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Editorial – Indigenous Psychology: a brief introduction

Pat Dudgeon & Abigail Bray

One common definition of Indigenous psychology is 'the scientific study of human behavior or mind that is native, that is not transported from other regions and that is designed for its people' (Kim & Berry, 1993: 2). Indigenous psychology is also a potent psychology of resistance. Theorising and resisting the psychopolitics of neocolonial oppression and control, as the forefather of Indigenous psychology Franz Fanon argued so eloquently and passionately (and as W. E. B. Du Bois argued before him in *The Souls of Black Folk*, 1903), by de-territorializing the disabling 'double consciousness' of the colonised is central to the restoration of the biophilic force of Indigenous people and their lands.

Although Indigenous resistance began in each colonised land at the time of invasion, it was only during the 1970s that a global resistance movement began to emerge. One significant outcome of these diverse but connected movements was the United Nations General Assembly adoption of the *Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People* in 2007. At the heart of the *Declaration* is the principle of self-determination or the recognition that Indigenous people have a fundamental human right to their traditional cultures and lands, to be a self-governing people without interference or discrimination from others. Indeed the Australian Indigenous Psychologists Association (AIPA) cites the *Declaration* in their code of ethics; 'Indigenous psychologists support the purposes and principles of the United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* and demonstrate

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a conscious commitment to cultural maintenance for Indigenous people' (2009). In significant ways, the de-colonising practice, theory and science of Indigenous psychology is a form of cultural maintenance insofar as Indigenous psychology seeks, broadly speaking, to preserve culturally appropriate healing and strengthen the capacity of people to restore and replenish self-determination at every level of society from child-rearing to land rights.

Global Indigenous psychology was recognised as a discipline with the establishment of the Indigenous psychology task force of Division 32 (Society for Humanistic Psychology) of the American Psychological Association (APA) in 2010.

> Indigenous Psychology is an intellectual movement across the globe, based on the following factors:
>
> 1. A reaction against the colonization/hegemony of Western psychology.
> 2. The need for non-Western cultures to solve their local problems through indigenous practices and applications.
> 3. The need for a non-Western culture to recognize itself in the constructs and practices of psychology.
> 4. The need to use indigenous philosophies and concepts to generate theories of global discourse (APA, 2010).

In what follows, these four principles are discussed with reference to existing and emerging paradigms. Obviously the vast complexities of global Indigenous psychology cannot be captured here – the purpose is to offer readers as useful as possible an introduction to a rapidly expanding, globally significant mental health movement. All principles can be said to reflect the *Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* insofar as they are guided by the over-arching principle of the basic right of self-determination.

1. A reaction against the colonization/hegemony of Western psychology

The first point acknowledges that the discourse of Western psychology is hegemonic, in the sense that the discourse has governed or colonised non-Western populations through the naturalisation of (western) ideologies as scientific truths about human consciousness. In brief, the cultural, political and economic expansion of the United States after the Second World War was caught up in the dissemination of the Western psy-complex as a normative discourse. The tentacles of US neo-colonial capitalism have drawn a great deal of cultural authority from Western psy-complex social engineering. Not only did the US psy-complex undergo a massive expansion domestically, shaping education

policy, child-rearing, welfare, corporate practices, popular culture and so on, but it was exported to other cultures when, to take one very significant example, the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) became the most authoritative global text on mental illness in 1952. Kleinman, in particular, has been consistently critical in his analysis of the ex-nomination of Euro-American norms in the DSM, arguing for example that 'culture bound' syndromes are used to describe non-western people but that the 'mean spiritedness' (Wilkes, 2000: 522) of Western culture is not recognised as pathological itself (Kleinman, 1996).

As Berry writes:

> Psychology, both as science and practice, has been largely developed in one cultural area of the world: Europe and North America. As a result, the discipline is culture-bound, limited in its origins, concepts, and empirical findings to only this small portion of the world. The discipline is also culture-blind, largely ignoring the influence of the role of culture in shaping the development and display of human behaviour. These limitations have resulted in the dominant position of a Western Academic Scientific Psychology (WASP) in relation to other cultural perspectives on human behaviour. (Berry, 2015: 342)

A central issue has emerged within the global movement – how to decolonise Western psychology (Danziger: 2006). The issue is caught up in the marginalization of Indigenous research.

It is only in the last few decades that US-dominated methodologies and paradigms have been challenged as a form of white imperialism (Allwood & Berry, 2006). As a decolonising practice and theory, Indigenous psychology is an emerging powerful counter-hegemonic discourse which seeks to denaturalise Western psy-complex ideologies in order to rethink the very grounds of Western psychology.

Hooks suggests, following Fanon and Biko, that both postcolonial and critical psychology transform each other in order to strengthen a psychology of resistance – 'a critical psychology that makes no real engagement with the theory or criticism of the postcolonial would seem to be no critical psychology at all' (Hook, 2005: 19). It might also be argued that a critical psychology that makes no real engagement with the theory and criticism of Indigenous psychology would seem to be no critical psychology at all.

Derald Wing Sue and David Sue propose the following seven guidelines for Western-trained therapists in dealing with clients of non-Western and indigenous cultures:

1. Do not invalidate the indigenous belief systems of your culturally diverse clients.
2. Become knowledgeable about indigenous beliefs and healing practices.
3. Realize that learning about indigenous healing and beliefs entails experiential and lived realities.
4. Avoid overpathologizing and underpathologizing a culturally diverse client's problems.
5. Be willing to consult with traditional healers or make use of their services.
6. Recognize that spirituality is an intimate aspect of the human condition and a legitimate aspect of mental health work.
7. Be willing to expand your definition of the helping role to community work and involvement (Sue & Sue, 2008: 229–30).

2. The need for non-Western cultures to solve their local problems through indigenous practice and applications.

This second theme is strongly linked to the principle of self-determination. Colonial interventions into Indigenous cultures have had a destructive impact on the social and emotional well-being of countless people, in many countries, and across many generations. One result of colonisation has been the repression of Indigenous healing practices. Globally, however, there has been a renaissance in the last decade of traditional healing practices from the employment of shamen in Latin America, to self-determining Indigenous communities in Canada that report drastically lowered suicide rates (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998) through to recent developments within the Indigenous mental health movement in Australia such as the National Empowerment Programme (NEP) which unlock the capacity of communities to build healthy resilient communities based on Indigenous principles of social and emotional well-being. That cultural problems require cultural solutions is the overall recommendation given by Elders across Australia when the *Elders Report* was released in 2014 in response to the epidemic of youth suicide among Indigenous people. By reconnecting youth to cultural practices, and to the wisdom of their Elders in particular, the loss of cultural identity and health which is a traumatic pathogenic legacy of generations of colonisation is repaired.

3. The need for a non-Western culture to recognize itself in the constructs and practices of psychology.

Historically, Western psychology has framed Indigenous people as objects of pathologising inspection and diagnosis rather than as subjects and agents in their own right while Indigenous science and knowledge systems have been silenced and marginalised. And although the emergence of Indigenous psychology in the last few decades has made rapid progress in overcoming this exclusion and pathologisation, equity has still to be fully achieved within the discipline globally with an under representation of Indigenous psychologists and Indigenous content still visible at every level.

4. The need to use indigenous philosophies and concepts to generate theories of global discourses.

What kinds of global philosophies and theories might Indigenous psychology generate and how would this occur? This last point appears to 'demand the impossible' for it gestures towards the goal of creating a unified global Indigenous psychology which is capable of at least competing with the global dominance of the WASP psychology generated from WEIRD societies and such a task is indeed daunting. Moreover, 'global' has become synonymous with domination for some time and progressives are routinely suspicious of academic disciplines which seek to renew themselves as globally dominant discourses. Yet this pessimism is perhaps marked by a retreatist avoidance of larger unwieldy issues – we are, after all, unavoidably and to various degrees global citizens and so it follows that many of the forms of contemporary immiseration are globally produced (for example, the mass degradation of the earth, the globally networked financial exploitation systems, the globally fluid distribution of inequality). The rise of global anti-globalisation movements although often marginalising Fourth World social justice movements have also at times been led by those very movements. The Fourth World 'provides a kind of broad ideological umbrella to cover the changing coalitions of pluralistic resistance aimed at preventing the monocultural transformation of the entire planet' (Hall, 2003: 530).

Perhaps the most optimistic Indigenous psychologists who have argued for the importance of a global project have come from China espousing a Confucian psychology and world-view: '[i]n order to initiate a scientific revolution against Western mainstream psychological theories, it is necessary to construct alternative theories to compete with pre-existing Western psychological theories' (Liu, 2014: 8).

At the heart of this quest for a global indigenous psychology is the tension between an emic (culturally specific) and etic (global) approach and in relation

to Indigenous psychology it is frequently argued that it is merely a proliferation of endless emic approaches, a confused chattering, as it were, of the particular which threatens to drown out the voice of a universal cross-cultural psychology and the building of new scientific (and philosophical) understandings of human consciousness. Pike (1957), however, recognised that the emic and etic approach can be understood as a binocular that is capable of producing a clearer and more complex vision (Berry, 2015).

Cross-cultural psychologist Berry suggests that the building of a global psychology would involve:

> a sampling of behaviours in many cultures, using indigenous concepts and methods, and then examining them for their commonalities. The perspectives to be involved include using the distinction among process, competence and performance; prevention strategies to avoid domination by Western psychology; the intercultural strategies of separation and integration (while avoiding assimilation and marginalisation); the progressive modification of imposed etics (via emics) to achieve derived etics; and the development of indigenous psychologies around the world, followed by comparisons among them (Berry, 2015).

What would an Indigenous nosology look like and how would it be developed and put into practice? Is it possible to argue that the impact of colonisation on social and emotional well-being is similar across cultures? Are there specific kinds of trauma associated with colonisation which all Indigenous people experience? Generations of Indigenous people in Canada, New Zealand, Australia and North America have all been subjected to the forced removal of their children: is it possible to argue that such forms of genocidal colonisation produced similar forms of immiseration? There are of course numerous other shared forms of colonial oppression such as the destruction of spirituality, language, culture, and dispossession of land.

Lethal levels of self-hatred, argue Duran & Duran, echoing Fanon, are a consequence of genocidal assaults against a people:

> Once a group of people have been assaulted in a genocidal fashion, there are psychological ramifications. With the victim's complete loss of power comes despair, and the psyche reacts by internalizing what appears to be genuine power – the power of the oppressor. [...] This self-hatred can be either internalized or externalized (Duran & Duran, 1995, p29; see also Trexler, 1995).

Is it possible to discover specific empirical, scientific and theoretical explanations for the particular forms of traumatic self-destruction that are a consequence

of genocidal colonisation but which are also universal or shared by Indigenous people?

On a more positive note, there is an emerging global connectivity between many Indigenous psychologies which also resonates with aspects of what might be termed alternative or emerging eco-psychology paradigms within radical branches of western psychology, both of which highlight a deep human need for connection to the earth. Many Indigenous cultures recognize, '… that all entities of nature – plants, animals, stones, trees, mountains, rivers, lakes and a host of other living entities – embodied relationships that must be honoured' (Cajete, 2000: 178). Green psychology first emerged when Robert Greenway coined the term 'psychoecology' in 1963 although it is only recently that green psychology has acknowledged Indigenous science. Growing awareness of the environmental damage caused by Western industrial and post-industrial cultures has led to a global movement to defend the sanctity of the earth and our fellow animals. The Western anthroposcene, in particular, has resulted in a dramatic reduction of bio-diveristy, species extinction, and general environmental degradation caused by fossil fuel extraction and misuse.

Globally, Indigenous people have been at the forefront of attempts to protect the earth – from Indigenous activists in the Amazon to First Nation people in Australia protesting against uranium mines, a deep green consciousness of the inter-connectedness of life is rising up from the traditional custodians of colonised lands. In 'a politically informed immanent spirituality for critical psychology' Skott-Myhre argues that the spiritual and the transpersonal (or rather the connectiveness between human and nature, the releasing of the prison of only-human consciousness should be understood as a 'direct political and cultural challenge to capitalism mounted with the material and historical actualities of the present' (Skott-Myhre, 2015: 386–94). As Skott-Myhre points out the rise of Western capitalism and psychology is implicated in the oppression, appropriation and commodification of Indigenous spiritually and healing practices. As people become increasingly aware of the destruction of the planet and various attempts are made to transition to environmentally sustainable ways of living and being, the importance of Indigenous understandings of the relationship between wellbeing and honouring the importance of a sacred connection to the earth have a certain urgency. As Coulthard, member of the Yellowknives Dene nation puts it 'our cultures have much to teach the Western world about the establishment of relationships within and between peoples and the natural world that are profoundly non-imperialist' (Coulthard, 2007: 456).

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A Radical Activist's Manifesto for Indigenous Australian Mental Health: Rob Riley's legacy 20 years on

Pat Dudgeon, Abigail Bray & Dawn Darlaston-Jones

SUMMARY: In 1995, Indigenous leader and activist Rob Riley became the first Aboriginal person to deliver a keynote address at the Australian Psychological Society (APS) annual conference. He presented a manifesto for change not only for the practice of psychology but for society as a whole. Calling for recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders to be treated with dignity and respect and to have self-determination over their lives, Riley articulated the deeply divisive structural racism that underpinned the social, economic, and political context at the time. Twenty years after his untimely death, we reflect on his legacy and ask to what extent his challenge to psychology and Australian society has been met.

KEY WORDS: Indigenous psychology, Rob Riley, critical psychology social justice, self-determination, Indigenous activism, Gaaya Dhuwi Declaration, Fanon, colonial hegemony

> At the white man's school, what are our children taught?
> Are they told of the battles our people fought?
> Are they told how our people died?
> Are they told why our people cried?
> Australia's true history is never read
> But the black man keeps it in his head.
> – Rob Riley, (1995) *At the White Man's school*

On May 13th 2016, at the Centre for Aboriginal Studies at Curtin University, Western Australia, Indigenous leaders and Elders celebrated the life of the renowned

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radical activist, dissident intellectual and visionary Rob Riley (1954–1996) and paid tribute by marking the twenty years since the Indigenous statesman's untimely death. Riley was one of Australia's most respected Indigenous leaders. Under the memorial 'Freedom Fighter's Farewell' in the Canberra Times, Jan Mayman wrote that Riley 'spoke hard truths in a gentle voice. His high public profile enraged the redneck tribes. They sent him frequent death threats' (Pilger, 1998: 243).

Riley was a student of psychology but the immediate pressures to engage in the struggle for social justice demanded that he focus his efforts in that direction instead. He remained entwined in psychology however and presented a ground-breaking manifesto at the 1995 Australian Psychological Society (APS) Annual Conference held in Perth, Western Australia. He challenged the practice of psychology to facilitate Aboriginal self-determination in the treatment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and to acknowledge the impact of racist oppression on social and emotional wellbeing. It was the first time an Aboriginal person had addressed the APS.

Riley's manifesto marked a paradigm shift in the discourse of Australian psychology which had until then been dominated by an 'epistemology of white ignorance' (Mills, 2007: 37). Riley named the systematic disempowering of Aboriginal people by the state '*administrative genocide*' and called for a radical transformation of the mental health system. *Administrative genocide* as this paper will later discuss, can be understood as a form of slow genocidal violence. 'Slow violence occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all' (Nixon, 2011: 2). A slow administrative genocidal violence that is not seen as genocidal at all. Riley's concept of *administrative genocide* also resonates with Foucault's arguments in his lectures on the bio-politics of racism as the sovereign power to kill, namely: 'indirect murder: the fact of exposing someone to death, increasing the risk of death for some people, or, quite simply political death, expulsion, rejection, and so on' (Foucault, 2003: 256). Riley demanded that white dominated psychology, as a discipline, begins an ethical witnessing of the administrative genocide, the slow violence, the indirect murder, of his people and allow space for a self-determining Indigenous psychology. Here was a subaltern voice demanding that white Australia acknowledge the 'blood that has dried in the codes' (Foucault, 2003: 56) of western psychology.

Fidelity to the existence of that suffering is the grounds of a radical questioning of the disavowed foundations of oppression. In one powerful sense, Riley's manifesto urges an affirmation of the submerged histories, cultures, languages, bodies of Aboriginal people in order to pose radical questions, open up a different psychological praxis which is capable of a healing resistance. This paper reflects upon Riley's work, particularly in Aboriginal social and emotional wellbeing, and

how this has contributed to an overarching narrative of social justice changes for Indigenous people.[1]

Rob Riley's life and times symbolized the injustices that are still perpetrated upon Australia's Indigenous peoples. He was a child victim of the Stolen Generations, the third generation of his family following his mother and maternal grandmother, when he was taken as a baby in 1955 and institutionalised in Sister Kate's Children's Home in Western Australia. There he was subjected to emotional, physical and sexual abuse. In 1997, a national inquiry into the forced separation of children from their families argued that the Australian child removal laws were genocidal in intent and breached numerous commonwealth and international human rights laws (Wilkie, 1997). Although Riley had been subjected to genocidal social engineering as a baby, he rose up to become one of Aboriginal Australia's most significant freedom fighters.

Riley influenced politics and policy in unprecedented ways and he was a voice representing Indigenous diversity at many levels – he was respected across all areas, from the remote outback to urban centres, and in the halls of power in Canberra. He held many important official positions such as the director of the Aboriginal Legal Service Western Australia, he instigated the Royal Commission into the Stolen Generation and held key positions such as advisor to the office of the commonwealth Minister for Aboriginal Affairs. He was also Head of the Aboriginal Issues Unit of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody until 1990. The influence of his activism includes most of the major struggles of Aboriginal politics since the 1970s to his death in 1996. Beresford (2006) portrayed all of those events and is an important source for understanding the power of those struggles, from perspectives of both an individual and from a marginalized group.

Worn down by endless struggles for equality with changing governments both at state and federal levels who failed to deliver on promises, and beset by his own personal demons as a consequence of his institutionalisation, he took his life. Healy (1993) captures one of the important underlying issues that confront all oppressed Indigenous peoples that contributed to his pain:

> For Aboriginal people to assert the truth of their existence in the face of a society that permanently invalidates them is to live with unbearable pain.

1. For Indigenous Australians 'mental health' is understood differently than the usual individualistic western psy-complex understandings. It is rather, '[w]holeistic health: Aboriginal health is not just the physcial well-being of an individual but the social, emotional and cultural wellbeng of the whole community in which each individual is able to acheive their full potential as a human being' (Dudgeon, Milroy & Walker, 2014: 550). Further: 'social and emotional wellbeing recognises the connection to land, culture, spirituality, ancestry, family and community and how these affect the individual' (ibid., p 548).

> Like countless others, Riley's final self-destruction was the last defense of his Aboriginal integrity. His suicide note was a clear political indictment of racism. 'Understand white Australia that you have so much to answer for', he wrote. 'Your greed, your massacres, your sanitised history in the name of might and right.' He had been through 'so much trauma, shame and guilt that I can't make peace with myself'. That a person such as Rob Riley, who always spoke and acted on the truth, could be driven to suicide is the ultimate condemnation of Australian racism.

Tragically, the revolutionary awareness which had inspired so many was also present in the last text he wrote – his suicide note.

Rob Riley – 'From exclusion to negotiation: the role of psychology in Aboriginal social justice'

Parts of Riley's 1995 speech 'From exclusion to negotiation' were reproduced in *Working Together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Mental Health and Wellbeing Principles and Practice* (Dudgeon, Milroy & Walker, 2014) and to honour his voice we include it here too:

> I believe there are profound obligations for those who commit themselves to helping their fellow human beings in the pursuit of a better quality of life. It is especially true where what we do impacts on the mental wellbeing of individuals in these dramatically changing times.
>
> There are of course daunting and at times seemingly insurmountable obstacles, yet the challenges can be stimulating and enticing. This is my personal philosophy and it is also what I perceive to be the reality that confronts the discipline of psychology. I make the assumption that you, like professionals from all health and social science disciplines, have the motives and 'open-mindedness' to incorporate different perspectives within the discipline that you have chosen.
>
> In my address I make reference to a number of reports that have been published over the years to provide an historical background to the current mental health status of Aboriginal peoples in this country, and the problems that have hindered provision of appropriate psychological services to them. My intention is not to lay blame or promote feelings of guilt – these are negative emotions that achieve little – but to invite you to share the challenge of finding better ways that have better outcomes for all of us.
>
> I outline the initiatives already taken by the profession in its attempts to improve its service to Aboriginal Australians. And suggest ways in which I feel psychology can further enhance its response to the needs of the contemporary

Aboriginal community. I truly hope that what I have to say has both meaning and relevance and that it will give you a better insight into the issues which confront Aboriginal people on a daily basis. I share this knowledge on the assumption that information freely given will be openly received and that this knowledge may challenge you, as individuals, to contemplate your functional role and responsibilities to all Australians, especially in this context to Aboriginal Australians.

[…]

The current problematic mental health status of Aboriginal people can be traced directly to denial of social justice. The history of this denial is best told in the underlying issues report to the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. This report is the most comprehensive analysis of the myriad of social welfare variables, identified by the Aboriginal community as being fundamental issues that have perpetrated welfarism and that have maintained the co-dependency between the community and the bureaucracy, which I sum up as 'administrative genocide'. Aboriginal people have not been empowered to make decisions about their lives and the lives and futures of their children.

[…]

The process of empowerment, in one sense, has come far – but in many others, as illustrated, it has proved to be an illusion, and the cost to the community in achieving even these modest gains over a period of some 150 years has been enormous.

[…]

The anguish of their grief-stricken parents, families, kinship groups and communities, and the children themselves was brusquely discounted as inconsequential and at any event of a temporary nature. Today the legacy of those policies (should) haunt the conscience of white Australia, as it has haunted the memories of generations of Aboriginal families. The residue of unresolved anger and grief that blankets the Aboriginal community has had a devastating impact on the physical, emotional and mental well-being of so many.

The removal of children report cannot be allowed to suffer the fate of previous reports… the recommendations made in this report can and must go some way toward easing the anguish that plagues the Aboriginal community. These recommendations provide a blueprint for direct and unequivocal intervention, on behalf of the state government, to repatriate families and to care for the broken spirit of thousands of our people.

Psychologists, other health and social science professionals have an absolute obligation and a duty of care to share in this reparation process. More importantly the paramount obligation on the profession is to guarantee the participation of control by Indigenous people in any area of psychological study, counselling, and preparation of reports that pertain to the Indigenous community.

[…]

…the pertinent question for the Australian Psychological Society and you as practitioners is 'how can the profession facilitate Aboriginal self-determination? How can this begin and how can it be sustained?'

We as individuals have the obligation and the power to ensure that positive social change occurs. On another level however, organisations and departments need to show leadership and commitment by subscribing formally to the principles and guidelines for achieving social justice.

The world we live in is in a state of intense and unprecedented environmental, political, economic and social change that impacts on every living thing on this planet. We are an active part of this change and we as individuals, as collectives in families or in work organisations can and must direct where our world is going.

Until recently the practice of psychology has largely served to oppress, control and assimilate minority groups, especially Aboriginal people. In the past few years a range of Aboriginal mental health initiatives, some connected with the Australian Psychology Society have been established. There are, of course, a myriad of mental health initiatives happening on the ground in Aboriginal communities at local and regional levels, as Aboriginal people themselves are attempting to identify and seek solutions to the inequitable situations they live in. To the members of the Australian Psychology Society I would say 'join us in this quest'.

What part can the discipline of psychology and you as psychologists play in the pursuit of social justice? How many psychologists have an understanding of Aboriginal people? How many of you have an understanding of Aboriginal culture, history and contemporary issues? For many of you this knowledge is crucial given the social conditions and your work environments such as prisons and the welfare sector and where there are large numbers of Aboriginal clients. It is your responsibility to seek that knowledge and understanding now, and to ensure that it is available for future generations of psychologists, in psychology training and educational programs. To their credit some psychology departments have been actively involved in Reconciliation Study Circles. Some educational institutions have begun introducing more appropriate and relevant contemporary Aboriginal issues into their curriculum and training for psychologists. I applaud the Universities and again, I applaud the leadership in your profession for these real and important initiatives. They represent a most appropriate and empowering process because the initiatives I have just mentioned are developed, designed and delivered by Aboriginal

people. Aboriginal participation in their own matters, academic or otherwise, is integral. This is the basis of equity and self-determination.

Another challenge to psychology is to examine the discipline and its theory; training practices; methods employed, and their appropriate application to Aboriginal people (e.g. the use of Western tests on Aboriginal clients. It has been recognised that these tests were not 'culture-fair' but they are still being used.)

The discipline of psychologists needs to be open to change but more-so, it needs to be dynamic and be prepared to change. The signs are positive, as I have acknowledged. But so many obstacles remain and still much needs to be done. We cannot allow ourselves to become complacent nor limit potential simply because we think we have done enough.

I am enthused and I hope you are as well, by the guiding principles contained within the National Aboriginal and Islander Mental Health Policy Report, authorised by Swan and Raphael. These principles intended to guide the development of an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander mental health strategy and plan, are principles that your profession should take on board. I commend them to you as the basis for your future proactive involvement in meeting the challenges outlined here. They include the understanding that:

- The Aboriginal concept of health is holistic.
- Self-determination is central to the provision of Aboriginal health services.
- Culturally valid understanding must shape provision of Aboriginal health (and mental health) care.
- The experience of trauma and loss contribute to the impairment of Aboriginal culture and mental health wellbeing.
- The human rights of Aboriginal people must be recognised and enforced.
- Racism, stigma, adversity and social disadvantage must be addressed in strategies aimed at improving Aboriginal mental health.
- The strength and centrality of Aboriginal family and kinship must be understood and accepted.
- The concept of a single homogenous culture and/or groups is erroneous.
- Aboriginal people have great strengths including creativity, endurance, humour, compassion and spirituality. These characteristics of Aboriginal people have enabled their survival through the period of dispossession and oppression that you have had described in some detail to you today. This has helped us (Aboriginal peoples) through the worst of times.
- They will go on sustaining us until, with your understanding and support and commitment, we are ready and able to enjoy with all Australians, the best of times.

> Finally, I say to you, two thoughts that I keep in the back of my mind when the struggle along the road to social justice and equity gets a bit tough:
>
> - You can't be wrong if you're right, and;
> - You don't stop fighting for justice simply because those around you don't like it. Just keep on fighting (Dudgeon, Milroy & Walker, 2014: xvi-xviii).

'Just keep on fighting' – twenty years afterwards

Since Riley's ground-breaking manifesto called for change, the Indigenous mental health movement in Australia has strengthened and consolidated, making steady, innovative and powerful national and international changes. One might argue that Riley's manifesto was part of the second wave of the Indigenous mental health movement. The first wave might be anchored around the 1979 National Aboriginal Mental Health Association which issued a Declaration of Mental Health which argued that Aboriginal people are discriminated against and ignored by the colonial psy-complex and that mental health 'services should be conducted by and for Aboriginal people' (The Aboriginal Health Worker, 1980: 4). In 1989 the National Aboriginal Health Strategy outlined nine principles of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander social and emotional wellbeing which have been carried over into contemporary policy guidelines and practices. These principles, in essence, acknowledge the deleterious impact of colonisation on Indigenous peoples mental health and the importance of self-determination as a guiding healing principle. The nine guiding principles are summarised in the National Strategic Framework for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples Mental Health and Social and Emotional Wellbeing 2004–2009.

Since then, what might also be understood to be a third wave within the movement is building on international alliances between Indigenous nations, and the 2015 *Gayaa Dhuwi (Proud Spirit) Declaration* is a significant example of the deepening of an international movement. This Declaration is a 'companion declaration' to the Wharerata Declaration of 2010 which was formed by Indigenous mental health leaders from Canada, the United States, Australia, Samoa and New Zealand, the Indigenous Leadership Group, supported by the International Initiative for Mental Health Leadership. The Wharerata Declaration has five themes: Indigeneity; best practice; best evidence; informed, credible, strategic, connected sustainable leadership; influential and networked leadership (Sones, et al, 2010). Gayaa Dhuwi echoing, in many ways, Riley's earlier manifesto, requests that governments, mental health organisations and professionals, higher education institutions and allied educators and practitioners urgently address the social determinants of Indigenous mental health, namely the entrenched inequality within neo-colonial cultures and the subsequent and ongoing trauma

engendered by such oppression. And that, importantly, the principle of self-determination guides the development and practice of Indigenous social and emotional wellbeing. The Declaration was launched by the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Leadership in Mental Health (NATSILMH) on the 27th of August 2015 with the support of the National Mental Health Commission (Dudgeon, Calma, Brideson & Holland, 2016).

Given that Indigenous people have been subjected to nearly two and a half centuries of prolonged genocide, are only three per cent of the Australian population and are, by all measures, the most disadvantaged of all Australians, the Indigenous mental health movement has achieved a great deal (AIPEP, 2015; Marmot, 2011; Dudgeon, Milroy & Walker, 2014). Around the time of, and since Riley's unprecedented address and his tragic death eight months later, a number of significant and powerful changes have occurred within the discourses and the institution of psychology in Australia (Dudgeon, Rickwood, Garvey & Gridley, 2014; Dudgeon, Darlaston-Jones & Bray, forthcoming). A number of key publications contributed to this change including the *Ways Forward: National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander mental health policy national consultancy report* (Swan & Raphael, 1995). This was one of the first to identify a collective and holistic model of health and wellbeing that focussed on resilience, strengths and capacity within Indigenous communities. The APS then released a position paper on racism, *Racism and Prejudice: Psychological Perspectives* (1995) challenging the biological foundations of race and recognising that western psychology had played an instrumental role in the oppression of Indigenous peoples (Bishop, et al. 2012). In many ways this systemic oppression continues through the dominance of western education structures, knowledges, and pedagogy (Darlaston-Jones, Herbert, Ryan, Darlaston-Jones, Harris & Dudgeon, 2014). This was followed by the first edition of the *Working Together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Mental Health and Wellbeing Principles and Practice* (Purdie, Dudgeon & Walker, 2010) later revised and edited by Dudgeon, Milroy and Walker (2014). Both versions of this seminal text were made freely available to educators, students, and practitioners to facilitate greater access to, and use of, Indigenous ways of responding to social and health inequities.

Other changes within the APS include the development of their *APS Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP) 2011–2014.* In her launch statement, Professor Pat Dudgeon said: 'cultural safety and continuous, quality professional development are conceptual goals we plan to make achievable through targeted activities within the APS and in partnership with universities and colleges, our branches and key Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organization' (2012: 6). Perhaps more importantly, the APS acknowledged that there are 'significant knowledge gaps in the psychological and wider community about the diversity

and wealth of Indigenous cultures and histories and the inequality between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous health and well-being remain an alarming sign of how far we still have to go' (2012: 4). This was a public acknowledgement of the role played by psychology and other social services in the removal of children which has been described as prolonged genocide and was one of the key issues on which Rob Riley fought for redress during his life.

For the APS, as the peak representative for psychology in Australia to recognise the complicity of the profession in the intergenerational trauma and disadvantage accrued to Indigenous Australians is a significant moment in its history and marks a turning point in the foundational truths the society subscribes to (Dudgeon, et al. forthcoming). Focussing on the strengths, resilience and capacity of Indigenous peoples and communities to resist the oppression of western discourses of deficit is almost a seismic shift away from the individualised emphasis that characterises mainstream psychology. This change of direction was reinforced when the APS agreed to partner with Professor Dudgeon and a team of psychologists in the *Australian Indigenous Psychology Education Project* (AIPEP) which began in 2013. This was the first time that the society had taken an active role in research proposed by members of the society. AIPEP's goal was to examine the education of psychologists to identify the barriers to Indigenous student recruitment and retention; to increase the number of Indigenous psychologists and to ensure that all psychology graduates had the requisite skills and knowledge to work in culturally responsive ways with Indigenous clients and communities. Such a research agenda includes 'recognition of the legacy of power and privilege that non-Indigenous Australians experience, an understanding of the political and cultural aspects of the practice and education of psychology, and a genuine commitment to a sustainable agenda for social change' (Dudgeon et al. forthcoming). The APS has endorsed the curriculum framework that is one of the outcomes of this research and in partnership with the AIPEP team is working to have Indigenous knowledges embedded in psychology education across Australia. While Riley's vision for a decolonised psychology has not yet been realised, important changes are underway.

The psychology of oppression: reading Riley with Fanon

> I am talking of millions of men who have been skillfully injected with fear, inferiority complexes, trepidation, servility, despair, abasement.
> (Aimé Césaire, *Discours sur le Colonialisme)*

How might Riley's words be understood through the work of Fanon, Black militant psychiatrist, phenomenologist, poet and activist, a man who is

recognised as one of the founding voices of Black psychology? Fanon was perhaps the first to not only name the racism that suffused the western psy-complex but also to develop a distinct Black psychology which recognised the internal 'psycho-affective' chains (the internalised racial inferiority) the colonised mind struggles to break. Fanon also explored the ways in which white culture perceives Black bodies as 'phobogenic objects' (Fanon, 2008: 117), dehumanised things onto which to discharge aggression and fear. The pathology of racialised inferiority is the result of a 'double process' which is 'primarily economic' and 'subsequently, the internalization, – or, better, the epidermalization – of this inferiority' (Fanon, 2008: 4). The colonised subject is caught within the echo chamber of a double dehumanisation – internalised racism and the external material dehumanising conditions (enforced poverty, judicial oppression, general dispossession and so on) echo each other incessantly. Economic dispossession and exploitation, so necessary to colonisation, leads to and is strengthened by a psychological dispossession. Fanon explored how colonisation manufactures with great psychological precision, a dehumanised identity for the colonised. The production of dehumanisation is violent, traumatic, organised. One is colonised as non-human through force and the result is 'a feeling of non-existence' (Fanon, 2008: 106) and a 'state of absolute depersonalization' (Fanon, 2008: xxiii). Fanon captures this sense of force: 'All those white men in a group, guns in their hands, cannot be wrong. I am guilty. I do not know of what, but I know I am no good' (Fanon, 2008: 106). Interpellated as nonhuman by the colonial hegemony the colonised 'is broken in the very depth of his substance. The desire to live, to continue, becomes more and more indecisive, more and more phantom-like' (Fanon, 1967: 35). Reduced to a cipher, the affective forces atrophy.

Fanon also recognised that the attempts of the western psy-complex to 'cure' colonised people were aimed at adjusting them to being dehumanised, to being subjected to a 'systematic negation' and a 'furious determination to deny all attributes of humanity' (Fanon, 1991: 250). Fanon laid the grounds for a decolonizing psychology, so that colonised people can be liberated from 'the arsenal of complexes that has been developed in the colonial environment' (Fanon, 2008: 19). His hope was for a psychology of de-colonising emancipation which could empower 'all who turn in circles between madness and suicide' (Fanon, 1991: 130), which could equip the oppressed with psychological tools of resistance.

For Riley the oppression of Indigenous people by the colonial bureaucracy is, as Fanon might have argued, the cause of an 'arsenal of complexes' (Fanon, 2008: 19). Yet, while Riley, like Fanon, locates colonisation as the aetiology of mental illness in colonised people, Riley concludes that this is also a particular kind of genocide. Riley states:

> The current problematic mental health status of Aboriginal people can be traced directly to denial of social justice. The history of this denial is best told in the underlying issues report to the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. This report is the most comprehensive analysis of the myriad of social welfare variables, identified by the Aboriginal community as being fundamental issues that have perpetrated welfarism and that have maintained the co-dependency between the community and the bureaucracy, which I sum up as 'administrative genocide' (2014, xvii).

The 1991 Regional Report of Inquiry into Underlying Issues in Western Australia for the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody is indeed a rigorous and comprehensive indictment of 'institutionalised racism' (Jones, 1997) within the State. Racism within the criminal justice system, education, health, welfare, housing, work, the mining industry, the tourism industry, the mass media, indeed the whole depth and breadth of the colonial infrastructure – the very administration of Indigenous life – is shown to be historically embedded with racism and to perpetuate the lethal marginalisation and institutionalisation of the traditional custodians of the land. Section 14.7 'Mental Health' opens with the following Fanonian sentence: 'It is the Aboriginal contention that the current situation of their people is the product of European colonialism and racism, not of some theoretical prehistoric social, technological or psychological retardedness' (Allen, 1988: 84). The report details numerous examples of racism within the mental health system, and in particular psychiatry, and concludes by arguing that the 'power base in the hands of western psychiatry' (Dodson & Dodson, 1991) needs to be removed, not merely changed in small ways.

Both this report and Riley's concept of 'administrative genocide' resonate with Jones understanding of *institutionalised racism* as a core social and political determinant of Black peoples mental health. Jones (1997) ground breaking analysis of the three interdependent levels of racism (institutionalised, personally mediated, and internalised) and their impact on the health outcomes of people subjected to structural racist oppression is relevant here:

> Institutionalized racism manifests itself both in material conditions and in access to power. With regard to material conditions, examples include differential access to quality education, sound housing, gainful employment, appropriate medical facilities, and a clean environment. With regard to access to power, examples include differential access to information (including one's own history), resources (including wealth and organizational infra-structure), and voice (including voting rights, representation in government, and control of the media) (Jones, 1997: 1212).

The elimination of institutional racism at the government level is, argues Jones, central to the elimination of personally mediated and internalised racism. Jones identifies several key aspects of institutional racism as *initial historical insult*, *structural barriers*, inaction *in face of need*, *societal norms*, *biological determinism* and *unearned privilege* (Jones, 1997: 1213). These can be understood as aspects of the 'administrative genocide' which Riley argued is a key determinant of Indigenous wellbeing.

While Riley's concept of administrative genocide can be usefully understood as a form of institutionalised racism, both can be read as examples of what Fanon identified as advanced colonial racism. Fanon identifies two stages of colonial racism; the first is characterised by a direct exploitation of the body as object, while the more advanced represents a 'camouflage of the techniques by which man is exploited, hence of the forms of racism' (Fanon, 1967: 37). Within the advanced stage of colonial racism, the 'object is no longer the individual but a certain form of existing' (Fanon, 1967: 32). In this advanced stage of colonial racism one could locate three neo-liberal moves: 'zombie multiculturalism' (Gilroy, 2012), 'colour blind egalitarianism' (Gallagher, 2015) and racial equivalence' (Song, 2014).

Zombie multiculturalism (Gilroy, 2012) can be understood as a neo-colonial strategy which promotes the idea that a culture has achieved multicultural equality yet denies the continuation of structurally entrenched forms of racial inequality, specifically towards Indigenous peoples. Multiculturalism as a national ideology, 'lives' as a discourse which advertises a tolerant and ethically integrated culture just as multiculturalism is also at the same time effectively 'dead' insofar as a dominant white culture continues to subject Indigenous people to institutionalised racism. Within Australia, the historical oppression of Indigenous peoples is subsumed and rendered invisible within a discourse of zombie multiculturalism. Second, the discourse of *colour blind egalitarianism* (Gallagher, 2015) masks the operation of institutionalised racism by promoting the idea of a colour blind neo-colonial democracy in which whiteness is no longer dominant. Again, the specific historical oppression of Indigenous peoples in Australia is erased by a hegemonic discourse of egalitarianism which masks structurally entrenched oppression. Third, the idea of *racial equivalence* (Song, 2014), which assumes that all races in a neo-colonial culture have the same access to power, which results in a dominant white culture claiming *reverse racism* when called to account for the systemic oppression of Indigenous people.

Within an advanced neocolonial culture such as Australia these three discourses of camouflaged racism intersect strategically to mask the continuing domination of Indigenous people. To paraphrase Fanon, within such a culture the object is no longer Indigenous individuals, but a certain form of existing. Contemporary forms of institutionalised racism are disavowed, the historical narrative of institutionalised genocide is marginalised and fragmented, and

from within this carefully manufactured lacuna the biopolitical regulation of 'postcolonial' Indigenous existence expands. Fanon's point that the advanced forms of colonisation mask 'the techniques by which man is exploited' (Fanon, 1967: 37) is important. One dominant discursive technique is the systematic denial that Indigenous people (their land and their labour) are, or have been, exploited. By naming the neocolonial regulation of Indigenous life as administrative genocide Riley ruptured this denial, and in doing so strengthened resistance to legislative and policy control measures that are embedded with deficit discourses which serve to delegitimise any form of Aboriginal self-determination.

There is not space here to explore fully Riley's psychopolitical diagnosis 'administrative genocide' and how embedded in the context of this diagnostic psychopolitical concept there is an implicit 'theory of inhumanity' (Fanon, 1967: 3) which is born from an oppositional subaltern praxis. This paper is just a beginning. Turning to Fanon again, there are further echoes of resistance between these two dissidents. In his 1956 resignation letter to the Blida-Joinville psychiatric hospital and the governor general of Algeria, Fanon wrote: 'What is the status of Algeria? A systematized dehumanisation' (1967: 53). Riley's concept of administrative genocide gestures towards the practice of this 'systematized dehumanisation' and he might have well said, 'What is the state of black Western Australia? A systematized dehumanisation'. Fanon's famous description of colonisation as 'a systematised hierarchization implacably pursued' (1967: 31) also resonates with Riley's concept of administrative genocide, but is arguably Riley's concept which is the more radical and also one which has more relevance for the advanced colonial racism of today.

There is now a substantial literature on the complex ways exposure to racism damages social and emotional wellbeing and as Riley stated in 1995 the poor mental health of Aboriginal people is the result of racism. In this context, *administrative genocide* can be understood as a form of indirect institutionalised violence which repeats itself against the bodies of Indigenous people, like a ritualised vendetta; it is a deliberate biological 'weathering' (Geronimus, et al, 2006) away of Indigenous people.

Fanon writes that colonisation succeeds by destroying Indigenous culture, the intelligibility of systems of cultural meaning are broken, and 'the social panorama is destructed; values are flaunted, crushed, emptied. The lines of force, having crumbled, no longer give direction' (1967: 35). The protective barrier of culture is broken just as the population is assaulted with violence 'at different levels' in order to 'make of the native an object in the hands of the occupying nation' (1967: 35.). This multi-layered conquest produces a de-humanised object. The destruction of the lines of force within Aboriginal culture is also a form of administrative genocide which breaks the cultural ties that unite and provide substance to forms

of existing. A genocide that is never announced as such except by a subaltern dissident intellectual, himself a survivor of that very genocide, less than a year before he died.

To understand the extent of Riley's charge to psychology, and to Australia as a whole, it is important to fully articulate what he asked of the profession. Essentially, he called for the decolonisation of psychology - for each non-indigenous psychologist to understand his or her identity as a settler and to acknowledge the inherent power and privilege associated with that identity (Dudgeon, Darlaston-Jones & Clark, 2011). This entails not only an understanding of values and beliefs and how these influence behaviours, but also an understanding of the deeper embedded philosophical foundations of western knowledges and how these invisibly shape the systems and individuals that form society (Foucault 1977, 1980; Hook, 2007). To do so requires a deliberate unpacking and examination of truth regimes and how these operate and it is this that Riley devoted his life to exposing. Aspects of this challenge are reflected in the words of the third author as she articulates her response to Riley's challenge. It is the words and actions of like-minded radical activists that can impact on the institutions and those within.

Challenging psychology

Rob Riley's words at the 1995 APS conference reflected his identity as an activist and leader; they were bold and inspirational, and offered an undeniable challenge to the established thinking of the profession and its practitioners. Dawn writes: I began my undergraduate psychology degree in 1996, a year after Riley's seminal address; and in many ways this link has influenced me throughout my education and subsequent practice. I first became aware of Rob Riley during the early 1980s, shortly after migrating to Australia. At that time, I knew nothing of the history or experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, I had rapidly become acculturated into the dominant racist attitudes of the people I met in Perth and who because my friends and work colleagues in those early days. I was influenced by the divisive political rhetoric around Riley and his fight for recognition and land rights for Indigenous Australians. Yet when I heard him speak on the news I was drawn to this man; his charisma and passion were captivating and despite his refusal to sugar coat the oppression and abuse that non-Indigenous peoples had enacted over the generations I found myself admiring his determination to fight back. His strength is what I recall most from those early years. Sadly, it was not enough to sustain him and hearing of his death in 1996 resulted in a deep sadness. I had never met him, nor had I heard him speak except on television, and yet I felt that Australia had just lost someone really important; someone we would not value yet as we should.

My decision to study psychology was linked to an embryonic commitment to social change and equity - not that I was consciously aware of it at the time; it grew and developed over the undergraduate years and bloomed in the first year of my Master's degree when I was introduced to critical psychology and Indigenous knowledges. It was here that Rob Riley re-entered my life; when I first heard his words from the 1995 conference and the challenge he levelled to psychologists. From reading Indigenous texts, Rob's words forced me to question the nature of psychology as a discipline and what it meant for me to be part of a profession that had contributed to the displacement of Indigenous peoples, culture, and identity in Australia. I started to examine my identity as an English woman living as a settler in a colonised space and representing the identity of the coloniser; but I also began to question the nature of my psychology education and the normative assumptions that it constructed and reinforced via its theories and research.

In part the mono-cultural focus of psychology is due to the expansion of a global psychology that reflects a white North American version of the discipline that consciously and unconsciously reinforces white dominance. While inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content has been required by the *Australian Psychology Accreditation Council* (APAC) Standards since 2010 this often occurs in an *ad hoc* or superficial manner. This is not necessarily as a result of deliberate omission, but rather due to the fact that psychology educators are themselves the product of the educational system that reproduces a particular form of epistemic dominance. This is the white privilege that Rob Riley tried to make visible not only to psychologists but to Australia as a whole; my resistance to hearing this unpalatable truth led to a sort of paralysis because I had no way of teasing these conflicting truths apart. How could I forge a firm identity as an Australian while I was simultaneously complicit in a form of cultural genocide? Because psychology education and training is detached from Australia's colonial history and the intergenerational transmission of knowledge within and between the settlers and the original inhabitants there are no mechanisms to debate and navigate this. Within this space students become attuned to the legacy that applies to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples; the deficits, disadvantage, and dispossession, within culturally safe narratives for the teller. What we are rarely told about are the acts of resistance, challenge, survival, and of strength; but more importantly we are never taught the legacy that we as the colonising settler derive from that history. As an English migrant in my adopted homeland of Australia, I am conscious of Riley's charge to me as a psychologist; it is for me (and each person) to ask: in what ways do I accept this challenge to question myself and work reflexively and how do I do this effectively? My legacy, along with that of my profession, is one of power and privilege, of dominance; and that needs to be destabilised, deconstructed, and dismantled before we are going to be in a position

to actually achieve the social and economic equivalency that as a profession and as a nation we claim we want. Rob Riley's manifesto is a blueprint for change for each psychologist, for the discipline, and for Australia and he will be remembered as one of the great leaders of our time.

Occupy psychology

Mullen (2007) proposed that Aboriginal dignity should not only depend upon a referendum of the dominant white society. Importantly, the recognition of Aboriginal culture – their beliefs and rituals – are an essential part of Aboriginal humanity and dignity. Indigenous beliefs were systematically suppressed in colonised societies and are still considered subversive and as such are belittled. Mullen cites Malaysian Jesuit anthropologist Jojo Fung, who held that indigenous beliefs empower people to hold their own against the dehumanising influences of colonisation and the modern world. Fung suggested that such cultural belief maintain a subversive space and that: 'the scientific rationality behind the current logic of globalisation that reduces the many worlds into one world of neo-liberal capitalism is subverted by a "space" that promotes the many worlds in the one universe' (Mullen, 2007).

Of the Imperial oppression of the Third World critical race theorist Patricia J. Williams warns: 'I fear that one cannot cut off a third of the world without some awful, life-threatening bleeding in the rest of the body politic' (Williams,1998: 11). Fanon describes being objectified by the radicalising white gaze as a type of psychological 'amputation' (2008: 85). Western psychology has, historically, performed a similar kind of imperial amputation through the global propagation of theories and practices based on and designed for 'a small percentage of the world's population' (Holdstock, 2000: 208). The psy-complex still serves the interests of a small white elite, and is still deployed as a technology of surveillance, domination and control.

Riley was subjected to the administrative genocide he named and fought against almost from the moment of his birth when he was separated from family, culture, country and all physical forms of connection to his birthright. Corralled in Sister Kate's orphanage (an administrative deception to legitimise the control over the lives of these children who were stolen rather than orphaned) he experienced deep and abiding loneliness and abuse that haunted him throughout his life. In naming his oppression (and oppressors) as well as resisting its consequences, Riley became a rallying voice for Aboriginal peoples and a voice of conscience for non-Aboriginal Australians. It was difficult for many to ignore his calls for justice and recognition and many non-Indigenous Australians were influenced by his passion and commitment to Aboriginal rights. Consequently, it can be argued that

Riley's legacy is the ongoing change that he generated not only in giving voice to Indigenous peoples rights but offering a mechanism for non-Indigenous peoples to become partners in the fight. In his 1995 keynote address to psychologists he outlined a roadmap for identifying the administrative genocide and the ways to resist and overcome it.

Riley can be understood as a profoundly Fanonian intellectual who instigated a socio-economic and historically grounded analysis of the psychopathology of Australian colonisation. As Bulhan puts it, a Fanonian psychology is concerned with analysing the relationship between the psyche and social structures in order to 'rehabilitate the alienated, and to help transform social structures that thwart human needs' (Bulhan, 1985: 195). Riley devoted his life to changing the colonial social structures that had not merely thwarted the human needs of Indigenous people but submitted them to administrative genocide. Both Riley and Fanon recognised that the material conditions of colonial domination have to be overcome in order for the minds of the colonised to be liberated from the yoke of dehumanisation. 'There are houses to be built', wrote Fanon, 'schools to be opened, roads to be laid out, slums to be torn down, cities to be made to spring from the earth, men and women and children to be adorned with smiles' (1976: 6).

Just keep on fighting.

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Challenging Psychology: reflecting on Riley's 'Manifesto for Change'

Dawn Darlaston-Jones

SUMMARY: This paper reflects on the personal and professional implications for the colonization project of psychology critiqued by Rob Riley's seminal address at the 1995 Australian Psychological Society conference.

KEY WORDS: Manifesto for Change, critical consciousness, silent acculturation, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders.

Rob Riley's words at the 1995 APS conference reflected his identity as an activist and leader; they were bold and inspirational, and offered an undeniable challenge to the established thinking of the profession and its practitioners. I began my undergraduate psychology degree in 1996, a year after Riley's seminal address; and in many ways this connection has influenced me throughout my education and subsequent practice. I first became aware of Rob Riley during the early 1980s, shortly after migrating to Australia. At that time, I knew nothing of the history or experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples; I had rapidly become acculturated into the dominant racist attitudes of the people I met in Perth and who became my acquaintances and work colleagues in those early days. I was drawn into the divisive political rhetoric around Riley and his fight for recognition and land rights for Indigenous Australians; and yet, when I heard him speak on the news, I was drawn to this man – his charisma and passion were captivating and despite his refusal to sugar coat the oppression and abuse that non-Indigenous peoples had enacted over the generations I found myself admiring his determination to fight back. His strength is what I recall most from those early years; sadly, it was not enough to sustain him and hearing of his death in 1996 resulted in a deep sadness. I had never met him, nor had I heard him speak in person, and yet I felt that Australia had just lost someone really important; someone we would not value yet as we should.

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My decision to study psychology was linked to an embryonic commitment to social change and equity – not that I was consciously aware of it at the time; it grew and developed over the undergraduate years and bloomed in the first year of my Master's degree when I was introduced to critical psychology and Indigenous knowledges. It was here that Rob Riley re-entered my life; when I first heard his words from the 1995 conference and the challenge he levelled to psychologists I was inspired to be part of that change agenda. Rob's words forced me to question the nature of psychology as a discipline and what it meant for me to be part of a profession that had contributed to the displacement of Indigenous peoples, culture, and identity in Australia. I started to examine my identity as an English woman living as a settler in a colonised space and representing the identity of the coloniser; but I also began to question the nature of my psychology education and the normative assumptions that it constructed and reinforced via its theories and research. There was, in the essence of Riley's words another psychology, an alternate psychology that spoke of liberation and social justice and that was concerned with wellbeing beyond the individual, and it was that psychology that I wanted to embrace but was absent in the traditional psychology curriculum.

In part the mono-cultural focus of traditional psychology is due to the expansion of a global psychology that reflects a white North American version of the discipline that consciously and unconsciously reinforces white dominance (Darlaston-Jones, 2005; Breen & Darlaston-Jones, 2010; Giroux, 2011; Green, Sonn, & Matsubula, 2007). While inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content has been required by the *Australian Psychology Accreditation Council* (APAC) Standards since 2010 this often occurs in an *ad hoc* or superficial manner (Darlaston-Jones, 2004, 2015, 2016; Dudgeon, Darlaston-Jones, & Clark, 2011). This is not necessarily as a result of deliberate omission, but rather due to the fact that psychology educators are themselves the product of the educational system that reproduces a particular form of epistemic dominance. This is the white privilege that Rob Riley tried to make visible, not only to psychologists but to Australia as a whole; my resistance to hearing this unpalatable truth during my Masters led to resistance and a sort of paralysis because I had no way of teasing these conflicting truths apart. How could I forge a firm identity as an Australian, while I was simultaneously complicit in a form of cultural genocide (Galtung, 1990; UNDRIP, 2007).

Navigating the complexities of the interface between personal, social, professional and national identities requires a critical consciousness (Freire, 1970) and personal reflexivity that allows for the sometimes painful deconstruction of self and one's worldview and the various silent acculturation processes that contribute to its creation (Dudgeon et al. 2016). It is also beneficial to have a guide or mentor to assist on that journey of self-discovery. If such a journey can be embedded into the educational context of one's discipline such that the discipline itself is also subject

to the same critique it has the potential to lead to a holistic process of making visible the unseen, unspoken normative assumptions that contribute to oppression, marginalisation and voicelessness.

Because psychology education and training is detached from Australia's colonial history and the intergenerational transmission of knowledge within and between the settlers and the original inhabitants, there are no mechanisms to debate and navigate the consequences of that shared history (Darlaston-Jones, Herbert, Ryan, Darlaston-Jones, Harris & Dudgeon, 2014). The subsequent actions on the part of various governments and individuals that contributed to the loss of land, children, language, and culture is not taught or spoken of. Consequently, the role of psychology within the legitimising processes that normalised these actions is equally invisible. Within this space, students become attuned to the legacy that applies to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples; the deficits, disadvantage, and dispossession, within culturally safe narratives for the teller. What we are rarely told about are the acts of resistance, challenge, survival, and of strength; but more importantly we are never taught the legacy that we as the colonising settler derive from that history (Darlaston-Jones et al. 2014).

It is this omission that Riley wanted psychologists and the discipline to examine. As an English migrant in my adopted homeland of Australia, I am conscious of Riley's charge to me as a psychologist; it is for me (and each person) to ask: in what ways do I accept this challenge to question myself and work reflexively and how do I do this effectively? My identity means that I derive a legacy of power and privilege, as a result of colonisation; so too my profession inherits a position of dominance and both need to be destabilised, deconstructed, and decolonised. Achieving the social and economic equivalency for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, that as a profession and as a nation we claim we want, requires that Indigenous knowledges be incorporated alongside western paradigms in all educational settings (Dudgeon, Darlaston-Jones & Bray, in press). Rob Riley's manifesto is a blueprint for change for each psychologist, for the discipline, and for Australia and he will be remembered as one of the great leaders of our time (Dudgeon, Bray & Darlaston-Jones, this issue).

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On Ceremony

Craig San Roque

SUMMARY: This article attends to indigenous Australian and Euro-Asian ceremony as vital forms of maintaining social emotional wellbeing, knowledge security and continuity. It urges professionals to appreciate the pragmatic value of traditional ceremony and incorporate this understanding into psycho-social work.

KEY WORDS: Ceremony, Indigenous Australia, Mental de-colonisation.

This writing comes to you from a specific place, at a specific time and so the thoughts I offer are influenced by that place and time. The setting is 300km north-west of Alice Springs in Central Australia. This is a place within indigenous Australian country. To be specific, this is a region long occupied by the Warlpiri, Anmatjere tribal language groupings. Those languages are spoken here and have been spoken here since long before British settlement opened up the country to people from other countries speaking other languages. In Warlpiri the term for the 'other' is *kardia* and this term tends to be used for anyone who is not of Aboriginal descent. The term *yappa* is reserved for Aboriginal (local) persons and tends to mean '*ourselves*'. The essay arises from my own experience of relationships between *yappa* and *kardi*a among people who live and work in this specific intercultural terrain of Australia.

My focus is upon the value of the ceremonial state of mind because ceremony is an intimate part of Aboriginal life in Central Australia. While acknowledging Aboriginal life I do not forget, nor do I turn away from, the ceremonial state of mind of the Euro-Asian cultures from which I draw my own history and lifeblood.

Central Australia is a mixed up place and different cultural lines intersect here. The value of this place is the creative mixing, the intersection of creativity that arises from the hard times and the good times that some of us share as we live and work and die together.

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My motive is to make a simple plea to colleagues occupied in the professionalised territories of psycho-social works. The plea is this – if we work in the field of indigenous Australian mentality and behaviour it would help if we were to appreciate the stabilising value of ceremony and the nature of the ceremonial state of mind.

When it comes to writing on Warlpiri Aboriginal affairs it is necessary to restate something that is obvious when one is living within indigenous terrain. Warlpiri people think like Warlpiri people. Warlpiri people behave like Warlpiri people. Too often professional writing, mental health policy and procedures involving indigenous people is formulated in settings so far from the reality of being alive and dead in Central Australia. The thoughts which arrive in my mind while I am working in Warlpiri settings are thoughts that arise from within the country of Warlpiri affairs. This is a skill in receptive attention that can be cultivated. This skill is about decolonising my anglicised psychologist's mind. I understand that such a skill is advocated by the editors of this unique journal.

Today, March 2nd 2016, I speak again at the monthly gathering of the people who work for the Mt. Theo Program or WYDAC as the acronym would have it. (mttheo.org). There are twenty or more people gathered, people whose speciality is youth work, social work and the care and counsel of the several hundred young Warlpiri people who live in this region, concentrated around four aboriginal communities. Lajamanu, Willowra, Nyirripi and Yuendumu. Once a month we meet. Youth workers drive the hundreds of kilometres to Yuendumu from Lajamanu, Willowra and Nyrripi for two days of review, supervision, troubleshooting, and social reconnection. At lunchtime, in my role as the consulting psychologist, I give a talk on a theme of some intense or significant matter that is occupying us at that time.

The group includes the local Aboriginal workers and Warlpiri board members, the management and white staff of the WYDAC teams. When I speak I am aware that those who listen are Warlpiri people who think like Warlpiri in this specific setting where the people who the project serves are all young *yappa* and families who live on country that has been occupied by the Warlpiri, Anmatjere, Pintubi and neighbours for thousands of years before I turned up with a profession, a language, a psychological mind and a job, speaking in a language and in conceptual terms that have arisen from another time and another culture far, far away. Having said this you should know that I have lived in this region for 25 years or more, I am mixed into the place.

In these groups I have spoken to timely matters in a manner that, if I am lucky, will inform and instruct the non-indigenous professionals and at the same time amuse, inform and communicate within a Warlpiri way of thinking. Over the last 10 or 20 meetings we have addressed matters of family violence, the taking

of one's own life, inter cultural confusion, murder, grief, mourning, language, Warlpiri culture; the behaviour of snakes and lizards, certain native foods; the way intoxication works sex and gender relations, incest, care, containment and nurture of young people, internet, texting and jealousy, inter family violence provoked by Facebook, challenges of contemporary living, the pressures of Warlpiri bush life and life in the towns of the white people. Today the matter is 'ceremony'.

Some Warlpiri want to keep the ceremony heart pumping. Some people walk away, turn their back, saying – ceremony is over, ceremony is the 'work of the devil', ceremony is no use anymore. Yet ceremony continues and at this time of the year, March 2016, ceremony is in the air. The annual young men's initiation camps begun in October last year are only now winding down, 5 months later. That's a long time. The community football season is just beginning. The Southern Ngalia women's dance camp supported through WYDAC and Incite Arts is about to take place. The Lajamanu Milpirri ceremony/festival is on the horizon. And then, sadly there have been many funerals lately. Funerals, of course, are a form of ceremony.

Traditional ceremonies passed on during the initiation travels, the Southern Ngalia camps and Milpiriri (Milpirri Jarda-Warnpa, 2014) are important for the life of the Warlpiri. This has been said time and again by the senior Warlpiri members of the WYDAC board. The message I have been asked to impart today, (as a senior *kardia* person) is to reinforce why it is important for the *kardia* workers to help understand and support ceremonies and dance camps. There is serious purpose behind the continuation of ceremony. It is this serious purpose I speak to and it is to this purpose that I write here and now.

The first boat people

We begin with two questions. When did the first people arrive in this continent? What did they bring with them? The more specific questions are – how and when did the Warlpiri get here? Where did we come from and how long ago?

In response to this question, Warlpiri sometimes say 'we have always been here'.

Kardia people who live and work in service tasks around this Tanamai desert region are mostly of Anglo/European/Asian descent, with some notable South Americans. The story of how they got to be here is fairly easy to trace. It happened not long ago.

In her elegantly constructed book *Archeology of the Dreamtime,* Josephine Flood (Flood, 1983) describes the story of the development of human beings. She charts this development on a long time scale, from the first appearance of 'man' and then the appearance of *homo sapiens* (which, translated signifies 'the people who think' or 'the clever people'). We are part of that group. In my talk

that day in Yuendumu I set out how, despite differences in appearance, language and thinking, the Walpiri and the rest of us in the room are all descended from the same first peoples. Our human origins are in the *homo sapiens* stream, which in turn is developed from, or perhaps runs alongside other evolving human lineages; some of whom may well have settled into Australia 50 or 60 thousand years ago. Of course there is contention and emerging evidence on the origins and development of the human species, but the simple story is that our people, slowly, over thousands of years, walked almost everywhere in the world, depending on the weather, the ice ages and the melting of the ice. This I said at the Warlpiri meeting. Back then, maybe 250,000 years ago and since then, in small groups our ancestors travelled looking for food and places to live. The Warlpiri and Pintubi do this today, though the shelters and the range of foodstuffs have changed with the coming of the Eurasian economy.

Warlpiri, Pintubi and the British cattlemen who came into the Tanami desert regions early on are all part of the original *homo sapiens* groups; and thus we are genetically related, *yappa* and *kardia*. It may be that our ways of thinking, speaking and management of living do differ, as to do the cultural constraints by which we live. The differences and the similarities are worth perceptive thought.

One way in which all people are the same, or have been the same, is that ceremony is a strong thread through culture. This brings me to the question, what did the first people bring with them?

The first people brought tools and methods of managing the country and the food supply. Our first people brought ways of managing relationships. They brought and developed ways of managing thinking and feeling, and explanation of cause and effect, explanation of how to comprehend and manage forces of nature, fire and water, seasonal variations, landform, travel, country orientation. They brought and developed relationship with and identification with the elements, the plants and the creatures that inhabit the country. Such creatures, elements, forces of nature also inhabit imagination and appear in dream states. The Warlpiri might name this as *Jukurrpa*. All Australian languages have a term for this same phenomenon, translated loosely as 'dreaming'. It invokes recognition of our humanised *homo sapiens* mental world, our mentality – from which is derived our way of seeing and handling the world/s in which we live. (San Roque 2007).

The dynamic nature of country, relationships and the thinking about this has been encoded in *Jukurrpa* (Dreaming) and managed within indigenous Australian culture through forms of ceremony. Question: what did the first people bring with them? The first people brought ceremony, or should I say, they brought the 'ceremony state of mind' – that creative state of mind out of which ceremonies are conceived, 'seen', grown. The actual ceremonies that we now experience in Australia engage directly with this specific country, the plants,

the landforms and the creatures that inhabit the present country, as occupied by indigenous people.

Australia, being surrounded by water, was not such an easy place to walk into. It seems that there were three significant periods when the levels of the sea dropped during the times of the ice. As the ice formed in the freezing times, the sea was sucked up into ice and held there; this meant that the sea level dropped. There was not so much water floating around. When the world warmed up again, ice melted and the sea level rose again. This suggests that it was possible to get to Australia with small craft about 50,000 years ago and again about 20,000 years ago and then again about 5,000 years ago, when the dogs came as well. Flood's book tells how the people came and where and when they spread out across the land. She identifies skeletal remains, middens, rock art and artefacts; all of which show something of the way those ancient people lived, saw things and thought.

She refers to some 'Dreaming' stories that tell of the early people coming. In chapter two, 'The First Boat People', Wandjuk Marika tells of the first numinous mythic beings. 'Djunkawu came in his canoe with his two sisters, following the morning star which guided them to the shores of Yelangbara on the eastern coast of Arnhem land (on the north coast of Australia)... They walked far across the country following the rain clouds. When they wanted water they plunged their digging sticks into the ground and fresh water flowed. From them we learned the names of all the creatures on the land and they taught us all our law.'(Marika in Flood, 1983 p. 29)

Dreaming lore and law stories are enacted in song, dance, ceremony and painting. Some are sacred and secret teachings. Here in Warlpiri/Anmatjerre/Pintubi country in the heart of living Australian *Jukurrpa* such stories are recounted today in the form of ceremonial performance. A long line of ceremony performance has been carried on from generation to generation for thousands of years. The significance of this continuity is worth noticing. Let me repeat that I am making a plea here to my psycho-social work colleagues to take careful note of the mental, emotional, bodily and psychological significance of the conduct of ceremony as a factor in the emotional and social wellbeing of peoples.

Having said this and having noted that ceremony activities are alive within the indigenous regions, I had to say at the meeting to remind Warlpiri and the WYDAC team that the Euro-Asian stream of *homo sapiens* also lived, taught and thought through ceremony. It would seem that everyone who walked out of Africa and populated the world, step by step, drew ceremony into their living process. It is a part of how humans think and carry memory on from generation to generation. In the Warlpiri meeting we talked through some of the story forms that feature in ceremonies known to the Warlpiri and to myself.

Forms of ceremony themes

I will outline some different kinds of ceremony and some common themes.

1. Marking stages in life. Ceremonies in all cultures celebrate developmental stages and initiations into maturity, knowledge, power and responsibilities. This includes births, deaths and marriages.

2. Ceremonies of opposition include themes of conflict between opposing forces such as light and dark, gods and demons, good and evil, winter and summer, heat and cold, fire and water, wet and dry, life and death. Such ceremonial events often turn around battle stories with heroes involved. The Christian Easter week ceremonial deals in part with such conflict and triumph over death by the Son of God. Aboriginal football season is a highly charged conflict ceremony**,** a refereed contemporary saga with athletic heroes**.**

3. Cultural trauma histories. This form is often about how 'our people' survived war, pestilence, oppression and natural disaster. The special Jewish cultural meal on Friday nights and the yearly Jewish Passover has as it's theme an account of Abraham's 'tribe' led by Moses out of slavery in Egypt to their 'promised land'. The ceremony of Easter is a trauma story dear to the peoples of the Christian culture involving suffering, a tragic death, mourning and a mysterious recovery of life.

4. Fertility, sexuality, death and regeneration. In these cycles a significant mythic being or couple is punished or killed, eaten, buried, set on fire, drowned, cut into pieces, raped, (often involving treachery), and yet he or she manages, after a very hard time, to come back to life. A return of life leads to the birth of a new being or the restoration of a cycle of fertile nature. There is Warlpiri *Jukurrpa* on this theme. The same pattern is found in old European/ Middle Eastern drama as in the 5,000 year old story of Sumerian Innana and her husband Dumuzi and in the Egyptian story where Seth the crocodile is the killer, Osiris the victim, his partner Isis the saviour and Horus their son enacts the continuation of life. The Warlpiri *Jungarai Wanu Jukurrpa* tells of a dismembered and revived serpentine healing being. The Pitjatjanjatjara have a lizard story a bit like this, Warlpiri have a crow story, and so it goes. The ancient Greek version of Persephone is about her going underground to couple with Death and return in spring. Such myths call and echo each other across the world; following the tracks of 'the great walk', perhaps.

4. Actions of travelling beings. A complex network of travel stories cross seas and vast spaces of land and sky. As characters travel, events take place that name or form locations and sites. Ceremonies are associated with such travels. Traditional Australian indigenous people know well the woven net of songlines and the beings

who travel them. Some of these stories connect and are taken up in another form as boundaries are crossed. So too there are many Asian, Islander, European and American journeys. The Seven Sister/Pleiades star constellation and the Japaljarri Jungarai men in the Warlpiri Milky Way campsites are beautiful versions of travelling ceremony.

Inanna – An example of travel to the underworld and return

I offer here an extract from text of the Tigris/Euphrates river region translated. (Kramer and Wolkstein, 1983). The key figure is Innana, powerful erotic God-woman custodian of life in the river lands of ancient Sumer (Southern Iraq). In this extract she is set to descend into a deep cave to meet her sister Erishkagael, who without remorse puts her to death, leaving her as a rotting carcass hanging on a hook on the wall. Notice the ceremonial rhythm of the words.

> From the Great above she opened her ear to the great below
> From the great above the goddess opened her ear to the great below
> From the great above Inanna opened her ear to the great below
> My lady abandoned heaven and earth to descend to the underworld
> Innana abandoned heaven and earth to descend to the underworld
> She abandoned her office of holy priestess to descend to the underworld.
> Inanna set out for the underworld
> Ninshubur her faithful servant went with her
> Inanna spoke to her saying
> Ninshubur my constant support
> I am descending to the underworld
> If I do not return
> Set up a lament for me in the ruins
> Go to father Enlil
> Cry out
> Father Enlil do not let your daughter
> Be put to death in the underworld
> If Enlil will not help you
> Go to Enki
> He knows the water of life
> He knows the secrets
> Surely he will not let me die.

The full story recounts Innana's youth, a great flood, her making of a garden, her acquisition of powers, her erotic courtship, her marriage, her descent underground, her terrible death, her return to life and the continuity of her country, people and children. Inanna was enacted in ceremony in Sumer for generations.

Forms of ceremony – use and purpose

Let us consider some of the uses and purposes of ceremony performance.

1. Ceremony as a form of education. Ceremony in Australia uses embodied forms of education. This is the indigenous method. Emotional and kinaesthetic intelligence is activated. The conduct of ceremony performance works on and within the body of the performers and the sense of it is transmitted to those who are absorbed in, or identify with the events and orchestration. The singing, dance, body markings, shape of the ceremony ground and custodial negotiations instruct younger people. Perception and memory are heightened. History, geography, family custodial relationships are learned through repetition and participation. This counts for the Warlpiri and for every group of peoples in the world who rely on ceremony as educational transmission.

2. Ceremony as a form of memory. Ceremony performances keep alive cultural memory of spiritual and practical matters. Indigenous Australian songs encode matters pertaining to ownership of sites, travel, orienteering, the management of fire, water, hunting, gathering and protection of food sources. Without *Jukurrpa* songs as a guide Warlpiri travellers would be lost in the desert. Ceremony reinforces cultural memory.

3. Ceremony as container of social and emotional wellbeing. Ceremonies invoke healing process and conflict resolution (San Roque, 2012). Ceremony informs sometimes secret/sacred matters, on biological matters, sexual relations, pregnancy, childbirth, death and helps invoke and contain profound emotional states associated with phases of life, death and afterlife. This appears to be the case in every cultural group throughout the world from the beginning of remembered time. Such events are interwoven with music, song, ceremonial dress, dance and the sharing of foods that promote social wellbeing.

4. Ceremony as intense experience. In ceremony people may lose sense of themselves in trance states and spiritual intoxication. Biochemistry is stirred, activating heightened intensities of experience of religious awe, of sexual hypnosis. Separation gives way to symbiotic participation. Ceremony can be an intense and life enhancing experience. Ceremony can also be dangerous and thus great care and monitoring of behaviour and intoxicants is often part of ceremony preparation and management. Such care and custodianship is witnessed in properly conducted Aboriginal Australian ceremony and seems also, for example, to have been a part of the management of the ancient Greek ceremonies at Eleusis.

5. Ceremony as magic. 'Magical thinking' is a form of perception common to most humans. It is a psychological or mental phenomenon that deserves careful consideration by those working within indigenous mentalities. Many religious people believe that ceremonial song, dance, sacrifice and prayer changes what is happening in the natural world. This includes dances for rain, increase of fertility of land, food sources and to promote healing. Ceremonies are conducted to send away evil, appease creation beings. And most religions depend upon enhancing the magical thinking of devotees and participants. Ceremonies work with, and exploit this state of mind. Some say that religion, ceremony and magical thinking are dangerous, deceptive and delusional.

6. Ceremonial language. Deep cultural stories are mostly told in a special poetic language. Sometimes in 'old language' with secret meanings embedded in the word patterns. Glistening designs on body or masks, special incantatory rhythms, darkness, firelight, smoke and dust all combine to create mental/emotional states that move, thrill, shock and amuse, above all, the secret of ceremony is that the actual beings themselves incarnate in the present time. Participants see, feel and embody the presence of the sung creatures. This is something to experience.

Ceremony now

The account I am writing here is a simple outline of a profound and complex business. In the course of time I have witnessed many indigenous ceremonies, including the Australian Rules football games that are the present lifeblood of many Aboriginal communities (I mention this with intent).

In the course of time I have come to understand that ceremonial activities are essential to maintain psychic vitality of peoples who have depended on ceremony practices from the beginning of human existence. Ceremony alone is not sufficient as the custodian of health in these contemporary and shattering times. The magical thinking element in ceremony is not sufficient to manage diabetes, alcohol, family violence and survival in the money economy. On the other hand you will note that I am quietly urging you, my colleagues to attend more carefully, more perceptively to something that might escape notice. I am urging especially those of us who work close up in the interchange zone between our cultures.

The first people came into this country a long time ago when the climate conditions made it possible or necessary. They brought with them tools and they brought with them a mentality, a way of perceiving and ordering and thinking about humans place in the country. This mentality is expressed in song cycles, in designs and dance patterns and law, referred to as *Jukurrpa*. *Jukurrpa* carries and encodes education. Ceremony is a way *Jukurrpa* is transmitted. Ceremony

properly conducted contains and directs people. Repetition of fragments of ceremony connects young people to their country, stirring imagination and pragmatic survival skill. With time, mature and secret layers are revealed. Within the learning of ceremony there is containment, direction, excitement and life enhancement. This is about emotional well-being.

Within ceremony there is collaboration, participation, rigour, confrontation, love and pain; and always in such settings there is good humour. This is about social and emotional wellbeing and intellectual potency. This I have witnessed.

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Black (and White) Interpretations of Transcultural Training Videos: the natives are still restless (and for good reasons)

Carmen Cubillo & Geoff Denham

SUMMARY: This paper discusses research into training materials used as an aspect transcultural training for counsellors and asks if such training makes a difference to health practices with indigenous clients.

KEY WORDS: Cross-cultural training, counselling, indigenous mental health, suicide, cultural competence.

The cross cultural training process itself is inherently flawed. The position of this framework is that one would have to obtain skills to relate to someone from a different culture where in Aboriginal way, we place the counsellor in our constellation and that person has a role and a relationship in the network related to the person. There are no skills required but the building of a genuine relationship between an aboriginal and non-aboriginal person.

Indigenous health workers in Canberra are the first point of contact between indigenous people and the mental health system. They are aware of the issues surrounding indigenous mental health and the inadequacies of the current mental health system in Australia. Research suggests that mainstream mental health services are not adequately serving indigenous people. The evidence lies in high rates of depression, suicide, substance abuse, anxiety, chronic high stress levels and family violence (Brideson, 1998; Brown, 2001; Lake, 2000; O'Shea, 1997; Swan & Raphael, 1995).

The unresponsiveness of the mainstream mental health system to indigenous health problems has been identified as compounding the problems of indigenous people (Hunter, 2002; Hunter, Fagan, & Wikles, 1998). Through black eyes, health

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institutions are a reflection of the cultural manifestation of western views of health where the prejudices against the wholistic aboriginal view of health are hidden in 'inclusive' policies. As the famous art historian Gombrich (1982, p 136) put it:

> we have the illusion of a face assuming different expressions all consistent with what might be called the dominant expression, the air of the face... At the same time we have the feeling that we really perceive what is constant behind the changing appearance, the unseen solution of the equation, the true colour of the man.

We started wondering about the effectiveness of current attempts to change the practices of health professionals working with indigenous people, in the concerted attempt at addressing the problem at the level of their particular practices. In other words, the problem is typically constellated as one of cultural competence of the individual practitioner. Our question was: *What is all that effort in training mental health workers to be culturally sensitive or responsive in their work achieving?*

We reviewed the mental health literature and found an abundance of training material with its implicit and embedded claims to make practitioners more culturally sensitive and therefore competent in their counselling work (see Bhavuk & Brislin, 2000 for a recent international review; Aponte, Rivers, & Wohl, 1995; Gielen, Draguns & Fish, 2008; Hogan-Garcia, 2003; Okun, Fried & Okun, 1999; Sue & Sue, 1990).

Sue & Sue (1990: 7–8) argue that the reasons for minority-group individuals not using counselling or psychotherapy services, is that the services themselves are 'frequently antagonistic or inappropriate to the life experiences of the culturally different client' and they further offer two categories of explanation:

1. A lack of sensitivity and understanding on the part of the professionals offering counselling.
2. Racial and cultural biases that delimit 'natural help-giving networks' by devaluing them in relation to 'professional standards of practice'.

The solution commonly proposed by the first explanation is cross-cultural training in professional work. The solution proposed by the second explanation is an overhaul and re-designing of service delivery.

The research reported here, begins to examine the effectiveness of the first solution. We wonder whether transcultural training in counselling makes a difference to health practices with indigenous clients. However, as this question was beyond our capacity to answer, we began our research with a related, but prior question: *How is training material claiming to produce cultural sensitivity in transcultural mental health encounters received and interpreted by relevant audiences?*

The training material we chose to examine was in video form. The research is located in the context of media audience research. In this tradition of research, the way in which audiences engage with widely disseminated audio-visual texts, such as television soap operas (Hobson, 1982; Buckingham, 1987), current affairs television (Morley, 1980), cartoons (Hodge & Tripp, 1986), and videogames (Denham, 1999) has been examined. In the more recent audience research the widely-held view that electronic media in the form of movies, television programs, or videogames, or video training material *do things to,* or *act on*, their audience has been shown to be an inadequate model of audience engagement because it fails to examine the meaning produced by audiences as they listen and watch.

Shannon & Weaver (1949) first proposed a Sender-Message-Receiver (SMR) model of communication that included six elements: a source, an encoder, a message, a channel, a decoder, and a receiver. This model ignores the active way in which audiences interpret what they are given, and the way they subvert, undermine, or accept as authoritative what they are given. More recently developed audience theory holds that meaning is produced through audience negotiation with audio-visual texts. In this perspective, it is simply untenable to read off 'effects' of engagement by offering some privileged reading of what the media text really means. Furthermore it is a fraught activity to speak on-behalf-of the audience, and even more fraught when one speaks on behalf of an audience from a different culture from one's own. This recent work in audience theory has suggested that audience engagement with texts of all kinds, and audio-visual texts in particular, is more productively conceived as an audience-text relation, or a reader-text relation (Sless, 1981; Nightingale, 1986; Ricoeur, 1984). This theory focuses attention on texts as resources that people engage with, and through this engagement accomplish various things: appropriate meanings, confirm prejudices, become stimulated by, consider, question, interrogate, disagree with, think more about, react to, etc. If audio-visual training is conceived as something that is delivered or administered, or something done to people, these aspects of audience response are overlooked. Research needs to examine how training videos are taken up by the audience. It is our contention that audio-visual training packages do provide participants with resources which they may accept or reject, or make use of in various ways (Pawson, 2006).

The research study

Our focus of research was on the transcultural counselling training video. Our contention is that such videos, in purporting to promote transcultural awareness in professional counselling, have assumed that it is enough to outline the putative principles of such communication and illustrate them in videotaped roleplays,

without investigating how such training material is received, interpreted, de-coded, and understood by its intended audience and most of all, by those represented in the video. Despite the huge effort spent in training health professionals in transcultural sensitivity in their clinical work, we adopt a sceptical attitude to the claimed effectiveness of these educational activities where no evidence is produced in support of the claims made. We are particularly interested in the claim that such training produces culturally competent practitioners as some recent work is suggesting that 'cultural competency' is indistinguishable from 'counselling competency' (Wampold, 2008).

In presenting some video vignettes from a professionally produced video, and some other vignettes of encounters between health workers and their indigenous clients we sought to provoke our audiences into response and to capture those responses. We began our focus groups with some excerpts from a videotape produced by Queensland Mental Health (2002) which attempts to illustrate 'good' and 'bad' interviews with an indigenous man who would appear to be troubled by recent experiences in his life, not the least of which is the death of a friend. The training videotape appears to have had trainee doctors as its intended audience, and attempted to promote the idea of cultural sensitivity when interviewing indigenous people in a hospital setting. The video shows a medical registrar calling herself Jennifer Gunn interviewing an indigenous man called 'Peter'. We then added two video clips from an interview conducted by one of the authors (CC) with an indigenous student who was discussing recent experiences of moving to Canberra to study at university. Both video clips were role plays; both interviewers were women; both clients were indigenous men. The medical registrar was a white woman; the counsellor in the second interview, an indigenous woman (CC).

We then showed these video clips to two groups of people and recorded their responses. One group were indigenous health workers from the Winunga Indigenous Health Centre in Canberra. The other group were conference delegates at the Christianity in Psychology Interest Group Conference.[1] (We call the former the Black Group and the latter the White Group, in the remainder of this article).

Among the White Group, 17 people had little or no experience of counselling indigenous people, 11 had some experience with counselling indigenous people (mainly with adolescents) and only five people regarded themselves to be widely experienced in working with indigenous clients. Many described their experience with indigenous people over a number of years; on average this was five years experience in the community sector, education sector or corrective services settings.

1. Held in Coolangatta in May 2006.

We canvassed reactions using open-ended questions and participants were invited to record their reactions to this structured questionnaire. All recorded responses in the form of long-hand writing (or spoken comments in the case of the Black Group) were transcribed into Word files and then analysed. Participants' reactions were recorded on four open-ended questionnaires for the Black audience and three similar questionnaires for the White audience (see Appendix A). Additional protocols used in the focus group with the Black Group are outlined in Appendix B. After collating the responses from the Black audience, we decided that the third and fourth questionnaires could be combined into one because no new information was being produced by the latter. The answers to the questions were summarised and examined for themes and communalities; a comparison of the answers of the Black audience and White audience was also made. (The full data set is available from CC on request).

Data analysis

Both sets of data were entered into the Leximancer©[2] program. The Leximancer program is able to identify related entities for concepts. It can also determine the relational balance between all concepts, and the level of association between concepts. Furthermore, the program can produce a map of all the concepts and how they are related to one another. Through its built-in thesaurus the program can identify themes and the relationships between them. For example, it can identify how strongly or weakly the concepts 'counselling', 'culture' and 'health' are related. The strength of association is represented in graphical form: the closer that words and concepts appear in two dimensional space on the map, the more closely they are related; the further apart they are in two dimensional space, the more distant is their relationship in the source text. The Leximancer-generated maps are shown below.

Findings

Our reporting here is focused on comparing the Black and White audience reaction to the video clips shown. A summary of the content of the video clips is outlined in the following table.

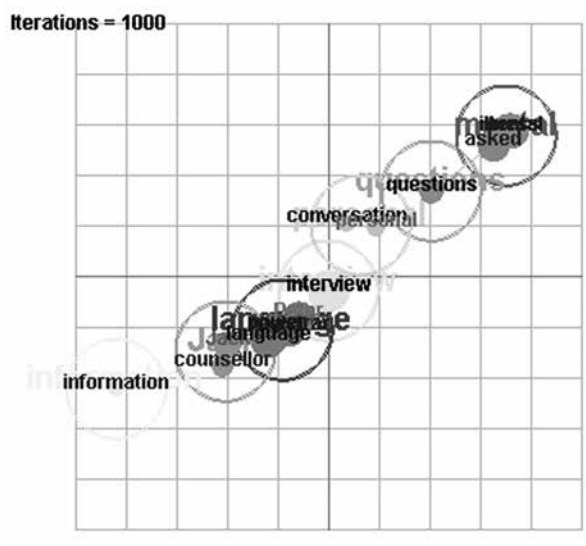
2. The Leximancer Text Mining and Concept Mapping Program is a software system developed in 2001 by the Key Centre for Human Factors and Applied Cognitive Psychology at the University of Queensland. Leximancer searches text for categories of words, or *concepts*, and then maps these concepts so as to display both their frequency and placement within the text (conceptual analysis), as well as their relationship with other concepts within the text (relational analysis).

Table 1: Content of the Four Video clips

Video Clip Identifier	Interviewer	Client	Summary content
Peter Scene 1	Jennifer Gunn (Registrar)	Peter	How not to do a Psychiatric Intake Interview!
Peter Scene 2	Jennifer Gunn (Registrar)	Peter	'Good' Psychiatric Intake Interview
Jack Scene 1	Carmen Cubillo (Counsellor)	Jack	Adjustment to life as a student in Canberra
Jack Scene 2	Carmen Cubillo (Counsellor)	Jack	Adjustment to life as a student in Canberra

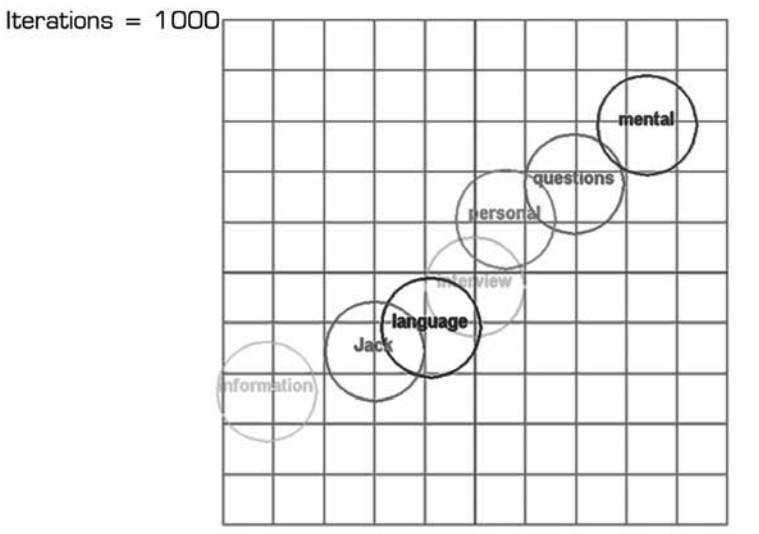
Figure 1 (below) shows the Leximancer analytic summary of the textual material the Black Group produced in response to all the open-ended questions we asked [Points100%; theme size 22%]. (Points are the key words in the texts that are mentioned several times. They appear on this graph in black). For example, two of the points in figure 1 are 'asked' and 'conversation'. Quite frequently one member of the indigenous health team appeared to be speaking for everybody present; furthermore this group was an open-group with departures and arrivals occurring throughout the group session.

Figure 1: Black Group key words (and organising concepts) in response to the video clips



The form of data collection in the Black Group contrasted markedly with the form the data collection took in the White Group, all of whom wrote down their responses to questions first, and entered discussion after writing was completed. There was no coming and going while the White Group addressed the research task. In stark contrast, there was much open discussion among the Black Group. Indeed, one of our findings is that these two audiences respond very differently to the video clips, and that data gathering practices must vary if they wish to capture these differences. We might conclude that research methodologies, data collection methods, and ways of talking themselves are culturally specific, such that naturalistic settings are different for the two groups. One size does not fit all, if transcultural issues are to be adequately researched.

Figure 2: Organising concepts in Black Group responses to the video clips



We took out the points from Figure 1, leaving a summary of themes only (see Figure 2). The constellation identified in the northeast of the figure falls under the organising concept mental. (The convention adopted here is to underline concepts identified by the Leximancer program). The concepts represented by darker circles are the more important concepts (language and mental). The theme analysis further shows questions and mental as closely associated organising concepts but at a considerable distance from information which sits in proximity to the name of one of the protagonists in the video clips with Jack. Language is an organising concept of some considerable importance and close conceptually to the organising concepts Jack and Peter.

We make some progress along the following lines of interpretation: that black identity as indicated by the names of the protagonists is not readily connected with a (white) discourse on 'mental illness'.

The next analysing procedure was to, to mine or drill down into the organising concept Language (in the Leximancer jargon). In this process the program looks for the words closely associated in the text with the organising concept language and displays these in an entity listing. The results are summarised in Table 1.

Table 2: Entity listing for the organising concept language- Black Group

Word	*N*
Body	5
Engaging	2
Checking	2
Engage	2
Voice	2
Open	2
Registrar	2

The Black group's analysis of the video clips used body language as a central concept, but what can be seen from the associated words is that a profound sense of the kinaesthetics of the encounter had been appreciated by this group. In other words, for the Black Group, use of the video clips opened up a discussion of respectfulness in terms of the paralinguistic (or body language) features of the encounter. We think this can be better understood by the concept of recognition, where emphasis is laid on what is transparently obvious to the Black eye. A picture is worth 1000 words. And these video pictures tell a powerful story.

These findings are suggestive rather than definitive but do take us along familiar pathways. A further Leximancer summary of the Black Group responses is shown in Figure 3 below. [Points 100%; Theme size zero ; the map has been rotated about 45 degrees anticlockwise to make it clearer to read]. This shows that personal relations ('Peter', 'Jack', 'Counsellor' and 'Registrar') are all tightly embedded in a set of relations marked out by the organising concepts of power and language. The Black Group see power as vested in language relations and underline the importance of its negotiation in face to face encounters.

Figure 3: Black group Responses

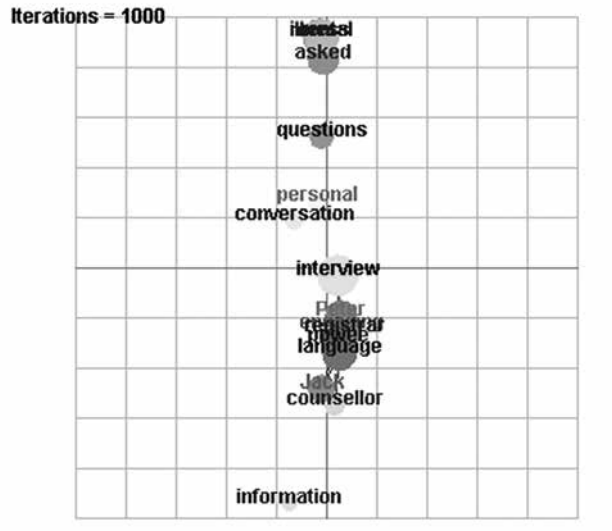
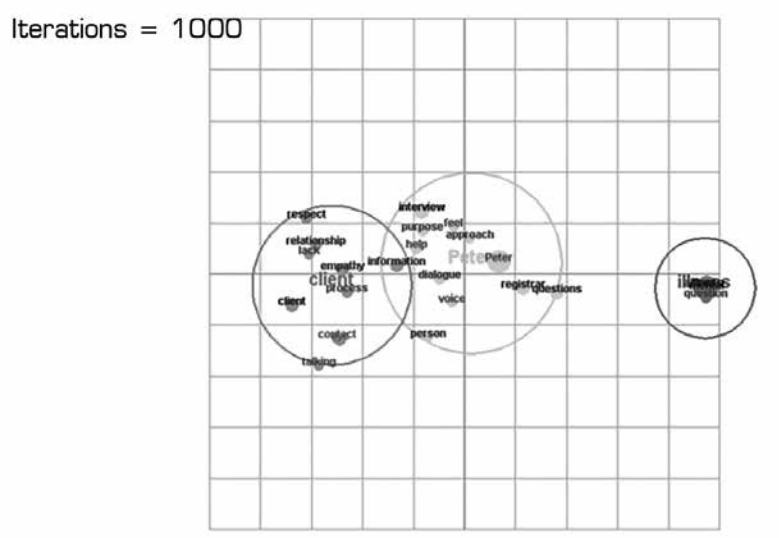


Figure 4 (below) shows the Leximancer analysis of the White Group's responses to the videos [Points 100%; Theme size 64%]. Remembering that respondents were asked questions following the showing of three video clips it is interesting to note that the organising concept of illness is clearly separated from the other two organising concepts and maximally distant from the organising concept client.

Figure 4: White Group keywords and organising concepts



The text mining facility of the program was employed to examine the words associated with 'mental'. 'Illness' appeared 26 times. The White Group identified a discourse on mental health with their comments. Also identified is an interrogation

around mental health as suggested by the words 'asked' and 'question'. Interrogation of course invokes something more than a conversation, and places an onus of responsibility on the other to produce a credible account of what has happened. We think the notion of recall is a key here in responding to the general question: 'Tell me what happened'. And the plausibility of accounts is considered an important determining feature of what appears to be an investigation of whether someone is sane or not – one of the fundamental features of the psychiatric interview or the mental state examination (Foucault, 2006: 270–73). Perhaps this is unsurprising given that the two video clips with Peter show a psychiatric registrar conducting an intake interview with an indigenous person who reported the hearing of voices –hallucinations being one of the supposed features of psychosis. In addition, the audience was for the most part, practising psychologists, well-versed in concepts of psychopathology.

There is, however, a clear delineation of this organising concept of illness from the other two. The organising concept Peter is formed by the name given to the protagonist in the first video – the distressed indigenous man who has been hearing voices. The diagram faithfully records the White Group's recognition of two vectors pulling on this rendition of a psychiatric intake interview – on the one hand a vector pulling to the east in our diagram indicating the recognition of the exchange as a psychiatric interview and hence an acknowledgement of the biomedical discourse informing such an interview. The words 'questions' and 'registrar' clearly show the movement of this vector toward the organising concept (mental) illness.

On the other hand the White Group identifies the influence of the planet client to the west, an organising concept encapsulating words central to an understanding of the therapeutic alliance in psychotherapy ('process' and 'empathy' being key words here). Again the entity vocabulary of client was examined using the mining facility of the Leximancer program and the results summarised in Table 3 (below).

Table 3 : Entry list for the organising concept client- White group

Word	N
Talking	4
Contact	3
Professional	3
Lack	2
Interviewer	2
Listening	2
Relationship	2

Empathy	2
Purpose	2
Interview	2
Interest	2
Process	2
Registrar	2
Respect	2

Clearly the White Group employs the organising concept client which derives from the context of an understanding of client-centred psychotherapy and the humanistic approach in counselling. The mining analysis produces an array of associated words most of which articulate key notions of both this approach but also of what is now recognised as the main contributor to successful outcomes in psychotherapy and counselling – the strength of the therapeutic or working alliance (Wampold, 2001).

So how were the video clips interpreted by this group of professional helpers attending an APS-sponsored conference? Through the central organising concept of Peter – through focusing on the person of Peter as portrayed in this training video – they considered the central focus of our research seminar as an opportunity to critically examine the cultural relevance of a (white) psychiatric intake interview of a distressed indigenous man brought to such a clinic. They identified two discourses relevant to their thinking: on the one hand the discourse represented graphically to the east drew on the familiar western diagnostic process in relation to mental illness. The identification of this discourse allowed them to locate the interview of Peter in an appropriate (white) cultural context of a psychiatric interview.

The discourse represented graphically to the west in Figure 4 stands in stark contrast to this formulation of a psychiatric interview. It articulates a client-centred, relationship-building approach which underlined the importance of eye contact, real relationship, and respect in transcultural encounters. Furthermore, it was articulated through the use of a non-specialist language register to the degree that some of the White Group didn't recognise the videoclip with Jack as a counselling interview at all! (This interview was initially constructed as a role play demonstrating the building of the therapeutic alliance, and the protagonist in it was not obviously distressed, so this reading of the vignette holds some credibility though the rendering of a good relationship as invisible is a cause for concern.)

And how were these video clips interpreted by this group of indigenous health workers? Our use of the word recognition describes a primarily visual way our Black Group approached these videos. They did not concern themselves too much with the giving of accounts, because after all they readily recognised what was going on in terms of a familiar set of appearances. One of the comforts we

think they derive from the second engagement is that there are two dark faces in the dialogue and there is an obvious collaboration and symmetrical relations of power in the counselling session taking place.

Our research findings are beginning to bring familiar white cultural practices in assessment, diagnosis, and questioning into a frame that recognises them as such – white cultural practices. We acknowledge our debt to medical anthropology, and particularly from the work of Kleinman (1997) and Young (1997) who have examined the culture of the hospital, the outpatient clinic, and the PTSD facility, recognising their institutional role in shaping what is considered mental illness (and, by default, mental health), and in determining what is considered appropriate treatment for diverse populations.

This brings to the surface the question of where to next? The work of Dennis McDermott (2015) encourages individual health practitioner to embrace a journey of self-exploration and engagement in practices that advocate for Aboriginal issues but also to make work places that service Aboriginal people a safe place to come.

The individual must examine their own cultural stance and use that as a foundation to build their practice around healthy, respectful relationships with aboriginal people that acknowledge and work with difference, rather than find 'commonalities' which standard cross-cultural work would suggest.

An acknowledgement of racially motivated policies and practices throughout the layers of reality that aboriginal families live in allows the practitioner to understand the context of clients and to tailor their service to the needs of Aboriginal patients creating cultural safety where both parties can work towards goals set by the aboriginal person. There is much work to be done on an individual, community and governmental level to service aboriginal people adequately.

This small piece of research has demonstrated that video clips from training videos aiming at training professionals to be culturally sensitive in transcultural work, are themselves viewed very differently by indigenous health workers and a group of (white) psychologists. Each group makes quite different sense of what is portrayed in just a few minutes of video clips. This is a small contribution to the task of acknowledging cultural difference in transcultural counselling work. We need to recognise that training videos of this nature have uncertain trajectories in their attempts to assist in the task of delivering better mental health outcomes to indigenous clients. We need to pay careful attention to the evidence of the effectiveness of these videos in achieving such outcomes. We further need to recognise that a focus on professional practices in such encounters takes our attention away from the location of these encounters in a wider set of institutional practices need to be changed if culturally appropriate services are to be delivered in the field of mental health.

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Appendix A: Black & White Focus Group questions.

Peter Scene 1

1. How would you describe this dialogue?
2. What do you think the Registrar was feeling during the interview?
3. What do you think Peter was feeling during the interview?
4. At what point did Peter's emotions change? Why?
5. Is the registrar threatening in any way? At what point? Why?
6. Do you think the culture of the registrar is impacting on the interview? In what way?
7. Is misinterpretation a likely outcome here? Why?

Peter Scene 2

1. Is this better? How is it better?
2. How has the registrar changed her approach?
3. What role does Peter have now? How has it changed from the first interview?
4. Improvements in the relationship? Is there something still missing?
5. Is the registrar patronising in her attitude?
6. What is the purpose of this interview from the registrars' point of view?
7. What is the purpose of this interview from the Peter's point of view?

Jack Scene (3R)

1. How would you describe the dialogue in this interview? What quality does it have?
2. How does the counsellor treat Jack?
3. Does this interview have a different purpose to the registrar's interview? How would you describe it?
4. What guesses can you make about the institutional settings of the respective interviews?
5. How would you describe the counsellor's approach?

Appendix B. Additional Structured Interview for Black Group.

Preamble for Focus Group – Evaluation of Training Package Presentation

Thank you

Tape recorders

- Talking can be suspended if the information is too sensitive
- Each person is entitled to refrain from entering any question
- Confidentiality
- Name Changes – pseudonyms
- Protection of Data

Aims of research: To develop a culturally appropriate counselling protocol.

Questioning route for focus group

Opening question: (3 min)

Introductory question: (5 min)

- How important is this training package?
- What implications do you think this has for current and future counselling practices?
- Do you think that this package could be improved, what would you suggest?
- Current counselling models - What did your reflective analysis tell you?
- What were the gaps you identified in the theory?
- How does this relate to gaps that may be present in your practice?
- What would you propose for an alternative model? What would it include?
- What are your thoughts on the alternative model? Does it fill the gaps?
- How applicable is this model to your practice?

Transition questions: (15 min)

- The presentation of the training.
- Do you think the presentation of this training package is appropriate?
- How do you think it could be improved in the future?
- The structure of the activities
- How relevant are these activities in the training package?
- How realistic do you think these issues/situations are?

- Are there any improvements or adjustments you would like to make?

Ending questions: (10 min)

- How relevant the think this package is the current counselling practices?
- What modifications do you think should be made to this program?

Summary (5 min)

Convener summarises main points

- Are you happy with that as a summary of what we've discussed?

Final question: (5 min)

Is there anything you would like to say about the transcultural counselling package?

Thank you

NB: additional prompts, such as 'tell me more about that', 'does anyone else relate to that?', 'who else can tell me about that?' etc. are likely to be used on several questions.

Indigenous Psychologies, Fourth World Peoples and the International Literature: finding ourselves in online abstracting and indexing databases

Linda Waimarie Nikora, Bridgette Masters-Awatere, Waikaremoana Waitoki & Mohi Rua

SUMMARY: The presence and visibility of indigenous people and experience in the field of indigenous psychologies is vital to articulating existence, life, self-determination and future making. This article highlights examples of Indigenous Psychology being both absent and present at the same time in OAD (online academic databases).

KEY WORDS: Indigenous psychologies, Fourth world, Maori development, social and emotional wellbeing, indigenous psycholog*.

An important and valuable aspect of early European explorations was the mapping of unknown territories so as to be able to make later return voyages for exploitation of resources, colonisation and settlement. In 1642, Dutch explorer Abel Tasman 'discovered' Tasmania and New Zealand and enabled Captain James Cook to circumnavigate and complete the mapping of New Zealand (Beaglehole, 1968). His crew, scientists in their own right, collected plant specimens, recorded landscapes, objects, resources and the daily lives of the native peoples in pencil, watercolour and text (Beaglehole, 1968). These European explorers made our lands, resources and presence on the earth known to the rest of the world. The authors of this article are Maori, indigenous to New Zealand, living life in a nation that imports Western psychological knowledge (Moghaddam, 1987), a form of knowing that has come to dominate how psychology in our context is studied, practiced and

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understood. The field of indigenous psychology in New Zealand has made slow but steady progress in the face of Western world dominance by adopting the goals of Maori development to create psychologies that meet the needs of Maori people. Indigenous Psychology has done this in a way that maintains a unique cultural heritage and makes for a better collective Maori future (Nikora, 2007; Nikora, Levy, Masters, & Waitoki, 2006). It is a journey towards Maori self-determination, liberation and wellness.

As scholars and researchers, we regularly use online academic databases (OADs) to rapidly search for literature and research activity related to our areas of interest and research. An online academic database is a collection of information commonly used for research and writing purposes, including access to papers in academic journals. It is not unlike a map of an information world, like a card index system is to a library. OADs '… organize collections of scientific and scholarly material that is accessible through a computer network, and which is accordingly stored and delivered in electronic form' (Dukic, 2014, p173). Most university libraries in developed nations hold subscriptions to OADs that link directly to full-text articles and offer a deep and wide array of information across countless numbers of subjects giving rise to specialized OADs to support specific disciplines. Because so much information is readily available, we often come to believe that the knowledge universe is complete and at our finger-tips (Lagerstrom, 2010). As the title of Lagerstrom's 2010 article infers, 'If it's not on the web, it doesn't exist at all…' Obviously this argument is fallacious especially in light of the endeavours of researchers and scholars the world over to recognise gaps in the literature, to pose new questions, to challenge old assumptions and to produce new knowledge. However, when an OAD search turns up few or no results or 'null' sets we tend to respond by checking our search strategies or searching on different terms or simply concluding that the work of researchers in the area reside in the 'grey' literature or hard texts in turn leading to searches outside OADs. Sometimes we also conclude inactivity related to the search terms.

Researchers in emerging fields of inquiry are often confronted by OAD null result sets. In the early days of activity in the field of indigenous psychologies such results were common with better outcomes produced by focusing searches by country or by population descriptors like 'Australian Aboriginal' or 'Maori'. With more recent enthusiasm and scholarly activity, OAD search results for indigenous psychology literature now return hundreds of hits marking the existence of the field, naming and describing, and associating authors, institutions and the geographic location of research activity.

In contemplating writing a textbook on indigenous psychology for students in a graduate paper at the University of Waikato in New Zealand, the authors began to search OADs and amass the necessary foundational literature required.

In this regard, we decided to undertake a structured and intentional approach to the literature, recording keyword searches, documenting hits and scrutinizing the results. We were particularly interested in understanding the totality of the field of indigenous psychology, what authors were writing about, and gathering literature relevant to New Zealand and Australia as that is the future work context for many of our students. We were also familiar with the literature local to our context and wanted to better understand the contribution Australian and New Zealand writers were making to the broader indigenous psychology canon. Visibility of Maori and Aboriginal people within the literature communicates to indigenous students suggests: there is a receptive place for our research, writing and thinking; that there is a community of resistance active in the struggle against the dominance of Western psychology, and; that there is an accessible canon of work that can be built upon and contributed to. The existence of the field of indigenous psychology and visibility within it presents a sense of community, somewhere to belong to and where critical friends might be found. For researchers and academics, presence and visibility suggest engagement, contribution and collaboration.

The aims of this study were to:

1. Determine the extent of the indigenous psychology literature as captured by OAD searches.
2. Determine the extent to which work by indigenous researchers from Australian and New Zealand are represented in the OAD scholarly canon of indigenous psychologies.

Searching indigenous psychology records through online abstracting database services

Researchers, scholars and students have come to rely heavily on online abstracting and indexing database services as an interface between themselves, and the knowledge libraries of the world. For this study, we chose to search the following proprietary databases subscribed to by our academic institution and typically available at most other first and second World (Moghaddam, 1987) academic institutions:

a) Web of Science (WOS)
b) EBSCO
c) ProQuest
d) Scopus

In so doing, we are acutely aware that these databases are significantly inaccessible

to academics and scholars in third world countries, or with no internetivity. The playing field is not level and academics situated in first and second world countries are privileged in this regard. Our fourth world status as Maori New Zealander and Aboriginal Australian academics benefits us in this regard.

Because we were interested in research sources about Maori and other fourth world indigenous people (Nikora, 2007) as they appear in the field of indigenous psychologies and the internationally peer reviewed literature we restricted our keyword search, and therefore our working data set for this study to fields tagged 'titles', 'abstracts' and 'keywords' that contained the term 'Indigenous psycholog*'. Use of the wild character * (asterisk) returned results related to 'indigenous psychology', 'indigenous psychologies' and 'indigenous psychological'. There were no restrictions on date of publication. The records retrieved were merged, cleaned and analyzed. The respective OADs indexed between 118–157 records, the earliest appearing in 1979. Between then and 2004, an average of 2–3 articles were published in each year. From 2005, the average increased to about 11 articles per year. The trend suggests persistent industriousness of the part of scholars.

Using wild character searching ('indigenous psycholog*') captures a broader dataset than keyword searches ('indigenous psychology', 'indigenous psychologies') and different OADs present different results. When using the search term 'indigenous psycholog*', Web of Science (WOS) returned 153 hits; EBSCO, 147 hits; ProQuest, 118 hits; and Scopus, 157 hits. We merged these hits across the four OADs by exporting the records including abstracts into EndNote 7.3.1 (http://www.endnote.com). EndNote is a desktop software application that allowed us to search, sort, group, add keywords, notations, link to the full text of articles amongst other useful functions. We reduced the data set by removing duplicates and excluded books, conference abstracts, incomplete records, blank records, newspaper articles, magazines, conference calls, unpublished conference papers and non-English works. This produced a final datatset of 181 records.

As an emerging field, the overall cleaned dataset of 181 records about indigenous psycholog* lends itself to the possibility that multiple perspectives and interests of authors writing from and about different communities, contexts, histories and geographies will be included amongst the records. It is not surprising that the majority of records were 'journal articles' (n=132), precise pieces of writing that deal succinctly with a particular topic of research or theory. 'Handbook entries' (n=8) and 'book sections' (n=17) present the opportunity for broader surveys of the field and its existence, or deeper analysis of specific issues. 'Book reviews' (11) both announce the existence of a book and critically assess the contribution it makes. 'Editorials and introductions' (n=9) to special issues are important as they typically argue the importance of the collection and what needs to be done beyond the issues discussed. While not numerous, 'commentaries and

replies' (n=4) are where conversations amongst colleagues, and sometimes 'giants' in a field, exchange views and opinions on each other's work.

Locating the country of publication

Author country affiliation or focus of articles allowed us to compile a geographic index with publication counts (n=119). Determining the country of origin and focus was not always possible. In such cases the papers were removed. The United States of America had the highest number of indigenous psycholog* publications (38). The second highest sources of publications were jointly shared by Australia, South Africa and China (n=12). Slightly lower were India (11), Korea (9), Philippines (8), New Zealand and Canada (7 each). The lowest was Japan (3).

Focusing a search to indigenous New Zealanders and Australians

When searching OADs it is common to start with a broad search to capture a range of records and to then refine the search by linking with other search terms of interest. By using the 'search all fields' function in Endnote, we refined the dataset according to the country term search on 'New Zealand' and 'Australia', and then 'Maori' and 'Aboriginal' as they appeared in the titles or abstracts of records.

Of the 181 records in the dataset, 12 related to Australia (n=12) or New Zealand (n=7). Discarding those records where New Zealand was the place of conference or publication, or referred to the author's institutional affiliation being situated in Australia or New Zealand, only two records exclusively concerned Maori (Houkamau, 2010; Nikora, 2014) and six were specific to Australian Aboriginal peoples (Cameron & Robinson, 2014; Dudgeon, Darlaston-Jones, & Clark, 2011; Dudgeon & Kelly, 2014; Dudgeon, Kelly, & Walker, 2010; Gillies, 2013; Westerman, 2010).

Discussion

Where researchers are dependent on OAD searches to conserve time and resources, such curiously small result sets as those found for Maori and indigenous Australians in this study, suggests, as the title of the Lagerstorm's (2010) article implies, that the object of the search does not exist at all. It is non-existent, not there. While we recognise this as far from the truth, the implication is that Maori and indigenous Australians as subject and author within the field of indigenous psychologies remain invisible. Part of this result set can be explained by being present in other ways. For example, an EBSCO search on 'social and emotional wellbeing' and 'indigenous' presents a result set of 24 articles between 2004 and 2015 exclusively concerning indigenous Australians. The term 'social

and emotional wellbeing' was adopted in response to objections by indigenous Australians to the use of the term 'mental health' and the stigma that attends to it. Indigenous social and emotional wellbeing in the Australian context is deeply psychological but is situated differently to what was captured in the OAD searches for this paper. A similar example is that of Maori development and psychology. I and fellow authors (Nikora, et al., 2006) defined indigenous psychologies as closely aligned with the Maori development agenda, the goal of which 'is to create psychologies to meet the needs of Maori people in a way that maintains a unique cultural heritage, and makes for a better collective Maori future' (Allwood & Berry, 2006a, p255). Situated in this way, efforts by Maori psychologists formed part of broader Maori endeavours and aspirations for a more prosperous Maori future. An EBSCO search on 'Maori development and psychology' results in 21 relevant articles published between 2004 and 2014. Again, an example of being absent and present at the same time.

While we in New Zealand have argued the relevance of our work to the area of indigenous psychologies (Nikora, 2007) and psychology more broadly (Nikora, 2014), it is plainly evident that we are largely invisible within OADs searches that use 'indigenous psycholog*' as a search term. Part of this is a consequence of localization, attention on particulars, and demands by indigenous communities of interest to be engaged and for research and scholars to be accountable to them. To this we can add the significant relevance of indigenous psycholog* research to other disciplines beyond psychology such as the health disciplines, applied social sciences and education. Here, the information or meta-data provided by authors in their article titles, abstracts, keywords and other fields used by OADs tend prioritise and narrow meta-data to specific topics of interest, for example, the problem to be solved, type of intervention or a particular condition. If we are to become visible beyond the communities and problems we are seeking to solve, we need to step back and position our work within broader domains of scholarship such as indigenous psycholog*.

In the last decade or so, there has been a proliferation of interdisciplinary academic journals dedicated to indigenous knowledge and research including and beyond the discipline of psychology. Examples are: *AlterNative* (http://www.alternative.ac.nz) that presents indigenous worldviews and scholarly research from native indigenous perspectives from around the world; The *Journal of Indigenous Research* (http://digitalcommons.usu.edu/kicjir/) that makes accessible to indigenous communities requests for information about research conducted among indigenous people mainly in Canada and the USA, and; The *International Journal of Indigenous Health* (http://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/ijih/about) that seeks to bring knowledge from diverse intellectual traditions together with a focus on culturally diverse indigenous voices, methodologies and epistemology. While

these journals serve to concentrate interdisciplinary research about indigenous peoples and to increase accessibility to communities of interest, they nonetheless occupy a marginal space away from the dominance of western world paradigms and have little influence. If indigenous psycholog* is to challenge mainstream thinking, it must somehow, fall within its gaze.

A strategy to achieve influence is through special or themed issues of journals defined by an already established psychological sub-discipline like *Psychology and Developing Societies* (Liu, Lawson-Te Aho, & Rata, 2014), or *Social Epistemology* (Collier, 2011), or one that is concerned to service globally diverse scholarly interests such as the *International Journal of Psychology* (Allwood & Berry, 2006b) and the *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* (Hwang, 2015). A special issue of an established journal where proposals are closely scrutinized for relevance by journal editors legitimizes efforts by indigenous psycholog* scholars, concedes competitive publication space and presents to its readership the message that authors within the special issue are presenting research and raising concerns worthy of thought and attention by its readership. Such issues also give opportunity for peer review, commentary and discussion, all important activities to aid the development of the subject of the journal and the field of indigenous psycholog*. It is with interest and frustration that we note the absence of any special issues on indigenous psycholog* from the APA stable of journals. This remains as a publication space highly regulated by a dominant western and empirical knowledge paradigm.

Also curious is the absence of any journal with the terms 'Indigenous' or 'Psycholog*' in its title, a journal that the authors of this paper have some enthusiasm for and await the emergence of. However, there are some serious considerations to be made before proceeding in this direction. Will the scope of such a journal compete or overlap with other journals? Will it have an international audience? Are there enough academic giants to champion such a journal? Will it be attractive to publishers, or entities willing to financially support the journal? Is there a wide enough scholarly community to sustain contributions? Will such a journal address the visibility of work by indigenous scholars in fourth world settings like Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Hawaii and the USA or will a new form of dominance emerge such as that inherent in the tensions around the different definitions of what constitutes an indigenous psychology? (Allwood & Berry, 2006a).

While the above questions remain, the visibility of fourth world indigenous peoples in the field of indigenous psycholog* requires addressing. There are a number of strategies to achieve this. The simplest approach is to assist OAD searches by contributing relevant keywords and phrases. In this respect, inserting 'indigenous psycholog*' in the meta-data fields, that is, in the title, abstract and keyword fields, will boost the number of retrieved publications. This simple

solution does require a conscious effort on the part of indigenous scholars, and necessitating a shift in perspective, away from the particulars of our disciplines, contexts and problem solving endeavours, into relationship with likeminded others in the global community. When faced with the daily realities of remaining visible and resilient within our respective academic and practice communities, the global community can seem far away and difficult to partipate in and influence. In this technological age and internet connectedness, the global is a few keyboard clicks away.

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Decolonising Identities: Aboriginal Asian identity

Pat Dudgeon

SUMMARY: This paper examines construction of Aboriginal identity in the ongoing colonising environment of contemporary Australia. Australian Indigenous identity has been a struggle for equality and for recognition of cultural difference and has been forged as resistance under a colonizing situation. The construction of identity is examined from an Australian perspective, where cultural survival, reclaiming and identity have become a priority.

KEY WORDS: Asian-Aboriginal history, Asian-Aboriginal identity, Indigenous identity, social justice, self-determination, colonial hegemony, contested histories.

Australian Aboriginal identity is the subject of an ongoing and complex discussion by both non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people; some say there is a preoccupation with 'Identity'. As Aboriginal people we are continually forced to define ourselves within the backdrop of dominant white historical, political and cultural contexts. Our lives and history are shaped by our history as a separate cultural group and they continue to be thus shaped even in a neocolonial society. The focus on who we are as Aboriginal peoples is a direct consequence of the processes of colonisation in which we were cast as 'other' to the coloniser in negative ways.

In recent times, there has been an imperative to tell the stories about the past from Aboriginal perspectives, and from there to give testimony to injustices that have been perpetrated. These form some of the strategies that Aboriginal people use in the struggle for justice. In this article I explore the construction

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of Aboriginal identity in the ongoing colonising environment of contemporary Australia, concentrating in particular on the broader social horizon and literature review. I conclude that there are three 'moments' in the changing nature of Asian-Aboriginal relations in Western Australia which have contributed to a cultural renaissance of Aboriginal identity.

Cultural renaissance and identity

For Australian Aboriginal people, cultural survival, reclaiming and identity have become a priority. This process of decolonisation or 'cultural renaissance' refers to a period of time in Aboriginal political and social movements, commencing around the 1970s and 1980s, when Aboriginal concerns were not only about claiming equal rights but also about reclaiming culture difference and having that acknowledged and respected by the wider Australian public (Oxenham et al, 1999; Sissons, 2005; R & C Berndt, 1992: 531). Cultural identity itself has become significant. It is a complex discursive negotiation and contestation on many different levels both within Aboriginal groups and with dominant society in defining Indigeneity (Harris et al, 2013). Within the groups, it is part of a decolonising process and involves reconceptualising, rewriting and rethinking what our culture means, how it is expressed and who has the right in determining what Aboriginal culture is.

Aboriginal peoples have become stronger, are envisaging alternative futures and have appropriated global resources for their own cultural specific ends. Sissons states:

> It is now clear that the numerous cultural renaissances that occurred throughout the indigenous world in the second half of the twentieth century were more than brief or passing events. Instead, their momentum has been maintained into the new millennium, while the challenges they pose to settler states and their bureaucracies have become increasingly urgent. Those who interpreted indigenous cultural 'revivals' as simply unconventional strategies in the pursuit of conventional economic and political objectives were wrong. What they failed to recognise was that cultural objectives were radically distinct ends in themselves. (2005: p. 13)

Cultural reclaiming and revitalisation give people new spaces to express and explore identity and pride in their culture. For Aboriginal people, a reclaiming of cultural identity has accelerated over the last few decades with unprecedented change in Aboriginal perceptions of their own (Aboriginal) identity. For the first time, despite continued prejudice and racism, there is an element of pride in being an Aboriginal person. However, past practices of denigrating and denying Aboriginal identity remain deep within the psyche of Aboriginal people, and hence, within

some Aboriginal people especially the youth, there is still some identity confusion (Beresford and Omaji, 1996: p. 126).

Another form of cultural revitalisation occurs when Aboriginal groups incorporate cultural practices from other areas into their own ways. For example, Aboriginal authors Oxenham and others (1999) discuss how some Aboriginal groups drew upon the cultural practices from other areas to reinstate some of their own local ceremonial practices and this was concluded to be appropriate as part of reclaiming culture. The feeling was:

> [a] bit sad for them, because they have lost some of their culture; wonderful that they have regained something; scared that it might be falsified; and then good because they're not myth building and they're being honest and saying that we've reclaimed our Aboriginality taking bits from her and there (p. 89).

It could be said that Aboriginal peoples are in a process of reclaiming their cultures, not as they were traditionally in a purist manner, but based in those (traditional) concepts and revitalised. This is part of the decolonising process that involves reconceptualising, rewriting and rethinking what our culture means, how culture is expressed and who has rights in determining what Aboriginal culture is. Reclaiming cultural identity may have been essential for the survival of oppressed peoples, particularly those from minority groups in settler nations. For me, the term is about resurgence, reclaiming and making pride of previously denigrated and repressed subjectivities. This process is continuing.

'Stolen generations' and identity

It is rare to find an Aboriginal family who has not experienced removal of children or displacement of entire families into missions, reserves or other institutions and most families have been affected over one or more generations. Children, usually with some non-Aboriginal ancestry, were taken away from their families so that they could be 'civilised' and assimilated into mainstream Australia (Haebich, 2008). In her comprehensive analysis of the removal of Aboriginal Australian children across the country, Haebich (2000: p. 13) describes it as not a single event but an ongoing process that took place from colonialism to the present. In Australia between one in three and later one in ten Aboriginal children were forcibly removed from their families and communities in the first half of the 20th century. Because of this the traumatic psychopolitial consequences of the forced removal of children remain deeply embedded in contemporary Aboriginal identity. It is widely recognised that this shattering of identity and community has resulted in a deep social and emotional wellbeing wounding (Dudgeon, Cubillo & Bray, 2015).

It has only been in recent times that the practice has been officially recognised, with the former Prime Minister Paul Keating's historic Redfern Park Speech in 1992, where, within a litany of acts of oppression that Australia has perpetrated upon its Aboriginal peoples, he stated, 'We took the children away from their mothers' (ANTaR webpage). Many years later, on the 13th of February 2008, a newly elected Labour Prime Minister Kevin Rudd formally apologised to Aboriginal people for the forced removal of their children. (Prime Minister's webpage).

Contesting identities

Aboriginal identity is constantly questioned and threatened. Within the Aboriginal domain, Aboriginal people call each other's identity, or its quality, to account when we disagree amongst ourselves. Thus it is perfectly understandable that insecurity and a preoccupation about the issue remains. White society gave urban Aboriginal people racism with one hand, yet still tries to take away our identity with the other. In recent times there has been a focus on family groups who received exemption from the Native Welfare Act, thereby surrendering their Aboriginality for white citizenship rights (Oxenham et al, 1999). Others perceived that families who did this were somehow 'less' Aboriginal. For example, in her unforgiving article 'Always was, always will be', Jackie Huggins (2003/1993) calls into account those who passed as white in earlier times. Her position on the matter reflects the debates in Aboriginal communities about identity:

> The act of passing is a horrendous crime in Aboriginal circles and places of knowing. Most Aboriginal people never ceded their identity, no matter how destructive, painful or bad the situation was. We vindictively remember those who have passed (and unlike whitefellas and largely, those who study us) can never forget nor forgive these traitors. (2003: p. 62)

However, most Aboriginal people have had family members who were exempted from the Act or who 'passed' (Gilbert, 1977; Oxenham et al, 1999). These events and passing were and remain the ruptures in the complexities of the story of Aboriginal history which illustrate the different strategies of survival used by oppressed groups.

Denial of denial

Some Aboriginal people did 'move away from their identity' as Aboriginal people as defined by legislation so that they could claim exemption from the various Native Welfare Acts that controlled their lives. However, within contemporary Aboriginal culture and within the context of cultural renaissance it appears that

for some there is a denial of ever having denied Aboriginality. The danger of this second denial is that Aboriginal people do not own and come to terms with the past and speak about the multiple ways that colonisation impacted upon us and how multiple strategies for survival and resistance formed our response. I referred to this process in which nine Aboriginal people undertook a series of dialogues about the issue of Aboriginal identity (Oxenham, et al, 1999). We discussed how our parents and grandparents were made to feel ashamed of their Aboriginality and how it had been difficult, even dangerous, to be Aboriginal as the government of that time had incredible control over Aboriginal life. It appears that collectively we have reconstructed our past ignoring the act of forgetting that is part of our history. Aboriginal people do forget because they do not want to appear as somehow lacking in their Aboriginality. It is an unspeakable part of our history to admit that once we were ashamed of our Aboriginality. To speak it threatens our identity, which is already threatened on a daily basis by mainstream Australian society and by our own people. Dominant white society seeks to invalidate our Aboriginality, unless we are obviously from a traditional background as discussed by Langton (1993) and Anderson (2003).

'Coloured' people: old and new hybridities

When I was growing up in Darwin and Broome in the 1960s, we were known and identified as 'coloured' people. Coloured people included part-Aboriginal people and Asians, but it particularly referred to people of both Aboriginal and Asian ancestry. The use of the term 'coloured' as a descriptor for this group of people appears to be specific to northern Australia mainly because of the sheer preponderance of the group there, whereas in the south the numbers are much smaller. Coloured people included those of mixed or Asian backgrounds who were defined in the boundaries between, whites and full blood Aboriginal people. In contemporary times, people are reluctant to discuss this part of social history, although older Aboriginal people still refer to themselves and others as 'coloured'. 'Coloured' has become one of those outdated terms such as 'half-casts' or 'natives', which have historical, colonialist and patronising connotations. Except for those of the older generations, Aboriginal people do not use the term and to do so evokes a time when assimilationist policies were enforced and when Aboriginality was not favoured.

Hunter (1993) refers to the growth of a mixed descent population in the Kimberley as the mid-level of a tripartite society and traces how this was in place in towns such as Derby in the 1950s and 1960s. There emerged a situation of what equated to a caste system, with whites at the top commanding more power and resources, the middle was occupied by Asians and part-Aborigines who may have

less resources and power and at the bottom were Aborigines with little power or resources. During these times Aboriginal people would often identify more strongly with their Asian descent lines, although they were still very grounded in their Aboriginal communities and culture. Again, during the Aboriginal cultural renaissance, it became a point of pride to identify as Aboriginal and the social grouping of a coloured people fell away. Due to Aboriginal people's connections back to families and communities the common acceptance and usage of the term 'coloured' vanished rapidly.

While, the 'coloured' category existed in the north of Australia, in the south, one was either Aboriginal or white. Aboriginal people from 'up north' have expressed the opinion that Aboriginal people 'down south' seemed to have historically suffered worse racism than themselves because of the longer periods of colonisation, harsher and more intense scrutiny and their small numbers. There were also no different social spaces for Aboriginal people to move towards, despite the fact that while white Australia enforced a dominant and racist environment, it was quick to deny a person's Aboriginality at whim. The coloured class provided a different space for some Aboriginal people to move to. It gave them some power.

Until recently I considered the phenomenon of 'coloured people' at worst, a manifestation of denial of Aboriginal identity or, at best, a social descriptor that was best forgotten, otherwise it might call those who were categorised as coloured into account for lacking in the strength of their identity. On reflection, it has become clearer to me that the concept of a coloured class gave a name and a position to the diversity that emerged in the north, and subsequently, more social power for those Aboriginal people who could move into this category.

Analysing my grandmother's life and times, I am convinced that her relatively empowered sense of self and capability to resist oppression came from her implicit understanding that she was 'coloured'. In the pecking order of racism, she was not on the bottom rung and she was 'mission-trained' therefore was 'civilised' and had valuable skills. While these social self-concepts were imposed from the society in which she lived, she drew benefits from them – her incredible sense of self worth may have been derived from being coloured.

In 1935 a group of Broome women made a submission to the Moseley Royal Commission into Aboriginal Affairs, seeking to be excluded from the classification of 'native'. Their submission stated that as they were literate, skilled and were living in acceptable conditions, they felt that they should not be classified as full Aborigines, that they had adopted white standards of living and were motivated by the desire to be respected and recognised as human beings, to be treated as equals and as citizens. Because they were 'under the Act', they highlighted how they were concerned that their children could be penalised (Choo, 1999; Attwood & Marcus, 1999). Drawing on other documentary sources, Choo concludes that

the women's submission was treated with contempt and they and their supporters were considered troublemakers. However, this submission underscores how Aboriginal women at that time in history and location actively made life choices to escape oppression.

There were three ways that Aboriginal people could attempt to escape coming under the Act and these were to marry white, to be exempt from the Act by showing that they were sufficiently assimilated and renouncing their Aboriginality and to apply for citizenship which also meant dissolving all tribal and native associations. The principle underlying any exemption was to gain status of not being Aboriginal. Exemptions and citizenship could easily be revoked, however, 'passing' became politically and practically expedient at this time (Choo, 1999: pp. 54–5).

Aboriginal people could only be considered eligible for certain social services, pensions and benefits if they could show that they were assimilated or were on their way to assimilation. Bureaucrats in government departments made decisions about this eligibility for inclusion as a recipient of state assistance based on the person's character, apparent standard of intelligence, and social development. 'Full-blooded' Aboriginal people were not eligible for any benefits at all.

Ganter (1998; 2006), like Choo (1999, 2001) and Yu (1999) in Western Australia, examines government responses to Aboriginal-Asian relationships with the same conclusions. These conclusions are that the governments of the day were as concerned about Asian presence as much as Aboriginal people, that they intended to stop 'a mongrel breed', a people that were seen to have the vices of both racial groups, from developing, and under the guise of moral policing, developed policies to police these relationships.

> Coloured women, therefore, became a target for departmental concern and this concern was much wider than merely with Aboriginal populations: the cultural pluralism of a multi-ethnic society was contested and reined in with reference to the morality of these women (Ganter 1998: p. 35).

The concern over moral conduct of the Australian born coloured population of mixed Aboriginal descent was seen as natural and was in fact a consequence of the xenophobic attitudes towards Asians, many of whom shared with Aboriginal Australians similar cultural values and ways of life.

In a study of Aboriginal women's perceptions of self and identity, I interviewed a number of women from the Kimberly area of Western Australia. One of the participants discussed growing up 'coloured' in Broome and stated that growing up coloured privileged her family considerably because they were not seen as Aborigines who were 'tribal', nor did they live on the reserves. They also had more contact with white people due to employment opportunities, and each person

knew where s/he was placed in the social hierarchy. She added that while coloured people had more privilege and standing in the community, they mixed with their own Aboriginal family who did not fit into the category. This positioning was fragile; acceptance by the white community was conditional and rejection was a common consequence if one 'stepped over' the white line. The same participant spoke about how she identified with all parts of her heritage, that she accepted all her 'hybridity', that she had always accepted the different cultural influences in her life, Aboriginal, Asian and European.

'Three moments' of Aboriginal-Asian relations

Until recently, Asian-Aboriginal history and connections have been invisible in the national public consciousness. There is, however, growing commentary on histories of Australia, which were previously ignored or hidden (Ganter, 2006, 2003). From an Aboriginal perspective, it can be said that there are three moments in Aboriginal-Asian relations in a diverse Western Australia. These moments were tenuous; they overlay each other and are subsumed into society over time. They are represented in the lived experience and insights of descendants of early Asian-Aboriginal social interrelations and marriage, to a new level of relationship and collaboration in contemporary times – as researchers, writers, artists, musicians, actors and in new marriages and new ways of working together.

The first moment is characterised by positive and respectful relations between the Asians and Aboriginal people. Both were also outsiders in the dominant and oppressive white society. Asians, however, suffered less racism or were not as 'low on the racism ladder', so to speak, than Aboriginal people. It was during those times, from the turn of the century to the 1960s, that some Aboriginal people with Asian descent would claim their Asian identity and deny or down play their Aboriginal ancestry. This moment was characterised by intermarriages and mixing between the two groups who had much in common besides their shared exclusion from white society. Strong values and practices, such as the importance of family and primacy of community, were common values that differentiated Asian and Aboriginal groups from white society.

The second moment in Aboriginal-Asian relations came in the 1960s and 70s when newer Southeast Asian immigrants arrived in Australia, sometimes adopting the prejudice they saw in white Australians. Aboriginal people also developed racist views towards these 'new Asians', including refugees, identifying with the dominant white culture in rejecting them as intruders. As the cultural renaissance for Aboriginal people had commenced, those with both heritages were likely to identify as Aboriginal only and not draw attention to their Asian heritage. Where previously Aboriginal people may have chosen to identify as Asian to escape the

shackles of being 'native', they now denied any non-Aboriginal connections to privilege their Aboriginal identity.

The third moment was symbolised by Pauline Hanson and the One Nation movement (a xenophobic political group) in the late 1990s that drew all racial minorities together to unite against the notion of a renewed white Australia. Hanson effectively claimed that Aboriginal lands rights, multiculturalism and Asian immigration would result in racial separatism and a possible Asian take-over of the country. This view had the tacit support of a number of prominent conservative political leaders, including the then Prime Minister, John Howard. What was of greatest concern was the support for this position demonstrated in the elections of that year and the Government's failure to condemn such outbursts of racism (Gray and Winter, 1997). The unity forged between people belonging to minority groups and people of colour against such positions heralded a new space in Australian multiculturalism. Alliances were forged between Asian and Aboriginal people. For instance, representatives of the Ethnic Communities Council joined in the Reconciliation March 1999, and the Conference of the Federated Ethnic Community Councils held in Perth that year included Aboriginal input from speakers like Jackie Huggins and Peter Yu. That year also I spoke at a forum where for the first time a cross-section of cultural groups, such as representatives of the Jewish, Indian, Chinese and other communities, gathered to discuss concerns about racism in Australia.

Aboriginal people are now more prepared to acknowledge the different cultural influences that contribute to their families, as society has become more encouraging of cultural diversity, creating new or different spaces for identities. However, despite an acceptance of the multicultural influences that make up identity, for Aboriginal people Aboriginal identity is the primary identity in self-perception. Given the history of oppression that has affected every single Aboriginal person in myriad ways, it is understandable that some people totally reject the European influences in their heritages.

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Book Reviews

A Memoir: Historian and Homosexual
Antony Copley

Fastprint Publishing, 2015, £8.99
ISBN: 978-1-784562-97-7

Clinical psychology is seldom credited with changing its patients' identities. An exception is this memoir by a lawyer's son, Antony Copley, born on 1 July 1937.

Among childhood factors forming his identity he credits his stealing, one at a time, a series of illustrated histories of Britain from Woolworths. Also formative, it seems, was his being sent away from home to boarding school, aged 7; and his parents' subsequent separation and divorce.

This was compounded by another trauma. It occurred after Copley's national service in the navy in Malta, Cyprus, and Egypt, and after he became an undergraduate at Worcester College, Oxford. It was then, some months later, that he was victimised, like thousands of others before him, by police entrapment and arrested for homosexual soliciting.

During his ensuing breakdown he was hospitalised in Oxord's Warneford Hospital and subjected to the since abandoned dangerous method of insulin coma therapy. Much more formative of his identity, however, was his in-patient and subsequent out-patient treatment by a clinical psychologist, May Davidson, albeit she failed to persuade him to become heterosexual.

'Dear Miss D,' he wrote in his diary, 'she has seen me through my fogginess all the time'. Not only that. Her treatment decided him to persist in 'self-analysis'; to read 'Freud and the Post-Freudians'; to turn temporarily away from 'religion'; and to flirt with becoming 'a psychotherapist' like her.

In the end, however, he opted to become a historian. Why? Because he was persuaded that historians are psychoanalysts of the past. I am not persuaded. Much more convincing are other aspects of his memoir including the formative clinical psychology effect on him of May Davidson. The result is a very engaging read.

Janet Sayers

The Research Journey of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT)
Nic Hooper & Andreas Larsson

Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, £19.99
ISBN:978-1-137440-16-7

Hooper and Larsson aim to describe the research journey of ACT so far and map out directions for future research. In the foreword by ACT's founding father Steven C Hayes, he teasingly suggests that 'ACT is the overnight sensation… the one that took 35 years to construct'. Part 1 (Theoretical and Historical Background) does a good job at setting the book in context, and the chapter in particular on the 'three waves' of cognitive therapies is a good summary

which would be accessible to novices as well as those with more experience in the field. Part II (Empirical Research) presents ACT studies grouped across different conditions (eg. anxiety disorders) and well as across different settings (eg. work). Part III (The Journey Ahead) sets out directions for future research.

The impressive scope and breadth of the research reviewed for this book is commensurate with what might be expected from over three decades of work and innovation. The editors Hooper and Larsson include 265 empirical investigations comprising over 10,000 participants. Of these, 108 are randomised controlled trials, 36 pilot studies or open trials, 67 process studies, and 54 small studies with an N<10. This comprehensive approach is intended to allow the reader to judge for themselves how well supported the ACT model is ('for better or worse' as the authors bravely state in the introduction). On reading the book, for me this approach was both a strength and a weakness. The sheer volume of studies reviewed felt overwhelming at times and I vacillated between wanting more details on certain studies, and skimming over other sections which felt over-detailed. With this in mind, I think this book works best as a brief reference work, something to dip into, or look up studies in specific areas rather than a volume to try to read front to back. The clear and logical structure of the book certainly helps the reader to use it in this way. I think the book is likely to appeal to both researchers and clinicians, whether they are experienced in ACT or are just curious to learn more about the approach and the current state of the evidence base.

Pamela Jacobsen

Personality Disorder
Newton-Howes Giles

Oxford University Press, 2014, £19.99
ISBN: 978-0-199688-38-8

This informative, though uncritical, pocketbook takes a close look at personality disorder. It is aimed at health clinicians and focuses on the clinical utility of considering personality as a routine part of every health assessment. The book intends to increase clinicians' confidence in their ability to identify numerous personality traits, desirable and otherwise, and to consider how our personality impacts on the way we present when we are being assessed or engaging in health care treatments. The book is written in clear straight forward language and provides a wealth of useful information and case examples, supporting the reader to understand personality and personality disorders as useful constructs.

The first three chapters investigate our understanding of personality development, both normal and abnormal. Chapters four through to eight draw from two widely used classification systems (DSM-5 and ICD-10) to describe personality disorder as it presents in a clinical setting. The evidence base for a number of biological, psychological, and social principles of personality disorder management are discussed in chapters nine to thirteen. The final chapter explores ways in which personality disorder can present alongside other mental health problems. This book is refreshing and thought provoking, and would make an excellent resource for clinicians to refer to in everyday practice.

Hannah Droscher

Growing Up? A Journey With Laughter
Patrick Casement

Karnac, 2015, £19.99
ISBN: 978-1-782203-15-5

Psychoanalysis has a strange relationship with autobiography. The retrieval of early life memories was initially seen as the *sine qua non* of a psychoanalytic treatment. Since at least Freud's abandonment of the seduction theory in the late 1890s, the status of such memories has been endlessly controversial. Recent hermeneutic approaches to psychoanalysis have suggested that analysands construct a version of their life story that does not aspire to 'truth' as such; a shift which has fostered controversy (Saks, 1999). Perhaps it is no wonder that Freud's own contribution to the autobiographical genre is so disappointingly self-justificatory, revealing only inasmuch as it demonstrates the remarkable tenacity of his professional grudges.

Patrick Casement's unusual memoir reads quite unlike Freud's, or indeed any other. Spending a large portion of one's professional life listening to people's stories (and thinking about why those stories have been put together in the way they have) must make one wary of condensing memories into a simple narrative.

Growing Up? is structured more or less chronologically, but it doesn't present a connected thread, rather we experience a series of free associations, which spin out into a remarkably rich picture of coming of age in postwar Britain. The result is partly a naturalistic study of the oddities of human memory (Casement still inexplicably remembers tiny details, such as the licence plate of a man from his village in the 1950s) and partly a document of a world now long gone. This makes the book more honest in an important way, but also a peculiar reading experience.

Casement seems to float through the world of English private school and Cambridge university, all the while bemused at the characters he meets. The reader envies Casement's keen sense of the absurd. Meanwhile, his account of starting out in London as a probation officer provides stark contrast against today's increasingly cut back and over-strained system. Despite some initial wariness about the fractured form, I grew to really enjoy this warm hearted view of a life led curiously.

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Huw Green

Gaining Control: How Human Behaviour Evolved
Aunger Robert & Curtis Valerie

Oxford University Press, 2015, £26.99
ISBN: 978-0-199688-95-1

&

Brain Control: Developments in Therapy and Implications for Society
Linden David

Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, £58.00
ISBN: 978-1-137335-32-6

The word control whilst open to a number of different definitions is essentially about the power to influence behaviour, one's own, someone else's or the course of events.

Psychology as a discipline both in terms of its models and in terms of its clinical application is based on understanding the extent and limitations of such control. These two relatively short books add to this debate and tackle it from two quite different perspectives; (i) how our brains came to be here or to operate in the way they do in the first place; and (ii) what happens when our conscious volition goes awry.

'Gaining Control' focuses on the evolutionary developmental steps that have led various species to increase their control over behaviour from basic level responses, such as reflexes, instincts and drives to more complex high-order functions such as emotions and cognitive planning. This hierarchical progression is seen as a novel type of psychological adaptation in which information is 'inherited' by an animal from its own behavior through new forms of learning. One of the more interesting aspects of the book is the way in which the authors define emotions not by the feelings that accompany them but by their behavioural purposes. Labelling their theory as 'Evo-Eco' (evolutionary biology and ecological thinking) the authors, both of whom work at the London School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, suggest that behaviour change is neither under the sway of high level cognition or 'irrational' heuristics but is instead driven by evolutionarily rational goals. On this basis therefore one needs to understand how one has developed in to the person (species) that one has in order to understand how to implement effective change.

David Linden's book 'Brain Control' looks at ways in which the direct stimulation of the brain via neurofeedback can potentially enhance the lives of those who suffer from various debilitating conditions such as locked in syndrome and Parkinson's disease. He does this by examining the main techniques that can enable patients to use their brains for communication and control both in neurological and mental health disorders. He explains how paralysed patients may be helped through brain reading and how patients can be trained to regulate their own brain activity through neurofeedback. The books is particularly strong on the ethical implications of both deep brain stimulation and neurofeedback and whilst not necessarily arriving at any firm conclusions regarding its future use, does I think highlight the issue of informed consent. Linden makes the useful point that this is not only an issue where higher order cognitions are compromised, but also where they are intact but where there is depression and 'unrealistic hopes' or where there is an additional reason for consent e.g., being in the criminal justice system.

Both volumes are interesting not only in their own right, but also because of what they tell us about human agency and what it means to be an 'autonomous' individual. Neither set of authors suggest that we are incapable of being key agents in our own lives, but they do highlight that what we think we know about our own freedom is only partial, particularly when things go wrong. Moreover, neither book operates in a social or moral vacuum and both sets of authors are very aware of the potential for both good and bad that increased knowledge brings, particularly where this bypasses conscious awareness and where the judgments and actions of others are central to the process of care and change.

Dr Robert Hill

Embodied Relating: The Ground of Psychotherapy
Nick Totton

Karnac, 2015, £26.99
ISBN: 978-1-782202-93-6

In his latest book *Embodied Relating: The Ground of Psychotherapy*, Nick Totton claims psychotherapy is caught within its own dissociative state; disembodied from the very *flesh* of growth. By this, Totton means that embodied relating is the key medium to change – sometimes change that recognises a lifetime of building armoury against an attacking world; repressing and denying the body for an apparent safety.

Totton represents a range of differing perspectives, but one that captures the argument most is the question as to whether embodied experiences really can be verbalised at all. In posing this question, he explores the ideas of 'full' and 'empty' speech (adapted from Lacan & Miller, 1988), which notably come to life through his discussions around complexity and trauma. Although Totton acknowledges that the *description* of an embodied experience may never quite capture an experience fully, idiosyncratic metaphors could pull us closer to that embodied experience. So much like 'the map to the terrain' (Korzybski, 1933, p. 58), he argues that language should not be excluded from *Body Psychotherapy* because of this, and thought of as a useful medium also. Having said this, he does present an interesting case study in which the use of touch enabled a thread to be sewn between 'the social and psychological fabric'; enabling past trauma to be confronted, much to the surprise of the recipient.

Totton confronts the idea that psychotherapists seek to 'cure' and reduces this to a mutual transference fantasy; sometimes a conscious fantasy that sustains power dynamics – but arguably represses the 'edge of chaos' where most potential for change resides. To *rescue*, dissociates both client and therapist from the words that connect them to their vulnerabilities, but also their individual embodiment and its relational presence. Indeed, Totton completely reframes the role of therapist, as he deflects the concept of countertransference as a linguistic and conceptual error – identifying this as one and of the same process as (embodied) transference; the relational embodied experience.

For an unfamiliar topic area, Totton's frequent use of quotes made it difficult for me to get a sense of his own position and so the arguments became disjointed and confusing at times. During his reflections and case examples however, I found myself investing some hope of their utility should I integrate aspects of his approach into my own clinical practice.

James Randall-James

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Books Received

Readers wishing to review these, or any other books, are encouraged to contact the Joint Book Review Editor – Anne Cooke, Clinical Psychology Training, Salomons, David Salomons Estate, Broomhill Rd., Southborough, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, TN3 0TG. Please note; reviewers keep any volume they review. It is appreciated if reviews are received within two weeks of receipt of the book. Reviewers will be sent a subscription form for the journal.

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Correction

The author note section for Chris Willoughby's *Psy Experts and the Moneyed Life* (JCPCP, 16-2) described Chris as a counsellor. Although he has undertaken training in counselling and psychotherapy in order to get a better understanding of them as occupations, he did not complete either of the two diploma courses on which he enrolled. He does not practice as a counsellor.