the European tradition itself that Indigenous scholars can utilize, in conjunction with our own local knowledge, to challenge the Anglo-European/American philosophical ideas that dominate the discipline of psychology today.

Drawing on Heidegger's concept of 'Dasein' (Das), Simmel's idea of 'the blasé attitude' (blasé), and Foucault's medical gaze, we use the phrase *Das blasé gaze* as a touch point to connect Indigenous knowledge and perspectives with these critiques of analytic philosophies. In the following sections, we examine the lead author's training within psychology and philosophy, and the way being is understood in Māori terms, as an exemplar to unpack some of the ideas evoked by *Das blasé gaze*.

Indigenous reflections on undergraduate philosophy and psychology

As an Indigenous student embarking on tertiary education, one of the first things I (the lead author) noticed when studying European philosophy was its eagerness to distinguish, categorise, order, and in general, to break things apart and to pin down their definitions with a high degree of 'certainty'. Such tendencies can be seen in Aristotelean categories (Studtmann, 2014) and reductionism/reductive logical analysis (Cat, 2014). These philosophies are still apparent in modern psychology (Hodgetts et al. 2010), particularly in efforts within reductionist psychology to measure Māori identity (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015). Philosophy – as I was taught as an undergraduate student – comprised of three broad chronological categories: Ancient Greek philosophy, Continental philosophy, and Analytic philosophy. Across these broad traditions run commonalities demarcated into the fields of metaphysics, epistemology, ethics, and aesthetics. Plato (Ancient Greek), Heidegger (Continental) and early Wittgenstein (Analytic) all wrote about metaphysics, but did so with their own historical, political, and geographical zeal.

What puzzled me, as a Māori student, was how it is possible to talk solely about a single field of philosophy in isolation from all the others. For instance, I found it difficult to engage with metaphysics without also asking epistemological questions – how can we *know* such a thing exists? – and ethical questions – what do these ideas *morally* entail? The requirement to deal with the content of each of these fields in isolation was challenging for me. I could not ignore the implications of all the other possible aspects in play, which were excluded from the discussion as 'other topics'. In the Māori world, all these elements of being are interconnected and inseparable, with supposed 'tangents' in discussions less likely to be culled and more likely to be explored for potential importance (Ritchie, 1992). Over time, I started to view these philosophical fields not as discrete areas, but as boundaries imposed through disciplinary habits of training.

For Māori, less importance is placed on atomising the subject matter under consideration. Atomisation is often avoided. For example, Marsden, a Māori scholar, tohunga

(Māori cultural expert), philosopher, and Reverend within the Anglican Church, acknowledged that in the Māori world, one cannot speak of epistemology independent of metaphysics (Marsden, 2003). Mead (2003), a contemporary Māori scholar of Marsden, echoed the interconnectedness of Māori knowledge systems by noting that tikanga (Māori social etiquette for the conduct of everyday practices, which can include research practices) is a key part of Māori philosophy, knowledge and being-in-the-world. To a certain extent, tikanga can be understood along similar lines as a philosophy of praxis, as it is "the practical face of Māori knowledge" (Mead, 2003, p. 7). Metaphysics, too, are not separate from the realm of experience for Māori, as what would be recognised as abstract concepts by Western philosophers come to the fore through everyday social cultural practices (Kawharu, 1975), such as gardening, fishing, and simply being in places with others (King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Te Whetu., 2015; Rua, 2015).

Further, in explaining Māori knowledge systems in terms of what is understood by Western philosophy, using terms like metaphysics, epistemology, and ethics we inevitably end up reifying colonial distinctions that have little currency in the Māori world. However, when trying to engage with other psychologists we must use these terms, if only temporally, in order to explore how these distinctions have shaped the way that Māori ways-of-being have been framed and fragmented by *Das blaze gaze*. This is an example of how Indigenous scholars write to deconstruct within the disciplines we seek to decolonize (cf. Mika, 2015). However, self-awareness and caution are important here. The moment Māori scholars use the words epistemology, metaphysics, or ethics we invite the limitations, restraints and conditions of Anglo-European/American psychology into our work.

As someone who participates within the discipline of psychology and has had training in European philosophy, I (the lead author) have become ever mindful of the origins and implications that dominant European philosophical ideas have had for the contemporary practice of psychology. I realised quite early on that the psychology that I was being taught was in line with the analytic tradition – specifically logical positivism and reductionism – I was also learning. As for my Māori ways of understanding the world and associated philosophies, it was initially difficult to even see how these related to the psychological content I was being taught. Developing the concept of *Das blasé gaze* has helped me articulate the subtle ways that my view of the world was being shaped during my undergraduate education. It also helps to make this process explicit, as at the time, the shift in being and existence was not obvious to me, and there was a real chance that I could have adopted this gaze as a matter of disciplinary habit.

Psychology, as I experienced it, appeared rather monolithic when I encountered it as an undergraduate student. The psychology I was taught reproduced dominant Anglo-European/American ideas, theories, cultural values, and ways of conceptualizing and making sense of the world; what I have come to associate with *Das blasé gaze.* It was not taught as 'a' way of doing psychology. It was taught as 'the' way to do psychology. My education in philosophy helped me understand psychology in a way that cannot be understated. I saw psychology through the lens of philosophy, so it was easy to see how Anglo-European/American psychology lent itself to the analytic philosophical tradition. In particular, I saw how reductionist philosophy was heavily drawn on to inform what we now see as dominant Anglo-European/American positivist psychology. Lecturers in psychology would openly claim to be logical positivists. This really confused me. I was taught in philosophy that logical positivism was an important historical movement that had an enormous impact on Western thought. However, in contemporary times, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, in the field of philosophy to find someone who genuinely holds a positivist philosophical position. This discrepancy between psychological and philosophical theory signalled to me that the two disciplines had undergone a level of disconnection.

From a Māori perspective, I saw this discrepancy as the product of psychologists ignoring their intellectual whakapapa (genealogy/lineage). Being aware of the failings of positivism, it became beneficial for me to treat positivist psychology like a game that I had to play in order to progress up the academic ladder. I did not completely believe in what I was learning or writing, but knew that I had to learn to operate within a positivist paradigm in order to pass my courses. To borrow an analogy from Lealand (1988), a foreign egg of imported philosophical assumptions had landed in my nest, and I was trained to care for it as if it were my own. This was a process that I had to give myself over to for much of my undergraduate degree in psychology, and is how I dealt with the associated *Das blasé gaze* on a personal and private level.

Subsequently, I did very well in my undergraduate psychology courses. I was good at analytic philosophy and mathematics, and after doing a course on the philosophy of science, the scientific content in my psychology courses became a lot easier to digest. As I noted earlier, I saw psychology through the lens of analytic philosophy. I also wanted to see psychology through the lens of the Māori worldview, but each year of study, it became increasingly difficult to do so. Giving myself over to the process, flirting with *Das blasé gaze*, and playing the game took a toll on who I was becoming within the world. However, buried among the dominance of Anglo-European/American grounded psychology courses were two particular courses that struck a chord with me, and just made sense as someone who is Māori. The first course was on culture and ethnicity in psychology and the second was in community psychology. These two courses provided respite for me to be Māori in my studies and opened ways of viewing psychology through the lens of the Māori worldview. During these courses, I was invited by the Māori lecturers to take part in a summer studentship that focused on developing up-and-coming Māori researchers. Being welcomed by other Māori who had gone through similar, if not worse, experiences within colonial institutions provided me with a place to be Māori at university, and was a pivotal moment for me in my studies; I could now care for my own egg more on my own terms. Prior to this point, I had dealt with *Das blasé gaze* in private, playing the game as an individual. However now, I was surrounded by people who had walked this path before me, and I no longer had to give myself over to the process to the same extent. Within this cultural enclave, I could be Māori and a Māori psychologist.

The philosophies I was privy to during my undergraduate degree were predominantly from the ancient Greek and analytic traditions. My more recent readings of continental philosophy have furthered my understanding of the history of ideas, or whakapapa, of the discipline I am participating in as a psychologist. I have located allies within the broader European philosophical tradition and rather than arguing against positivism, atomism, and reductionism I am now able to bring Indigenous knowledge into conversation with the continental (existential) tradition to explore extensive possibilities for change in the core focus and practices of knowledge production in our discipline.

Difficulties in appreciating Indigenous being in psychology

In finding an intellectual and cultural home to be Māori within the university setting, I (the lead author) was able to begin viewing psychology through a new lens of continental philosophy, and, more importantly, through the cultural lens of Māori ways-of-being. This resulted in a reconsideration of the self, a central concern of psychology. Below, I examine how my Māori self and being are located and understood relationally within the Māori world to draw out the difficulties conventional forms of psychology have in grasping and conceptualizing such interconnected ways-of-being.

My Māori self is pluralistic and relational (Rangihau, 1975/1992; Rua, 2015), and is not restricted or reducible to any one aspect of my being (Heidegger, 1927/1967; James, 1890/1983). I am a man, a New Zealander, I am from the working classes, I am Māori, I am Pākehā, and I am of a particular tribal (Te Rarawa) descent. Each one of these descriptors reflects ‘categories’ preconceived within language and society prior to my existence (see

Heidegger, 1927/1967, on 'thrownness'), which attempt to ‘capture’ or describe my being. However, these do so in a rather limited and atomistic manner. The Anglo-European/American philosophical tendency to pin down the definition of a term, such as the self or being, results in epistemic management that in a single motion, restricts a Māori sense of the self, creating a caricature self. For Māori, the self cannot be thought of in isolation. Who we are includes all of our connections that leak out into the world, with these connections being central to the Māori self (Rua, 2015). This can often result in messy, inconsistent, and sometimes contradictory views of the self (Hodgetts et al. 2010; James, 1890/1983), evident in the way each of us traverses different spaces and times among differing social groups (Hodgetts et al. 2010). As a Māori person, who I am is relative to and inextricably woven into the places I go, the people I am with, and the cultural contexts in which I find myself.

A pepeha (tribal saying/formulaic expression) is one such way a Māori person will introduce themselves and express their being-within-the-world, but is also something that is difficult for a psychology that draws primarily on reductionist assumptions to make sensible. For example, in introducing myself I might say:

> Ko Te Reinga te maunga – Te Reinga is the mountain.
> Ko Waihou te awa – Waihou is the river.
> Ko Waihou marae – Waihou is the marae (communal complex used for everyday Māori life, cultural epicentre).
> Ko Mamari te waka – Mamari is the migration vessel.
> Ko Te Waekoi te hapū – Te Waekoi is the sub-tribal group.
> Ko Te Rarawa te iwi – Te Rarawa is the tribal name.

This pepeha is a way of locating myself relationally, cosmologically and geographically within the Māori world (Karetu, 1975/1992; Te Awekotuku, 1996), and is a way that I make sense of how I have been thrown into existence (Heidegger, 1927/1967). The difficulty reductionist psychology has in appreciating the nuances of such a pepeha are the ideological tendencies to atomise an object, such as maunga (mountain), and to then reify it as if it were a “smooth and unproblematic entity” (Mika, 2015, p. 5). Carrying this epistemic baggage, my maunga is reduced to an accumulation of minerals with the quality of abrupt altitude. This propensity to isolate something in order to make it objectively knowable is described as “the ultimate fixation of the West”, and is referred to as the metaphysics of presence (Mika, 2015, p. 5). In the epistemic pinning down of my maunga, I am expected to consider it as a separate object, severing the intimate connection I have to it, which the maunga has to me, and the totality of connections that leak out from it across space, time, and social worlds. Heidegger (1927/1967) describes this fracturing as a derivative kind of *encounter*, where the self is seen as separate from the world of objects. The reductionist and atomistic gaze render a world of discrete physical objects with the inherent and necessary connections between them theorised away. Within such a set of philosophical assumptions, only a partial account of the Māori self can ever be heard.

In decolonizing psychology, it is crucial that we seek to avoid being forced into having conversations about being and existence on the philosophical grounds that have been laid by colonial discourse and reproduced in disciplines like psychology. The key difference between Māori and dominant Anglo-European/American worldviews is that the former is a philosophy that is fundamentally interconnected and latter systematically fragments the world. Ritchie (1992) identifies this difference in the concept of pūtahi (confluence), which denotes a Māori view of the world in its totality. These differences in world views in some ways resemble the atomism versus holism debates within the European philosophical tradition. Pūtahi favours holism over atomisation but differs in regards to the European debate in that it does not exclude atomisation from the consideration of an issue. Atomisation can be used within the Māori world when necessary and only as a last resort, with the fragments produced from such modes of inquiry being situated back into the wider context in order to be understood. We adopt this cultural position and are not in absolute opposition to atomisation or reductionism. We argue that the over reliance on such methods can fragment Māori knowledge and ways-of-being. In order to create a space within global psychology for Māori knowledge and ways-of-being we must bring into question default processes of atomisation that dominate our discipline today and which were imported to New Zealand as part of the colonial project (Mika, 2015). We are attempting this task from within the subject of critique, embracing certain aspects of the European philosophical traditions in order to create this space from which to theorise Māori ways-of-being that are relevant to the everyday lives of Māori. In the following section, we propose one possible way to address the assault on being that many Indigenous peoples have faced as a result of colonial practices and philosophies.

Towards restoring the value of being

As we have argued within this paper, the focus on being and existence began to shift within the European context during the industrial revolution and mass migrations from rural areas to rapidly growing urban centres. We are not, however, arguing that urbanization itself has brought about these philosophical changes; as urban centres are not unique to industrial times. More specifically, we argue that European industrialization, and associated philosophies, brought about a way of thinking that eroded the value of being within everyday life (Simmel, 1903/2003) and that urbanization in this context served as a mechanism that assimilated people into a commodified way of viewing the world. Additionally, our critiques of industrialization and urbanization should not be taken as arguments against city life. Further, although there are aspects of rural life that lend themselves more towards valuing less commodified ways-of-being, it would be misguided for us to assume that reverting to a state of existence prior to urbanization would bring about a greater understanding of being. Specifically, we want to engage with societal changes that have come about through modernity and have impacted Indigenous communities.

Colonization in Aotearoa involved the imposition of a dominant foreign way of life on Māori. Subsequent generations of Māori have become more industrialized and more urbanized with the passage of time which has disrupted the generational continuity of Māori knowledge. As a result, it has become more difficult to articulate, particularly within the urban setting, our culturally nuanced ways of understanding being that trace back to pre-urbanized Māori communities. However, this cultural knowledge and ways-of-being was not lost. As Hegel (1807/1977) argues, with the movement from one historical era to another (pre-urban to post-urban for example), some ideas become more prominent, and others become diminished. In Hegel's time, there was a tendency to view the past as archaic and primitive, and to view our current standpoint in time as superior and from which we could take pride in the 'obvious progress' we had made. Hegel argued that the historical eras are not simply an accumulation of all knowledge to date, but rather, historical eras are storehouses of a particular kind of knowledge that served a purpose in that particular time and for that particular context. These storehouses of knowledge are open to us in the present and we have the ability to identify certain ideas that have been devalued in the transition from one era to another, and to then think about how we might revive such ideas. It is our contention that pre-industrial notion of being became muted against the backdrop of industrialization and urbanization in Europe and North America, and that this way of viewing the world was imported to countries, like New Zealand, during colonization.

Viewing history as conceptualized by Hegel, we have located the particular storehouse of knowledge that we are interested in examining. However, in addition to re-reading historical texts to explore the ideas of being and existence, it is our belief that this task can also be achieved in conjunction with applied research (an early attempt at such a research project can be seen in King et al. 2015). This is made possible when we consider the nuanced ways that Indigenous peoples were colonized. For example, the urbanization of European societies took place in the middle of the 18th century and continued to develop in the 19th and 20th centuries (Heywood, 1995). Urbanization for Māori took place rapidly over a couple of decades in the middle of the 20th century (Nikora, 2007; Williams, 2015). This situation is similar to what Bourdieu (2000) referred to as *historical acceleration*, as he explains:

> … this country [Algeria] – in which some remote and isolated mountain peoples, such as those I was able to study in Kabylia, had preserved almost intact the traditions of a pre-capitalist economy quite alien to the logic of the market – was submitted to a kind of *historical acceleration* which caused two forms of economic organisations, normally separated by a gap of several centuries and making contradictory demands on their participants, to coexist, or to be telescoped, under the eye of the observer (p. 18).

Although Bourdieu was commenting primarily on the imposition of an economic system through colonization, his concept of historical acceleration is useful for us in considering the ways in which Māori experienced the phenomenon of urbanization while under colonial control. Urbanization in Europe took place over a number of centuries, and which has left pre-urbanized ancestors out of reach from living memory. For Māori, many of our ancestors with pre-urban knowledge are still alive and re-member – a non-cognitive, practical way of re-joining tradition and heritage through material social practices (Sutton, 2015) – ways-of-being, such as food practices and observing rituals, that are less influenced by the industrial philosophies of classical empiricism, reductionism and logical positivism. In some respects, cultural enclaves, such as rural Māori communities and tribal homelands, can be read as repositories that hold richer understandings of being and existence than Anglo-European/American orientated universities. It is up to us as academics who occupy both spaces to ‘catch up’ as it were. As Bourdieu (2000) noted, pre-industrialized traditions have been maintained, almost intact, by the Indigenous peoples of Algeria. We would argue that pre-urbanization Māori traditions and ideas of being have also been preserved in a similar way. By viewing history through a Hegelian lens that is informed by Māori philosophers, including Marsden and Mika, we can see how our living ancestors as embodying the historical storehouse of wisdom regarding interconnected ways-of-being. As cultural treasures, their knowledge and practices can be drawn on to preserve and further develop contemporary Māori understandings of being and guide the decolonizing of psychology so that we can see and respond to more than is offered by *Das blasé gaze*.

Looking forward

The dominance of reductionist (colonial) philosophical assumptions and knowledge production practices in psychology obstructs Indigenous psychologists from producing knowledge that reflects the lived realities of the communities to which we belong. The purpose of this article is to lay the foundations of a wider research agenda which explores Māori ways-of-being. More broadly, our present work seeks to deconstruct some of the taken-for-granted assumptions that are associated with psychology as a technology of colonization and which pervert how Indigenous peoples are constructed and are thrown into *Das blasé gaze* of themselves. As we have argued, there are a multitude of obstacles that prevent such research within the dominant conceptualizations of psychology. Unlike those adopting a simple reductionist worldview who can initiate research with pre-scripted epistemological and methodological suppositions, Indigenous research must begin with a critical and oppositional approach (Allwood & Berry, 2006) that foregrounds our own ways of seeing the world and understanding people. The detrimental effects of colonization are not particular to New Zealand. With notably unique histories and experiences, many Indigenous peoples have been colonized by the same Anglo-European/American institutions. Despite these histories, many Indigenous peoples are in a position to preserve the ways of understanding and valuing being that have been devalued by an industrial view of the world and socially entrenched through urban assimilation. Māori, for example, have a telescoping relationship to the past due to *historical acceleration* (Bourdieu, 2000) that many Europeans do not. This is something that can, and should, be advantageous for change.

In this article, we have presented arguments and personal experiences of being Māori within the field of psychology. The critiques we raise are intended to extend beyond both a Māori audience and an audience in psychology. Colonization is an experience shared by many Indigenous groups throughout the world who come up against the foreign philosophy of the colonizer on a daily basis within the university setting. Indigenous scholars in other fields, such as public health and other social sciences may find our reflections useful in conceptualizing and responding to the imposition of reductionist philosophies that accompanied colonization. The decolonizing of psychology through the further development of Indigenous scholarship requires us to understand the philosophy of our colonizers. We must not only argue *from* an Indigenous perspective. We must also launch arguments *to* an Indigenous perspective from within the European philosophical tradition itself. The latter offers a way for Indigenous peoples globally to come into conversation with one another from within a discipline dominated by Anglo-

European/American philosophy. Within an indigenized global psychology, we can each care for our own eggs while sharing collective insights into our being-in-the-world.

Chapter 4: Preserving Māori ways-of-being

In the closing of chapter 3, I proposed a means of conducting applied research characterised by renewed engagement with the concept of being, as informed by Māori cultural and continental philosophical knowledge. Couched within a Hegelian conceptualisation of history (Hegel, 1807/1977) and by drawing on Bourdieu's (2000) concept of historical acceleration, chapter 3 asserts that elders within Māori communities can often be seen as embodying storehouses of wisdom and experience regarding pre-urbanised understandings of interconnected Māori ways-of-being. This assertion serves as a launching point for the empirical components of this thesis (chapters 4 and 5) and also guided my interactions within my fieldwork. Chapter 4 implements this proposed approach of renewed engagement with the concept of being by detailing how Māori have taken to the city admits processes of urbanization. In doing so, chapter 4 documents how Māori have worked to recreate cultural enclaves to be Māori within a broader landscape of the settler society that is dominated by colonial perspectives (cf. Lobo, 2018)

Chapter 4 contributes to the understanding of Indigenous urban life by bringing issues of being and place to the fore. This chapter investigates Māori re-assemblage of cultural selves within the city. I set the re-assemblage of Māori selves against the backdrop of colonial disruptions that have displaced Māori from their rural homelands to the city. The accounts I present within this chapter document the agency and adaptation of culturally informed social practices, such as preparing, cooking, and sharing a meal, which work to retexture urban settings as spaces for both resisting colonial assimilation and for asserting Māori ways-of-being somewhere new. In doing so, the following chapter positions such social practices as constituting tactics that Māori employ to preserve a Māori sense of self in addressing broader colonial strategies of displacement and urbanization (cf. de Certeau, 1984).

Chapter 4 also makes conceptual contributions to the limited body of knowledge that engages with the urban lives of Indigenous peoples, particularly Māori. Drawing on auto and visual ethnographic techniques to spatialize my engagements, chapter 4 invites readers to take a stroll through the low socio-economic, high Māori population urban neighbourhood in which I was raised. I explore how everyday Māori social practices have been maintained and adapted within the colonial urban landscape as local Māori make a home for themselves. This chapter speaks to the issues that many Indigenous peoples are currently experiencing regarding the social and cultural upheavals that have come with colonization, modernity, urbanization, and the imposition of modern economic systems (Sonn, Rua, Quayle, 2019).

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When the marae moves into the city: Being Māori in urban Palmerston North

Abstract: Through processes of colonization, many Indigenous peoples have become absorbed into settler societies and new ways of existing within urban environments. Settler society economic, legal, and social structures have facilitated this absorption by recasting Indigenous selves in ways that reflect the cultural values of settler populations. Urban enclaves populated and textured by Indigenous groups such as Māori (Indigenous people of New Zealand) can be approached as sites of existential resistance to the imposition of colonial ways of seeing and understanding the self. In maintaining everyday social practices and ways-of-being that traverse rural and urban locales, Māori preserve and reproduce cultural selves in ways that make aspects of cityscapes more homely for Māori ways-of-being. This article brings issues of place and being to the fore by investigating Māori re-assemblage of cultural selves within a low SES urban environment as an ongoing resistance to colonial absorption.

Keywords: ways-of-being, self, urbanization, colonization, social practices, low socio-economic

As a primary social formation inhabited by an increasing proportion of the world's population, the city is an intense repository for the human condition that is characterised by inequitable hardships for many groups (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). In New Zealand, Māori (the Indigenous people) are over- represented in low socio-economic urban environments (Ministry of Health, 2015; Statistics New Zealand, 2002). This should not be surprising given New Zealand's history of colonial control and the relocation of Māori from rural to urban areas. Since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi[9] (the Treaty of Waitangi) in 1840, the British Crown has sought to dominate all areas of economic, legal, and cultural activity within New Zealand (Sinclair, 1992). Colonial activities of domination and displacement have culturally fragmented and spatially scattered many Māori (Mead, 2003), who today overwhelmingly find themselves in urban environments (Walker, 2004). Urban locales are where many Māori experience diminished economic power and cultural, as well as physical, displacement from their turangawaewae

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[9] Te Tiriti o Waitangi is one of New Zealand's founding documents. It is an agreement between Māori and the Crown for shared dominian over the country, which has been repeatedly breached by the Crown and has become a focal point for Māori resistance (Orange, 1987).

(ancestral places to stand and belong) (Jackson, 1992). In short, the contemporary position of many urban Māori is the outcome of colonial policies of control, disruptions, and marginalization.

Among countries colonised by the British, New Zealand has one of the highest urbanization rates, at 83% (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). The urbanization of Māori was hastened and actively pursued by the post-WW2 New Zealand government's policies to 'free up' land for returning soldiers and to boost labour force participation in sectors such as manufacturing (Boast, 2008). This involved continuing confiscations of tribal lands and access to natural resources, assimilation of Māori into the dominant colonial culture, and the suppression of Māori language (Jackson, 1992; Orange, 1987). The economic and legal regulation of everyday life for Māori continued older colonial acts of limiting the economic, social, and cultural autonomy of Māori (Jackson, 2007; King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Morgan, 2017). These historical events, and the differing accounts of New Zealand history between Māori and colonial perspectives, need to be taken into account when considering the position of Māori in the city today (cf. Mahuika, 2009). Scholars have linked such processes of colonization to an array of negative social and health outcomes for Māori, including high imprisonment, unemployment, suicide, and morbidity and mortality rates (Cram, 2011; Durie, 2001, 2003; Webb, 2011). Due to the casual and low skill character of work for many Māori, negative health impacts for Māori are particularly pronounced during periods of economic upheaval and retrenchment (Ajwani, Blakely, Robson, Tobias, & Bonne, 2003).

This article explores how Māori cultural ways-of-being[10] have been retained through adaptation to urbanization. We consider Highbury, a neighbourhood in Palmerston North, as a setting in which complex histories of colonization and urbanization are played out through everyday social practices. Social practices comprise routine forms of human action, which involve embodied and emplaced enactments, often using material objects (Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Reckwitz, 2002). They reproduce emplaced cultural ways-of-being and knowing within the conduct of everyday life (Højholt & Schraube, 2016; King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Te Whetu., 2015). We will document how these practices transform Highbury into an enclave for Māori urbanites to be and to retain enacted cultural ways-of-being Māori. This neighbourhood provides an appropriate research site for the present study because it is where relatively large numbers of Māori from the Manawatū area were relocated to in the early 1950s and 1960s. We document how Māori urbanites in this locale work to texture it in a manner that enacts Māori ways-of-being and seeing the city (see figures 2 and 3).

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[10] We use the phrase 'ways-of-being' in a pluralized form to acknowledge the multiplicity of enacted value systems that are held by the indigenous peoples of New Zealand, who are often homogenised under the umbrella term 'Māori'.

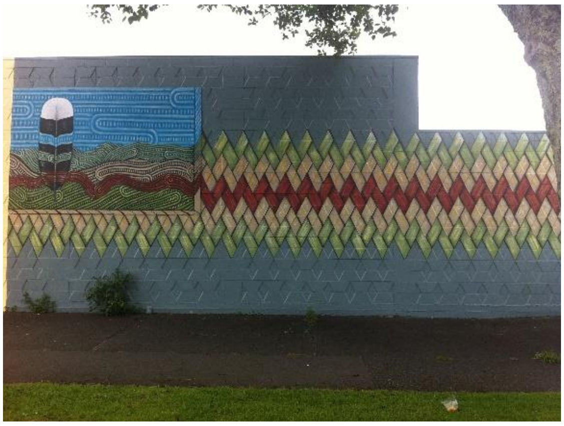

Figure 2. Wall mural of Māori patterns at the Highbury shops (22.11.2015).

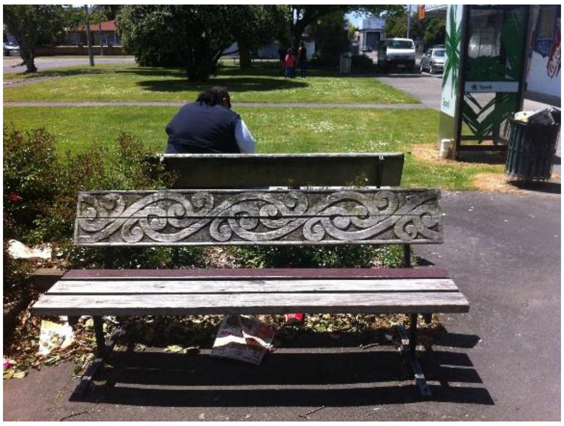

Figure 3. A bench at the Highbury shops that is imbued with Māori motifs (22.11.2015).

Stemming from rural life, Māori identity is historically anchored through tribal and sub-tribal groupings that are affiliated with geographical features, such as mountains, rivers, and the land itself (Te Awekotuku, 1996). The Māori word for land is whenua, a word that can also refer to the placenta that nourishes a baby growing within the womb, which, as Mead (2003) explains, provides a metaphor for how Māori understand themselves in connection to the land. In contrast to individualist understandings of the self and being indicative of the settler society, Māori understandings of being are inherently relational, interconnected, and woven through all areas of everyday life and beyond (King et al. 2017; Mika, 2015). Māori understandings of the self are informed by the concept of mauri – or life force – which is the metaphysical sense of connection with people, the land, and material objects (Te Awekotuku, 1996). Māori selves are constantly in a state of becoming and are entangled within material and spiritual realms. For Māori, being and processes of becoming manifest through emplaced social practices that reaffirm physical and metaphysical connections and relationships between people, the social and natural world, and Māori cosmologies (King et al. 2015; Marsden, 2003). As we argue in this article, the natural world and socio-cultural connections to place provide opportunities and anchoring points for metaphysical connections to be realised and lived out in everyday life.

Urbanization has disrupted the sense of metaphysical connection to traditional tribal groupings and home-places for many Māori[11]. This has resulted in the adaptation and preservation of aspects of Māori selves and ways-of-being against the new backdrop of city life and associated socio-political and economic upheavals (Marsden, 2003). As noted by Perera (2002): “The principal thrust of studies in colonial urbanism and architecture is on the immense influence of colonialism on the subjects” (p. 1706). In order to better understand being Māori in the city today, we consider the contrast that de Certeau (1984) has drawn between the *strategies* that institutions of power, such as governments and corporations, use to construct the city for inhabitants, and the *tactics* inhabitants employ to navigate and reconstruct the city for themselves. Given the low socio-economic status of the majority of Māori in urban settings, we inform our understanding of institutionalised strategies with recent writings on marginalization, increased economic, social and health inequalities (Schrecker & Bambra, 2015), wasted lives (Bauman, 2004), and the rise of the precariat (Standing, 2016) to conceptualise the colonial strategies that are actively resisted through tactical use of social practices for preserving Māori ways-of-being.

Bauman’s (2004) conceptualization of *wasted lives* is particularly useful in invoking the deeper implications that modern colonial economic structures that came with the imposition of the settler society present for urban Māori. For Baumann, production within the modern consumerist economy necessarily results in vast amounts of human waste, where many people are metaphorically and materially left in dumping grounds. As material waste requires disposal, Baumann argues that many people are relegated to peripheral neighbourhoods, such as Highbury. Central to Baumann’s observations on production and waste is the development of a theoretical understanding of processes of inclusion and exclusion with the modern consumerist society. His scholarship is important for Māori, as although New Zealand’s economic activity has risen dramatically through modernization, the colonial history of excluding Māori from economic prosperity has contributed to an over-representation of Māori in low SES urban areas (Durie, 2001; Ministry of Health, 2015; Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Such class positioning was anticipated by seminal Māori scholars, such as Marsden (2003), who proposed that through colonial economic policies, Māori were stripped of resources and rendered into the lower echelons of society.

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[11] There are also added complexities in Māori identities, as intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā and children being of mixed ethnicity raise certain issues and tension surrounding group acceptance, racial discrimination, and social prejudices that many Māori today must make sense of and negotiate (cf. Wanhalla, 2013).

Compounding the issues of the marginalization within the modern consumerist economy are recent issues of globalization and what has been termed a neoliberal pandemic (Schrecker & Bambra, 2015), which has devastated the lives of economically vulnerable groups such as Māori. As outlined by Standing (2016), one of the central mantras of neoliberal ideology is the need to grow competitiveness within the labour market by making it more flexible. In doing so, many organizations outsource risk by placing it on the shoulders of the workers, which, in turn, creates a condition of increased insecurity for workers, their families, and wider communities. It is within this new form of structural insecurities that Standing (2016) positions *the precariat* as a diverse social class in the making. The precariat does not simply refer to people of low-income or minimum wage workers, but brings to the surface the ways in which a neoliberal economy creates and hides away the surplus production of 'human waste'. Precarious lives are associated with increased stress and hardship, intermittent experiences of underpaid and insecure work and periods of unemployment, reduced rights, and intensified insecurities in housing, food, and education, trapping many in urban poverty (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017).

Although Bauman's (2004) ideas on modernity and Standing's (2016) views on globalization are useful when considering the position of Māori within the urban landscape, they can be limiting when applied to Indigenous contexts. For example, human waste, for Bauman (2004), consists of two distinguishable groups: the redundant – those who have lost secure employment – and the refugees – outsiders who have been displaced in their countries and have relocated. In one way, Māori, like many other Indigenous peoples, do not fit within this dichotomy because we have been made 'redundant' through economic domination and colonial practices (Jackson, 1992), and have also been transformed into 'refugees' within our own country over a much longer time period (cf. King, Rua, & Hodgetts, 2017). In another way, this dichotomous categorization does not adequately articulate the nuanced experiences of Indigenous peoples positioning within colonial societies, as it limits our understanding of the kinds of 'human waste' that are produced within the modern consumerist economy. The critical sentiment associated with human waste remains useful for this article as a general observation regarding structural processes of marginalization in modernity. However, we need to also acknowledge the more nuanced history of the rise of the Māori precariat and wasting of lives through urbanization that came with colonialism. Nikora (2007) articulates the position of Māori within settler society as being fourth world people (also see Allwood & Berry, 2006), or: "indigenous peoples who seek to survive and thrive within First and Second World contexts" (p. 135).

Although societal structures clearly influence and shape people's lives, we would argue that a deterministic or overly emphasised conceptualization of such structures risks overshadowing the role that human agency plays in making do and texturing urban landscapes to render these more homely and liveable (Hodgetts et al. 2010). We need to retain a dual focus on the impacts of social structures and the often agentive responses of Indigenous groups such as Māori. Of particular interest to our presented work is the conduct of everyday life that seeks to comprehend the relationship between social structures and the enactment of lives through social practices (Hojholt & Schraube, 2016). Such insights provide us with a basis for exploring the culturally-informed agentive practices Māori employ to preserve aspects of traditions and ways-of-being (Dreier, 2016; King et al. 2015). Adopting this dual focus, we can document the ways in which Māori selves are re-assembled through social practice within a colonial cityscape which has been retextured to be something more.

Our approach

Our research works towards provincializing urban theory (Wyly, 2015) by grounding our analysis of the urban in local perspectives, histories, values, and culture, which are often overlooked within scholarship from the Global North (cf. Angelo, 2017). In this way, we are interested in exploring what Lobo (2017) refers to as "non-Western ways of inhabiting place" (p. 1), which recognise experiences of the urban as being linked with the histories of people who dwell and become within it (cf. Heidegger, 1927/1962). The site of our research was Highbury, a low income neighbourhood heavily populated by Māori. The lead author was raised in this place and continues to maintain connections there. As someone who is familiar with the habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) of this place, the lead author was well positioned analytically to interpret some of the nuanced social processes that take place there.

To conceptualise this space, we embrace efforts to resist global urbanism by centralising "everyday lived urban life over research strategies that view cities from a distance" (Sheppard, Leitner, & Maringanti, 2013, p. 897). Our use of auto and visual ethnographic, and etic and emic techniques helped us close some of the distance that often exists between urban researchers and those who dwell within urban spaces (Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2017; Hodgetts et al. 2010; Reavey & Johnson, 2017). As an insider, the lead author engaged with people in Highbury as co-researchers to make sense of and understand the urban as a site of being Māori (Hodgetts, Rua, King, & Te Whetu, 2016; Lobo, 2017). Defamiliarization was employed as an analytic tool deepen our understanding of what the lead author took as being familiar within this space (cf. Kaomea, 2003; Shklovsky, 1965/1917). The remaining authors acted as an external sounding board, asking probing questions of the lead author and helping de-familiarise Māori life in Highbury. As such, this research is informed by observations and interactions within Highbury, in spaces like: family homes and kitchens, the local convenience stores and the fish and chip shop, sport fields, and on the streets.

Our conceptual understanding of Highbury as a space is guided by the assertion that space is inseparable from agentive social practices (Højholt & Schraube, 2016; Tilley, 1994) and that spaces like the urban are produced and reproduced through such practices (King et al. 2015; Lefebvre, 1974/1991). As can be seen in spaces like Māori marae (traditional communal living complex), human actions become embedded in space, reflecting the culture and values of people who dwell and become within it, providing a site of, and opportunity for, cultural production and reproduction (King et al. 2015). Culturally for Māori, an understanding of space also requires metaphysical considerations, as concepts like tapu (sacred, forbidden, restricted) and noa (ordinary, unrestricted, free of tapu) guide appropriate conduct and understandings across and within different spaces (Te Awekotuku, 1996). For example, the marae atea (the open space in front of the meeting house on the marae) fluctuates between states of tapu and noa depending on the occasion, situation, or ritual that is being conducted at the time (Walker, 1992). Temporality, for Māori, is an important feature of space because it looks beyond conceptualizations of space as static, physical entities, and recognizes the different states that spaces can be in across time. In considering Highbury as a space, we move beyond viewing the urban landscape as physical location populated with people and objects. We engage with the culturally-informed metaphysics of this neighbourhood that guide the conduct of everyday life there (Dreier, 2016; Højholt & Schraube, 2016). As theorised by Raban (1974), the ‘soft-city’ provides us with a conceptual tool to explore the urban landscape of Highbury from the perspective of urbanites who move about space in intentional and deliberate ways. This offers us a more complex understanding of the urban that goes beyond the ‘hard-city’, as a singular or mapped city. The perspectives of urbanites that make up the soft-city and the *strategies* (de Certeau, 1984) and architecture that denote the ‘hard-city’ (Raban, 1974) combine to make a lived urban milieu that Māori today are grappling with in attempting to inhabit space on their own terms.

As the lead author no longer lives in the area, field-trips were conducted as a means of gathering empirical material to inform our analysis. These field-trips centred on contact with five key informants who have lived or worked in Highbury for much of their lives. In the field, the lead author drew from a range of different methods in an attempt to bring Highbury to life so that readers could imagine themselves taking a strolling tour of this neighbourhood, which is likely an unfamiliar space for many (de Certeau, 1984). Reflective journaling was used to compile our different empirical materials that explored and presented accounts of everyday life within Highbury. This was also a place of self-reflection, where the lead author wrote himself into the accounts that were being collected. These reflections have been woven throughout our analysis and are presented using first person pronouns to denote the lead authors voice, such as “I” and “my”. We (the authors of this article) then employ the use of collective pronouns, such as “we” and “our,” to collectively unpack and theorise the lead author’s reflections.

We also employed photography to document key locales in Highbury and to emplace core social practices that carve out space within the urban to be Māori. Our use of visual methods is grounded in the idea that the meanings of such artefacts are negotiated between people and objects, and also individuals and wider social groupings (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007). Conversations and participation in everyday social practices were crucial ways of engaging with these negotiated meanings. During these moments of interaction, the lead author recorded the conversation to facilitate later analysis. Embracing the dynamics of etic and emic elements of the study, journal entries and other material generated for this research were shared with the research team. We then worked on making sense of these empirical materials collectively and to help the lead author de-familiarise himself whilst bringing insider insights to the fore. Through this analytic process we adopted the position of ‘researcher-as-bricoleur’ as conceptualised by Lévi-Strauss (1962). We work to craft knowledge of cultural life in Highbury by creatively piecing together snippets from direct observations, extensive ethnographic field notes, interviews, and the lead author’s participation in aspects of community life there.

Auntie’s house as cultural enclave for being Māori

Our analysis begins by foregrounding the spatial and cultural movement of Māori from rural areas into Highbury. We consider how Māori families bring their own histories, experiences, knowledge, and cultural ways-of-being with them into this urban environment during the process of urban migration (cf. Angelo, 2017). Consideration of this movement provides us a conceptual backdrop to our analysis and interpretation of contemporary life in Highbury. It allows us to couch our research findings within the broader procession of events and human action that has unfolded and shaped life for Māori in Highbury today (cf. Dreier, 2016; Højholt & Schraube, 2016). To provide visual context to the kinds of homes that have become emblematic of Māori life within the city, the photo below (figure 4) depicts a group of state houses that are typical within Highbury and many other urban Māori neighbourhoods within New Zealand.

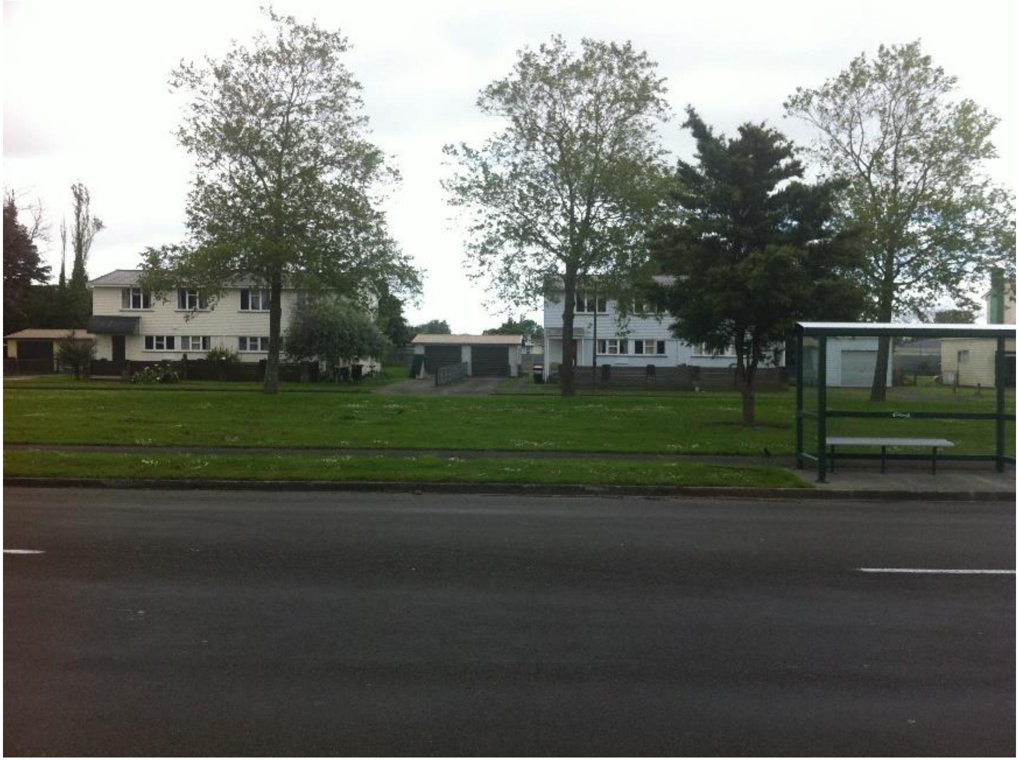

Figure 4. State houses in Highbury (22.11.2015).

In a conversation with a first generation elder who has lived in Highbury most of her life, we discussed the early days of the Highbury neighbourhood and the Māori families who moved into and made lives in this area during the 1950s. Below, Aunty (pseudonym) outlines the importance that culturally-patterned relationships had in making this urban space a place to be Māori:

> Why do we all live in Highbury? Because these were all my whānau that all came from out in the country. That's why, to us, it's quite special, Highbury. So that's my special thing about being in Highbury, is that, in my time, it was all my family that lived here. So it was almost like the marae [cultural epi-centre] came into the city.

As part of the Government's policy to urbanise, Māori were relocated into places such as Highbury that were designed to suit the cultural practices and needs of the settler society. Key features were residential areas populated by detached three bedroom homes, which reflect colonial cultural norms towards the nuclear family. The nuclear family is a relatively foreign concept for Māori, as family is culturally understood by Māori to be made up of wider systems of kinship that can include aunties, uncles, cousins, and grandparents (Mead, 2003). Pointed out in Auntie's quote, the marae moving into the city highlights the continuation of Māori ways of inhabiting space and being, and as these families have made the city home, the urban environment itself has become textured to better meet the needs of Māori.

The marae is a traditional Māori spatial formation for everyday communal living that is based on kinship systems of extended families, sub-tribal groups, and broader tribal affiliations (Walker, 1992). It consists of physical structures, such as sleeping quarters, meeting spaces, food and ablution facilities. Marae are governed by Māori metaphysics of space that guide appropriate conduct within the different contexts and the different situations and rituals that change the way physical spaces are used across time. In contemporary terms, the marae commonly refers to the physical space and structures, however, as Te Awekotuku (1996) explains: "*For it is a Maori belief that wherever Maori people gather for Maori purposes and with the appropriate Maori protocol, a marae is formed at that time, unless it is contested*" (p. 35). Thus, the marae can jointly refer to a space and to the people who conduct their everyday lives in culturally nuanced ways within that space.

A variant of the marae space has morphed into what is colloquially referred to as auntie's, nan's (grandmother's), uncle's, or koro's (grandfather's) house, or some other person's home who maintains Māori cultural values within their house. The significant features of such spaces are that they embrace Māori values of manakitanga (care and hosting others) and whanaungatanga (kinship, sense of familial connection), and offer locales that support Māori ways-of-being. Below, an excerpt from the lead author's field notes provides an account of the daily on goings within the space of auntie's house:

> This home always has people coming and going, particularly after school; the place can swell to a couple dozen people. It is a home base for many, a meeting point, a place of continuity within a highly transient community. The continuity of the home and the people who dwell within it provide a space where you can always know that you can go to and connect with. Although in such low socio-economic areas material resources are limited, there is always an offer of tea, coffee, and a kai [food/meal] when you come back to auntie and uncle's house (Reflections 3rd December 2015).

Within a broader landscape designed to meet the needs of the settler society and Pākehā (European settlers and their descendants) ways of inhabiting space, locales like auntie's house stand as exemplary spaces of care (cf. Conradson, 2003) that provide cultural respite to simply be Māori (King et al. 2015). While dealing with the socio-economic pressures of modern urban life and the cultural disconnection that comes with life in the city, many Māori find it difficult to go back to their often rural and distant homelands. In the meantime, auntie's house provides a place to be Māori with others, at least for a while.

During the early phases of urbanization (1940s – 1960s), connections with the rural homelands were maintained by Māori who moved into the cities, particularly during special occasions such as tangihanga (Māori death ritual) and birthdays (Walker, 2004). Places like auntie's house can be understood as an initial texturing of the urban as a space to be Māori. Specifically within Highbury, almost four decades of urban migration took place before a formal marae was constructed (see Figure 5). As a physical structure within the city, the urban marae is an aesthetically bold statement of belonging that overtly textures the broader environment. Marae, more generally, have been described as beachheads of Māori resistance to colonial practices and are a physical manifestation of Māori identities being asserted into the world (Walker, 2004). These are entrenched points of cultural continuity, connectedness, and reproduction within the city. Such urban marae are of particular importance for Māori born within the city, as they provide a local space where those who were not brought up on the marae could go and be Māori.

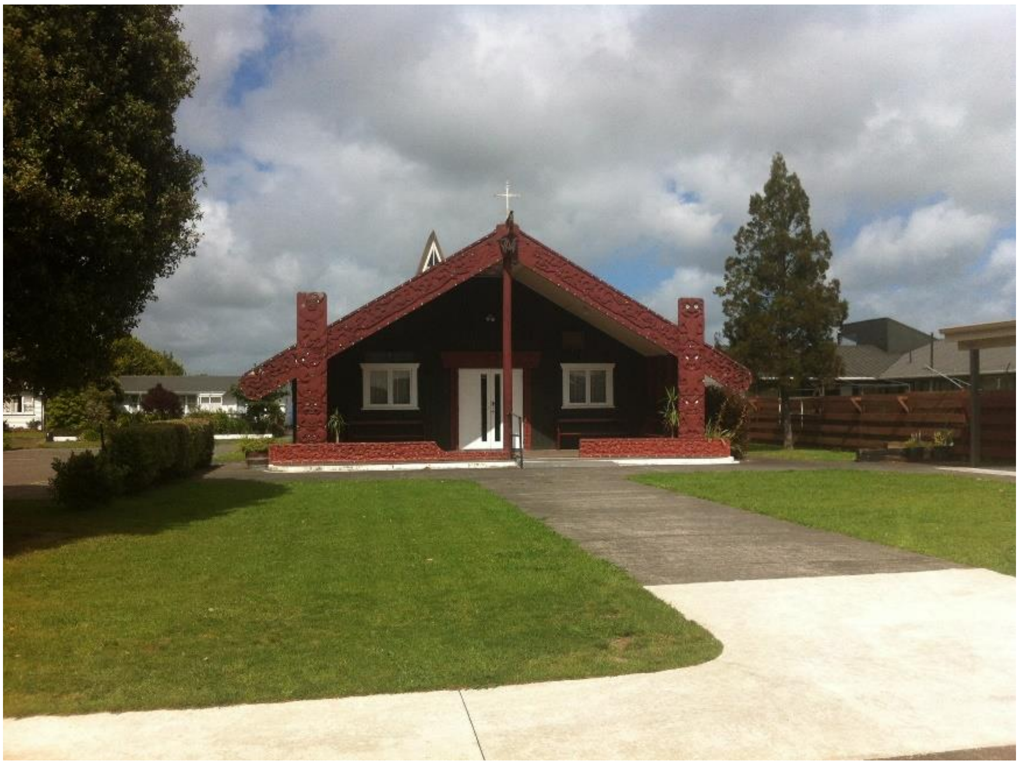

Figure 5. Saint Michael's marae Highbury (21.11.2015).

In light of the fragmenting effects colonization and urbanization have had in scattering Māori social groups (Mead, 2003), auntie's house and urban marae epitomise the emplacement of Māori culture and selves within urban landscapes of settler society. These locales function as enclaves for preserving, reproducing, and continuing Māori ways-of-being somewhere new. In the following sections, we move out from auntie's house to explore the urban neighbourhood, and examine how the urban itself becomes a place to be Māori.

Shifts in social practices within the urban landscape

Māori ways-of-being have not simply been eliminated through assimilation into the settler society that came with urbanization. This is because Māori have created new opportunities for being Māori through simple acts such as collecting, cooking, and sharing food. Such occasions do not happen by chance, but arise from deliberate human actions that maintain Māori ways of existing somewhere new. In this section, we build upon our conceptualization of social practice as providing opportunities to bring forth Māori ways of existing within the world by shifting our focus to how such practices have become embedded within the urban landscape of Highbury. As we will show, the efforts of urban Māori to emplace the self within a space of colonial design act to retexture urban spaces, rendering these more hospitable to Māori ways-of-being

Food is often central to Māori cultural practices and enactments of tradition and shared ways-of-being (King et al. 2015; Mead, 2003). Below, we extend our stroll through the hard city in search of a meal, and in doing so, bring aspects of the soft city as co-envisioned by local urbanites to the surface (Højholt & Schraube, 2016; Raban, 1974). Food and its associated practices offer a material focal point for exploring the functioning of the soft city, as such practices are moored to spaces like auntie's house. We pay particular attention to the boil-up pot, an everyday object that can be found in most Māori homes, communities, and marae kitchens. The social practices that coalesce around the boil-up pot originated from rural Māori communities and have been brought into Highbury. As cultural traditions and ways-of-being can be lived through the use of objects in everyday life, detailed consideration of social phenomena that are brought into being through engagements with the boil-up pot can enrich our understanding of Māori ways of shaping the urban landscape. More importantly, situating the boil-up – as an iconic Māori dish – within a procession of agentive human action allows us to explore the adaptation and development of social practices for being Māori in the city.

Prior to urbanization and in rural settings, the boil-up (see figures 6 and 7) was a dish prepared with ingredients found and grown on one's own land. It is a dish common among Māori that generally consists of bone-in meat, root vegetables, leafy greens, and sometimes a flour based dumpling called dough-boys that are boiled together in a pot. The boil-up is both a means of maintaining cultural ways of caring for one another through food and a response to the economic and material hardships that has come with colonization and urbanization. There is no one recipe for this dish and there are many variations on the common theme of the dish, reflecting what is readily available within a given area. Regardless, the boil-up is seen as a traditional Māori dish that transcends time and space whilst maintaining a sense of connectedness to tribal geographies and culture.

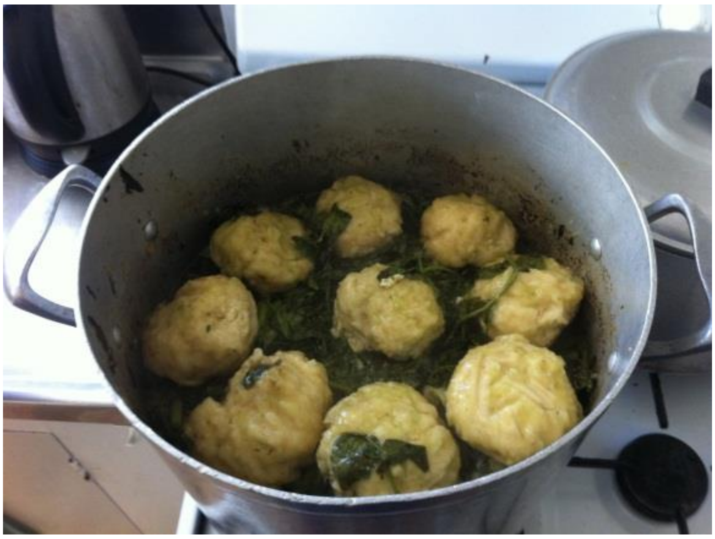

Figure 6. The boil-up pot (23.11.2015).

Figure 7. Sitting down for lunch with the whānau (23.11.2015).

With the transition from the rural to the urban, the boil-up has undergone a number of changes. Of particular significance to our research are the changes that have come about in the preparation of the dish due to the structural constraints that have been imposed by life within the city. Although the capacity to live off, and connect to, the land was diminished for Māori who migrated to the city, Māori have found ways to maintain their social practices for being Māori. For example, Aunty, who was among the first Māori families to move into Highbury in the 1950s, explains the way the boil-up was done in her family:

> We used to go out for Sunday drives. I remember dad taking us out, and all it was, we were going out looking for kai [food], we'd go looking for puha [a green leaf vegetable grown from the land]. We'd sit in the car and then we'd run alongside them with the bags, and they'd be filling the bags up. Then they'd go to the butchers and then we'd be going home with all this kai (6th October 2016).

From the time of urban migration around the 1950s up until the early 1990s, a number of butchers and shops in the Palmerston North area would give away off-cuts of pork, beef, and mutton because butchers saw these as unpalatable and unprofitable. Many Māori families within Highbury however, took advantage of this opportunity, including the lead author's own family. With the addition of foraged greens as outlined in our participant quote, all that needed to be purchased to complete the meal were potatoes.

Another important source of food in the Palmerston North area was watercress, a leafy vegetable similar to puha but grown in waterways, creeks, and rivers. In the areas surrounding Highbury, there is a network of creeks and rivers and, during the 1950s up until the 1970s, these waterways provided an abundance of watercress, and other food types like eels, that were harvested by Māori. This allowed urban Māori families to maintain their cultural customs and spiritual connections with the land and waterways, despite a physical dislocation from their traditional tribal geographies where such practices usually took place. However, with residential intensification and the increased pollution of the waterways, the watercress began to disappear during the 1970s and families had to venture out of the city if they wanted to forage for greens, adding further economic pressures. The loss of the watercress was not just a calorific loss. It was also a lost opportunity for the enactment of the cultural practices that were structured around the watercress, such as the sharing of food gathering skills and knowledge, the telling of stories, and simply time spent bonding. Furthermore, from the mid-1990s, local butchers no longer gave away free off-cuts of meat, as the neoliberal drive to maximise profits and increase competitiveness changed the way many businesses operated. Aunty recounts the transitional shift between land-based and 'shop-based' provision of the boil-up ingredients, to the eventual dependence on, and absorption into, the consumer economy:

> We've been stripped, really, over time. Māori have been stripped of kai. Stripped of all the resources that we relied upon. I guess you could say it like that. And even when I was growing up [1950s and 1960s], they [shop keepers] used to throw away mince, they used to call it dog food and all that kind of stuff. Fish heads, and we used to go and get it all for free from the butcher. Mum would say "alright, go down to the blah blah blah, he's waiting for you, go and get it" we'd go and collect it and that was our source of food. Now, you go and buy them, pork trotters, pork bones (6th October 2016).

In contemporary times, the ingredients of boil-up are mostly purchased and are priced such that it is no longer seen as cheapest way of feeding the family. As economic pressures increase for people in places like Highbury, the boil-up, as an opportunity that gives rise to cultural reproduction, has become more difficult to maintain. However, it has been maintained by some whānau and local networks in Highbury in particular, and in other Māori communities more generally. The boil-up remains a means of re-membering[12] material practices for connecting back to natural and cultural environments. In this way, although increasingly harder to achieve, the boil-up offers more than food.

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[12] A practical, non-cognitive, way of re-joining cultural traditions through social practices (Sutton, 2014).

Being more than just a dish, the boil-up becomes an event, opportunity, and space to engage others, to care for and be cared for by others, and to strengthen affiliations and solidarity as Māori. Cooking a boil-up is often a joint cultural venture as people contribute ingredients to the pot. One person might get the potatoes or kumara (sweet potato), another will get the watercress, puha or cabbage, someone else the pork bones and off-cuts, and another will provide the kitchen facilities. Contributing to the pot maintains social connectedness and can traverse the physical distances Māori have increasingly experienced during processes of urbanization:

> On my way down from Taupō [to Palmerston North], my sister and brother in law gave me a bag of kai to give to the whānau in Palmy. A trout, some smoked eel, a bag of pāua [abalone] and a loin of wild pork. Getting into town on the weekend was good timing, as the flea market was on, and we could go get some watercress to go with the pork (Reflections 3rd December 2015).

Contributing to the pot in these ways preserves relationships and ways-of-being that predate the imposed monetary system of the settler society. As argued by Simmel (1903/2003), money within the modern economy changes the relationship between people through the reduction of complex qualitative values to units of comparability. Shared meals and the social practices that surround the boil-up demonstrate resistance to the reductive tendencies of colonial economic structures. The pot and the meal in the pot are a material way of caring for others while also offering opportunities to strengthen the metaphysical connectedness we feel as Māori.

Although many urban Māori within Highbury did not have land to farm and animals to raise, they found ways to continue the food practices that they were raised with on their tribal lands prior to urbanization. However, these practices have not been preserved in an exacting way and have evolved through necessity as a way of making do with the limited resources afforded to them by modern urban life (de Certeau, 1984). When going back to visit family in Highbury, one of the ways I contribute to this urban place and its people is to cook a boil-up. I learned how to make boil-up and doughboys (a flour based dumpling) from my father, who was raised on our traditional rural lands of the Hokianga region before relocating to Palmerston North during the 1980s. In this way, I continued the cultural ways-of-being that were brought to the city by my family and maintained with other Māori families within the Highbury community. This is because such traditional dishes elicit intense feelings of cultural and familial connection. More than just the food itself are the relationships that give rise to moments of shared meals where the Māori cultural values of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga are able to be lived out in the now, which connects to other such moments backwards in time. Building on the changes to the physical landscape of Highbury and its impacts on social practices, we now shift our attention to consider the more recent changes to the economic landscape that has continued to compel Māori to adapt to life within the city.

Retexturing the urban as a cultural enclave to reassemble the self as Māori

With the adoption of neoliberal economic policies by the New Zealand government in the late 1980s and 90s, additional pressures have compounded the long term effects that colonization and urbanization have already imposed on Māori (Ajwani et al. 2003). Many Māori families in low socio-economic urban communities, like Highbury, experienced an incremental shift from subsistence practices to dependant market consumerism when adapting to life in the city. Colonial and globalist neoliberal economic structures have compelled Māori to become dependent on the very system that eroded their socio-economic independence (cf. Jackson, 2007). These changes took place over multiple generations and continue to shape the way Māori lives are lived today. With the march of time, subsequent generations of Māori born within urban areas like Highbury find it difficult to inhabit place (cf. Lobo, 2017) in the ways their parents did. Being Māori in the city has evolved rapidly, and social practices have had to adapt to fit the changing landscape. As we argued in our previous section using the boil-up as an example, contemporary urban Māori food practices are increasingly conducted at the supermarket through the medium of money. Consequently, as economic pressures increase, the cost of cultural reproduction and [re]connection also increases and, often, this cost cannot be met. This does not mean that the culture is lost. Rather, Māori culture manifests in ways more conducive within changing contexts.

A major point of contact with the emerging consumer based economy for Māori living in Highbury was at the local shops. Constructed in the 1960s, these shops (depicted in figures 8 and 9), became, and still remain, a central feature of the Highbury community. With the shift to private rentals and purchasing of food, the increased dependence on money wove Māori into the fabric of consumerism and modern life. Or as Walker (2004) puts it: “The universal culture of capitalism is what integrates Māori into the social mainstream of Pakeha society” (p. 198).

However, this 'integration' was not at the expense of the complete loss of one's own culture, but rather a necessary adaptation required to cope with the realities of life in urban spaces.

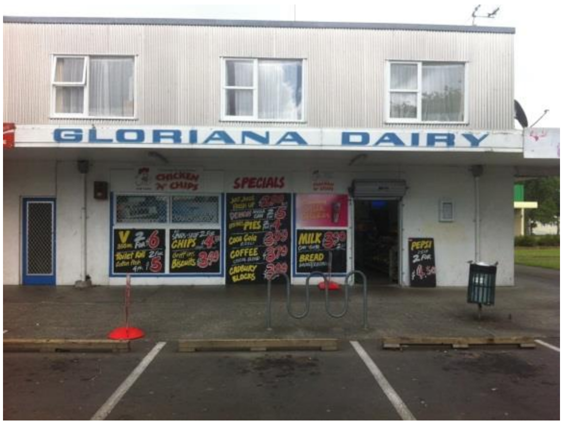

Figure 8. Gloriana dairy, Highbury, Palmerston North (23.11.2015).

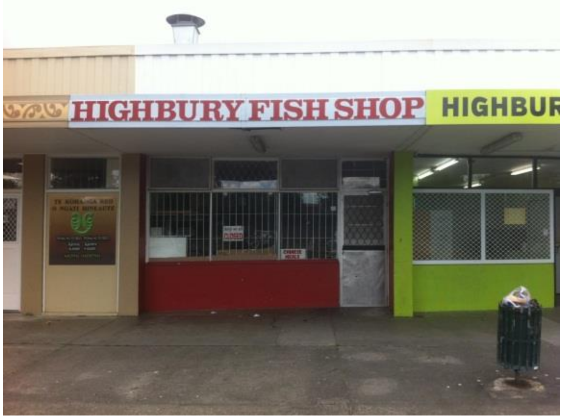

Figure 9. Uncle Charley's fish and chip shop, Highbury, Palmerston North (23.11.2015).

My (first author) earliest memories are of my upbringing in Highbury during the 1990s. It was at this time that that the food practices that maintained the connection Māori had with the natural environment, outlined in the previous section, became increasingly difficult to maintain. However, the Māori cultural value of manaakitanga (the caring for others) continued through the adaption of social practices that are structured around food. The local fish and chip shop took the place of the creeks and the puha patches, as it was a cheap and easy way to feed friends and family amidst the financial hardships faced in places like Highbury. Depicted below, figures 10 and 11 provide an example of how the cultural values and way of connecting and caring for others that are lived out through the boil-up have been adapted in response to the shifting economic landscape of the urban. In this case, pork bones have become saveloy sausages and deep fried potato chips from the local fish and chip shop have taken the place of the puha, watercress, and other vegetables.

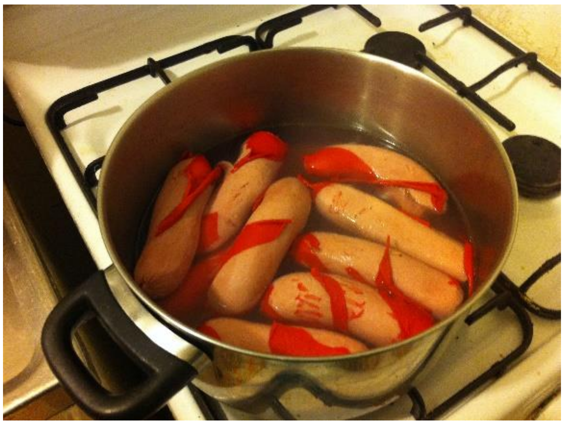

Figure 10. Boiling saveloys for dinner (25.11.2015).

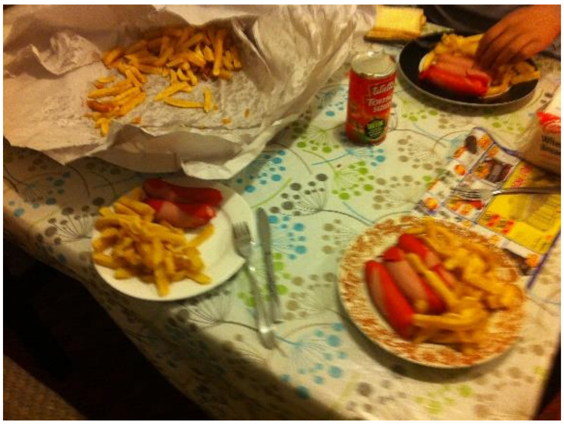

Figure 11. Saveloys from the pot, chips from the shop, and tomato sauce (25.11.2015).

The practical and economic realities of the fish and chip shop mean that you are able to feed three or four people with a \$10 pack and a \$1 loaf of bread. Particularly when one of your friends or family members had little money for food, the \$10 pack from the fish and chip shop was a way that people could pool what little they had at the time to ensure that everyone got a decent feed and was taken care of, mirroring the co-operative ways of contributing to the boil-up pot. The significance of the fish and chip shop – as a site where Māori values have become emplaced – within low socio-economic areas like Highbury was something that was recognised by social services and youth workers in Highbury:

> A family friend told me a story about his early days training as a youth worker. He recalled the best advice he received from one of his mentors for working with Māori youth on the street. The advice was to always keep some salt and a bottle of tomato sauce in his van at all times, and that when trying to strike up a conversation with someone he thought needed help, to ask them "Hey! Where's the best fish and chip shop around here?" This question would then be followed up with an invitation to go and get a feed together (Reflections 11th October 2016).

On the surface, the possession of tomato sauce and curiosity surrounding the location of quality takeaway food could be seen as quite trivial. However, these actions only seem banal when they are not seen in relation to the ways in which the urban landscape itself has been textured by Māori ways-of-being. The excerpt above outlines one such way that whanaungatanga (the building and maintaining of relationships) through manaaki (care) and aroha (love and compassion) is lived out within urban spaces. The mundane action of sourcing fish and chips is an attempt to replicate Māori cultural practices of manaaki and aroha through what is available within the city.

Through the examples just outlined, we can see how these shops are more than just a point for consumer transactions, but a place textured by Māori values that can been seen in other spaces, such as Auntie's house. Like Auntie's house, these shops afford a space where Māori can gain some continuity of being through the transplanting of Māori tikanga (customs, traditions) into colonial landscapes. It is important, here, that we pause on the notion of culture, as the Māori culture that is lived within the urban landscape, particularly in low socio-economic areas, cannot be understood solely from a single tribal perspective. The Māori culture evident in places like Highbury come from a diverse range of tribal traditions, as urbanization has scattered tribal populations throughout the many urban centres of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Mead, 2003). For Māori living in Highbury, the right to the city is anchored in the traditions of Rangitane (local Māori tribe in the Palmerston North area), but also informed by a number of other tribal traditions that were brought into the city through the process of urbanization. Being Māori in the city, then, becomes an ad-hoc process of making do with what is culturally, spiritually, and economically available at hand (cf. de Certeau, 1984):

> In the area I grew up [Highbury], there were many Māori who came from many different tribal backgrounds. On one end of the spectrum, some had links back to their tribal homes, knew their iwi [tribe], hapū [sub-tribe], marae [cultural epi-centre], and were actively involved in their traditional tribal community. At the other end of the spectrum, some just knew they were Māori, with statements like: "I'm from somewhere on the East coast [of New Zealand] I think" and did not have links to iwi and hapū groups. Their identity was Māori with little in the way of tribal details. Despite this continuum, being Māori brought us together and we shared our Māori cultural ways-of-being with each other. Often, we did not have an abundance of iwi and/or hapū specific tikanga [traditional practices] and kawa [protocols] to build and maintain our distinctive tribal identities, so a general sense of being Māori was our way of dealing with displacement, urbanization, and de-culturalization (Reflections 26th May 2015).

> Over time and generations, the distinct tribal ties are sometimes lost, and a general sense of shared identity across a diverse range of tribal identities

> blend into a more modern form of being Māori (Reflections 3rd December 2015).

Like the boil-up that has no set recipe – rather a reflection of what people could contribute to it at that time – being Māori within the city can be understood as a process of people contributing the shared values, knowledge, skills, traditions, histories, and culture that their families had brought into the city to the social milieu of Highbury. As material practices have changed and urban spaces retextured in order to accommodate being Māori in the city, changes have also taken place to what it means to *be* Māori.

Discussion

In traversing the streets of Highbury, we have explored aspects of the ways that Māori have taken to the city and how the Māori self has been re-envisioned within a new locale. Our field work stands in contrasts to the persistent 19th century view that defines the urban "against a non-urban outside" (Angelo, 2017, p. 158). As we have argued, the rapid urbanization of Māori brought aspects of rural life into the city, meaning that contemporary urban spaces within New Zealand, and possibly elsewhere, cannot be characterised and understood simply in contrast to the 'non-urban outside'. Urban scholars and geographers have made use of the concept of assemblage to decentralise the city in our thinking of the urban by shifting our focus to the emergent relationships between people, spaces, and objects that make up life worlds of those who dwell within the city (McFarlane, 2011). This move frees us from categorising Māori in relation to conventional definitions of the urban that are prevalent within the Global North (Sheppard et al. 2013), and also allows us to follow social groups themselves as they move across space and assemble in new locations (cf. Højholt & Schraube, 2016). Our field work shows that being Māori within the city is a process of assembling the self from what has socially, culturally, and materially been brought into, and what is available within, the city (de Certeau, 1984). For Māori today, connections to the rural homelands – whether physically, in memory, or lived out by subsequent generations at auntie's house – remain central to the make-up of the urban landscape.

Drawing on the concept of the conduct of everyday life has allowed for the positioning of our empirical observations and participant accounts within a broader process of human activity that spans space, time, and beyond (Dreier, 2016; Højholt & Schraube, 2016; Marsden, 2003). Conceptualised within processes, objects like the boil-up pot and spaces like auntie's house and the Highbury shops can be seen as sites that provide opportunities for being Māori within the routine and rhythm of everyday lives. As life within the city for Māori has been characterised by social upheavals, cultural disruptions, and economic uncertainties, these precious opportunities for being Māori are in a state of flux, being forced to adapt and respond to the shifting landscapes. As Perera (2002) notes, imagination plays a crucial role in adapting social practices of Indigenous peoples to be more conducive within colonial society. Our field work has documented some of the imaginative ways in which urban Māori maintain culturally-patterned relationships and ways-of-being through food by foraging within both natural and economic landscapes. In the process, Māori emplace cultural values into the physical and socio-economic landscape of the city itself. In considering the evolution of urban Māori food practices across time and in response to structures of colonialism, our findings demonstrate that being Māori is not a standalone or static enactment. Rather, it is a daily process of becoming Māori through taking hold of opportunities for cultural reproduction that have been emplaced within the urban landscape by those who cultivated Māori cultural practices and ways-of-being into the city.

Lastly, we have explored the vital role that culturally informed social practices play in enabling and strengthening metaphysical connections within and beyond the natural world as an essential element of being Māori. The social practices enacted by Māori urbanites to retain Māori ways-of-being can be understood as composing a broader counter-strategy of resistance to the structures and strategies of colonialism. By enacting and emplacing social practices as a counter-strategy to the continued imposition of colonial structures, Māori carve out spaces to be and to become Māori within the conduct of everyday life (Højholt & Schraube, 2016). Neighbourhoods like Highbury need to be understood as more than just impoverished suburbs. There is more to Highbury than the challenges of being impoverished. Highbury constitutes a cultural enclave that has been actively cultivated by Māori for generations in an effort to reproduce Māori cultural selves within the city.

Chapter 5: [Re]connecting with Māori ways-of-being.

The emplacement of Māori social practices in sites like Aunty's house and the local fish shop as outlined in the previous chapter demonstrates some of the ways in which Māori make do with what is available within the urban in order to maintain a Māori sense of self amidst broader inequalities. However, forging strong ties to contexts such as Highbury does not preclude Māori from also maintaining ties to our hau kāinga. Correspondingly, in chapter 5 my focus moves out beyond the urban environment to document and reflect on the efforts of my siblings and I to [re]connect and strengthen our tribal ties back to our ancestral homelands and communities. Grounded in Kaupapa Māori theory and a Māori view of the world (Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; Smith, 2012), I present accounts of how these home engagements come to feature in our everyday lives within urban settings and work to further strengthen our collective sense of being Māori. Chapter 5 also emphasises the importance of research that prioritises culturally-patterned engagements with whānau, hapū, and iwi members as a basis from which to understand processes of [dis]connection and reconnection. These efforts work towards producing knowledge that remains recognisable to Māori as relevant to our actual ways-of-being and conducting our lives together.

Chapter 5 contributes to conceptual understandings of Indigenous [dis]connection by centralising the Māori cultural concept of whakapapa as a basis of understanding broader processes of [re]connection (cf. Mahuika, 2009). Drawing on formal and informal auto-ethnographic techniques to detail my engagements, chapter 5 presents a case study documenting how participation in social practices and cultural ways-of-being can enact whakapapa connections (Rua et al. 2017). Chapter 5 also highlights the importance of mundane activities in processes of [re]connection that go beyond the occasional participation in major cultural events or ritualised engagements such as tangihanga (cf. Højholt & Schraube, 2016).

An important conceptual point central to both chapters 4 and 5 is that research that explores emplaced Māori subjectivities needs to avoid the strict categorization between urban and rural settings, as Māori everyday lives are often stretched across such settings (cf. Angelo, 2017). Chapter 5 speaks to this issue of dual locatedness by documenting how becoming involved with the social practices of ancestral home places can function as a means of dealing with the stretching of contemporary Māori selves that are also often located across rural home lands and urban settings that many of us also now call home (Cassim, Stolte, Hodgetts, In Press;

Williams, 2015). In a more general sense, this chapter engages with ideas and issues of cultural [dis]connection as non-static phenomena through which one's sense of self often fluctuates across space and time.

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The woven self: An auto-ethnography of cultural disruption and connectedness.

Abstract: This current auto-ethnographic study is set against the backdrop of colonial policies of urbanization and cultural assimilation that continue to impact the everyday lives of Māori (Indigenous people of New Zealand). Colonial actions have brought about a state of mass disruption to Māori traditions of forming and maintaining connections between people, ancestral homelands, and ways-of-being. Today, many Māori continue to grapple with the social, cultural, and economic consequences that these upheavals have brought about. My aim within this research is to engage with how Māori preserve and maintain their cultural selves while being stretched across a diverse landscape of being that is populated by new urban and heritage rural spaces. Grounded in Kaupapa Māori theory and working in the spirit of culturally-patterned auto-ethnography, I offer a case study of my family's experiences of [dis]connection and our efforts to strengthen connections with our ancestral homelands, communities, and ways-of-being. As my analysis illustrates, the enactment of culturally-informed everyday social practices facilitates process of [re]connection and the strengthening of connections, and allows the reproduction of Māori selves across space and time. Furthermore, I argue that cultural connectedness can be deepened and enriched by going beyond the extraordinary moments of big events (ritualised engagements), and by becoming part of the ordinary and everyday reproduction of cultural traditions and values. This article contributes to broader understandings of how Indigenous peoples seek to work through and resist the ongoing impacts of colonial disruption.

Keywords: social practice, Māori, ways-of-being, colonization, urbanization.

Impact and Implications[13]**:** Aligning with SDG 11 in general and SDG 11.4 in particular, this article demonstrates how enactments of culturally-informed everyday social practices facilitates broader processes of Indigenous [re]connection and the strengthening of connections admits histories of colonial disruptions, such as urbanization and cultural assimilation. My findings document how cultural connectedness can be deepened and enriched by going beyond extraordinary moments – such as large cultural events and ritualised engagements – through becoming part of the ordinary and everyday reproduction of cultural traditions and values. This research speaks to issues many Indigenous peoples currently experience regarding the social and cultural upheavals that have come with colonization, and the efforts of many to preserve the socio-cultural structures that foster the health and wellbeing of Indigenous communities as outlined in SDG 11.

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[13] This paragraph is part of the Journal of International perspectives in Psychology's requirements to outline how my research aligns with the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's).

Introduction

Like many Indigenous peoples globally, the history of Māori (Indigenous people of New Zealand) within New Zealand is marred by colonial disruption to cultural, legal, educational, and economic institutions, and tribal social structures (Hill, 2009; Hokowhitu, 2011; Nikora, 2007). The consequential urbanization of many Māori in the mid-20th century, in search of work and education, has also resulted in opportunities for paid employment as well as numerous socio-cultural upheavals that Māori are still grappling with today (Mead, 2003; Walker, 2004). As time has passed, many from generations born in the city experience increasingly tenuous links with their ancestral places of origin and have been compelled to find new ways of assembling Māori selves with colonial urban landscapes (King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Morgan, 2018). As well as developing new ways-of-being Māori in the city, many have also looked to their ancestral home places to re-strengthen connections with tribal heritages and the practices of their ancestors. There is a consensus within the literature that Māori maintaining connections with whānau (nuclear and extended family), hapū (kinship group), marae (Māori cultural epi-centre of community), and iwi (a confederation of kinship groups) are important aspects of Māori health and well-being (Durie, 1994; Kingi, 2011; Rewi, 2011; Rua, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2017). However, efforts at remaining connected, which provide the core focus of this study, are not always straightforward or viable for everyone.

In this context, thinking around cultural connection, [dis]connection, and reconnection often invokes the complexity of everyday lives of urban Māori. Consideration of these issues also invokes the importance of place as a concept for understanding the psychology of Māori ways-of-being and adjustments to life in the settler society and Māori world (King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Morgan, 2017). Issues of colonialism, the loss of land, and mass urbanization disrupt historical connections to place for whānau, such as mine who have urbanised, and give rise to new means for mobile populations to maintain their sense of self across space and time; new urban settings and rural homelands. To elaborate, Māori living within urban landscapes, often referred to as ‘urban Māori’, are characterised as being disconnected from ‘traditional’ Māori spaces, such as marae and tribal homelands, which are predominantly (but not always) located in rural areas. Although there is some sense to this, it also glosses over the nuanced, lived experiences of being Māori that many are able to maintain while living away from their ancestral homelands. A vital detail to recognise is that experiences of disconnection cannot be seen as absolute. There are degrees and shades of [dis]connection that are felt, and subsequently responded to, in unique and diverse ways. While the movements of Māori from their homelands bear little resemblance to transnational migration, the field of migration scholarship offers a potentially relevant exploration of the tenuousness of cultural connection across space by arguing that when people leave their homelands, or are even born away from these home places, they are not automatically disconnected in an absolute sense. Rather, people become *stretched* across space, highlighting the point that places cannot be seen as bounded, separate entities within a world that is becoming increasingly interconnected (Cassim, Stolte, & Hodgetts, In Press).

Connections to place are important to understanding how Māori connect meaningfully with each other within the world (Marsden, 2003; Walker, 1992). Embedded within culturally significant places, such as marae, tribal landmarks, and ancestral homelands for centuries, are social practices that reproduce cultural ways-of-being and relating to one another in the conduct of everyday life (Højholt & Schraube, 2016; King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Te Whetu, 2015). Social practices embody collective routines that are often tied to particular places, comprising bold expressions of cultural connectedness (Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Reckwitz, 2002). These practices often include physical acts that involve the use of particular material objects, such as hunting with weapons, butchering animals, and cooking together. Retaining a focus on the materiality of social practices within this research allows me to consider the sometimes abstract psychological experiences of connectedness and being in more practiced form (Hodgetts, Groot, Garden, & Chamberlain, 2017).

Moving away from abstractions and bounded entities is fitting in relation to the dynamics of connectedness for Māori, where the interconnectedness of self is apparent in Indigenous psychology. Central to understanding the dynamics of connectedness for Māori is work on the interconnected self in Indigenous psychology (Rua et al. 2017). For Māori, the self extends beyond the physical and mental dimensions indicative of Cartesian and Anglo-American/European psychology (King et al. 2017). It involves the social relationships that are maintained and strengthened through the reproduction of cultural customs, practices, and traditions (Nikora, Guerin, Rua, & Te Awekotuku, 2004; Rangihau, 1975/1992). Material objects embedded in customary practices, such as the boil-up pot, are imbued with cultural significance that facilitate everyday living, and in the process, manifest core cultural concepts (King et al. 2018). Metaphysical dimensions are also important, in that cultural practices reaffirm the connections Māori maintain with cosmological entities (and associated narratives) and ancestors that have come before them (Mead, 2003). Although Māori selves have cultural, material, relational, and metaphysical aspects, these dimensions are not separate as is conventionally thought in more Anglo-American/European systems of thought. Such categorisations compartmentalise and restrict detailed scholarly engagement with notions of Māori selves and all their complexities (Mika, 2015). In the context of these complexities, my arguments here are not an exhaustive account of the self from any particular Māori perspective. The account I provide serves the primary purpose of establishing a conceptual basis for readers to make sense of the auto-ethnographic work that I present later in this article. It is also about centralising the importance of culture and the social practices and places through which it is reproduced as a shared way-of-being and relating in a discipline, such as psychology, that struggles with accounting for differences.

Broadly speaking, the often trivial role that culture is given within ruling psychology[14] challenges understandings of Māori or in fact Indigenous connectedness in ways-of-being. For the better part of a century, psychology has moved slowly to include matters of culture into the core of the discipline in a genuine and meaningful manner (Hodgetts et al. 2010). Yet as Valsiner (2001) argues:

> Had the best intentions of Giambattista Vico, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Moritz Lazarus, Heyman Steinthal, Wilhelm Wundt, Oswald Külpe, Karl Bühler, Lev Vygotsky, Georg Simmel, Mikhail Bakhtin… really succeeded in the past, then there would be no need now for arguing about importance of culture in psychology (p. 6).

Still, the need persists. Culture is inseparable from the human condition (Harrell, 2015) and scholars have called for a more focused attention on the concept of culture (Kral et al. 2011). The particulars of how culture is incorporated within psychology and definitions of the concept remain highly contested. However, as Sonn, Rua, and Quayle (2019) note, the growing need and importance of culture as central to psychology is becoming widely recognised, as cultural concepts and values can provide "conceptual frameworks for understanding everyday life" (Nikora et al. 2017, p. 136). In order to develop scholarly understandings of how colonialism and urbanization has impacted on Indigenous peoples more generally, we must engage with people as inherently cultured beings.

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[14] Anglo-European American cultural approaches in psychology that are anchored in atomists and individualist, philosophies that dominate the global discipline of psychology (King et al. 2017; Groot, LeGrice, & Nikora, 2019).

This article is set against the backdrop of the colonial policies of urbanization and assimilation that continue to impact the everyday lives of urban Māori. My aim is to engage with how Māori, as inherently cultured beings, preserve and maintain their cultural selves while being stretched across a diverse landscape of being that is populated by new urban and heritage rural spaces. I draw primarily on the efforts of my siblings and myself to [re]connect and strengthen our tribal connections back to our ancestral homelands and explore how these engagements come to feature in our everyday lives within urban settings as well. Our case provides the exemplar for my efforts to theorise processes of Māori connectedness and to broaden contemporary understandings of how Māori endure and seek to address the disruptions that have come with colonization and urbanization. More broadly, this article speaks to the shared experiences of numerous other Indigenous groups who have their own histories of colonial disruption, and who also seek to address these social and cultural upheavals within disciplines like psychology.

The present case study and my approach

My approach within this research was grounded in Kaupapa Māori Theory. Born out of a need to move beyond Eurocentric and individualistic orientations of research that have historically and continue to be impose *on* Māori, Kaupapa Māori Theory assert a Māori worldview as the appropriate and necessary starting point for conducting research *with* Māori (Pihama, 2012; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; Smith, 1998). Within my research, Kaupapa Māori Theory has allowed me to prioritise culturally patterned engagement with whānau, hapū, and iwi members that are anchored in the core Māori values of manaakitanga (to care for others) and whanaungatanga (the building and maintaining of relationships). This approach departs from dominant Eurocentric research practices that centralise ridged adherence to physical sciences inspired methods by recognising power dynamics within society that shape and influence the kind of research that is often conducted *on* Māori and other Indigenous groups. As Māori experience extensive marginalisation within New Zealand society, it is important that my research be positioned in relation to the dominance of knowledge production practices within the settler culture of New Zealand and global discipline of psychology (Teo, 2010). In short, Kaupapa Māori Theory provides a cultural basis from which to understand and interpret processes of [dis]connection and reconnection and to work towards producing knowledge that remains recognisable to Māori as relevant to our actual ways-of-being and conducting our lives together.

This research is presented as a case-study (following Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012) designed to exemplify broader phenomena regarding Māori connectedness. I do this through detailed consideration of particular everyday moments and events (Hodgetts, King, Stolte, Rua, & Groot, Accepted/In press; Simmel, 1903/2003), such as cooking Māori bread, harvesting meat, walking the land, and picking watercress. The enactment of these social practices function to reproduce broader structures of cultural connectedness within the everyday that this research aims to participate in and document (cf. Hall, Slack, & Grossberg, 2016). My approach incorporates involvement, action and intervention, and through employing an engaged and culturally immersive approach to research *with* participants, we are able to consider how macro level trends are played out in a particular lifeworld (Levin & Ravn, 2007). This case-based approach affords an explorative effort to produce nuanced insights into the everyday lives of Māori [dis]connected through urbanization and our efforts to reconnect with ancestral homelands and cultural ways-of-being. In framing my account of our efforts to reconnect, I draw insights from Māori cultural concepts and scholarship as well as relevant international social science literature that enables me to link the specific (our case) as an exemplar with the general (urban Māori efforts to reconnect) (Hodgetts et al. 2017).

By way of further background to the reflexive case that forms the core focus of this article, I was born in a regional city called Palmerston North, New Zealand in the mid-1980s. My mother is of Pākehā (British and Scottish) descent and my father is Māori, descending from the iwi of Te Rarawa, a tribe from the northern region of Aotearoa's North Island, in an area known as the Hokianga. I was raised with an older brother and a younger sister, and although my father was a native speaker of te reo Māori (the Māori language) and had grown up in our ancestral homelands of the Hokianga, the Māori language was not a prominent in our family's day-to-day life. During my upbringing, my father was addressing his own issues of cultural [dis]connection having spent almost 20 years in the Army, living away from his tribal homelands since the age of 16. My siblings and I were born after he left the Army, and as my father began to strengthen his connections with the Māori world within urban life as a civilian, Māori cultural practices and values became more overt within our everyday lives.

Our family home was located in the area of Highbury in Palmerston North, a low socio-economic urban neighbourhood with a large Māori population. The tribal traditions, stories, practices and histories of the local Māori tribe within Palmerston North, known as Rangitane, coupled with our own tribal knowledge and practices of Te Rarawa, informed my family's understanding of being Māori within this urban setting. Tikanga (Māori values and custom) and kawa (protocols and procedures), particularly on the marae and during Māori rituals such as tangihanga (Māori death ritual), comprise the more pronounced ways in which my siblings and I were engaged in Māori activities. Given the considerable distance between Palmerston North and the Hokianga (approximately 850 kilometres), as well as the financial difficulties of coming from a low socio-economic background, returning to the Hokianga was difficult. However, my parents maintained our connections to the Hokianga as much as was practical. We knew where we were from, and we knew our marae and the whānau who maintain it.

As a result of my father's military service in Vietnam and exposure to Agent Orange – a highly toxic defoliant that was used in the war - he experienced a gradual deterioration in health over the course of decades that resulted in his death in 2000 when I was thirteen. We had no family on my father's side who lived in the Palmerston North area, so when he passed away, we lost the person who actively connected us to the Hokianga at the time. Like my father who experienced a level of disconnection from his tribal people of the Hokianga during his military service, my siblings and I experienced an even greater sense of disconnection from the Hokianga with his death. He was the bridge that connected us to our ancestral homelands and communities. As an adult, strengthening my connections to the Hokianga has been a challenge. In reflecting on issues of [re]connection I have come to realise that in a spiritual sense, I will always be connected to the Hokianga and that the enactments of this connection are processual and will fluctuate across time and place. I have become particularly mindful of my need to strengthen these ties with the recent birth of my two children, knowing that they will rely on me to connect them to the Hokianga. Together with my siblings – who also have young families – we have been taking opportunities to address our sense of [dis]connection by travelling back to our ancestral homelands regularly and involving ourselves in everyday tribal life as much as possible.

In seeking to document and make sense of our efforts to [re]connect, my research was conducted in the spirit of culturally-patterned auto-ethnography. Resisting approaches that emphasise distance between researchers, participants, and sites of research, auto-ethnographic techniques were employed in an effort to formulate knowledge from an insider's perspective (Buscatto, 2018). More specifically, my insider's perspective privileges Māori views and experiences of the world as a conceptual basis for understanding the complexities surrounding Māori urbanization, [dis]connection, and reconnection (cf. Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2017; Pihama et al. 2002). This involved embracing my entanglement in the issues under investigation and with my siblings as we go about the routines of everyday urban life and enacting connections with our ancestral homelands. I drew on what Kusenbach (2018) colloquially refers to as 'go-alongs', characterised as a form of mobile, ethnographic research method, which through participation and simply going along with participants, gains insights into the everyday lives of people and the broader social structures such lives are situated (Højholt & Schraube, 2016).

This study is primarily situated within my tribal homelands in the Hokianga, while also involving the many places I traverse in my everyday life, such as Palmerston North (where I grew up), Taupō (where much of my family now live), and Auckland (where I currently reside). With my siblings, who also reside within urban settings (Taupō and Hamilton), regular visits were collectively arranged over a period of three years as a way of building and maintaining our connections back to the Hokianga. These familial visits also served as fieldtrips that facilitated the collection of empirical materials both formally and informally. I also conducted field trips to Palmerston North and Taupō to document how Māori selves are reproduced across space and time through culturally germane social practices. Primarily, these familial visits were personal, from which conversations surrounding my research were later shared and negotiated with family and community members. Specifically, these conversations consisted of general 'catch-ups' and questions surrounding how I had been and what I had been doing more generally. My work as an academic would often come up within family discussions, which served as an opportunity to explain the presented research and their potential involvement within it.

As ethnographic researchers often utilises multiple research techniques (Banister, Bunn, & Burman, 2011), I employed reflective journaling as a means of detailing my engagements during my field work (Allport, 1942; Murray, 2018). Reflective journaling served as a medium for bringing together the different research materials and empirical observations, such as photographs, quotes from interviews, and notes that were produced during my time in the field. I have also drawn on photographic methods as an additional mode of depiction to explore and exemplify shared understandings of spaces, material objects, and social practices (Reavey & Johnson, 2017). My intention for employing the use of photography within this research was to spatialize and document my siblings and my engagement with the emplaced social practices of our ancestral home places. The images presented within this article do not speak for themselves. They require interpretation and explanations that are often speak out beyond the frame (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007), and which are negotiated with members of my whānau; evoking shared understandings, histories, traditions, relationships, and being (following Eberle, 2018). The image below (figure 12) provides an example of the culturally-grounded process through which much of my research was conducted. These photographs are cultural artefacts that function as metonyms for the conduct of our everyday lives and the reproduction of culture.

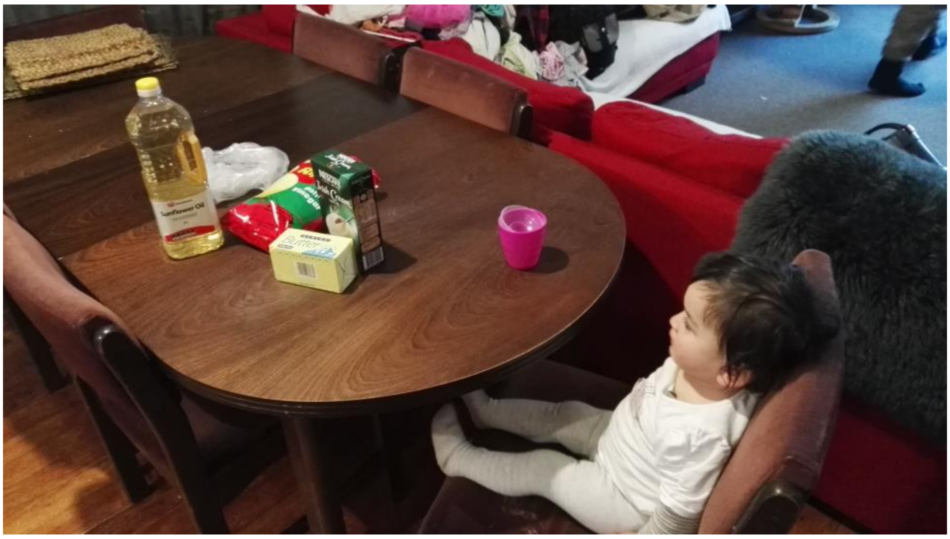

Figure 12. My niece sitting at the table with my contribution to the home: cooking oil, butter, coffee, and potato chips (11.09.2017).

On the table in figure 12 is a bottle of cooking oil, a block of butter, a packet of coffee, and some potato chips that I brought over to a family member's home during a visit. This gesture reflects cultural expectations and an ethics of reciprocity in the research process. It documents my efforts to contribute to the maintenance and continuity of the depicted space by providing supplies, work, or time towards the maintenance of home life. This photograph is an artefact of Māori cultural values of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga. It also reflects the importance of continuing Māori traditions in the conduct of research with Māori in their everyday lifeworlds. Enacting these cultural concepts through social practices, such as providing food and involving myself in daily household tasks, formed the foundations of my research by centralising the importance of culturally-patterned reciprocal relatedness in my empirical engagements (Rua et al. 2017). Through what may appear as rather trivial acts of reciprocity and associated interactions with whānau and hapū members, enactments of cultural tradition allow for a depth in conversation about cultural connectedness to come through during my fieldtrips. These culturally-patterned conversations and moments were documented in extensive field notes, which I analysed systematically along with interview transcripts and other photographs.

Specifically, my analysis involved making sense of 48 pages of field notes, two recorded whānau conversations, 229 photographs and numerous informal conversations with my siblings that centred on the time we had spent strengthening our connections with the Hokianga. A key thread across these materials was how we maintain a sense of connection with our tribal homelands within our urban lives and contemporary homes. In keeping with Kaupapa Māori theory and research (Pihama, 2012; Pihama et al. 2002; Smith, 2012), my interpretation of these materials was grounded in a Māori worldview, drawing on Māori cultural concepts, academic literature, and shared cultural narratives. Guided also by Lévi-Strauss' (1962) notion of the 'researcher as bricoleur' as a tool for analysis, I worked to piece together the fragments that each method and interaction offered in an effort towards producing nuanced insights into Māori understandings and experiences of cultural [re]connection (also see Markham, 2005). To act as a bricoleur means a departure from mechanised, prescribed, and procedural means of analysing research materials by working creatively to situate each of these materials within broader contexts of meaning. For example, my analysis of the Māori practice of fried bread in the following sections explore the materiality of cultural connectedness and reproduction across diverse locales amidst histories of coloniality. This analytical orientation goes beyond other forms of analysis within psychology, such as discourse analysis, that argue that meaning is contained within the empirical materials themselves (cf. Coyle, 2006). My analytic approach situates my empirical materials within Māori systems of meaning making as an essential analytic step in moving beyond the level of description to that of general insight concerning how Indigenous peoples seek to work through issues of disconnection that have come with colonization, cultural assimilation, and urbanization (cf. Hodgetts et al. In press).

My analysis begins with reflections on contemporary formations of Māori selves and the importance of connectedness to our ways-of-being that transcends simple notions of the urban-rural divide (see Angelo, 2017 on country/city binaries). The first section on *whakapapa and the woven self* is designed to orientate readers to the two subsequent analysis sections. The second, [*re]connecting with ancestral homelands and ways-of-being,* focuses on processes of reconnecting back to rural homelands. The third, *embodying Māori ways-of-being in the city*, focuses on linked everyday practices of [re]connection in the urban environment. It is important to not read the separation of rural and urban in this way of presenting my analysis as a strict distinction between two environments. In practice, many Māori live their lives and construct themselves as Māori across the rural urban divide. By exploring the conduct of everyday life as Māori stretch between places, I am able to foreground some of the complexities of continued connectedness to one's ancestral homelands from somewhere new.

Whakapapa and the woven self

Let me begin the analysis with a little more by way of orientation to an important cultural concept that aids Māori in traversing being across urban and rural environments. Within the Māori world, whakapapa is a central cultural concept for understanding processes of connection and reconnection. As Mahuika (2009) notes, the term whakapapa: “carries with it the ‘ultimate expression’ of who we are” (p 133). Although whakapapa is often translated in English to ‘genealogy’ – which is a crucial aspect of whakapapa – it is not limited solely to matters of biological descent. To reduce the concept to biological connection is to accept the influence of colonial philosophies that have reduced the scope of many such Māori concepts with calcified meanings that reflect the assumptions of Anglo-European/American philosophies (Mika, 2015). Whakapapa can be conceptualised as the basis of Māori “social, political, and economic systems of organisation” (Carter, 2006, p. 68), which affirm group identities and membership (Mead, 2003). Central here are genealogical links as well as social ties forged with other people and places with whom one does not necessarily share ancestral ties. This concept also encompasses personal entanglements with non-human entities, such as metaphysical deities and the natural environment (Mika, 2011).

Re-broadening the concept of whakapapa allows us to envisage the complex ways that Māori navigate the dialectics of connectedness through everyday social practices and associated interactions within landscapes comprised of physical, cultural, and spiritual relations and spaces. This means that I can whakapapa both to my ancestral homelands of the Hokianga and to the city of Palmerston North where I was raised, albeit in differing ways. I would argue that although I have experienced degrees of separation from my ancestral homelands, I still have a strong sense of being Māori. This is because in addition to invoking ancestral links and descent within the Hokianga as tangata whenua (local people upon their tribal lands) I was also nurtured and grown as maata waka (Māori living in someone else’s tribal lands) within Palmerston North. Because I now belong to both places, maintaining my whakapapa connections involves the enactment of emplaced social practices that manifest connections to the physical, social, cultural, and spiritual worlds of both the Hokianga and Palmerston North (King et al. 2018). Even while away from the Hokianga (ancestral homelands), how I conduct myself in the city is the product of learned social practices that have been collectively developed by people in both places. In enacting my way-of-being Māori through social practices in both places, I am essentially stretching myself as a first generation urban migrant within the Māori world across space and time (Cassim, Stolte, & Hodgetts, In Press).

In a sense, places such as the Hokianga and Palmerston North, emplaced social practices and relationships, and the culturally-patterned use of material objects can be seen as threads that are woven together to strengthen my sense of cultural connectedness and being Māori. It is helpful in explaining how these places and relationships comprise part of my whakapapa and being now by drawing on the metaphor of threads being woven together into a rope that tethers me in the world. This metaphor is important for understanding whakapapa as both an inherited and agentive and dynamic process of being entangled within the Māori world with others. Such tethering is often achieved with culturally and materially available resources one has at their disposal. For example, currently I live and work in Auckland, and have done so since early 2015. The more time I spend here connecting in with other Māori, the more threads I am able to draw on, strengthening who I am as Māori and my connections to this new place where my children are now being born. This does not mean that we can claim status as tangata whenua in this place. It does mean that we can make a home for ourselves here as maata waka. Further, the involvements and connections I forge within and across these different locales can fluctuate across time as can my sense of connectedness. However, as Māori are a people who have constantly been on the move (Walker, 2004), connectedness itself is something that can be maintained whilst we traverse various landscapes of everyday life. As I will argue in the following sections, [re]connecting with ancestral homelands and reproducing these cultural ways-of-being with the urban is often a matter of finding available threads to weave the self into being.

[Re]connecting with ancestral homelands and ways-of-being

Cultural [re]connection for Māori is often understood as a process of connecting with Te Ao Māori, or the Māori world. This world includes the Māori language, cultural ways of doing things (social practices) and shared values, access to whānau, hapū and iwi, and to Māori spaces, such as marae, and ancestral homelands (Groot, Le Grice, & Nikora, 2019). In light of this, [re]connection for Māori can take shape in many forms, or draw on numerous threads. Plurality of connectedness needs to be made explicit to avoid the assumption that there is a single solution, or a quick fix, that can address the cultural disruptions that have been experienced by many whānau. Subsequently, the accounts I provide below represent efforts by my siblings and I to maintain our cultural connections as Māori with the threads that are available to us, including those to our ancestral homelands.

While my father was alive, the regular contact our family maintained was sometimes through summer holidays where the whole family would migrate to our homelands for a couple of months. At other times it was just my father and one of us three children who would travel up for an important hui (meetings) for a week or so. My father involved us in the everyday practices, including chores whilst we were back on our ancestral lands. This served as a means of weaving us into the fabric of the Hokianga and our heritage as Māori. Taken from my reflections while conducting my field work in the Hokianga, the excerpt below expands on this point:

> When I was young, my brother and I would be sent with our Uncles to help with manual labour, such as getting food for marae hui. This could involve doing home-kills (of beef and pork for example), collecting shellfish and plants, or fishing. Our elders were role models who instructed and taught us about the ways of the hau kāinga (home people living on their ancestral lands), and as the youth, we were expected to listen, take notes (in our heads) and to remember what we were being shown (field-notes, 6th May, 2015).

This field-note was made during our return to the Hokianga as adults when my siblings and I had become very mindful of the time we had been absent. With the death of our father, our contact with the hau kāinga decreased and our participation in the everyday practices of the Hokianga became more tenuous. For the past three years we have been traveling back to the Hokianga to visit, strengthen connections, learn, and to just be there. Being in the Hokianga as an adult has brought a new perspective to the way that I understand the processes my father involved us in as children. Our participation in such daily tasks relates to scholarship on the concept of the conduct of everyday life, where “people collaboratively produce and reproduce their life through daily activities, habits, routines, and personal arrangements of things and social relations” (Højholt & Schraube, 2016, p. 1). This highlights the importance of mundane activities in processes of connection that goes beyond the occasional participation in major cultural events, such as tangihanga and Te Matatini (national Māori performing arts festival). In this context, mundane tasks are conducted in concert with others in ways that reproduce shared ways-of-being and that allow for whakapapa to be enacted and lived out practically.

In our ancestral lands, everyday cultural practices of gathering food, [re]connecting with family, walking on ancestral sites and retelling ancestral stories grounded us there and strengthened our tethering to the place. Participation in such everyday practices continue to provide a foundation for our efforts at maintaining our connections to the Hokianga now that we are adults and parents. For example, during one of the early trips, my sister, brother-in-law and I called in to visit our koroua (grandfather) and kuia (grandmother - Nan). Our Nan was in the process of making Māori bread (figure 13) and took my sister aside to teach her. Below, I provide an account from my field journal that details how strengthening connections to our ancestral home can take shape through simple, everyday acts, such as making bread:

> In my last journal entry I made note of my sister learning how to make fried bread from our Nanny. It's definitly getting better, and you can see the sense of pride and connection grow in her with each batch she makes. Takakau is another type of bread that can be made from this dough, but it is baked, rather than fried. Fresh takakau, cream, and jam or golden syrup accompanies many meal times in our whānau homes. After each batch, comes the evaluation from the master bread makers. One particular master, our Nanny, told us that the next time we come up, she would hold a wānanga (time of teaching and learning) for us to better develop our fried bread technique and to learn how to make her pickle (field-notes, 6th June, 2015).

Figure 13. Māori bread dough ready for proofing before cooking (07.07.2015).

Watching my sister learning and developing her skills in making Māori bread illustrated for me how she was learning more than just how to make bread. During the task of making bread, stories were told, jokes were had, and plans for the future were made, demonstrating the cultural depth of mundane tasks (cf. Holzkamp, 2016). Making bread is very much about spending time with each other and being together or dwelling within tradition. It enables the reproduction of the practicalities of culture. The act of teaching my sister how to make bread was one of the ways our Nan enacted the core cultural concepts of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga when we returned to our tribal home. Such cultural concepts are often structured within material practices that facilitate the anchoring of the self in community (Kawharu, 1975). In watching my sister make bread, I saw the greater significance of why we were sent off with our elders as children, as there is much more going on than just the physical task at hand. Such moments afford opportunities to become immersed within shared cultural traditions, which we then become part of as we collectively reproduced such ways-of-being with others.

For my brother and I, hunting (see Figure 14), fishing, collecting shell fish, and butchering were some of the practices we were educated in, and through which we were [re]connected to life in our ancestral home lands and people. In returning to the Hokianga more regularly, I have endeavoured to involve myself in these practices in order to learn, bond, and immerse myself within the material aspects of being home and being a part of the Hokianga. Going along on these activities with whānau who still live in the area involves us in practices of belonging that extend to the showing and telling of the landscape (see de Certeau, 1984 on the tour). A conversation about local markers was documented in my field notes below shortly after one of these foraging excursions. This field note positions ‘us’ all as part of the collective considering the nuances of the place to which we belong collectively:

> One morning, I went out with my brother-in-law and cousin to track a mob of pigs that had been roaming around in the hills (a mix of farmland, commercial forest, and native bush). As we made it to the top of each ridge, our cousin (who has lived here his whole life) would ask us if we knew the ancestral land marks that we looked over. He would then explain to us the ones we were unfamiliar with (see Figure 14), and then tell us the stories that made those places significant for tangata whenua who whakapapa to these places. This was a process of filling gaps in our knowledge that he was able to pass on. I really enjoy how fluid moments like these are within the Māori world. While you go about your business, you learn so much about anything and everything, depending on where you are, what you are doing, and who you are with (field-notes, 18th May, 2015).

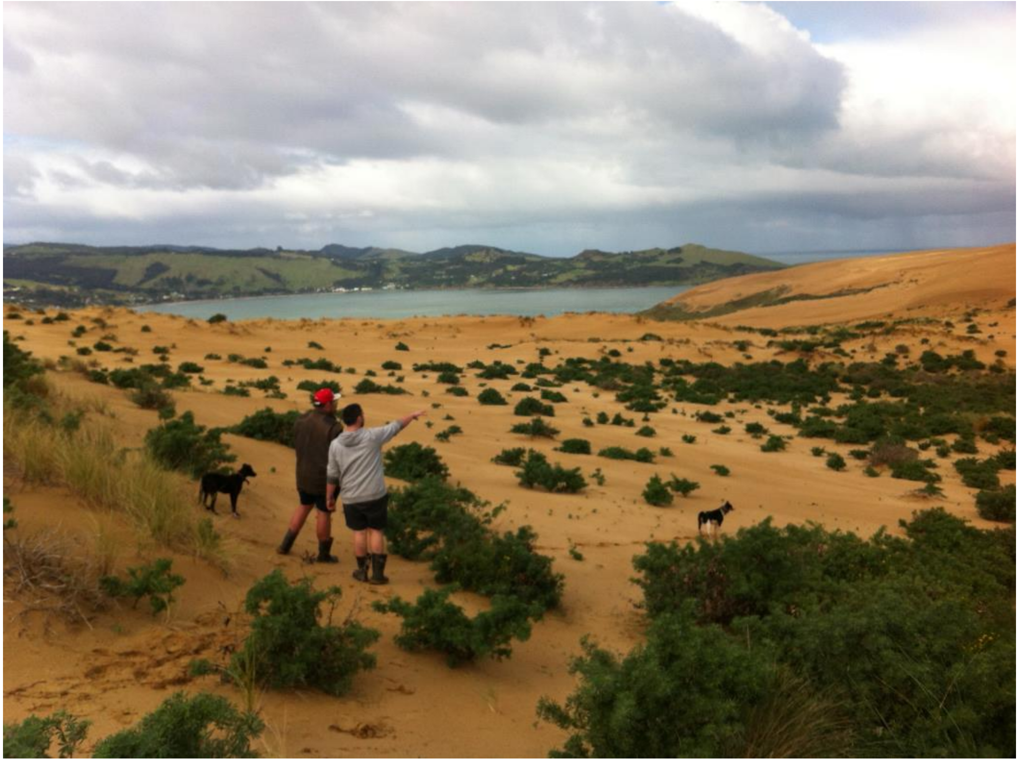

Figure 14. Hunting with whānau in the Hokianga (04.05.2016).

Participation in social practices and cultural ways-of-being (as seen in figure 14) enact whakapapa connections (Rua et al. 2017). Walking the land and telling stories, as is outlined the quote above, can help people to make sense of and understand emplaced social relationships and histories, while also providing opportunities to contemplate future possibilities (cf. de Certeau, 1984; Hodgetts et al. 2008). Possibility and potentiality play a crucial role in Māori cosmology, as being is seen as a continuous process of unfolding (Marsden, 2003). Viewed in this way, being Māori can be understood as an ongoing process of becoming. Through walking the land, connections come alive, and by continuing to walk the land, our continuity of connection can be maintained. In sharing the stories of these places we were sharing in our collective being as tangata whenua.

From our experiences [re]connecting to life in our ancestral home lands and people, there are multiple layers to seemingly mundane everyday tasks, such as hunting and bread making. These culturally-textured practices make up life-worlds within places like the Hokianga. Food gathering and preparation are important parts of living in this area, as economic hardships make it difficult to rely on processed foods from the supermarkets. In fact, shops and supermarkets are not readily available which makes the exercise of gathering food even more important. Beyond such thinking however, our food gathering expeditions and time spent preparing food continues the enactment of practices ancient to this landscape (Williams, 2015). Learning the skills required to enact these practices bolsters our ability to become more involved with such tasks, which in turn, allows us to contribute more to the cultural sustainability of this place. Although who my siblings and I are as Māori is not exclusively tied to the Hokianga now, returning more regularly has revitalised our general sense of cultural connection through the weaving of tribally specific threads into our very being. These threads are carried with us when we return to the city, the place where the majority of our lives are conducted. In the following section, I expand on the mobility of Māori ways-of-being and social practice, and explore how they facilitate the further reproduction of the self across space and time.

Embodying Māori ways-of-being in the city

For Māori, connection involves an "embodied and enacted form of knowledge" that locates the self within broader social, cultural, physical, and spiritual landscapes (Rua et al. 2017, p. 57). On this understanding, knowing who you are and where you are from encompasses culturally-patterned, in-the-world activities that are often conducted in concert with others (cf. Rangihau, 1975/1992). As argued by Teo (2016), a turn to the concept of embodiment provides a critique of the 'worldlessness' offered by ruling psychology that positions consciousness/subjective reasoning as the mediating factor between a person and wider society. As Merleau-Ponty (1945/2005) put it: "The body is our general medium for having a world" (p. 169). It is through embodied enactments in the world that we come to know it and ourselves as part of it. Connecting with others through collective acts plays a central role in the conduct of everyday lives for Māori, affording opportunities to enact core cultural concepts, such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, and aroha (love, compassion). Through becoming involved in and learning the social practices of their ancestral homelands, Māori who maintain these connections are able to further reproduce such cultural ways-of-being, even while dwelling within urban landscapes.

An example of how social practices traverse the rural and urban environments Māori have become stretched is evident in the case of my sister learning how to make Māori bread. While back in our urban homes in Taupō, my sister continued to make Māori bread in the ways shown to her by our Nan. The making of this particular bread serves to re-create or at least approximate times spent with whānau in the Hokianga, while also creating new moments of cultural connectedness within the city. In 2016, our Nan who taught my sister passed away. During a recorded conversation, my sister recounted a moment at our Nanny's tangihanga when her partner (my brother-in-law) gave a whaikorero (formal oration) that touched on the significant role of making bread for us [re]connecting with the Hokianga:

> When Nan died, and when we got there [to the marae], and my partner did his whaikorero, before he finished talking, he said to the taumata [elders on the marae]: "Nan's bread aye?" Because you know, that taumata's been eating her bread for the last 40 years, and they all laughed because they knew what he meant. And then, in a cheeky way, he said: "but I'm alright, because she taught my misses [partner] how to make it. So I'm still going to get it" and you know, they [the tuamata] cracked up [to burst out laughing]. They thought it was real funny.

As a Māori understanding of the self is fundamentally interconnected and relational (Marsden, 2003), the act of making bread can be seen as an example of how shared material practices can help to strengthen one's sense of cultural connectedness. The self is also embedded in the practices and knowledge that we impart to others, particularly younger generations. As such, our Nan lives on through my sister making bread in the way she was taught. Moments in the kitchen making and eating her bread, sharing food, hours of conversation, and simply being together are remembered and relived every time my sister makes that bread (cf. Sutton, 2014). Figures 15 and 16 depict an evening meal being prepared in my sister's urban home in Taupō featuring Nan's bread. Preparing and eating 'Nan's bread' evokes this sense of connection, helping us to bridge the space between the Hokianga and our urban homes.

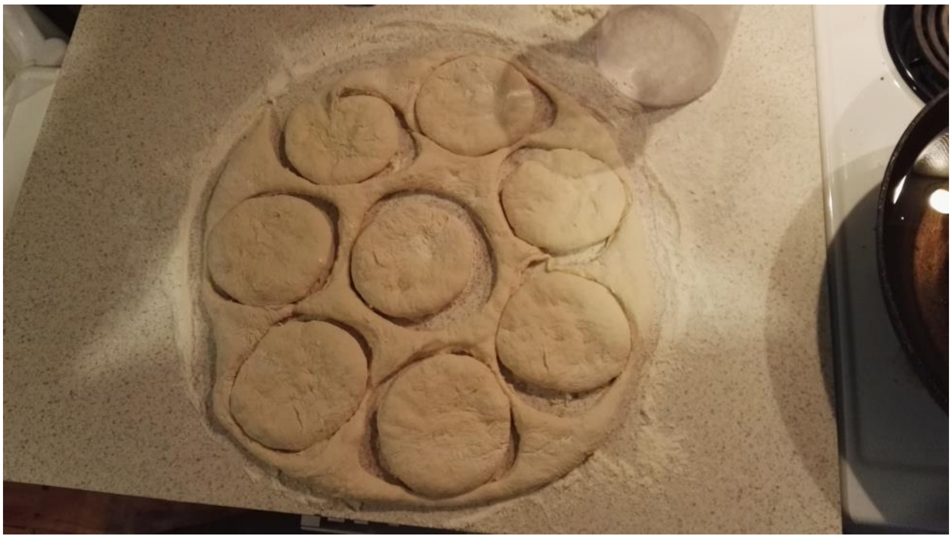

Figure 15. Preparing fried bread (11.09.2017).

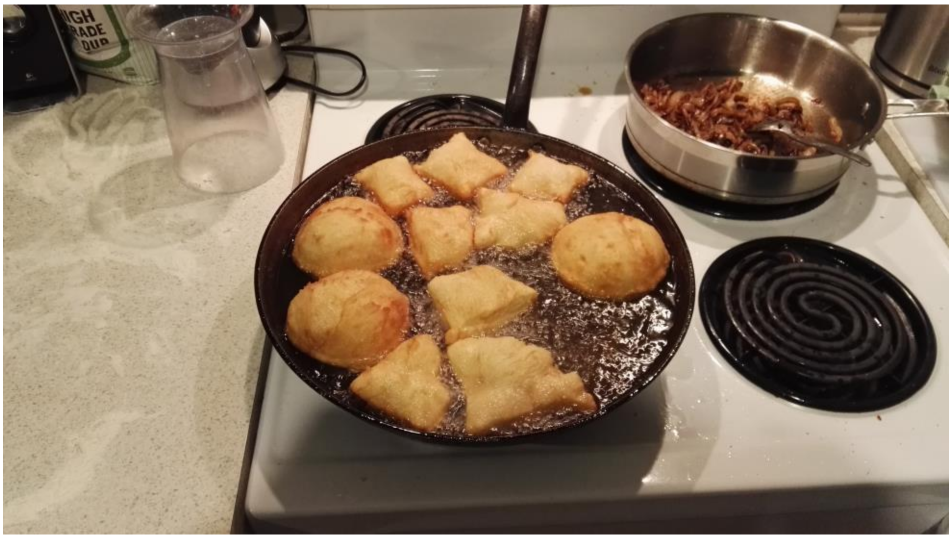

Figure 16. Cooking fried bread (11.09.2017).

In reflecting on making bread with our Nan, my sister, her partner and I discussed some of the ways that cooking bread has come to texture our everyday lives within the urban landscape. Furthermore, we talked about how the reproduction of these social practices within our urban homes helped to connect other Māori within our social circles – who also live away from their ancestral homelands – with their own ancestral and cultural traditions. Below, my brother-in-law recounts a story about cooking dinner for whānau during a formal interview that we conducted:

> Some of my cousins came over for dinner a few months ago, and they asked: "is that rewana bread?" and I said: "na, it's takakau [a type of Māori bread]" and they said: "what's that?" and I was like: "oh, you'll love this." One of my cousins broke a little bit off, and he bit it, and then he looked at his sister, and then he says: "bite this". He then says: "that's that bread aye?" And she looked at the bread, looked at us, looked back at her brother, and he says to her: "Far out! Our Nan used to make this bread.

Later in the interview, my brother-in-law recalled a similar situation when he and my sister invited their new neighbour over for dinner that echoes how important food is for re-membering ourselves within whānau connections and whakapapa: "When the bro next-door came over for dinner, he was like '*When I bit into that bread, I saw my mum's face'*." Here, re-membering is used as a concept that reflects how memory is not simply a cognitive process. Re-membering occurs when we re-enact aspects of our past and familial traditions materially in the conduct of everyday life (cf. Sutton, 2014)

Both of the above quotes demonstrate how engaging in culturally patterned material practices can elicited powerful feelings of home, whānau, and cultural connectedness. It can also hail Māori ways-of-being together through food developed in ancestral home places that stretch into contemporary urban settings. Part of the Hokianga becomes part of the conduct of our everyday lives within the city (cf. Holzkamp, 2016), enabling us to embody the values of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga in ways our Nan showed us. Another important cultural concept in understanding the cultural significance of Māori bread is aroha (love, compassion). As is evident in the two quotes above and in the example of time spent with our Nan, Māori bread is one particular way of materialising aroha within Māori whānau and wider communities. Additionally, now that my sister is able to make our Nanny's bread well, she is able to make it for friends and whānau in urban settings and in doing so help [re]connect them with their own overlapping bread making traditions. She can also make it for whānau back on our marae when we return to the Hokianga and in doing so help keep the tradition alive for future generations. This practice has become quite a special way for my sister to show her aroha to our whānau and broader communities. In brief, pieces of bread become tokens of aroha that connect us to loved ones, ancestral home places, and shared whakapapa.

As I have experienced and argued, with the enactment of everyday practices, such as making bread or hunting in ancestral homelands comes more than the functionality of food for physical sustenance. When considering such complex, yet mundane moments the concept of wānanga is useful for unpacking the role that social practices play in maintaining and reproducing Māori ways-of-being within everyday urban life. The term wānanga speaks of a place of learning or a time that is set aside, often on the marae, that is devoted to mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge). Wānanga can constitute flexible liminal spaces that are regularly shaped through highly formalized rituals (Jones, 2010) as well as being conducted in less formal or more interpersonally familiar ways. Wānanga can comprise times spent thinking about or discussing a topic and can occur within everyday activities and tasks. When thinking about wānanga with others, the term can be translated into English as a 'space or time of multiplicity, knowledge production, sharing and learning'. Understanding wānanga as space-times of multiplicity acknowledges the many entities, such as people, their experiences and accounts, access to material resources, cosmological entities, mātauranga Māori, whakapapa, and so forth, which are gathered together and concentrated within a particular space and time for a particular purpose. A central component of wānanga is that it is often guided by cultural elders or experts who support the cultural development of others (Rangihau, 1975/1992), such as our Nan or Uncles mentioned earlier. Through wānanga, the metaphysical and existential aspects of being Māori can be communicated, reproduced, embodied, and maintained across time by people engaging in collective actions, culturally informed social practices, and simply spending time being (cf. Kawharu, 1975; Papakura, 1938/1986).

Wānanga-like moments often occur during the conduct of particular socio-cultural practices such as making bread or walking the land. Becoming involved with these activities then becomes an important site of cultural reproduction that can be seen as a means of dealing with the stretching of the self that has come with the disruption of urbanization (Cassim. Stolte, & Hodgetts, In Press; Williams, 2015). To expand upon the importance of wānanga-like moments within everyday social practice, I present an example below from a story that my brother-in-law shared with me regarding the inclusion of whānau members in a particular Māori social practice. He recounts a conversation he had with his Uncle in deciding whether or not he should take his cousins out to help with the collection of watercress for a marae that is situated within the township of Taupō, where he is Tangata Whenua (see figure 17):

> My cousins were lucky to go, because I said "na, I'll go get the watercress, Uncle. They'll mess it up" and then my misses [partner] said: "na, you have to let other people learn" and I said "it will only take me 20 minutes" and my Uncle was like: "yea, I know." And that's when my misses goes: "na, you have to let them go so they can learn." So we just took them to the watercress spot.

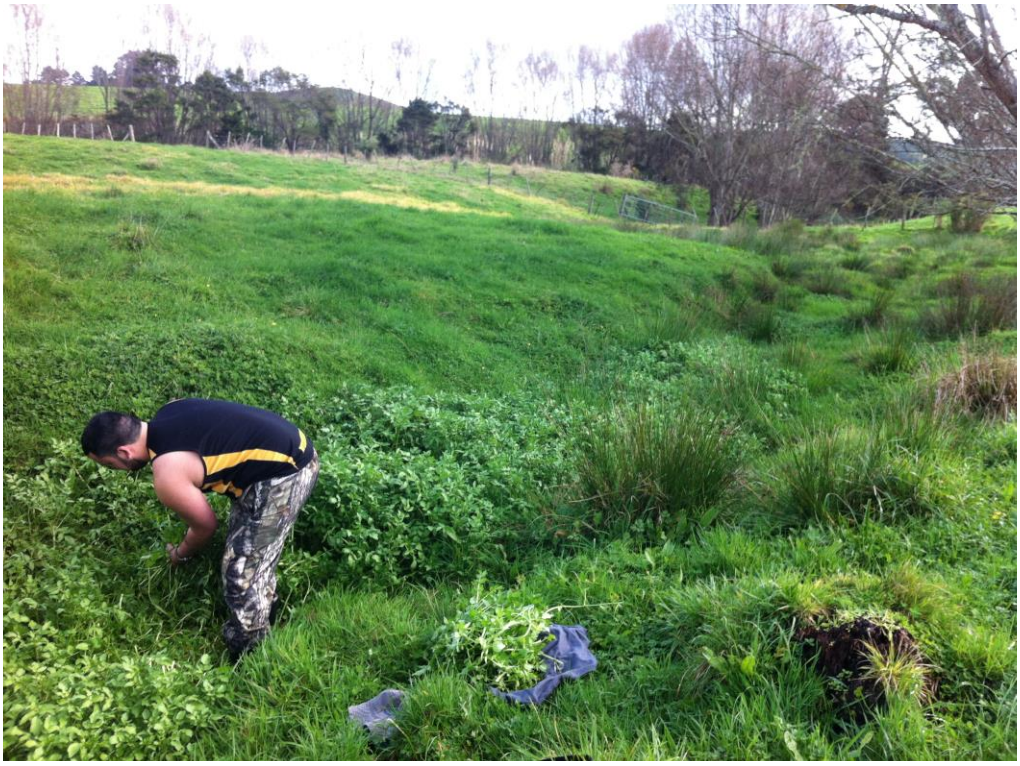

Figure 17. Brother in-law picking watercress for the whānau (06.07.2015).

My brother-in-law's reluctance to take his cousins out to pick watercress was because they were not raised with this social practice and he wanted to get the task done quickly. He felt that they would slow the whole process down and likely not produce a good outcome from the foraging trip. One of the implications of not being raised to participate in such social practices for his cousins is that they also do not participate in such wānanga-like moments through which conversations that give meaning to practices take place. These moments provide a means through which detailed knowledge of how to forage traditional foods takes place alongside the communication of broader understandings within Te Ao Māori. For example, while going along to pick watercress for the first time, an experienced whānau member will generally look after you and show you how the task is done properly. When you make a mistake, they will correct you, and sometimes provide an explanation as to why it is to be done a particular way. Often, these explanations are grounded in the local tikanga (Māori values and custom) and involve Māori cosmological understandings of the natural world and beyond. By being involved in these practices, Māori come to embody collective understandings of the world, which helps to locate themselves within a shared tradition. Briefly, like the kitchen when making bread, collecting watercress as a social practice extends out beyond the collection of food to opportunities to strengthen and maintain cultural connectedness through enacted and embodied ways-of-being.

Discussion

In this article I have engaged with issues of cultural connectedness in multi-generational wake of the colonial disruptions to which many whānau have had to adjust. In doing so, I have drawn out some of the complexities around connection within the Māori world that have come to whānau with urbanization, and in doing so have demonstrated how Māori cultural ways-of-being are reproduced in everyday life. The emphasis I have placed on everyday social practices highlights the importance of mundane moments within broader processes of cultural [re]connection, particularly for Māori who dwell within urban locales. For those experiencing distance from Te Ao Māori (the Māori world), major events, such as tangihanga and marae celebrations, are often vital – and sometimes the only – opportunities for Māori to maintain their connections with their ancestral homelands. As my analysis exemplifies, connections with whānau, marae, ancestral homelands, and ways-of-being can be deepened significantly and enriched by going beyond the extraordinary moments of big events, and becoming part of the ordinary and everyday reproduction of our cultural traditions and values (King et al. 2015). Specifically regarding implications for psychology, my research emphasises the value of immersive approaches within research that work towards producing culturally nuanced knowledge of broader social phenomena. Such approaches often result in the generation of knowledge that disciplines like psychology are better able to put into practice in order to bring about effective societal change (cf. Brinkmann, 2014).

The reflexive case presented in this research highlights that although being Māori across different spaces can vary quiet dramatically – say between urban and rural settings – who someone is as Māori is often not fixed or reducible to any one of these places (Cassim, Stolte, & Hodgetts, In Press). Like those around us, my whānau and I position ourselves within the Māori world through social practices that are conducted across both rural and urban settings (Rua et al. 2017). My analysis shows that urbanised Māori ways-of-being are assembled from what is available at hand; in that our art of everyday life as Māori is an art of making do (cf. de Certeau, 1984). Our selves are assembled or woven from the threads that are emplaced within our lifeworlds as Māori, and disciplines like psychology need to find ways to reflect these complexities within the way it operates. Conceptualising the self and Māori ways-of-being as a process of assemblage (see Brenner, Madden, & Wachsmuth, 2011 on assemblage) through participation in social practices with histories allows us to better approximate and understand some of the complexities we must negotiate in our attempts to conduct and construct our lives across rural and urban landscapes. It is important here to not become trapped within thinking that sets up a strict division or divide between the rural and the urban (Angelo, 2017). When we consider how people, such as my siblings and I, engage in practices that transcend this divide, we can see how adaptive whānau are in making places to be Māori. Our degree of involvement in rural and urban settings fluctuates across time, and as such, connection and reconnection needs to be understood as an ongoing, embodied, and material process.

The cultural resources of the Māori world remain tenuous, often held in place by particular people who maintain spaces to be Māori for themselves and others, and are at risk of fading with the passing of the generations (King et al. 2017), as is illustrated within this article. At our current point in time, we as a people are at a crucial juncture in the history of being Māori where we need to act to further resist the ongoing impacts of colonialism through building and maintain our mundane and more overtly ritualised practices of cultural connectedness. This is crucial for preserving our adaptive ways-of-being for future generations, and the discipline of psychology needs to be engaged with these social realities. In one sense, this very article constitutes a form of resistance by outlining an insider's perspective into the challenges many Māori and no doubt other Indigenous peoples face in maintaining their cultural selves.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

What it means to be Māori today remains complex and dynamic. Issues of coloniality, urbanization, cultural assimilation, and socio-economic marginalisation for many of us has had significant impacts that continue to complicate Māori subjectivities (Forster, 1968; Jackson, 1992; MacIntosh & Mulholland, 2011). Focusing in on and embracing these complexities, the aims of this thesis were to examine how Māori ways-of-being have been impacted, maintained, and reproduced in light of broader societal structures, including those associated with colonialty. By adopting a culturally reflective and immersive approach, I was able to document how broader structures manifest within the everyday lives of Māori who seek to preserve a sense of cultural connectedness (cf. Hojholt & Schraube, 2016). My research also speaks to the continued marginality of culturally diverse and Indigenous perspectives within the discipline of psychology.

The remainder of this chapter is presented through three sections. Within the first section, I reiterate and further interpret the significance of the key insights and conclusions made within my four publications. Section two offers further reflections on the conceptual contributions this thesis makes to the wider field of psychology. Specifically, I draw on the concept of articulation (see Hall, Slack, & Grossberg, 2016, on articulation) to make sense of the key insights my research has produced. Section three completes the chapter and thesis with some consideration of future directions for psychological research into human subjectivities that preserve the complexities of our cultural traditions.

Key insights from the four publications

In this section, I review and draw together key focal points from across the four publications that compose the core of this thesis. I will review each publication in the sequence that these appear in the thesis. Chapter 2 worked to situate my thesis within contemporary conversations within the international field of Indigenous psychologies. Specifically, this chapter was a response to a rethinking of the philosophical foundations of the global discipline in line with Chinese cultural perspectives and systems of knowledge (Liu, 2017). Although a noble endeavour, I argued in chapter 2 that replacing one cultural foundation (Anglo-European/American) for another (Chinese Confucianism) does not address the concerns that many smaller Indigenous scholarly groups (i.e., Māori) are confronted with when attempting to engage with the global discipline (King & Hodgetts, 2017). A key aspect of this first publication was to challenge the assumption that the global discipline is made up of a single public sphere

(Fraser, 1992), regardless of the philosophical or cultural foundations that might happen to underpin it. Rather, psychology often functions through loose connections and overlaps between multiple public sphericules that reflect their own local contexts (see Wittgenstein, 1953/2009, on family resemblance). These spherules are clustered together like elements of a molecule that compose the global discipline of psychology.

Chapter 2 provides one way of decentring WEIRD or ruling psychology (cf. Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010; Seedat, 2015) as a particular form of, or orientation to, psychology that reflects the societal and historical contexts in which it was developed (cf. Hodgetts et al. 2020). Writing this publication also enabled me to start thinking a lot more about ruling and Indigenous psychologies as comprising particular elements of the global discipline and how we might start to consider issues such as how to bring more epistemological and ethical diversity to psychology globally. Such developments are crucial if we are to develop a global discipline more reflective of the diversity of humanity and how different groups see themselves and others (Li, Hodgetts, & Foo, 2019). As such, embracing the idea of disciplinary sphericules can enhance efforts to philosophically and practically engage with the diverse agendas that continue to emerge within Indigenous and other psychologies globally. It also offers a space to develop Māori psychology as part of a much larger global agenda (cf. Allwood & Berry, 2006, Groot et al. In Press). In sum, this publication contributes to collective efforts to re-pluralise the discipline of psychology in line with the principles of inclusion, diversity, and disciplinary holism.

Moving out from the space created in chapter 2, chapter 3 explores how knowledge of Māori selves have taken shape within a New Zealand sphere of psychology (King et al. 2017). This knowledge is tension filled for Māori in that it is not only grounded in Māori perspectives, worldviews, experiences, and systems of knowledge, but is also influenced by Eurocentric understandings, philosophical traditions and atomistic practices (Rua, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2017). Of central importance, here, are critiques of reductionist philosophies, which underpin structures of coloniality, which impact our ability as Māori to produce knowledge regarding human subjectivities within disciplines like psychology (Mika, 2015; Simmel, 1903/2003).

Chapter 3 is set in opposition to much of the hegemonic literature in ruling psychology, which embraces an individualistic, de-compartmentalized or variable orientated view the self (Jovchelovitch, 2007). Most of the world's population simply do not see themselves as isolated individuals or lonely thinkers (Li, Hodgetts, Foo, 2019). Rather, most draw on cultural knowledge[s] of interconnected systems of relatedness through which human selves take form (cf. Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Constructed from the work of Foucault (1963/1994), Heidegger

(1927/1967), and Simmel (1903/2003), the term Das Balsé Gaze proved useful for me to recount key ideas and critiques of the analytic philosophical tradition as well as bringing continental European and Indigenous perspectives into broader conversation. Using Das Balsé Gaze as a launching point, chapter 3 outlined how structures of modernity, industrialization, economics, and urbanization have come to fundamentally [re]shape knowledge of our very being as Māori (cf. Foucault, 1963/1994; Heidegger, 1927/1967; Simmel, 1903/2003). This chapter was completed with a discussion surrounding how applied research can serve as a vehicle to address Das Balsé Gaze by taking advantage of the telescoping relationship Māori communities have with their own histories (see Bourdieu, 2000, on historical acceleration). When combined with the ideas presented in chapter 2, my first two publications provide the conceptual, theoretical, and cultural grounding for the auto-ethnographically based chapters that follow.

Chapter 4 documents some of the consequences of Māori urbanization through a reflexive engagement with the place in which I grew up. In doing so, I consider how Māori people came to retexture such spaces within the settler society city as places to be Māori. I paid particular attention to culturally informed social practices, which involve everyday acts that reproduce, appropriate and resist aspects of wider social structures that are foundational to the settler society (cf. Hall, Slack, & Grossberg, 2016; Reckwitz, 2002). As I argued within chapter 4, such social practices also play a crucial role in the preservation and reproduction of cultural selves across space and time. In documenting the emplacement of Māori cultural ways-of-being within the neighbourhood of Highbury, chapter 4 exemplified the notion that for marginalized groups, the art of the conduct of everyday life is the art of making do (cf. de Certeau, 1984).

More specifically, chapter 4 documents some of the mundane social practices and underlying concepts and values that Māori brought with them into the city. I demonstrate how these were not preserved in a calcified way in terms of their original articulations within ancestral home places (cf. Marsden, 2003). In order for people to maintain their Māori ways-of-being somewhere new, these practices and principles of being and engaging with others were adapted through necessity (cf. de Certeau, 1984). In a re-articulated (see next section) form, these Māori practices of being became emplaced within the architecture of the city itself (cf. Hall, Slack, & Grossberg, 2016; King et al. 2015) and in the process, urban areas such as Highbury became more habitable for Māori.

Through spatializing these adaptive cultural ways-of-being by taking the reader on a walking tour of Highbury (de Certeau, 1984; Tilley, 1994), chapter 4 highlights the significance of places like Aunty's house and the local shopping centre as sites of cultural reproduction, appropriation and existential resistance to colonization (cf. Lefebvre, 1974/1991; Sonn et al. 2017). By way of further context, it was important that I focused on a low socio-economic, high Māori population neighbourhood such as Highbury to investigate such issues. This is because such settings are often reduced to deficits with a fixation on the socio-economic problems (i.e., crime, violence and illness) that are located there. Correspondingly, local inhabitants are often positioned as lacking in Māori cultural connectedness, knowledge, and subjectivity (Groot et al. 2011). Part of the problem here is that those who make such accusations have not experienced the agency and rich cultural practices that render such neighbourhoods more habitable for Māori as Māori. Chapter 4 demonstrates how new or re-articulated ways-of-being Māori have emerged within such urban settings.

Whilst the focus in chapter 4 was on the urban, this is not to say that Māori such as myself who grow up in such settings away from our own tribal lands are now totally dislocated from our ancestral home places (cf. Cassim, Stolte, & Hodgetts, In Press). Chapter 5 presents a case study that documents the experiences of my siblings and I in [re]connecting with our ancestral home places and broader whānau there. This chapter dives deeper into the structural issues surrounding the cultural assimilation of Māori into the settler society. I detail how participating in the culturally emplaced, everyday social practices of our home places, Māori can work to repair the wounds created by colonial disruptions and ensure that we are not lost to each other as whānau. I show how the rural, urban, and historical are interwoven in the conduct of the lives of our whānau in our ancestral home-places (cf. Højholt & Schraube, 2016).

I emplace my exploration of the mobility of key socio-cultural practices for being Māori from our home and rural spaces by drawing on literature on transnational migration that engages with how people experiencing displacement are not automatically disconnected from their home places in an absolute sense (Cassim, Stolte, Hodgetts, In Press). Rather, we become stretched across multiple spaces. This stretching of Māori selves and our interconnections not only takes place across physical spaces, such as urban and rural locales, but can also be understood as traversing cultural and spiritual locales as well (cf. Angelo, 2017; King et al. 2015; Lefebvre; 1974/1991; Lobo, 2017). Chapter 5 also highlights the materiality of practices, such as making Māori bread and butchering meat, as a mobile and material means of reproducing Māori cultural values and shared understandings of the self across diverse geographical domains (Reckwitz, 2002; Rua, Hodgetts, & Stolte, 2017). A further key conclusion made within this fourth publication is the importance of regular and mundane participation in things Māori within broader efforts of whānau to [re]connect, which often take shape through involvement in larger, more formalised, less frequent and ritualised cultural events.

Taking key issues raised across my four publications, in the section that follows I discuss the broader implications of the contributions my thesis makes to the discipline of psychology. To further my understanding of the academic contribution of my research, I draw on the concepts of articulation (Hall, Slack, & Grossberg, 2016). This concept provides a means of linking the key insights of my research, which are primarily grounded and understood through Māori cultural perspectives and literatures, with broader scholarly conversations regarding the human condition.

Research contributions and reflections

In the edited book Te Ao Hurihuri, John Rangihau (1992) contributed a chapter entitled "Being Māori". Within this chapter, Rangihau brings closure to his account of what it means to be Māori for him with reference to his Tūhoetanga (Tūhoe, or tribal, way-of-being). In doing so, he also points out that Māoritanga, as an all-encompassing conceptualisation of what it means to be Māori, is, in all likelihood, a product of colonialization. He goes on to argue that this construction serves the colonial belief that if you cannot divide and conquer, then you must unite and rule. My reading of these comments is that caution is needed whenever assertions of what it means to be Māori are made, especially if done in a universal manner. Within this thesis, I have attempted to follow in this tentative vein, in that I make no bold claims about what it means to be Māori in an absolute or definitive sense. Like Rangihau, I can only really talk about what being Māori means to me and how I experience being Māori in everyday life. In contrast to Rangihau however, I cannot locate who I am with reference to a single tradition. As coloniality has continued to disrupt Māori social formations, many Māori today also experience complications in locating the self across multiple, diverse, and shifting landscapes.

Throughout this thesis, I have emphasised the complexities of Māori subjectivities by documenting how Māori communities make do with the cultural, social, and material resources available to them to locate their selves as Māori (cf. de Certeau, 1984). However, it is not enough to merely point out or document these states of affairs. We also need to ask what do we do with these complexities and how do we make sense of them? As I have covered in detail in chapters 1 and 3, the ways that ruling psychological approaches have 'dealt' with these complexities is to reduce the complexities so that phenomena can be subjected to rigid physical science inspired methodologies, such as surveys and questionnaires (see Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; 2015). Such approaches do not deal with or address complexities. Rather, they philosophically relegate complexity to the 'to hard basket', effectively ignoring them. In contrast, my research can be understood as engaging with this basket in an effort to preserve the complexities that make us who we are (cf. Stevens et al. 2017). In reflecting more broadly on the research I have conducted, I have recently come across the work of Stuart Hall and the concept of articulation, which has proven particularly useful in making sense of the complexities of Māori subjectivities presented within this thesis (Hall, Slack, & Grossberg, 2016). Within this section, I outline how the concept of articulation can help to bring together and deepen our understanding of what it means to be Māori.

The concept of articulation comprises an attempt to theorise the connections between the various elements or components that compose social formations (Hall, Slack, & Grossberg, 2016). These elements can more broadly include; material resources, social practices, spaces, systems of knowledge, and numerous other things that are drawn on to assemble social groupings, such as urban Māori (cf. see Mika, 2016, on the broadening of entities). For Hall, theses connections are contingent, non-necessary linkages that can change, or become re-articulated, across time and shifting contexts (Curthoys & Docker, 2017). For example, the links between the diverse and numerous hapū and iwi entities of Aotearoa New Zealand have become closely articulated together through processes of colonization, which is now simply referred to as being 'Māori'. However, as Royal (2011) notes, the use of the term 'Māori' remains problematic as it is often understood and rendered meaningful when positioned in contrast to Pākehā social groupings as outsiders. Within this inter-group articulation, the relationship between the Indigenous peoples of New Zealand and the colonisers seems to present the basis of a unified Māori subjectivity. As I have shown, being Māori is more than just a contrasting category that takes form in relation to another such category (Pākehā). It often involves collective efforts that act to re-articulate our cultural ways-of-being within everyday life (cf. Hojholt & Schraube, 2016).

In an even more general sense, my research can be viewed as both challenging dominant articulations of Māori subjectivities, while also theorising how Māori ways-of-being have become re-articulated amidst the cultural disruptions of colonization (cf. Marsden, 2003). Chapters 2 and 3 explored how the discipline of psychology has come to reflect the cultural perspectives of ruling groups (Anglo-European/American). This can be further understood as an assertion of particular dominant Eurocentric articulations of what it means to be human and how subsequent knowledge on the matter should be produced.

In light of Hall's insights regarding cultural articulations, one of the key conclusions made within chapter 2 was a shift towards viewing the discipline of psychology as consisting of numerous interconnected public spheres, as opposed to a single public sphere. This argument can be viewed as an attempt to challenge hegemonic articulations of human subjectivities within psychology in an effort to support the growth of more inclusive and effective scholarly spaces for Indigenous peoples to operate within the discipline. Chapter 3 connected these ideas to then re-articulate the theoretical bases from which we approach and understand Māori subjectivities within psychology.

Building upon the conceptual foundations laid by chapters 2 and 3, chapters 4 and 5 move out and explore these conceptual grounds empirically and in collaboration with Māori communities to bring constructions and experiences of being Māori into heightened focus. By centralising the everyday lives of people through auto-ethnographic and culturally immersive approaches (cf. Banister, Bunn, & Burman, 2011; Højholt & Schraube, 2016), I was able to bring more nuanced understandings of how Māori selves have been re-articulated within broader contexts and histories of colonial disruption. These urban re-articulations are all but invisible in the literature and are often regarded as inauthentic or lacking. For example, everyday social practices, such as sharing fish and chips, are not often thought of as elements of Māori culture. I have shown that they can be read as such when positioned within a Māori view and considered within the broader interconnection of all things through whakapapa (Mika, 2016; Roberts et al. 2004). That is, sharing fish and chips can reproduce Māori relational practices that have been transplanted by Māori from rural to urban settings. As such, new manifestations of ways-of-being Māori are re-articulated through 'sharing a feed' in accordance with the availability of resources in the new setting. Sharing fish and chips has a whakapapa in sharing boil-up and hangi[15] in earlier times, meaning that urban Māori visiting the fish and chip shop is not that far removed, at least in some ways, from the daily routines of their ancestors.

Chapters 4 and 5 can be further interpreted as exploring how elements, which are not conventionally thought of as composing Māori subjectivities, are gathered together in organic and agentive efforts to re-articulate what it means to be Māori at the flax-roots level. Put differently, my research engaged with the whakapapa of urban Māori and efforts to re-articulate our cultural selves somewhere new. For example, by tracing the social practice of the boil-up pot, I was able to highlight the greater significance and functions that places like the local fish and chip shop played in the reproduction of contemporary Māori ways-of-being. Māori cultural values, such as manaakitanga and whanaungatanga, are lived out or articulated through such social practices. The materiality of these cultural values through food practices have had to changed due to economic marginalisation and structural inequalities (cf. Graham, Hodgetts, Stolte, & Chamberlain, 2018; de Certeau, 1984; Marsden, 2003). Other examples of such re-articulations can be seen in how processes of cultural [re]connection are often facilitated through the culturally-patterned practices involved in bread making, picking watercress, or hunting. These practices, the spaces they are embedded within, and the objects they involve can be seen as constituting elements that contribute to a series of re-articulations of what it means to be Māori in the midst of issues of cultural disconnection and colonial displacement.

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[15] Hangi is a means of cooking food inside an earth oven. It involves rocks that are heated by a fire that is then sealed, generally with wet sacks and soil. Both the practice itself and the food that is cooked in this way are referred to as hangi.

Chapters 4 and 5 also emphasise the importance of urbanites simply ‘making do’ with what is available within the spaces we dwell in order to preserve and maintain subjectivities that are distinctively Māori (cf. de Certeau, 1984; Heidegger, 1927/1967). What is referred to within these publications as ‘what is available at hand’ can be more clearly discussed here in this final chapter as elements that are drawn on to re-articulate new ways-of-being Māori in response to the ongoing pressures of coloniality. The way that I have drawn on the concept of articulation involves more than offering a further interpretation of my research findings and the different elements that compose Māori subjectivities. It is also about reconsidering the elements that Māori draw on to construct a sense of self in everyday social settings and interactions. An important point to emphasise here is that it is not the particulars of the practices that are central. These particulars could easily be something else. This idea is supported by some of my previous research that documented how men who were homeless maintained their Māori cultural selves while living on the streets through participation in a local marae gardening project (King, Hodgetts, Rua, Te Whetu, 2015). Gardening just happened to be the vehicle that helped to weave them back into the Māori world. More generally, what is important are the ways-of-being that are lived out, maintained and, articulated through these social practices. Within this thesis, it happened to be practices like making bread, collecting watercress, hunting and butchering, and going to the fish and chip shop.

To consider the social practices of making fried bread and going to the fish and chip shop as re-articulations of what it means to be Māori could be read by some Māori scholars as a contentious and potentially problematic assertion. Māori are currently over-represented in obesity, diabetes, and other negative health related statistics more generally (Warbrick, 2011). This is understandable, in that foods high in fat and salt have been identified as presenting an elevated risk for public health and that people should limit their intake of such food groups. However, public health recommendations such as avoiding such foods are proving less than simple to follow when we consider prescribed healthy lifestyles in relation to issues of social class, and the rise of socio-economic precariousness (Groot et al. 2017; Standing, 2016). Many of our people cannot afford to eat healthily and gain considerable comfort and a sense of continuity and familiarity in preparing foods such as boil-up. Public health recommendations often ignore the financial realities that economically marginalised people face on a daily basis by imposing a set of classed based values upon particular social groups who cannot financially afford to make 'the right choices' (Graham, Hodgetts, Stolte, & Chamberlain, 2018).

Let me reflect a little further on some of the tensions that can arise around urban Māori food choices. I presented the findings of chapter 4 at an Indigenous research day held at Massey University. One of the key insights of this article was how the cultural values that work to preserve the self as Māori that were structured around the boil-up came to be transplanted within and reproduced at the fish and chip shop as a response to colonial material deprivation. For my generation and social class, the fish and chip shop materially replaced the watercress patches of the generations past, helping us to preserve our Māori ways-of-being within a somewhat ad hoc re-articulation. In contrast, one of the other speakers of the day presented their culturally-grounded approach to a range of social issues faced by urban Māori. This includes issues of obesity and poor diet. Their proposed response was to go to areas with high rates of Māori obesity with cultural elders and preform a rahui, or a cultural ban, on the fast-food outlets. It was argued that this would decrease the consumption of unhealthy foods. The first thought that came to my mind was, 'is this a Māori response? Or, is it a class-based response with a Māori veneer?'

I raise these issues, not to justify places, or elements, like the fish and chip shop or foods such as fried bread. I do it to point out that a contemporary 'cultured' approach devoid of broader socio-economic considerations, or the whakapapa of urban Māori, can result the perpetuation of classist views that are very much a part of the structures of coloniality. Furthermore, the suggestion of a rahui on the local shops creates a dilemma for Māori in places like Highbury. As argued in chapter 4, the boil-up and the $10 pack functions to culturally and materially care for whānau and friends whilst managing or dealing with issues of poverty and hunger. To not take part in food practices like sharing fish and chips means that people will be left out. Consequently, cultural duties of care, as expressed through the concept of manaakitanga, may not be enacted because of resource restraints that come with being urban and poor. Māori within such situations seem to have two options. First, to follow the rahui, pay more money for healthier food, and not be able to feed everyone who comes into their home. They could also skip meals themselves so that their children and guests can eat. Second, to ignore cultural elders, compromise their Māori identities, and continue to manaaki the family through practices, such as the $10 pack and fried bread. This issue goes to the practical implications of scholarship such as my own that engages with the lived realities of many Māori today. Rather than adopting punitive public health strategies, such as bans, researchers and policy makers need to understand why low socio-economic groups draw on particular food practices as elements that compose broader re-articulations of being Māori and to look at how existing practices can be channelled in healthier directions. As Hall argues, the relationship between different elements is not a link of necessity. In my research, one of the elements for being Māori was the fish and chip shop, but it did not have to be. The fish and chip shop was simply a place where one could obtain enough to 'make do' within the conditions that many Māori find themselves today.

By taking the time to engage and develop long lasting, meaningful relationships with community groups, scholars can open themselves up to consider elements that, when considered in isolation, seem counter-intuitive, harmful, or appear to go against academic or political orthodoxy. However, when such elements are considered within a wider articulation, such as Māori subjectivities, we can see the broader purpose that particular elements serve in facilitating the reproduction of cultural selves. It is crucial to note here that the depth of social practices cannot be reduced to a single element, which might be viewed in a negative light, as a reason to dismiss or create interventions to eliminate the entire practice. Such actions involve throwing the baby out with the bath water and over simplify the lived realities marginalised people face within their everyday lives.

A further dimension to the concept of social practice explored within chapter 5 was how wānanga like moments can create liminal spaces during the collective enactment of mundane tasks that facilitate the sharing of cultural narratives and deep reflections. As Mika (2016) writes: "*Māori identify language as a sort of gathering of entities rather than an instrument for singling out one thing as thoroughly and separably evident* (p. 165). From this understanding, we can see the tentativeness and openness-to-the-potential involved in exploring ideas, such as Māori subjectivities, within the wānanga like moments of social practice. In doing so, possible re-articulations of what it means to be Māori can be collectively explored to reveal the elements, or entities, that have been draw on and how they relate to one another when reflecting on what it means to be Māori. As noted by Ritchie (1992), it is common for Māori to explore ideas and issues in a manner that often appear, to outsiders of the Māori culture, as getting off topic and straying in focus. However, there is an important reason for this. As Ritchie (1992) explains the concept of pūtahi: "Everything is connected to everything else in the Māori view of the world. Always put particular matters into the context of a whole" (p. 58). From a Māori perspective, it is important that people have the opportunity to put forward their perspectives, ideas, and concerns, so that the general context of a particular matter can be appreciated. This is because there is no single way of contextualising a certain issue, or no fixed articulation of an issue. Rather, there are many, and it is necessary to explore the numerous ways an issue, such as Māori subjectivities, can be contextualised and re-articulated.

Within this thesis, I have attempted to move beyond the question of what subjectivity is, in an abstract or definitional sense, and focus more on how subjectivities are constructed, enacted and experienced. Through participating in the social practices of my communities, wānanga like moments opened me to the lived experiences of what it meant to be Māori and the elements that have been incorporated to preserve and maintain Māori selves. The culturally immersive approach I took helped immensely in developing my account of cultural connectedness, disruption, and [re]connection in the conduct of everyday life. This research has revealed things about myself, and the communities I come from, that I did not previously think of as being deeply rooted in Māori cultural ways-of-being, but nonetheless are. As such, this thesis is my attempt of bringing these lived experiences and complexities of being Māori into wider disciplinary conversations within psychology.

Future directions and final thoughts

To look out and beyond the culturally nuanced insights into Māori subjectivities that I have presented and discussed within this thesis, I want to touch on two particular social issues that our society is facing. I will end the thesis reflecting on these two points as they demonstrate the ongoing complexities of being Māori and the need for academic disciplines, like psychology, to engaged more fully with human subjectivities as an ongoing process of development, change, and contradiction. At the time of writing this closing chapter, the uplifting of Māori children from their families by the State, and the ways with which these uplifts are being conducted, are of heighten national interest. Among the numerous and complex issues involved here, this situation highlights important considerations regarding Māori subjectivities and continued cultural disruption. In what has been dubbed by the media as “New Zealand’s stolen generation” (Reid, 2019), the disproportional uplifting of Māori children from their immediate whānau can be understood as a mechanism that works to systemically de-whakapapa (to disconnect a person from their whakapapa in its broadest sense) Māori children. In a Māori world that often emphasises connections to ancestral lands, ‘traditional’ cultural practices, language, and tribal affiliations, being Māori in the context of having whakapapa connections severed creates a state of cultural limbo for many. It is important that our understandings of what it means to be Māori remains flexible and inclusive of those experiencing the margins of society, or as Rewi (2010) puts it: “Compromise or perish! (p. 55).” These children may well find new ways to be Māori, which we should take seriously as legitimate re-articulations that have been produced in the midst of personal and collective trauma.

The second example to close with relates to an explorative research project I am involved in that is currently in the early stages of development. With the recent changes in immigration law in Australia, New Zealand citizens are being deported back to this country at a rate never seen before (Blake-Persen, 2019; Bonnett & Pennington, 2019). The reason for these deportations are related to criminal offences that have resulted in prison time for many Māori in Australia, and the perceived future criminality on the part of those deported. This perceived future criminality is a pre-emptive punitive measure where a New Zealand citizen can be deported without actually being convicted of a crime. It is thought that up to sixty percent of New Zealand deportees are of Māori and Pacifika descent. Responses relating to the return of these citizens remains sporadic and unclear. Combined with the issues of [dis]connection outlined within this thesis, the case of the deportees highlight further issues of cultural disruption and displacement that Māori experience. For many of these Māori deportees, their everyday lives have been forged in Australia. In contrast, they have few enacted ties in this country and their connection often amount to mere citizenship. What it means to be Māori for those returning to our shores in these circumstances will further complicate and challenge dominant articulations of Māori subjectivities, and warrants further investigation.

The uplifting and deportation of Māori can be seen as just two examples of further iterations of the seemingly continuous mass socio-cultural upheavals and disruptions that Māori have been enduring since the onset of colonization. If academia and social services – and Māori within position of power for that matter – are complicit in committing to hegemonic articulations of Māori subjectivities that do not create space for or take seriously the re-articulated subjectivities those disconnected, we may act to further marginalise the most marginalised among us. To remain relevant, connected, and effective, academics and social science researchers can engage in cooperative and creative efforts to re-articulate dynamic ways-of-being Māori that make us, and society in general, more useful to the communities we purportedly attest to serve (cf. Rua et al. In Press).

Finally, within this thesis I have framed my engagements with what it means to be Māori in a tentative manner. This is because what it means to be Māori is an on-going process that cannot be pinned down in a definitive sense (cf. King et al. 2017; Mika, 2015), and we must be able to adapt our understandings to include these shifting subjectivities. The empirical examples of Māori ways-of-being I have presented within this thesis are from my own lifeworld and, as such, do not come close to exhausting the totality of what it means to be Māori today and into the future. However, the glimpses I have been able to provide can work in concert with research of other lifeworlds to broaden out how the discipline of psychology, or other disciplines where Indigenous peoples are active, engage with what it means to be human and entangled in complex ways with the lives of other human beings.

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Appendices

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King, P., & Hodgetts, D. (2017). Gathering a few thoughts on 'Neo-Confucian epistemology and Chinese philosophy'. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 20(2), 161-165. doi:10.1111/ajsp.12174	
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King, P., Hodgetts, D., Rua, M., & Morgan, M. (2017). Disrupting being on an industrial scale: Towards a theorization of Māori ways-of-being. Theory & Psychology, 27(6), 725-740. doi:10.1177/0959354317733552	
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King, P., Hodgetts, D., Rua, M., & Morgan, M. (2018). When the marae moves into the city: Being Māori in urban Palmerston North. City and Community, 17(4), 1189-1208.	
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King, P. (2019). The woven self: an auto-ethnography of cultural disruption and connectedness. International Perspective in Psychology: Research, Practice, Consultation, 8(3), 107-123.	
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