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# Uses of the past:
# History as a resource for the present

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## Between Past and Present : the Sociopsychological Constructs of Colonialism, Coloniality and Postcolonialism–

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**Abstract**

If one of the major aspirations of postcolonial theory is to re-establish a balance in the relationship between the (former) colonizer and the colonized by engaging the voices of the "subaltern", and on the other hand to illuminate how power relations of the present are embedded in history (Mills, 1997), we argue that important theoretical insights might framework. While there is a growing corpus of sociopsychological research articles focusing on how major geopolitical events and historical processes bear on people's lives, we aim to investigate the theoretical potential of postcolonial theory within the disciplines aiming at a sociopsychological approach.

By focusing on the social dynamics of power imbalances, post-colonial theory finds its operational meaning: the feelings stemming from actions committed in the past are indeed crucial in determining reparatory attitudes and policies towards members of former colonized groups. Firstly, drawing from the sociopsychological scientific production related to consequences of colonial past, seen in recent years as a growing research interest in the field, we will explore patterns and trends through a thematic analysis of literature. Social Psychology as well as adjacent disciplines can greatly benefit from this theoretical fertilization, especially in the way post-colonial ideologies relate to the symbolic promotion versus exclusion of indigenous culture (Sengupta, N., K., Barlow, F., K., Sibley, C., G. 2012). Furthermore, by comparing and contrasting the ideological cosmologies relating to this particular topic, this study aims to establish the state of knowledge in the field, to identify how research methods and thematic fields are paired, to find "gaps" and create spaces for research that become integrative of postcolonial theory. While focusing on academic production, we also hope to contribute to develop the idea of cosmopolitism within academia but also beyond academic doors.

**Keywords**: postcolonial theory, social psychology, critical psychology, indigenous psychology, intergroup relations, ideology, interdisciplinarity, IRaMuTeQ

## Introduction

Colonialism, as a political doctrine that advocates or seeks to justify the exploitation of a colony, territory or country by a foreign state, relates to the past expansion of the colonizing countries, which takes place in less developed, or militarily weaker territories. The term coloniality, on the other hand is used to "address 'colonial situations' in the present period in which colonial administrations have almost been eradicated from the capitalist world-system" (Grosfoguel, 2005).
While Neocolonialism refers, from the 1960s onwards, to the various attempts of an ex-colonial power to maintain, by hidden or indirect means, the economic or cultural domination over its former colonies after their independence, Postcolonialism is first of all a critique of Western Europeanism, which tends to reduce the status of an object of analysis to its monopoly on theoretical and academic fields. Although presently very popular in socio-cultural and literary studies, and although many foundational constructs of cross-cultural psychology such as acculturation, stereotypes, ethnic identity, and collective self-esteem are common grounds both in postcolonial theory and in psychosocial analyses of the social context, many authors suggest the postcolonial perspective is a relatively marginal theoretical resource within the fields of Social Psychology and its adjacent disciplines. As Okazaki notes, "discussions about how larger sociopolitical conditions, especially oppressive or colonial ones, may play a role in shaping such cultural constructs have been scarce." (Okazaki et al., 2008). Considering the awareness in sociopsychological theory of how the social and cultural contexts shape both individual and group identity, this lack of insight comes as a surprise. Or spelled out in a harsher, critical stance as Steven Frosh did, "a psychological engagement with postcolonialism, is relatively rare, given the stance of apolitical naivety that academic psychology commonly adopts" (Frosh, 2013).

If it is postulated that one of the major aspirations of postcolonial theory is to re-establish a balance in the relationship between the (former) colonizer and the colonized by engaging the voices of the "subaltern", and on the other hand to illuminate how power relations of the present are embedded in history (Mills, 1997), we argue that important theoretical insights might inform psychological research by anchoring post-colonial theory within a social psychological framework.

The challenge here has to do from one side with the ongoing mindset that leads dominated people to accept the stereotypes of the dominants' discourse, and the dominant ones to compromise themselves by perpetuating them (Licata, 2012). This mindset supposedly permeates academic practices as well: relevant psychological theories, when not provided with sufficient international power and prestige are perceived as being too difficult (Liu, 2012), so scholars of colonized countries might not connect their everyday lives with their professional lives in the way they approach relevant societal phenomena, as they are still entangled in a regime of (academic) international consumption.

Clearly, seeing the world differently and from a multiplicity of marginalized perspectives is fine, but then what? How can a postcolonial approach inform the discipline of Social Psychology and to which aims? And if there is a fruitful potential of cross-fertilization, why is it still in a dormant state? Is Social Psychology only "too western" or still colonial?

## A brief overview of postcolonial thought

According to Edward Saïd, a founder in the academic field of postcolonial studies, postcolonial theory is one of the crucial intellectual legacies of Gramsci's analysis of hegemony as (cultural) domination without visible coercion, and Fouclaut's analysis of the historical connivances between knowledge production and power interests. Nowadays, "if the divergent body of work known as "postcolonial literature" shares a common project or goal, it would be a broad critique of Western metropolitan culture: its histories of domination and hegemony over its others, its assumption of civilizational superiority, and most importantly the discourses that have informed those histories and assumptions."(Lopez, Marzek, 2008). Or as sociologist Vivek Chibber explains, "[O]ne of the key elements of postcolonial theory is that it critically discloses the cultural logics attendant with empire. In fact, it examines all types of discourses, epistemes, cultural schemas, representations, and ideologies that were part and parcel of Western imperialism" (Quoted from Parker, 2015). Since postcolonialism is less a unified theory than a more global perspective of an eclectic set of authors from diverse theoretical affiliations, it is difficult to identify parsimoniously what would constitute its core. Some key concepts and major orientations are nevertheless to be emphasized. These include criticism of Eurocentrism, interest in formerly colonized regions or the developing world, the analytical priority given to subordinate or invisible actors, the importance of the figure of the migrant, and the centrality of cultural and ethnic identity considered as mobile and "Métis" rather than stable or pure. Indeed, a major ontological orientation of postcolonialism concerns the question of cultural identity.

The colonial perspective is extremely diverse in terms of both the themes and how they are addressed. Authors of this movement can perhaps be seen both as critical towards the dominant theoretical production in the social sciences, as well as skeptical with regards to the face of any methodological or epistemological rigor. Indeed, from a normative point of view, they are characterized by a notable humanistic bias, leading to three main characteristics emerging from postcolonialist writings: strategic relativism, critical historicism, and methodological pluralism. Strategic relativism is a perspective that is primarily opposed to the idea that all knowledge can be universally, geographically and culturally valuable. Postcolonalism thus proposes to review the world from perspectives that are conscious of their historicity as well as their situationality. That is what Sandra Harding (1998) calls a "strong objectivity" - the idea that there is nothing relativistic about accounting for the plurality of points of view on the social world. On the contrary, since it is a question of producing narratives as diverse as possible in order to better grasp the world as a whole. Not because they are intrinsically superior to Western knowledge, or even essentially different, but because they offer additional narratives to be grasped (Pouchepadass, 2007). One seeks to consider the social world from as many angles as possible to provide more comprehensive analyses. In a postpositivistic orientation, postcolonialist authors also share a highly critical view of history, which is considered one narrative among others, and a narrative tendentially partial since often narrated from the perspective of the elites.

Yet, postcolonialists do not succeed in solving the problems they have raised because they have not clarified the theoretical questions of the relations of extraversion and coercion to hegemony and the reproduction of it. Fostering postcolonial theory with the theoretical and methodological tools of those subdisciplines of psychology that look into

the sociopsychological elements of the power dynamics which constitute the (post)colonial relationships might offer a generative inquiry and a roadmap to better knowledge production and praxis. As Derek Hook emphasized, "What the writings of Fanon and Biko make plain in this connection is the degree to which the narratives and concepts of the social psychological may be reformulated so as to fashion a novel discourse of resistance, one that opens up new avenues for critique for critical psychology, on one hand, and that affords an innovative set of opportunities for the psychological investigation of the vicissitudes of the postcolonial, on the other." (Hook, 2005)

From the field of critical psychology, Okazaki maintains "there is enormous social, psychological, and infrastructural work in producing the colonized person. Thus, a postcolonial consideration of contemporary individuals needs to consider the effects of that psychological and institutional infrastructure into the present day. Here, we can think of the often wholesale degradation of the 'native' culture or practices, or again, of what it means that concepts of the 'modern' often entail the dismissal of local practices and ideas. In this way, it is critical for psychology to be attentive to colonial discourses and their legacies in order to appreciate the effects of the discursive regimes that made postcolonial subjects." (Okazaki, 2008)

Why should such proposals be formalized? Or "What might be the most crucial contributions that postcolonial critique can make to the project of critical and social psychology?" (Hook, 2005). First, to contribute to making Social Psychology a discipline in truly international and engaged practice, moving away from the academy to the sphere of politics, social change and human well-being, because as Hayes (2001) claims, "'critical psychology would be incomplete if it did not try to take on the injustices and inequalities of the world". And secondly, because an overview of the world seems more than necessary in these globalized times - as a means of consolidating resistances to power, we should keep in mind "the retrieval of a 'psychopolitics' in which we not only place the psychological within the register of the political, but - perhaps more challengingly - in which the political is also strategically approached through the register of the psychological" (Quoted from Parker, 2015).

## Social psychology and postcolonialism – divergences and common grounds

In this context, it is worthy reminding that psychology's rise as a modern social science coincided with colonial regimes, and that a wide array of methods were developed informed by scientific racism, including psychological testing, craniometry, etc (Gould, 1996). Moreover, in the last decades, many authors have analyzed the role that disciplines such as history and English literature[1], anthropology[2], and science in general[3] have played in promoting and implementing the Orientalist vision formulated by the European colonial powers. Bhatia remarked that "Orientalist ideas about non-Westerners have consistently echoed in the writings of the pioneers of developmental psychology such as Darwin, Galton, Hall, and Spencer." (Bhatia, 2002). Desmond Painter, discussing postcolonialism within critical psychology, and referring to Bhatia and Richards, says that "critical historiography in psychology reveals the epistemological assumptions and

[1] (Bhabha, 1994; Saïd, 1979; Spivak, 1993)

[2] (Asad, 1973; Clifford & Marcus, 1986)

[3] (Adas, 1989; Alvares, 1980; Prakash, 1999)

representational practices by which the discipline had historically become entangled with – informed by but also informing – Western colonialism and racism (Painter, 2015)." Although he later acknowledges "psychologists strongly believe that their "psychological" assumptions about the "Other" were derived from objective scientific and logical reasoning" (ibidem). Additionally, Semali & Kichenlo (2002) argued that "all Indigenous knowledge is subjugated by Western science and its episteme", and the practices leading to it constitute a form of scientific imperialism, or 'colonization of the mind'. (Dascal, 2009). Okazaki as well admits to the disciplinary limits of psychology which "must necessarily ask which questions about the human experience can best be understood using its epistemology" and then asks "what might a more historically situated (cross-)cultural psychology look like?" (Okazaki, 2008). As a sort of unintended reply, Derek Hook suggests the postcolonial perspective could equip "researchers and activists alike" to "more thoughtfully unpack and react to the underpinnings of postcolonial racism" with "new possibilities for analyses of racism undertaken by social psychologists (…) Understanding the mechanisms that contribute to racism through this lens can be incredibly useful in developing a realistic perspective of the pervasiveness of racism in their communities" (Hook, 2012).

Considering the many unaddressed common grounds between postcolonial theory and psychology - acculturation, stereotypes, ethnic identity, collective self-esteem, knowledge production etc. - and such contrast between social psychology and the social sciences more generally, has led some authors to emphasize the intellectual isolation of the discipline and its resistance to taking into account the important debates taking place in other disciplines. As Okazaki, David and Abelman remarked, "Psychology's longstanding concern with the social dynamics of power imbalances have much to contribute to the discussion on the legacies of colonialism on one's identity and subjectivity." (Okazaki, David, & Abelmann, 2008). Notwithstanding its valuable insight on "hot" psychosocial topics, such as the new "Orientalization" of the Islamic world, the Palestinians facing "colonialism", but also the Turkish Gastarbeiter in Germany, only to list a few examples, in psychology "colonialism has primarily been engaged in two ways: the study of the colonial impact on individuals; and the consideration of the colonial impact on the discipline and practice of psychology in formerly colonized nation states." (Okazaki, David, & Abelmann, 2008). Although the "coloniality" of Israel is being debated and Turkey was never colonized, they can be thought of as being in a "postcolonial" situation: whether thought of as cultural theory, as a political or historical condition, as a critical approach or a form of art and writing, postcolonialism is far from being a homogeneous discourse (Barelli, 2001; Goldstein et al., 2002; Cohen, 2011). As Georges Balandier, defines it as a "Situation which is actually shared by all our contemporaries" — a definition that tends to identify it with globalization: "We are all, in different ways, in a postcolonial situation." (Quoted from Bayart, 2011).

In terms of existing sociopsychological studies on the topic of colonialism devoid of the postcolonial perspective, many researchers do contribute to address the collective memories of colonial times through a wide range of themes and issues ranging from group and intergroup relations with regards to consequences of past and present misdeeds (Leone, 2010; Klein, 2011; Figureido, 2015; Nurit, 2015; Liu, 2015), the state of indigenous psychology (Gabrenya Jr., 2006), experiences of racism (Wood, 1994; Finlay, 2000; Swim, 2003; Vala, 2008; Sidanius, 2010), the effects of colonial on identity development (Rata, 2014; Bonnot, 2016), etc. In the vast majority of scientific production within that area, social identity theory is widely used as an explanatory tool, exploring the predictive power of sociopsychological factors. But the postcolonial

approach has an epistemological aim, which exposes both the violence inherent in a particular idea of reason and the gulf, which in colonial conditions separates European ethical thought from its practical, political and symbolic decisions. It thus intends to inspire the social sciences towards a deconstruction of their categories. But on the other hand, as Achille Mbembe, Cameroonian philosopher and political theorist, clarified, "Postcolonial thought is not an anti-European thought. On the contrary, it's the product of the encounter between Europe and the worlds it once made into its distant possessions." (Mbembe et al., 2006). Thus, it refers less to the empirical conclusion that colonial empires belong to the past than to a project of overcoming by criticism what survives today of this past in the discourses that express them. According to Béatrice Collignon (2007), postcolonial studies "invite researchers to take an interest in how multiple individual identities and community groups are made and disentangled according to the logics of the moment, because identities are fundamentally hybrid, and therefore always in motion." Contrary to what some of its detractors believe, postcolonialism does not seek to celebrate the return to pre-colonial cultural identities, nor to magnify non- authenticity or their absolute difference - postcolonialists are rather marked by a common sensitivity towards the problematization of cultural identities, which are seen as essentially multiple and constantly changing, and not fixed by which national boundaries. In this movement, the concept of hybridity is central: a sort of "third space" that escapes cultural binarisms, the hybrid cultural formation being neither the one nor the other, but beyond the polarities, basically relational (Bhabha, 2009). Cultures are seen as plural, mobile and changing, widely used in postcolonial literature to re-read colonial history from a perspective of the cultural relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, including mimicry, parody and ambivalence, rather than pure domination.

Finally, while it is clear that postcolonialists prefer mainly qualitative methods to better grasp the social world from the perspective of the actors studied, they are deployed in the field of both empirical and non-empirical research, while socpsychological contrcuts seem to be often entangled in a mainstream positivistic quantitative approach. The predominant influence of literary studies and of history in the emergence of postcolonialism as a theoretical current often leads authors to favor methods of analyzing written texts such as archives, newspapers, reports, letters, novels, poetry, brochures, popular songs or visual documents. Research is therefore oriented towards a kind of archeology (or genealogy) of the present. Deeply humanistic, the postcolonialists largely share a normative bias on the need not to describe, explain or predict the world as it is as the dominant theories in the social sciences have put it, but to understand and act on a world in flux, in emancipatory lines. This approach is mainly based on the idea that knowledge is never more than partial, fragmentary and incomplete: one can only imperfectly know the social world, especially through the crossing of many culturally and historically situated narratives, to restore its totality.
The decisive influence of post-structuralism is also reflected in a notable methodological preference for discourse analysis and genealogical approach to the history of the present. However, with the new interest in postcolonialism in the social sciences in general, work of a more empirical nature based on fieldwork, ethnography, narrative and interviewing is becoming more important.

Aiming to further investigate the potential of a theoretical cross-fertilization of postcolonial theory, social psychology and its adjacent disciplines through a thematic analysis of literature, and in order to identify patterns and trends, we have proceeded to

the analysis of a selected corpus of socio-psychological scientific production related to coloniality.

**Methodology**

In our original research design, we devised a literature review within the discipline of Social Psychology exclusively, but as disciplinary boundaries tend to muddle when tackling particular topics by borrowing theories, constructs and concepts from each other, we decided to expand our corpus to psychological sub-disciplines close to social psychology in their conceptualization of certain social issues. Indeed, "more recent discussions focus on the fact that the nature of the disciplines themselves is ambiguous or evolving, (…) and researchers are incessantly borrowing from adjacent disciplines, causing a 'blurring of disciplinary boundaries'" (Newell, 2001; Klein, 1993). These "permeation of boundaries" lead in some cases to a redefinition of the discipline. Therefore, as our focus deals mainly with intergroup relations between the former colonizer and colonized groups' members, and the way they are addressed though sociopsychological constructs from adjacent subfields of psychology, we were interested in articles from the field of social, critical, indigenous, cross-cultural psychology, ecopsychology, etc. Our criteria for inclusion were on the one side that the publications make mention of colonialism or post(-)colonialism intended both as a historical, political or psychological phenomenon *and* as a theoretical approach, and on the other side address relevant sociopsychological constructs such as racism, discrimination, stereotypes, conflict, guilt, etc. Our corpus harvesting process started with a general keyword search in Web of Science (previously known as Web of knowledge) and PsycInfo electronic database. [4]

We searched all the publications using the following command for "Title" and "Topic":

TITLE: colonial* OR colonialism* OR postcolonialism* OR post-colonialism* OR post colonial* OR post-colonial* OR postcolonial* OR intergroup relations*
TOPIC: social psychology* OR critical psychology* OR cross-cultural psychology* or ecopsychology* OR intergroup relations*

After article filtering, a number of elements were removed from the original outcome, as they did not contribute to the substantive material. Limiting our search to indexed articles only, and ones written in English for compatibility purposes, the results of our search were rather scarce. In order to expand our corpus, we then proceeded to a snow-ball (Greenhalgh and Peacock, 2005) search of articles referenced within those resulting from our Web Of Science and PsychNet search, obtaining a final corpus of 109 articles. The list of included papers is listed in an online appendix available at https://sites.google.com/uniroma1.it/tomicic-berardi-appendix/home

In order to explore our corpus we used a computer-assisted text analysis technique, IRaMuTeQ, which presents the researcher with a simplified pattern of the words making up the text for interpretation. This simplified pattern of the text, includes lists of the most significant words grouped into "clusters" according to their relationship with one another (i.e. words that most often appear in a sentence together), details of the

[4] As of September 3, 2014[update], the multidisciplinary coverage of the Web of Science encompasses over 50,000 scholarly books, 12,000 journals and 160,000 conference proceedings. PsychInfo includes more than 2,450 journals in 29 languages, from more than 49 countries since 1806, representing the reference research database for psychological related disciplines all over the world.

relationship between the words and clusters and between the clusters (as chi-squared measures) and significant sentences from the original text (Smallman, 2014).

The software IRaMuTeQ [5] and is analogous to the more established commercial ALCESTE software and has been shown to produce comparable results to those of ALCESTE (Ratinaud and Dejean, 2009; Sarrica, Mingo, Mazzarra, Leone, 2016). IRaMuTeQ does, however, have some advantages over ALCESTE: it is open source and written in the computer language R, so it can be customized to perform particular analyses; as it uses less computing power it represents a good option for researchers interested in conducting textual analysis on larger textual corpora (Lahlou, 2012); it also offers additional functionality, particularly in producing graphical representations of the findings.

IRaMuTeQ provides five types of analysis: clusteric text statistics; specificities of research groups; descending hierarchical clusterification; similitude analysis and word cloud[6]. For our scope, we employed a clustering algorithm, aimed at detecting patterns in the data that represent homogenous sub-groups. Our assumption is that these groups articulate themes and methodological approaches differently, and hence represent different trends within our selected Corpus. We therefore present the most plausible interpretive labels for each contextualized cluster and interpret it by means of thematic analysis, enabling us to 'identify and examine themes from textual data in a way that is transparent and credible' (Greg, MacQueen and Namey, 2012). Further details of the steps and statistical analyses involved are given in Kronberger and Wagner (2000), Mutombo (2013) and Stoneman et al. (2013). The most significant words, their level of association with each cluster and the graphs of the clusterifications were uploaded in an online appendix.

Additionally, for each selected publications, we retrieved meta-data inserted in a Grid of Analysis inspired by the Meta-theoretical Analysis Grid conceived by de Rosa (de Rosa1994). We considered the following variables: First Author, Country of Birth of the First Author (found through an online search), Location of Author's Institutional Affiliation, Journal of Publication, whether the article is Empirical or Theoretical, and whether Postcolonial Theory was explicitly used or not. It is worthy noting that Atsumi (2007) explained mainstream social psychology corresponds to the corpus of scientific literature on social psychology created in the geo-cultural area of the USA. Atsumi (2007) describes it as nomothetic, as it aims to find universally applicable theories while disregarding the influences exercised by cultural and historical contexts.

## Characteristic of the corpus

The corpus comprised 109 abstracts and their respective keywords (dated from 1979 to 2016), Intial Contex Units (ICUs), which were first analysed lexicometrically with IRaMuTeQ (R Interface for Multidimensional Text Analyses)software 0.7 alpha 2.

[5] Developed by Pierre Ratinaud

[6] None of these produce clear 'results', but instead the researcher interprets all the specific outcomes, along with the original text, in order to build understanding of the discourses at stake. The most plausible inferences from the data are upon the researcher's responsibility, which is of fundamental importance in the design of the study, organization of collected material, and the analysis process, as the software simply aids in the organization (Chaves, Dos Santos, Dos Santosa, Muller Larroca, 2017). In fact, the software accomplishes this using only a statistical approach to analyze the distribution of words in the corpus, while remaining completely deaf to the meaning of words themselves.

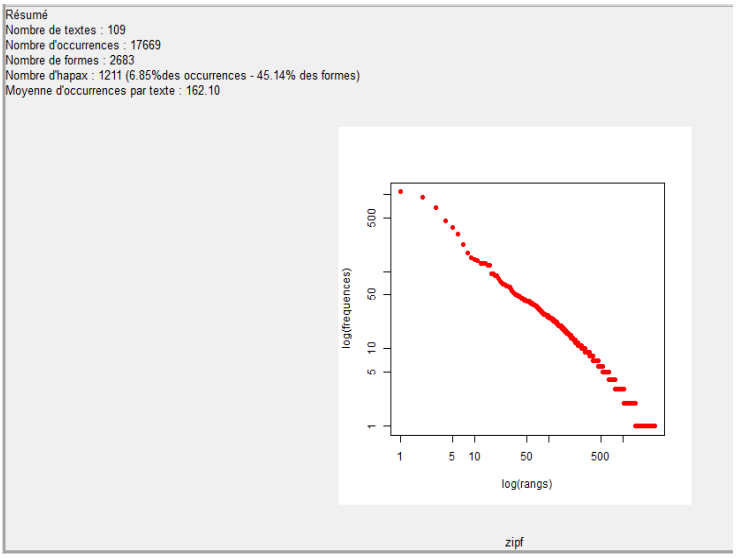
Initially the corpus was found to be fit for the analysis (49,83% HAPAX 50%; type/token ratio 20%).

Table 1: Characteristics of the Corpus

| | |
|---|---|
| Nombre de textes | 109 |
| Nombre de segments de texte | 494 |
| occurrences | 17669 |
| Nombre de formes | 3311 |
| Nombre d'hapax | 1650 - 49.83 % des formes - 9.34 % des occurrences |

The next stage is referred to as Lemmatisation. Lemmatization of the corpus was conducted based on the English dictionary, in order to group singular and and plural forms under a single form, as well as revert the conjugated verbs into their infinitives. The results of lemmatization showed a decrease in the number of HAPAX forms to 45.14% and the type/token ratio to 6,85% thus rendering the text analysis more stable.

Figure 1: Characteristics of the Corpus after Lemmatization



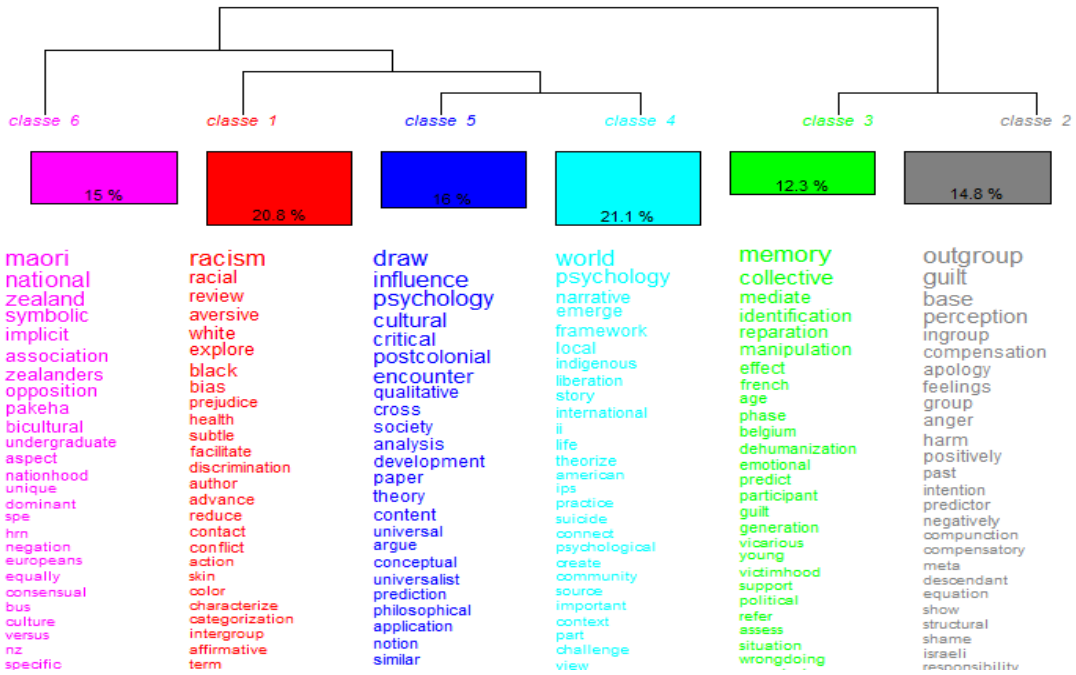

The purpose of this procedure is to render different versions of functionally equivalent words synonymous, so that they are not treated as separate entities in the analysis (Motumbo, 2013). Afterwards, a Hierarcical Descending Classification (HDC) of ICUs was performed based on the entire lexical table (Reinert, 1983), taking into account the following variables: *First Author*, *Country of birth, Country at the moment of article publication, Journal of publication, Year, Typology of article (Empirical or Theoretical), and whether the contribution is informed by a postcolonial approach (YES or NO)* with the purpose of exploring if certain clusters were specific to a certain county, period of time and resource type.

## Results and Discussion

Descending Hierarchical Clusterification

The subsequent phase of corpus processing is referred to as Parsing of the text into "Context Units"(Stoneman, 2015). Categorization of the data was performed after sizing the text segments, clusterified according to their vocabularies. The text clusters were generated as shown in Fig. 2, where the dendrogram of the Descending Hierarchical Clusterification (DHC) is illustrated. The order of the words varies according to the chi square coefficient: the higher the order of appearance, the higher the contribution of the word to the organization of the cluster.

Fig. 2 Dendrogram of the clusters as produced by IRaMuTeQ




Upon reading the corpus and referencing back to the original publications, the logic between the classification performed by the software comes forth and we proceeded to interpret the results basing on this type of content analysis, similarly to the procedure employed by Chaves et al in 2017.

The software provided the most characteristic segments of text from each cluster (corpus in color, also known as "corpus cooler"), according to a clusterification based on the distribution of vocabulary, which allowed us to contextualize the typical vocabulary in each cluster. The descending clusterification technique maximizes the similarity between statements in the same cluster and also maximizes the difference between the clusters.

As shown in Fig. 2, the corpus was divided into six sub-corpora. Clusters 2 and 3 consist together of 214 Elementary Context Unit (ECU) which concentrate respectively 12,3% and 14,8% of the total ECUs of the corpus, forming two semi-detached related sub-corpora. Thus, in order to critically interpret social psychological literature production, we went through the identification of core meanings in each thematic category shown. The core meanings were identified in each cluster originated in the dendrogram, as well as in the relationships between the clusters and the words frequency within each cluster. The chi-square test is used to verify the association of ECU with a particular cluster (therefore, the higher the value, the greater the association), while the percentage refers

to the occurrence of words in the text segments in that cluster in relation to its occurrence in the corpus.

To aid the interpretation of what the semantic structures and discourses underlying the substantive clusters formations are, Table 2 shows the most common words defining each cluster. All of the selected words had a $p > 0.001$, indicating a significant association, (Chartier and Meunier 2011).

Table 2: Common words within the substantive IRaMuTeQ clusters by chi-square (X2) and frequency of the term in the clusters

| Cluster | Word | X2 | Percentages % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cluster 1 20.8% (n = 109) | racism | 45.49 | 63.16 |
| | racial | 30.16 | 72.22 |
| | aversive | 27.08 | 100.00 |
| Cluster 2 14.8% (n = 97) | outgroup | 82.13 | 88.89 |
| | guilt | 71.68 | 56.52 |
| | apology | 40.36 | 81.82 |
| Cluster 3 12.3% (n = 117) | memory | 71.84 | 91.67 |
| | collective | 59.56 | 52.78 |
| | mediate | 42.57 | 87.50 |
| Cluster 4 21.1% (n = 120) | world | 44.58 | 75.00 |
| | psychology | 37.42 | 55.32 |
| | narrative | 26.68 | 100.00 |
| Cluster 5 16% (n = 97) | influence | 33.01 | 63.16 |
| | psychology | 32.54 | 44.68 |
| | cultural | 28.67 | 47.22 |
| Cluster 6 15% (n = 117) | Maori | 83.36 | 76.92 |
| | national | 77.05 | 65.71 |
| | Zealand | 70.60 | 77.27 |

Cluster 2 is defined by a discourse referring to emotions evoked by acknowledgment of past sufferings and by the discourses focusing on *apologies* and *compensation* for the harm done. Members of former colonized groups are perceived as having been harmed. Representative statements within this cluster include "*we found that the experience of group-based guilt due to colonial conflicts can be positively predicted by outgroup perceptions*", "*An examination of potential outgroup-focused predictors of group-based guilt relating to past colonial conflicts involving…*".

The recurrence of the words "memory", "collective", "generation", "mediation" and "manipulation" which openly refer to experimental research methods define cluster 3. Both clusters refer to intent for *reparations*, but while cluster 2 is more focused on the role of moral emotions, cluster 3 takes in account the generational transition of a grievous past. The mainstream experimental method being difficult to match with the epistemology of postcolonial theory, those clusters point to the fact that the present is left out from a postcolonial perspective and only addresses colonial issues of the present through the lense of classic psychosocial perspectives.

Shifting to the other branch of the dendrogram, we may note that Cluster 4 and 5 are confronted with Cluster 1, which in turn all together represent two encapsulated sub-corpora differentiated from Cluster 6.

While Cluster 6 refers to basic features of New Zealand's research tradition such as: Maori, Pakeha, biculturalism, nationhood. This line of research has a long standing

tradition of close affiliations to the UK, US and European scientific communities, due to the migration of the first generation of social psychologist from Europe and North-America. Moreover the professional bounds those areas were maintained along the year, as it is illustrated by the development of Social identity Theory, intiated by Henri Tajfel and John Turner (respectively, a British and an Australian Social Psychologist), and its related constructs. As such, New Zealand and Australian research traditions were mainly fertilized within a field where the main thematic areas were traditionally the study of social identity and inter-group relations: Chris Sibley, a New Zealander social psychologist who studied how in post-colonial nations the socio-structural conditions lead to the development two types of ideology, went on researching specific objects of study, such as biculturalism and relation between Maori and Paheka. Of course, the choice of objects of study is in line with the social issues that this geo-cultural context has been facing such as the multi-cultural character of the population. Then, additional words defining this cluster are: opposition, nationhood, symbolic, dominant, negation. Moreover the ideological duo stated by Sibley (2010) which refers to the way social inequality becomes legitimized, through the historical negation of the contribution of minority groups to the national identity (Sibley, 2010) has given rise to a potentiality for capturing post-colonial phenomena. Yet, an anti-colonial perspective, taken by most researcher in the Oceanian context (versus post colonial perspective) does not warrant the methodological adjustments which would fully grasp the ongoing unequal social structures of said context – although researchers are critical of the consequences of colonialism, their approach fully adheres to the existing psychosocial concepts and theories, thereby excluding the contributions of indigenous psychology to scholarly work.

Cluster 4 together with cluster 5 refers to *indigenous psychology* as an *emergent* discipline understood as a form of *liberation*, addressing *local* issues revolving around *challenging views* around the *world*. It is interesting to note that cluster 4 is the cluster in which Postcolonial Theory has most frequently appeared as a used term, emphasizing the connection between postcolonial theory and the liberating agendas of its cross-fertilization with indigenous psychology. As for Cluster 5, it consists in what appears to be coherent with qualitative research methods, which open up to *critical* and *cross-cultural psychology* with an explicit mentioning to a postcolonial approach. Finally, Cluster 1 can be described in terms of *black* and *white* categorical opposition, with a focus on psychosocial phenomena such as *racism, prejudice and bias,* resuming constructs related to social cognition.

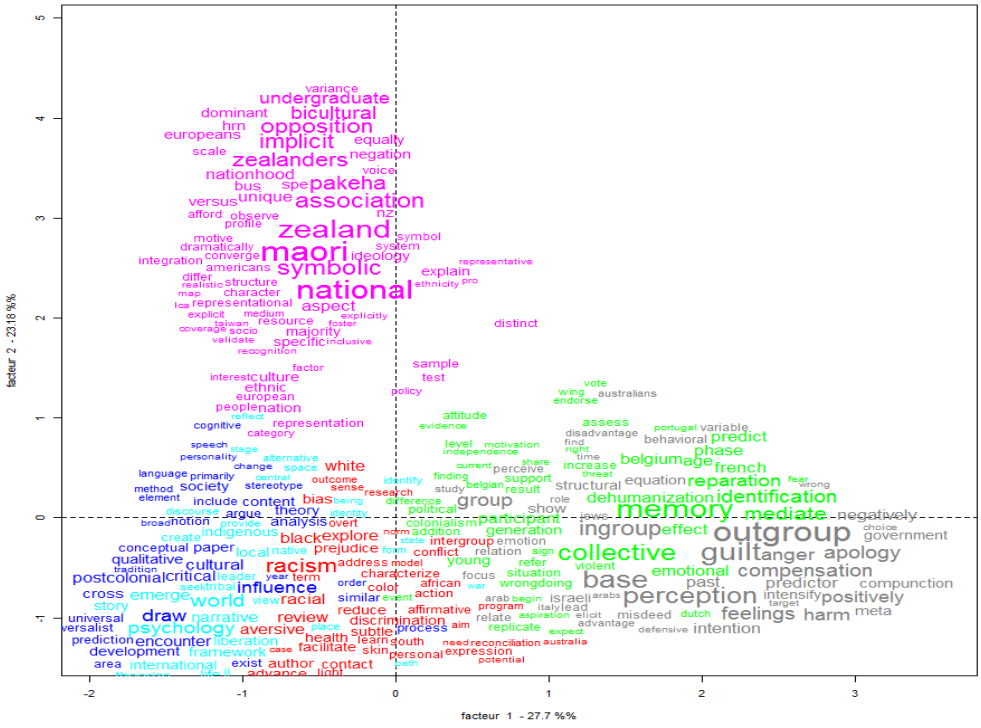
Moreover, IRaMuTeQ generated a contingency table, which outlines the clusters, and associated key words can be presented graphically as a correspondence plot, which will identify similarities and/or differences between the clusters.

A correspondence plot locating similarities/differences between the clusters has been generated as a graphical illustration of the contingency table outlining the clusters and associated key words. On Figure 1, we can see that Clusters 2 and 3, recounting the role of moral emotions resulting from an acknowledgment of the past, are on the right hand side of the chart, while Clusters 4 and 5, relating to an approach to a more universally-oriented, indigenous perspective on coloniality, and which are more anchored within a qualitative research framework, appear on the left. Thus, we can think of Cluster 1, "the Conflict Cluster", as being positioned on a medial dimension, as conflict is a historical constant. The accurate description in class 3 is the most distinctive class, in terms of its distance to the middle of both horizontal and vertical axes, and in terms of the distance between it and the other classes.

Correspondence Analysis

In a final stage of IRaMuTeQ analysis, we present the set of derived clusters cross-tabulated with the words from the corpus and subjected to a correspondence analysis. This is a geometric technique for visualizing the variation in a contingency table in a low-dimensional space (Greenacre, 2007) and can be thought of as analogous to a principal components analysis for categorical variables. The output from this analysis can be used to identify the proximity of words and clusters to each other along the key dimensions of variation.

Figure 2: The correspondence plot illustrating the contingency variation of the clusters as produced by IRaMuTeQ

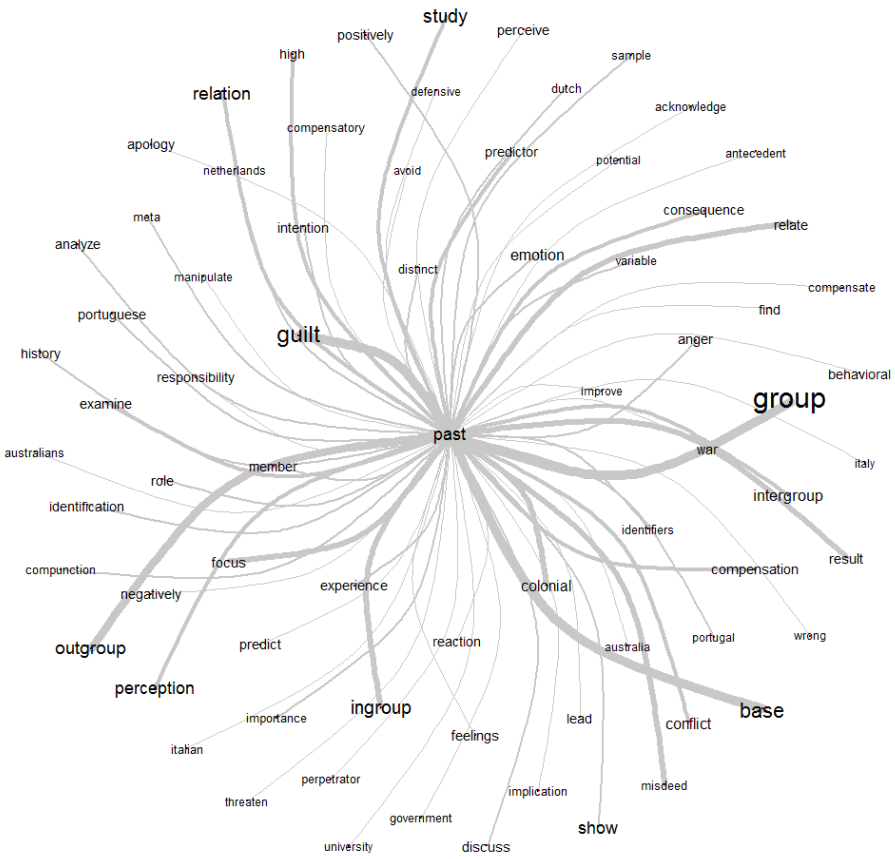



What we can observe are two sets of clusters: Cluster 2 and 3 offer a general look on a European tradition focused in intergroup emotions between former colonized and colonizers' group members and related sociopsychological phenomena mainly induced through an evocation of past (colonial) episodes. Guilt and shame are still at the core of this literature production and while concepts such as compensation and reparation are taken into account, it seems they are not embedded in any critical discourse aimed at disrupting or at least pointing at contemporary colonizing practices in favor of knowledge that might foster liberation agendas. Rather, the ethical mentality stemming from the deployment of moral emotions certainly allows for a retrospective glance that highlights the suffering of victims unfairly inflicted over centuries by ancestors, but the representation of the past, which is taken into account, looks entangled in an evaluative dimension, without reference to aspects of postcolonial societal structure.

As shown in Figure 3, the past is characterized by a co-occurrence with words such as: guilt, group, emotion, anger, perception, responsibility, outgroup, ingroup, colonial, etc.

This confirms a past-oriented line of research mainly dealing with consequences of past misdeeds, which intersects with mainstream Western psychological constructs.
These results were obtained by textual statistics calculated by IRaMuTeQ, which divided the vocabulary of the corpus in solid forms and empty forms, ordered by frequency. Each word can be inserted into an interconnection graph with other commonly co-occurring words. Below is the graph of "past and present" related words, which help us get insights about the "uses of past" versus "uses of present" in our corpus.

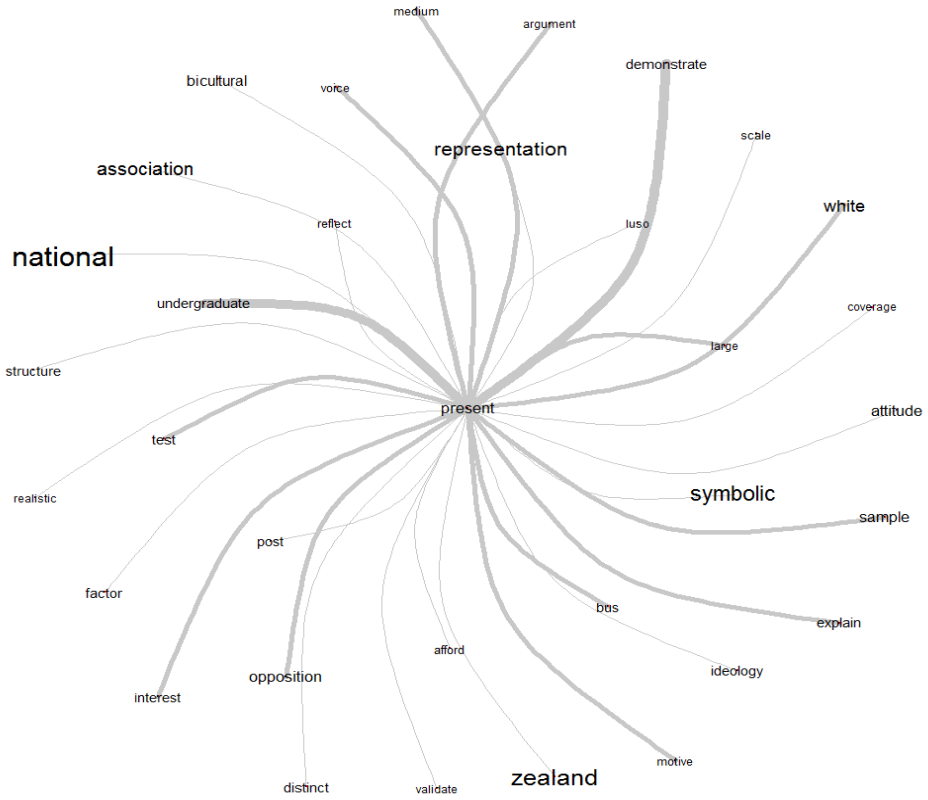
Figure 3: Uses of Past




The graph relating to the present (Figure 4) shows co-occurrences with words such as: representation, national, white, symbolic, association, opposition, voice, (New) Zealand, etc, suggesting a stronger involvement of indigenous concerns.

On the contrary, on the other side of this branch of the dendrogram, literature production behind the partition of Cluster 6 relates to biculturalism, nationhood and symbolic equality as societal features together with reference to the structural relations between Maori and Pakeha, framed with the help of operational strategies infused with mainstream constructs. Contemporary colonial ideologies that operate in tandem are finally conceived as to legitimize material and symbolic inequality in response to specific and contested aspects of post-colonial social structure and history (Sibley, 2010). Then, cluster 4 and 5 express the emergence of indigenous psychology.

Figure 4: Uses of Present




Chi-Square Test of Independence

In order to obtain a complete set of information related to our corpora, as stated before, we were able to retrieve meta-data related to *First Author, Country of Birth of the First Author* (found through an online search), *Location of his/her Institutional Affiliation, Journal of Publication, Year of Publication*, data related to the use of *Postcolonial theory* (Yes or No) and whether the publication under analysis is *Empirical or Theoretical.*

As mentioned in the introduction, the use of a postcolonial perspective implies a certain methodological preference since work of a more empirical nature is based on a qualitative approach (fieldwork, ethnography, narrative and interviewing). As "quantitative methods are generally used in mainstream social psychological research" (Griffin and Phoenix, 1994), we hypothesized the "Country of Birth" of the first author combined with a theoretical framework would predict a postcolonial perspective.

Indeed, our choice of variable ("Country of Birth") was prompted by the fact that a scholar's academic interests obviously could not have been fabricated in a vacuum. Rather, individual theoretical preferences and academic interests are closely tied to a scholar's personal history, family background, etc. Consequently, the country of birth might hold explanatory power for predicting scholars' academic orientations.

As for the variable "Empirical (coded as 1)/Theoretical (coded as 2)", our choice was incentivized but the fact that the trend for many authors, when focusing on an empiricist

research orientation, is to "regard empirical facts as the ultimate goal of scientific research" whether it is to "(survive) in a particular field of the scientific community" or to "compete with others" (Kwang-Kuo Hwang, 2013). In their scientific approaches, mainstream (social) psychologists rarely address the deep structure behind the observed phenomena in a culture.

Using Intellectus Statistics version 1.01, a Chi-Square Test of Independence was conducted to examine whether Country of birth and explicit use of Postcolonial Theory were independent. There were 2 levels in Country of birth: C and P. There were 2 levels in the use of Postcolonial Theory: No and Yes.

**Results.** The results of the Chi-square test were significant, $\chi^2(1) = 10.31$, $p = .001$, suggesting that Country of birth and Use of Postcolonial Theory are related to one another. The following level combinations had observed values that were greater than their expected values: C:No and P:Yes. The following level combinations had observed values that were less than their expected values: P:No and C:Yes. Table 1 presents the results of the Chi-square test.

Table 1

*Observed and Expected Frequencies by Country_of_birth and PostColTh_Yes_No*

| | PostColTh_Yes_No | |
|---|---|---|
| Country_of_birth | No | Yes |
| C | 64 [57.56] | 20 [26.44] |
| P | 10 [16.44] | 14 [7.56] |

*Note.* $\chi^2(1) = 10.31$, $p = .001$. Items in brackets represent expected cell frequencies.

Another Chi-Square Test of Independence was conducted to examine whether Empirical or Theoretical Articles and the use of Postcolonial Theory were independent. There were 2 levels in Empirical/Theoretical: E and T. There were 2 levels in the use of Postcolonial Theory: No and Yes.

**Results.** The results of the Chi-square test were significant, $\chi^2(1) = 4.73$, $p = .030$, suggesting that Empirical/Theoretical and Use of Postcolonial Theory are related to one another. The following level combinations had observed values that were greater than their expected values: E:No and T:Yes. The following level combinations had observed values that were less than their expected values: T:No and E:Yes. Table 2 presents the results of the Chi-square test.

Table 2

*Observed and Expected Frequencies by Empirical_Theoretical and PostColTh_Yes_No*

| | PostColTh_Yes_No | |
|---|---|---|
| Empirical_Theoretical | No | Yes |
| E | 51 [45.91] | 16 [21.09] |
| T | 23 [28.09] | 18 [12.91] |

*Note.* $\chi^2(1) = 4.73$, $p = .030$. Items in brackets represent expected cell frequencies.

Binary Logistic Regression

Finally, a binary logistic regression was conducted to examine whether "Country of birth" and "Empirical/Theoretical" variables related to each contribution considered in our corpus had a significant effect on the odds of observing the Yes category of "Use of Postcolonial Theory". The reference category for "Use of Postcolonial Theory" was No. Variance Inflation Factors (VIFs) were calculated to detect the presence of multicollinearity between predictors. Variance Inflation Factors greater than 5 are cause for concern, whereas VIFs of 10 should be considered the maximum upper limit (Menard, 2009). All predictors in the regression model have VIFs less than 10. Table 1 presents the VIF for each predictor in the model.

Table 1

*Variance Inflation Factors for Country_of_birth and Empirical_Theoretical*

| Variable | *VIF* |
|---|---|
| Country_of_birth | 1.01 |
| Empirical_Theoretical | 1.01 |

**Results and Discussion**

The overall model was significant, $\chi^2(2) = 14.29$, $p < .001$, suggesting that "Peripheral Country of birth" (coded as 2) and "Theoretical Articles" (coded as T) had a significant effect on the odds of observing the Yes category of "Use of Postcolonial Theory". McFadden's R-squared was calculated to examine the model's fit, where values greater than .2 are indicative of models with excellent fit (Louviere, Hensher, & Swait, 2000). The McFadden R-squared value calculated for this model was 0.11. The regression coefficient for "Peripheral Country of birth" was significant, $B = 1.53$, OR = 4.62, $p = .002$, indicating that for a one unit increase in "Peripheral Country of Birth", the odds of observing the Yes category of "Use of Postcolonial Theory" would increase by approximately 362%. The regression coefficient for "Theoretical Articles" was significant, $B = 0.95$, OR = 2.59, $p = .034$, indicating that for a one unit increase in "Theoretical Articles", the odds of observing the Yes category of "Use of Postcolonial Theory" would increase by approximately 159%. Table 2 summarizes the results of the regression model.

Table 2

*Logistic Regression Results with Country_of_birth and Empirical_Theoretical Predicting PostCoITh_Yes_No*

| Variable | *B* | *SE* | $\chi^2$ | *p* | *OR* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Intercept) | -3.10 | 0.73 | 18.25 | < .001 | |
| Country_of_birth2 | 1.53 | 0.50 | 9.31 | .002 | 4.62 |
| Empirical_TheoreticalT | 0.95 | 0.45 | 4.48 | .034 | 2.59 |

*Note.* $\chi^2(2) = 14.29$, $p < .001$, McFadden $R^2 = 0.11$.

According to our results, the country of origin (coded as "Core: 1/Periphery: 2") is a strong predictor for those social psychologists interested in issues of colonialism, coloniality and postcoloniality who make use of postcolonial theory in their research. The theoretical appeal of postcolonial studies, although seen in a minority of articles, appears to be strongly correlated for those scholars who are either born in a "Peripheral Country" and affiliated to a university located in a former colony, or who are affiliated to a university from a "Core Country", but were born in "Peripheral" one. These results support the idea, that although "there remains (within academia) a general lack of support for the inclusion of subjugated knowledge, paradigms, and methodologies", while well-intentioned western scholars often "unwittingly participate in the Western hegemonic process," (Semali and Kicheloe 1999), "efforts are merely tokenistic gestures to deal with diversity in what remains a western hegemonic curriculum" (Waterfall and Maiter, 2003).

As our results seem to confirm, this research orientation, when tackling issues of coloniality, appears not to foster a culture-inclusive theory of psychology or the "deep structures" behind the empirical phenomena which postcolonial theory could reveal. Although using similar concepts and constructs, postcolonial theory looks beyond the conventional paradigms of psychological subdisciplines, and could thereby greatly contribute to progress in empirical psychological research.

**Strengths and Limitations of the Review**

To our knowledge, a thematic analysis of literature focusing on the sociopsychological analyses of postcolonial issues had never been performed. Clarifying their similarities and differences, we hope to encourage the cross-fertilization of the theoretical and methodological tools used to tackle the issues of colonialism and coloniality, as well as to encourage further developments within those fields.

Exploiting the computer-assisted text analysis resources of IRaMuTeQ, a fairly novel but promising technique for which literature is still scarce, we hoped to facilitate the use of this open-source alternative to ALCESTE within the community of researchers conducting textual analyses.

As with any method of literature review, the thematic analysis of literature process has its limitations. We identified below some of the relevant limitations to this review including: the exclusive choice of articles as a source of analysis; inaccessible publications; choice of variables and timeframe restrictions.

- A certain number of publications have been published in the form of books, which have a higher frequency of mentioning Postcolonial Theory. But as articles are the preferred form of publishing, and in order to harmonize our corpus, we selected articles as more representative of the state of the art within the selected field.
- While we made every effort to include all materials relevant to our research questions, some publications may not have been included due to a restricted access to the databases. Moreover, not all references are available in a digital form

and obtaining these texts proved time-consuming, particularly when operating within a restricted timeframe.

- We selected "First Author" as a variable but acknowledge that co-authors might influence the approach taken in the article, in particular in cases of interdisciplinary research that brings along different approaches. Again, for reasons of comparability, as well as time restriction (the search of countries of birth proved to be time-consuming), we selected First Author as the most influential as regards the theoretical and methodological choices within the papers.

As for the exploratory nature of our analysis, confirmatory analysis should follow, in order to provide us with more definitive answers to the areas of interest identified with our study.

**Conclusions**

Psychology, as an academic field originated from Western knowledge systems and frameworks (Huang, Li-Li, 2012). As we have recently witnessed, a growing corpus of research articles within social psychology and adjacent disciplines focusing on legacy of colonialism from former colonizers and colonized perspectives, we have found our driving question extremely relevant: how are discourses within the sociopsychological disciplines that are revolving around issues of coloniality articulated? Are these ways of thinking and proceeding still instilled by colonization?
As mentioned before, content analysis of cluster 2 and 3, obtained by the IRaMuTeQ clusterification (DHC), have disclosed a line of academic reasoning that should be further developed by scholars, touching upon a way to frame interactive account of the relationship between groups, as characterized by a certain diachronicity, which brings to notice the conception of a moral emotions.

As remarked by anthropologist Terray (2005), an African specialist, descendants of slaves, populations decimated if not exterminated by genocide, natives of the Republic who have suffered from Colonialism at the very least demand the symbolic recognition of their sufferings (Moscovici and Perez 1995).
Consequently, relationship between groups become entangled by the mutual bond of repentance and demanding for compensation, permeated by emotions such as guilt and shame. Especially in the light of the normative change generated in the '60 with the advancement of civil rights movement, and the political turn of the declaration of the rights of men, how do former colonizer group members face the social undesirability that has since then suppressed manifested discriminatory behavior?
Content analysis of cluster 2 and 3, which helped us to contextualize the typical unit of the class generated by clusterification, shows a strong interest of European academics to these issues: the most significant words deal with past-oriented terms such as guilt and apology and compensation. No reference is given to ideology or to aspects that could relate such inter-group dynamics to the larger frame, that is to the impact on the social inequality. Upon referencing back to the original publications, the interpretations of the clusters became meaningful, given the correspondence that we found between them and clusters' contents. What still remains to be done is to assess the strength of this moral emotions in order to change those representations which still objectify the descendants of the colonized out-group members, placing them outside the societal mainstream. Do

the negative representations of the colonial past held by former colonizer group members make them more or less likely to believe that they are nowadays accountable for the atrocities of colonialism in the past? And what about the practice of appealing for compensation by the descendants of the colonized? Is that the road to empowerment or to dependence?

The emergence of indigenous psychologies (cluster 4 and 5) and the stabilization of New Zealand and Australia research traditions echo these issues precisely.

As we have discussed, New Zealanders and Australian researchers, who emerged as the literature of reference behind cluster 6, have adapted to hot societal issues, with a glance to representations of history and the issue of social inequality, while keeping close to its original tenets.

As for indigenous psychology, distinct from other culture-oriented branches of psychology (cultural and cross-cultural), indigenous psychologies have developed in different parts of the world – often in former colonized countries – as a response to the domination of Occidental mainstream psychology (Licata, 2010). The DHC clusterification for cluster 4 and 5 refers to indigenous psychology as an emergent discipline understood as a form of liberation, addressing local issues revolving around challenging views around the world, which open up to critical and cross-cultural psychology with an explicit mentioning to a postcolonial approach. This is coherent with what is advocated by those indigenous psychologists who use qualitative and ethnographic methods to collect data on some culture-specific phenomena (Huang, 2012). Nonetheless, despite these scholars' efforts who advocate for a bottom-up approach, others indigenous scholars still insist on using "scientific" quantitative psychological methods such as surveys and experiments, because the discipline of scientific psychology asks for empirical verification or falsification of theoretical propositions (ibidem). However, DHC points to the fact that when the issue of coloniality is addressed, indigenous scholars take on a qualitative, bottom up approach.

In fact, as it shown in our binary logistic regression analysis, the theoretical appeal of postcolonial studies appears to be strongly correlated with scholars born in a "Peripheral Country", suggesting a core/periphery "disciplinary partitioning". But "much postcolonial theory is explicitly psychological in both its concerns and its critical resources; the further contribution of more precisely tailored psychological perspectives to postcolonial theory is therefore warranted." Despite many scholars' efforts it seems researchers build their theories by embracing the absoluteness of their field. As for social and critical psychology, it seems "(their) agendas of political activity remain of a particularly limited sort" (Hook, 2005). Nevertheless, Okazaki (2008) holds an optimistic view, stating that "a collaboration between psychology and postcolonial scholars holds one promising avenue for psychology to theorize and examine culture in ways that are responsive to complexity of social and psychological lives. Furthermore, while appreciating the historical contours of the birth and development of indigenous psychologies, we call for a rich conversation between the very histories that gave rise to the conditions of their birth and their sometimes problematic practices. Clearly, the discipline and practice of psychology, like the peoples it aims portray and serve, are all products of the same histories central to the approach to self-determination and cultural healing."

By engaging in a more critical reading and writing as "resistance", seen as the interplay of cultural analysis and political commitment against all forms of colonialism and imperialism, social psychologists could enrich the postocolonial perspective with additional methodological tools, greatly benefit their discipline, and society at large, hopefully as part of a wider process of interdisciplinarity and cosmopolitism. As Kuhn

proposed "We do not improve our knowledge of the world through systematic study so much as shift our way of seeing the world." (Quoted from Gergen, 1992).

*Compliance with Ethical Standards:*

*Conflict of Interest: Author Ana Tomicic declares that she has no conflict of interest. Author Filomena Berardi declares that she has no conflict of interest.*

*Ethical approval: This article does not contain any studies with human participants or animals performed by any of the authors.*

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