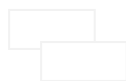# Indigenous Voices,
Indigenous Research

World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium

Journal 2010

World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium

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Art Work
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The artwork is drawn from a painting representing Strangways Springs an important sacred and life site within Arabana Country.

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Contents

Indigenous Voices Indigenous Research

Veronica Arbon and Mark Rose

The World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) has now published six Journals. The call for papers for the WINHEC Journal, 2010, themed *Indigenous Voices Indigenous Research* was very open. This openness allowed authors to determine what research might be. As a result, a range of very interesting articles have been submitted from those arguing the validity of Indigenous knowledge in the academy, to improved education systems, papers on the importance of local language and language in higher education, a couple on responsibilities through knowledge for country along with a series which point to quite different methodologies and methods also emerge in all other papers.

In essence the Journal is a site where Indigenous authors are able to reflect their knowledge creatively. This is important as this provides the opportunity to not only deconstruct the hegemony of Western knowledge but, radically draw on ancient local knowledge of Indigenaiety to in turn articulate powerfully Indigenous voices and research.

In this way Indigenous voices and research carry not only knowledge but own language, information on country and stories of all forms which reflect fundamental reciprocal connectedness or relatedness into the future. The articles also identify the centrality of ceremonies, songs, dance, metaphors and activities in such knowledge positions. This is the site of the challenging new ground within Indigenous research.

The article *Indigenous Research and Broader Issues in the Academy* sets the scene for this as it documents the purpose of Indigenous research within the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan while arguing for the validity of Indigenous/Aboriginal knowledge within academia as a response to the University raising concerns over their Academic Freedom.

The second article, while having obvious Canadian First Nation significance, has international relevance as well. The colonial genocidal script had little variation across the world. *From Cognitive Imperialism to Indigenizing the Learning Wigwam* tracks both the historical and the personal vantage points of 'Cognitive Imperialism' to the contemporary complexities of 'Indigenising the Learning Wigwam'. The article has an insightful connection of an historical First Nation standpoint strategically infused by personal account particularly the kokomis' (grandmother's) story and later in the paper the story of the author, to reflect an authentic Indigenous way of knowledge transfer, particularly its cyclic narrative.

The next article is of interest to Indigenous nations as it raises the core question of what do we give away in order to be in today's world. *Matauranga Maori Literacies: Indigenous Literacy as Epistemological Freedom v. Eurocentric Imperialism* is both thought provoking

and challenging article. Representing a broad theoretical base as it interrogates from a Maori and Indigenous standpoint that differentiates between functional, cultural and critical literacy while navigating in a compelling fashion, the argument that functional literacy is basically assimilationist.

Justifying the Choice of Academic Language through the Theory of Science positions the primacy of Indigenous language within the work of academics. Colonisation and dominance happens on many platforms and in the academy a new frontier exists, especially on this point of language. The paper from a Sámi position surfaces the located challenges for the Indigenous researchers, as the Sámi people blanket parts of four different nation states; Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. The article also highlights the Sámi belong to the Finno-Ugrian language family and that there are ten different Sámi languages. However, the article argues the inclusion of such languages in higher education is critical.

Addressing the influence of Ogiek education on environmental conservation the fifth article is titled *Contextualising Ogiek's Indigenous Environmental Education through Oral Literature for Sustainable Conservation of Mau Forest, Kenya*. This article locates one back into key areas critical to Ogiek education which is respectful of knowledge held and learned locally for the continuance of all within the environment. This article is highly relevant to many nations across the world as it surfaces and affirms the important role of kin relationships, Elders, ceremonies, stories, metaphors, songs, dances and land practices within educational content, processes and practice within traditional conservation.

The *Effects of Industry on Maori Cultural Values: The Case of the Tarawera River,* as the next article, examines changes in the relationship between three tribes, Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau and Ngāti Awa and the Tarawera River, due to pollution of the River. This study looks at effects of pollution, not through "naked" numbers but by the ways that pollution has affected people's/communities' cultural and practical everyday relationship to the river. This "approach is often overlooked in mainstream studies concerning pollution/environmental issues", one of the referees wrote. The concern expressed by one of those telling their stories ("will our cultural voice be heard?") indicates the Western knowledge and science blindness to these aspects in much research.

The next article *Fashioning our own house: a research journey* is a very rich piece of writing that travels far beyond the confines of journal writing to a place endowed with knowledge and culture. The reader is welcomed by wonderful deep metaphor that sets the tone for the paper. The paper consists of a series of what the West would describe as vignettes. However the rubrics of the paper transcends to more sophisticated platforms. The final paragraphs state "like muka in a whenu, which provide you with a view of something greater than its individual strands". Hence the real essence is inexplicably tied up in interwoven stories delivering more than narrative through a sophisticated tapestry.

The Yoik Opens A Door to Sámi Oral Literature: A Path into Language, Identity and Self-Esteem cleverly captures in a convincing and compelling manner issues of oral language at the Sámi University College particularly around 'yoiking' or chanting. The paper argues yoiking as the core of Sámi culture, as well as an important skill which requires a great deal of knowledge. This knowledge is a nexus that is intricately linked to strengthening of kin relations, self esteem and building up a positive identity of location on many levels.

Hei – Hawaiian string figures: Capturing the Poetic Visions of a People, is an authentic journey inside a rich cultural positioning around Hawaiian traditions of string figure making through which links are drawn to the dance tradition of Hawaiian people. The article surfaces the heuristic experience in learning hei. Moreover the article through exploration and sharing secures genealogical, geographical, biographical, and biological information. From within the personal the author exhorts Indigenous researchers to have some hands-on, breathing and living experience in a cultural activity. This salient challenge reminds the reader of the insidious nature of assimilation. Epistemology therefore calls for mastery of cultural ways of knowing which assists the researcher in understanding other aspects of culture.

The articles have been a privilege to read and consider as this World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) Journal, 2010 has been prepared for publication. In the article *Fashioning our own house: a research journey* Julie Kaomea (2004, p.43) is quoted as follows:

> *Above all else, indigenous research should be about healing and empowerment. It should involve the return of dignity and the restoration of sovereignty, and it should ultimately bring formerly colonised communities one step further along the path of self-determination. We should think on these factors as they apply to our own research, and if and when we decide to proceed, we should do so humbly, in an effort to serve.*

These are fitting and powerful words to bring this section to a close.

Indigenous Research and Broader Issues in the Academy

Aunty Joan Vickery, Aunty A Thorpe, Auntie Melva Johnson, Auntie Kella Robinson, Auntie Merle Bamblett, Auntie Georgina Williams, Uncle Graham Austin, Auntie Rose Bamblett, Auntie Beverley Peters, Auntie Laura Bell, Auntie Lyn McInnes ,Esme Bamblett, Lisa Thorpe, Helen Kennedy, Angela Clarke ,Nicole Waddell, Greg Phillips, Jason, Selam, Annette Vickery, Jan Muir, Rosie Smith, Neville Atkinson, Bronwyn Fredericks, Daryl Rose, Irene Morris, Veronica Arbon, Mark Rose, Wendy Brabham,

All participants in this paper bring with them the knowledge of their Elders and ancestral spirits.

Abstract

The Rudd Labour Government rode to power in Australia on the education promise of 'an education revolution'. The term 'education revolution' carries all the obligatory marketing metaphors that an aspirant government might want recognised by the general public on the eve government came to power however in revolutionary terms it fades into insignificance in comparison to the real revolution in Australian education. This revolution simply put is to elevate Indigenous Knowledge Systems, in Australian Universities. In the forty three years since the nation setting Referendum of 1967 a generation has made a beach head on the educational landscape. Now a further generation who having made it into the field of higher degrees yearn for the ways and means to authentically marshal Indigenous knowledge? The Institute of Koorie Education at Deakin has for over twenty years not only witnessed the transition but is also a leader in the field. With the appointment of two Chairs of Indigenous Knowledge Systems to build on to its already established research profile the Institute moved towards what is the 'real' revolution in education – the elevation of Indigenous Knowledge as a legitimate knowledge system. This paper lays out the Institute of Koorie Education's Research Plan and the basis of an argument put to the academy that will be the driver for this pursuit.

Introduction

Institute of Koorie Education at Deakin has for over twenty years been a leader in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education. The Australian University Quality Agency (2005 p.35) named the Institute as an exemplar highlighting the innovative CBD (community-based delivery) model, a broad curriculum offered to Indigenous students and the pedagogical approach bolstered by tactical support. The heart of the Institute's operation is its grounded relationship with the community through an agreement between Deakin University and the Victorian Aboriginal Education Association Incorporated (VAEAI). This agreement enacted in 1991 included a 'joint management' platform placing the university and the community into a dynamic partnership. This agreement was further articulated through the University's regulatory process and managed through the Board of the Institute of Koorie Education.

The Institute of Koorie Education is in Victoria the 'University of Choice' for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and nationally the third largest provider for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

A feature of the dynamic relationship is the position that Elders and Respected Persons hold at both strategic and functional levels. This plan was built on the wisdom of Victorian Elders and Respected Persons who were involved in every step of its development and creation. It is through their cumulative lived experiences that an Aboriginal lens on research was placed. In their lives that felt the flow and ebb of research fuelled government policies from the 'Protectionist' era through to 'Closing the Gap'. These lived experiences of generations combined with the wisdom of their Eldership today provided some clear and distinct directions for 'working with a new agenda' in research. Their combined input as captured in the Research Plan recognises the seminal role they have as Elders and Respected Persons.

The Institute of Koorie Education in order to achieve this 'new agenda in research' has always been faithful to the integrity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Knowledge. That is why the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan goes to great length to elevate and position Indigenous Knowledge as a system in its own right. Apologetic models tainted with degrees of comparative integration or assimilation with the Western dogma is not an option for the authentic positioning Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Knowledge. The plan was drawn up through direct input of the Elders and in terms of the integrity the process has been as important as the product is. The Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan represents rigor in both the process and the production having challenged the Western principled notion of academic freedom. Despite this and with encouragement of the University's chief executive Vice Chancellor, Professor Sally Walker the plan was presented for open debate at academic board. The core principle enshrined in the plan is primacy of Indigenous Knowledge. The Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan is in no way subserviently attendant to western knowledge or either an adjunct component part of it. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Knowledges are discrete, fully functional knowledge systems in their own right and distinctive in that they are possibly the world's oldest knowledge traditions. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Knowledges have legitimate claim to primacy as knowledge systems.

This is part of a dynamic movement that Indigenous people are making across the world in order to redress the one most severe genocidal causality, the colonisation of the mind. With the proliferation of research grounded in Indigenous Knowledge embedded colonial assimilative structures will be challenged as will no doubt the actual primacy of the Western creed. No longer will Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people be forced to their knees as both researchers and the researched to genuflect at the altar of Western ontology but they will be liberated by the freedoms of Indigenous Knowledge and will bring a balanced worldview to the academy. This is what true revolutions of change are made of and the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan sends up a flare to the broader academy of the thirty nine Australian universities as an initial salvo in the revolution.

Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan

Preamble

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people belong to the oldest continuous intellectual tradition. For centuries, 'ways of knowing' have passed from generation to generation in forms that predate and eclipse the printing press and the great universities of the Middle Ages which are the iconic rudiments of western knowledge. Life as we know it today revolves around competing knowledge systems be they global/local, disciplinary, commercial, technical and national and within this competition for primacy sits a contest for the hierarchical positioning of knowledge. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge as a national and educational resource, has for too long been subjugated to levels of tokenistic opportunism and novelty by the broader academy. The appointment of two 'Chairs of Indigenous Knowledge Systems' is a dynamic statement by Deakin University that recognises the significant work that the Institute of Koorie Education has made in teaching, learning and research over two decades and with community endorsement, sets new agenda in intellectual and community engagement.

Working with a new Agenda

Consistent with the Institutes' values that are grounded in community principles and engagement, direction for this plan was sought by way of a workshop that was held with Victorian Elders and Respected Persons. The workshop delivered a clear and distinct message on research generally and within its dimensions a new agenda. For too long the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and their communities have been buffeted by research agendas that simply put, "took without giving". Elders and Respected Persons called for 'honest research' based upon the principles of trust, integrity, transparency and ethics. While these are not inconsistent with 'best practice' models of general research, the core issue here for community groups is the notion of access and positioning within the research protocol. The challenge that was put to the Institute by the Elders and Respected Persons was repositioning the community from a passive subject base to a place of empowered ownership. This ownership extends to instigation. High level quality research is expensive and usually "done" to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and not instigated by them. Community Empowered Research as an agenda of the Institute of Koorie Education will work with community and community organisations to either assist, or even conduct, projects that they would not normally be able to embark upon. In short, as a result of our involvement with Community Empowered Research projects the capacity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people will be enhanced as either participants of, or drivers in, research projects.

Goal

The overall goal of the Institute of Koorie Education Research Agenda 2009-2012 is:

> To enhance in a culturally authentic manner the capacity and capability of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities to manage their knowledge in research contexts

Aims

In order to do this, the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan 2009-2012 intends to:

1. Enhance Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge capacity through higher degree programs by using community based delivery modes.

2. Work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities in research projects that surface, affirm, apply and secure Indigenous Knowledge.

3. Facilitate community-based research into critical questions or issues in partnership with individuals, communities and community organisations through knowledge solutions.

Background

The Board of the Institute of Koorie Education developed the *Koorie Research Program Ethics, Protocols and Methodologies Discussion Paper* (Atkinson, Henry, James et. al., 1994). The Institute of Koorie Education Board also proposed the development of a Research Centre (IKE 1998). Both documents highlight the importance of communities and working with people in communities in order to undertake research. The proposal for the development of a Centre was not implemented however a growing research program has been established. This has been strengthened through increasing postgraduate completions, including three Indigenous research doctorates over 2006-7. The continuing growth of Indigenous research and Indigenous research capacity in the Institute of Koorie Education is now to be encouraged and supported within Deakin University (Deakin University 2008). The Institute of Koorie Education, Research Plan will therefore, be responsive to community research aspirations and researcher capacity growth while working in partnership with the University.

The Institute of Koorie Education, Research Plan will focus such growth by dovetailing into Deakin University's goals, strategies and its Research and Research Training Plan 2008-2012. Deakin University's goal for Research and Research Training is:

> To improve Deakin's research performance so that it is in the top third of the Australian higher education sector by building a critical mass of researchers who will develop a distinctive portfolio of high quality discovery, applied and commercial research.

The Institute of Koorie Education, Research Plan is also cognisant of the 2007-2012 Indigenous Education Statement and is aligned with Indigenous Higher Education Policy. The Indigenous Higher Education Advisory Council (IHEAC), for example, seeks to "encourage the development of a climate in Australian higher education where the level of Indigenous postgraduate enrolment increases; the number of Indigenous researchers increases; and, Indigenous research is strengthened and enhanced" (Commonwealth of Australia 2007, p.2). The follow-up *Ngapartji Ngapartji –Yerra: Stronger Futures* IHEAC conference report progresses this position by setting out to "begin a new era of collaboration capable of

transforming the sector and building the capacity of Indigenous Higher education to provide stronger futures for Indigenous people" (Commonwealth of Australia 2007, p.11) through a national strategy for Indigenous research, building capacity and providing funding support among other matters (Commonwealth of Australia 2007, p.18, 19).

Cultural Research Integrity Protocol

At the Elders and Respected Persons workshop a clear and distinct call for *'honest research'* based upon the principles of trust, integrity, transparency and ethics was made. This is partly captured in the second aim of the Research Plan by;

> *"Working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities in research projects that surface, affirm, apply and secure Indigenous Knowledge"*

The issue of being able to secure Indigenous Knowledge is one that was projected by Elders and Respected Persons as a significant issue. At the workshop, we were questioned about our responsibility to ensure not only the integrity of our work but the research capacity of the broader university. Therefore, the Cultural Research Integrity Protocol (CRIP) will look beyond baseline University Ethics to preserve the cultural integrity of the project at the same time protect the Deakin brand within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community. In order to do this, a mapping of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander research that is undertaken under the auspice of Deakin, including collaborative and commercial ventures will be captured. Every research project will be open to audit and review using following principles:-

- o   Adherence to University or other appropriate ethical standard
  eg NHMRC, NEAF.

- o   Adherence to AIATSIS or other appropriate guidelines:
  Inclusion of Statewide Organisations in involvement and engagement;

  Local negotiation;

  Evidence of authentic community involvement and engagement;

  Statement of value;

  Statement of reimbursement for investment by community; and,

  Residual relationship with the community.

Aim	Methods	Measured
Enhance Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge capacity through higher degree programs using community based delivery modes. .	Promoting, attracting, supporting and supervising through to completion, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students in Masters and PhD programs. Workshop promotion to honours students. Conducting "in communities" research incubation workshops.	Growth rate of formal enrolments and completions. Number of workshops held. Number of workshops held.
Working closely and with respect with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities in projects that surface, affirm, apply and secure Indigenous Knowledge.	Where appropriate and where invited, work with the community on issues of surfacing local knowledge, including the necessary protocols that secure ownership by the community. These include assisting with knowledge management systems. Working predominantly with and directed by the community, produce knowledge collaborations in various media formats that further Indigenous Knowledge Systems.	Number of community engagements held. Number of workshops on research and ethics. Number of written and other collaborations produced. Number of invited speaking engagements. Number of research activities completed.
Facilitate community-based solutions to critical questions/issues in partnership with individuals, communities and community organisations through research.	Where appropriate and where invited work with the community on stages of research in order to transfer skill on matters that require community-based solutions and knowledge control. Where appropriate and where invited work with the community on stages of research in order to transfer skill on matters that require community-based solutions by way of knowledge solutions.	Number of community engagements held.

Aboriginal Knowledge Validity in the Academy

The *Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan* (above) while setting out aims and strategies to increase research and higher degree researchers includes a statement titled Cultural Research Integrity Protocol (CRIP) which intends to look "beyond baseline University Ethics to preserve the cultural integrity of the project at the same time protect the Deakin brand

within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community". This may be research to undertake a desktop review and analysis or, other activities which may lead to Indigenous knowledge being captured through research that does not or, has not, required the researcher to apply for ethical clearance through the Deakin University Research and Ethics Committee (DUHREC). Moreover, it may be research that represents for disadvantage. This section of the plan therefore challenges the Institute of Koorie Education to "secure Indigenous Knowledge" as is "our responsibility to ensure not only the integrity of our work but the research capacity of the broader university". This challenge goes to the heart of the complex issues resulting from a denial of the validity of Indigenous knowledge in all activities in Australia including the academy.

The *mapping* and *audit* notions in this statement are considered to be a challenge on Academic Freedom.

Background

At present all research dealing with Aboriginal or Torres Islander people that involves engagement (interviews, stories, focus groups etc) or invasive activities (blood extraction, skin analysis etc) must undergo review through an application to DUHREC. An application is developed on the National Ethics Application Form (NEAF) for the Human Ethics Committee through DHUREC). The NEAF captures the principles of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Islander Studies protocols document (AIATSIS 2000) and the National Health and Medical Research Guidelines (NHMRC 2007). Such DUHREC applications are also forwarded to the Institute of Koorie Education (to be reviewed by one of the Chairs in Indigenous Knowledge Systems). Therefore, the majority of research which may impact on Aboriginal Knowledge Systems is presently subject to ethical clearance through a detailed application and review.

Indigenous people the world over and, in this instance, in Australia continue to experience numerous difficulties in an environment created by colonial invasion which took the land of those invaded and disallowed/denied the knowledge of the people of those lands. In fact, Indigenous people themselves are considered *Terra Nullius* or 'empty' intellectually (Rigney 1999). Butler (2001) subsequently argued, the overturning of the notion of *Terra Nullius* in Australia has not resolved ideology positing Indigenous Knowledge lacks substance. Universities along with every other aspect of the system under which Indigenous peoples now live therefore wield a power through which various features devalue, undermine and deny knowledge diversity. Assimilation though application of such aspects therefore occurs with an invisibility that is numbing and deeply destructive to Indigenous people. The validity of Indigenous knowledge is denied.

Let us consider standards, quality processes or the Excellence in Research Australia (ERA) as each of these areas, is constructed to address Western Knowledge (the disciplines) within the academy. Additionally, the whole system is governed to achieve outcomes in a western world

in denial of diversity and the different knowledge domains such diversity brings. Universities mirror this model of governance although the university demands the freedom to operate in its own right. However, driven by and responding to, external governance requirements ultimately demands assimilation into the 'protected' western canon at all levels and in numerous ways. This situation locks Indigenous people's knowledge, its processes and its practices out of the academy, trivialising same as an addendum. This is where Academic Freedom exists.

Academic Freedom according to The Australia Institute in 2001 (quoted in Commonwealth of Australia 2008, p.5) is defined as the right to "teach, research and publish on contentious issues, choose their own research colleagues: and speak on social issues without fear or favour in areas of their expertise...balanced by responsible and disciplined exercise of scholarly expertise". However, Professor Jackson notes "academic freedom is a limited doctrine, hedged about with qualification" (Commonwealth of Australia 2008, p.6). At the same time, the report affirms universities "have long been incubators of new theories and the promoters of the orthodoxies of tomorrow" (Commonwealth of Australia 2008, p.6). Academic Freedom is a feature of this western canon – a constructed/position – which applies in the academy.

Making the above statements does not deny Indigenous Knowledge does not have a similar notion of freedom, whereby one is expected to act within certain protocols, to protect and ensure the sustainability of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander Knowledge. However, it must be noted the starting point for such positions is vastly different. Notably, Indigenous Knowledge validity is argued by Indigenous scholars the world over (Cajete 1994; Ermine 1995; Kwagley 2006; Graveline 1998; Laduke 1994; Meyer 2003; West 2000, Martin 2003; Arbon 2008) as the relationship of humans with the land and all within it and the sky, as central to their respective knowledge positions.

Clearly the later is a fundamentally different knowledge domain to that of the western canon (and its disciplines) which tends to be constructed on notions of exploitation or equity without acknowledgement of this relatedness or inter-connectedness or a critique of the power existent in the system. Thus, denying the colonising power cemented at the core and the basis of relatedness within Indigenous knowledge.

The Elders and Respected Persons identified and articulated through the Institute of Koorie education Research Plan, "an opportunity with the appointment of the two Chairs in Indigenous Knowledge Systems to not only affirm Aboriginal Knowledge but negotiate the validity of such knowledge and, responsiveness to it in the academy". The issue is therefore, a request for a fundamental recognition of other knowledge positions and respectful negotiations to ensure such knowledge is no longer obliterated within the academy. Ultimately this is to do with sustainability – social, economic and environmental sustainability for Indigenous people and for Australia. However, in this instance the request is directed toward research activities undertaken under the auspices of the University.

It should be noted that the issue of compatibility and congruence of differing Knowledge Systems is also being debated on a world stage. In May 2002 the WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organisation) a specialised agency of the United Nations carried out a comprehensive review of Intellectual Property and Traditional Knowledge, Genetic Resources and Folklore. Resting on an international law principle of '*Sui generis*' a Latin phrase meaning of its own kind calls for 'a *sui generis system* for Traditional Knowledge protection are sometimes heard. This could mean a system entirely distinct from the current intellectual property (IP) system, or alternatively a system with new IP, or IP-like, rights'. CRIP therefore is philosophically and practically in sync with WIPO and the world movement that has had very little traction in Australia. The opportunity therefore exists, if embraced by the broader University, to position Deakin as a national and world leader both in the eyes of Elders as well as the United Nations. It is therefore time to move beyond old models of power and domination to ones of respectful negotiated agreement of what is important to such sustainability.

Conclusion

As far as revolutions go the Australian Education Revolution may come and go and in time be judged, destined and dispatched to history. This paper introduces and provides a couple of excerpts concerning Indigenous research and knowledge within Deakin University. The first is the Institute of Koorie Education Research Plan and the second a subsequent paper provided to the Vice Chancellor and the Academic Board as the basis to ongoing discussions concerning Academic Freedom. Notably, the subliminal yet central focus of the Research Plan is to challenge western research to move out of their comfort zones and in their epistemological pursuit engage multiple knowledge systems. Beyond mere altruism this is a complex notion of rigor. The real revolution is therefore to be able to work respectfully from differing epistemologies in different contexts for the advantage of knowledge diversity. Indigenous Knowledge is therefore the seat of the real revolution in education and the fight goes on.

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From Cognitive Imperialism to Indigenizing "The Learning Wigwam"

Dr. Lynn Gehl, Gii-Zhigaate-Mnidoo, Algonquin Anishinaabe-Kwe, Turtle Clan

Abstract

This paper offers an overview of the literature that addresses Indigenous ways of knowing, Canada's education assimilation policy through cognitive imperialism, First Nations' administrative control of education, and the history of the development of post-secondary Indigenous Studies programs. Operating within an Algonquin Anishinaabe worldview where it is appreciated that knowledge is gained through personal experience and reflection, in this paper I provide excerpts from my kokomis' (grandmother's) story of Indian day school and thus her experience with cognitive imperialism. In moving to the contemporary, I also provide a discussion of how I established a deepened postcolonial mindset through experiencing Algonquin Anishinaabe ways of knowing within the Department of Indigenous Studies at Trent University in Ontario, Canada.

Introduction

In the Algonquin Anishinaabe tradition, experiential knowledge and reflection upon it are indeed valid research methodologies. This is a good thing because this is how I know. Recently, I was asked to respond to the question, "Is Indigenous knowledge postcolonial?" My immediate response was, "postcolonial…what is that?" because of my inability to perceive postcolonial schemas at the level of practice in the larger Algonquin Anishinaabe community of the Ottawa River Valley in Ontario, Canada of which I am a member. Upon reflection, though, I realized I did have a story to tell. In this paper I engage the literature that addresses Indigenous people's knowledge systems and our experience with colonization through institutionalized education. I also discuss my kokomis' (grandmother in Algonquin) experience with Indian day school, as well as offer parts of my experience of establishing a deepened postcolonial mindset through engaging and reflecting on Indigenous knowledge at the graduate school level.

Before They Arrived

Prior to European emigration to what is now Canada, Indigenous Nations relied on sophisticated ways of knowing their world and their place within it. This included systems of governance such as the Anishinaabe clan system, a system of raising their children within the safety and protection of the extended family, a sophisticated medicine and healing society, as well as sophisticated systems of communication that included both the oral tradition and various forms of symbolic literacy. Marie Battiste (1986) discusses Algonkian systems of symbolic epistemology and literature such as the use of "pictographs, petroglyphs, notched

sticks and wampum" (p. 24). These systems, she argues, were and remain an equally valid and legitimate way of establishing and maintaining a shared cognitive reality.

Leanne Simpson (2000b) asserts the learning process for Indigenous youth was very different from the institutionalized education systems found in Western societies. Learning was considered to be a life-long journey. Within this life-long journey, principles of immanence were fundamental and were expressed in ceremony, reflection, and sharing. Learning was practiced within a wholistic way of knowing that included the four dimensions of the individual: mental, spiritual, physical, and emotional. Similarly, Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill (1986) have stressed that within Indigenous societies family values were highly treasured where children were raised to assume adult roles and responsibilities within a context of warmth and affection. In this context, they argue, learning emphasized respect, self-reliance, proper conduct, as well as a "belief in the unity of all aspects of life" and a "lack of distinction between the 'secular' and the 'sacred'" (Barman et al., 1986, p. 3). Gregory Cajete (1999) adds, "traditional Native American systems of education were characterized by observation, participation, assimilation and experiential learning rather than by low-context formal instruction characteristic of Euro-American schooling" (p. 27).

When European people first arrived, they were very much dependant on Indigenous knowledge systems. For example, Simpson (2000a) argues, "Europeans were dependant on Indigenous Knowledge for nutrition, food preparation, hunting and fishing technology, travel routes, cloth-making, shelter-making, recreation, medicines and health care" (p. 188-189). John Milloy (2003) agrees adding, "partnerships, anchored in Aboriginal knowledge and skills, had enabled the newcomers to find their way, to survive, and to prosper" (p. 4). European people were also dependant on our systems of knowledge creation in that Indigenous knowledge does not merely consist of a storehouse or stock of knowledge. Contrary to what many may think, like European people, Indigenous people had, and continue to have, their knowledge producing machinery.

The Arrival of Cognitive Imperialism

Battiste (1986) discusses one incident in particular in 1652 where Father Gabriel Druilletes reported Algonkian Indigenous people using "coal for pen, bark for paper, and writing with peculiar characters" as a moment when Indigenous symbolic literacy was indeed perceived (p. 28). Battiste (1986) further explains, when European people encountered evidence of Indigenous writing, it was destroyed because European people found the presence of Indigenous literacy threatening. Through this process of destruction and denial, Battiste (1986) laments, much of the Indigenous literacies of America were transformed, or neglected, by Euro-Christian travelers and missionaries. As a result of attacking Indigenous symbolic literacies, Indigenous shared cognitive reality began to fragment thus opening the door for a particular kind of colonization Battiste (2000) refers to as "cognitive imperialism" (p. 198). She explains cognitive imperialism is a form of colonization that "denies people their

language and cultural integrity by maintaining the legitimacy of only one language, one culture, and one frame of reference" (Battiste, 2000, p. 198).

As additional European settlers arrived and the power relationship between them and Indigenous Nations began to skew, respect of, and for, Indigenous knowledge systems further diminished. This was particularly the case after the war of 1812 when Indigenous Nations were no longer required as military allies, and the fur trade economy declined. As a result, Simpson (2000a p. 189) argues, "for the next century, Indigenous peoples and their knowledge were the target of assimilation, colonization and racism, as the government did everything in its power to destroy Aboriginal Nations, their culture, values, lifeways, languages and knowledge". It is argued that this paternalistic one-sided relationship received its legal justification in the 1867 *British North America Act*. Specifically, section 91 "took away Indians' independent status by making them wards of the federal government" (Barman et al., 1986, p. 2). As a result of this, Indian education policy in Canada took legislative form through the creation of the *Indian Act* (Barman et al., 1986, p. 4-5; Milloy, 2003, p. 9).

During this time of Canada's early development, the European style of schooling of Indigenous children was already taking place through "Catholic religious orders that accompanied the first French settlers to North America" (Barman et al., 1986, p. 3). In Ontario, protestant missionaries employed Indian day schools that were "similar in form and curriculum to those available to the poor of Britain" to educate and *civilize* Indigenous students (Barman et al., 1986, p. 5).

Fig. 1: *"The Learning Wigwam"*
Photo credit Dennis Glassford

As a young girl, and living on the reservation at Golden Lake in Ontario, Canada (Now Pikwàkanagàn First Nation.) my kokomis attended Indian day school during the early 1920s. (See figure one above.) It was within the walls of Indian day school that she encountered education as cognitive imperialism. My kokomis called this place of learning the "Learning Wigwam" and this is what she titled her story. My kokomis wrote, "In September many students came from the woods but as soon as cold weather set in no one came from the

woods." She continues, "I know why they did not come, they had no shoes no clothes also did not have food, some just got sick and died."

My kokomis also wrote about how hard her teacher – Josephine Courrier – had to work, "to try and get something into our hard heads" and about the times she spent "saying prayers and singing hymns." She wrote about moments such as the time when Father French would come in for a visit at the "learning wigwam," and how "Archie Bernard would get up and do a step dance" where afterwards "Father French would give him a dime." She also emphasized that Josephine taught the students, "even the boys," how to crochet, and about recreation time when the students "would all participate in a square dance without music" where "Joe Whiteduck was the caller" and where "we danced many times in front of the furnace in the basement of the learning wigwam." Possibly needless to say, I treasure this story.

It seems Indian day schools were a dismal failure "'because the influence of the wigwam was stronger than the influence of the school'" (Davin Report cited in Milloy, 2003, p. 8). As a result, and although not its genesis, based on the 1879 Davin Report the federal government of Canada institutionalized the residential and boarding school systems (Barman et al., 1986, p. 6). Residential schools were located far from reservations and the potential influences of the wigwam. Missionaries operated these residential schools. Within these residential institutions, and through cognitive imperialistic means, all aspects of life were closely regulated: dress, language, the lessons, and behaviour. It is said that the education offered within the walls of these institutions was unequal to the education provided to their non-Indigenous contemporaries and merely prepared Indigenous children for inequality. It is also argued, "fifty percent of the children who passed through these schooling systems did not benefit from the education which they had received therein" (Barman et al., 1986, p. 8). It seems that overcrowding, lax administrations, budget shortfalls, and poor hygiene and diet meant that children died in astonishing numbers, where many were "the victims of schools that hosted the white plague, tuberculosis" (Milloy, 2003, p. xv).

Although from 1920 onward attendance at residential schools was mandatory where, as such, many Indigenous parents acquiesced, exercising their agency others resisted. An ultimate and unfortunate example of resistance to the residential school system is the story of little Charlie Wenjack who, in 1966, ran away from the Residence of Cecilia Jeffery School in Kenora, Ontario. Apparently, Charlie, far from his home, "collapsed and died of hunger close to the railway track which he desperately thought might take him to his family hundreds of kilometres away" (Hodgins and Milloy, 2002, p. 223). Although not without controversy, Charlie's spirit and memory lives on. In 1974, Trent University officials named the theatre in Otonabee College at Trent University the "Wenjack Theatre" (Hodgins and Milloy, 2002, p. 222).

Eber Hampton (2000) adds to Battiste's discussion of cognitive imperialism as education when he argues, in the treaties that made Canada, Indigenous Nations agreed to share the land and the resources with European settlers in exchange for, amongst other things, education (p.

211). He explains, in establishing these treaties, the Crown's responsibilities included three key provisions: the establishment of schools; equal educational outcome; and, choice (Hampton, 2000, p. 211). Despite this, operating from a different set of intentions, that of cultural destruction, the Crown merely "distorted education, transforming it from a tool of self-determination into a weapon of captivity" (Hampton, 2000, p. 211). Hampton (2000) further laments, instead of funding First Nations' institutions, the Crown proceeded to fund church and provincial institutions (p. 211).

Administrative Control

Given the ineffectiveness of the European style of education, yet appreciating that there was indeed the need to function in a new context, in 1931, the League of Indian Nations of Western Canada passed a resolution "requesting that the Department of Indian Affairs [DIA] establish local reserve schools" (Barman et al., 1986, p. 12). Little changed though. Eventually, in 1946, a Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons was appointed to revise the *Indian Act*. In 1951, it was amended in a manner that permitted "the federal government to make financial agreements with provincial and other authorities for Indian children to attend public and private schools" (Barman et al., 1986, p. 13). By 1960, almost one-quarter of Indigenous children were attending provincially controlled institutions (Barman et al., 1986, p. 13).

In Canada, 1969 was a watershed moment, catalyzed by the federal government's tabling of the infamous White Paper. The 1969 White Paper called for the end of the special status for Indian people and the need for their full integration and assimilation into European settler society. In reactionary style, the White Paper led to an awakening of Indigenous political consciousness and the emergence of Indigenous political mobilization. Three years later "in 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood [NIB, now Assembly of First Nations.], produced a landmark policy statement: Indian Control of Indian Education" (Longboat, 1987, p. 24).

In 1976, senior officials of the NIB and members of federal cabinet joined efforts in negotiating a reform package for Indigenous education. The NIB specifically identified and targeted sections 114 and 115 of the *Indian Act* as problematic, asking that theses section be amended in a manner that would allow First Nations to take control of education. Although the DIA eventually accepted the policy statement, problems arose with the department's interpretation of control. The federal government interpreted First Nations' control as merely meaning a degree of participation, where the federal government delegated programs and where First Nations were to administer them. With the lack of progress in terms of achieving real power, in 1978, after two years of negotiating, the NIB walked away from the table (Longboat, 1987, p. 25). Despite the lack of real control, change did occur at the community level where, "by the early 1980s, 450 of the 577 Indian bands in Canada had taken over full or partial administration of reserve schools" once operated by the DIA (Barman et al., 1986, p. 16). Further, by 1984, 187 First Nations bands were operating their schools at both the primary and secondary level (Barman et al., 1986, p. 16; Longboat, 1987, p. 26).

Obstacles to Eliminating Cognitive Imperialism

Since 1982, Canada has a new Constitutional order – one that respects Indigenous rights. Despite this, obstacles continue to plague Indigenous education. Battiste (1998) targets the theory of diffusion as the main culprit to Indigenous educational reform. She explains, this theory posits that all knowledge is diffused from a European centre to its inferior periphery at which Indigenous Nations reside (Battiste, 1998, p. 22). Battiste (1998) also identifies several other obstacles: while over half of Indigenous students attend provincial schools, the curricula fails to represent this reality; in funding agreements, First Nations schools are required to accept provincial curricula; there is a lack of available resources for Indigenous people who wish to develop Indigenous curricula; and there is also a lack of available structures and guidance to facilitate the development of Indigenous curricula. Moreover, Battiste (1998) identifies the reality that most teachers educated in Canada's schooling system have failed to take courses about, or from, Indigenous people. Nor have they established a cross-cultural awareness of who Indigenous people are. She targets stereotypes and negative innuendoes as plaguing the mindsets of non-Indigenous people, acting as a barrier to Indigenous knowledge systems (Battiste, 1998, p. 22). It is through these obstacles, Battiste (1998) argues, that the governments of Canada continue to colonize the mindsets of Indigenous people and perpetuate their grip of cognitive imperialism.

Moving beyond critique, Battiste (1998) suggests the parameters required for a successful education program for Indigenous people: it must emerge from Indigenous ecological contexts; it must emerge from Indigenous social and cultural frames of reference; it must embody Indigenous philosophical foundations and Indigenous spiritual understanding; it must be built on the enriched experiences and gifts of Indigenous people; and it must be based on economic needs versus merely a secular experience that fragments knowledge (p. 21).

Role of Universities

Hampton (2000) asserts, university educational institutions are also implicated as a tool of cognitive imperialism in that they too operate from a location of European assumptions, and thus content, structure, and process (p. 216). He further asserts, universities play a huge role in shaping society in that, "no other institution has such a pervasive effect on our lives" (Hampton, 2000, p. 216). For example, it is universities that shape our teachers, lawyers, nurses, doctors, and other professionals. According to Hampton (2000), it appears it is at the university education level where Indigenous people "have made the least progress in terms of First Nations control" (p. 216). Given this reality, it seems it is not only at the primary level, but also at the post-secondary level, where we need to see an Indigenization of the academy or, as my kokomis would say, the "learning wigwam."

Universities began the process of establishing Indigenous Studies programs after the civil rights movement in the 1960s. This was a revolutionary time when students made demands that universities better represent societal needs. Clara Sue Kidwell (1978) argues, one of the

difficulties post-secondary Indigenous Studies programs have is how to combine the need to change Indigenous people's living conditions with the university's search for truth. Kidwell (1978) suggests a possible answer of establishing legitimacy for Indigenous Studies programs as a discipline lies in scholarship that develops theoretical frameworks that represent Indigenous life in terms of its relationship with the larger society. She suggests there is the need to "combine historical analysis and contemporary anthropological and sociological methods to unique Native American problems" (Kidwell, 1978, p. 6-7). In short, she argues for the need to redefine disciplines that once studied Indigenous people "like bugs on pins" (Kidwell, 1978, p. 5).

It is Elizabeth Cook-Lynn's (1997) view that when Indigenous Studies began, over twenty years ago, central to the call was a seat at the table from which Indigenous people had been excluded for well over four hundred years as well as the need for new epistemologies. She laments, this call was to challenge the orthodox disciplines that served in "disfiguring and deforming Native peoples, communities and nations" (Cook-Lynn, 1997, p. 22). Adding to Battiste and Hampton, Cook-Lynn (1997) provides an analysis of the barriers preventing the establishment of appropriate disciplinary principles and new epistemologies for Indigenous Studies: hiring practices that have merely resulted in tokenism; the pervasiveness and subversive nature of postcolonial theories; individuals searching for identity as dominating; the construction of hybrid departments such as ethnic and cultural studies; the inadequacies of the new historicism; budgets; calls by outsiders that Indigenous Studies lacks rigour and is thus anti-intellectual; too much focus on the nagging question of how does Indigenous Studies fit in; and politicians and funding agencies monopolizing and directing the process of developing appropriate disciplinary parameters.

As of 2002, there were a total of eleven Indigenous Studies programs operating within Canadian borders. Shona Taner (1999) provides a review of the development of four of these programs: Trent University in Ontario; University of Regina/Saskatchewan Indian Federated College; University of Alberta; and, the University of Northern British Columbia. In Canada, Trent University was the first to offer an Indian-Eskimo studies program, as a component of the Anthropology Department. Taner (1999) identifies several contributing factors to the creation of the program: support from President Tom Symons who was familiar with the issues of the Indigenous population; the presence of four First Nations communities within a seventy mile radius; and, Trent University was only five years old at the time. Fortunately, in 1972, the program underwent a name change and Native Studies became a full-fledged Department.

Taner (1999) also credits the establishment of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College to several factors such as the federal government's adoption of the NIB's 1972 policy paper, as well as the political unity of the First Nations in Saskatchewan. Although the university was an established entity, it was not until 1976 when President Lloyd Barber allied with Indigenous people, and the college became a fully accredited Indian-controlled post-secondary institution (Taner, 1999, p. 294).

The Indian Association of Alberta approached the University of Alberta as early as 1972, where, five years later, the university established a committee. It was not until fourteen years after initial discussion began that the University of Alberta finally approved the School of Native Studies. The first courses began in the 1986/7 school year. Interestingly, possibly the unwillingness to establish the program, Taner (1999) suggests, was attributed to the fact that there was no senior official or ally, such as Barber or Symons, available to push the Indigenous agenda forward (p. 294-5).

Taner (1999) explains "when the University of Northern British Columbia was inaugurated in 1994, it was the first university in Canada to open with a Department of Native Studies already embedded in its structure" (p. 295). She identifies the large Indigenous population of British Columbia, the growing interest in Indigenous Studies, as well as recognition that Indigenous Studies is a legitimate field of study, as contributing factors to the success and development of the department. Although Taner (1999) does provide a discussion regarding the challenges these programs underwent in developing a curriculum, it is back to the Department of Native Studies at Trent University, and my experience in the program, that I now turn to.

Indigenous Studies at Trent University

Similar to what Battiste and others advocate, David Newhouse, Don McCaskill, and John Milloy (2002) discuss the need for Native Studies to move beyond 'Indianism inquiry,' where outsiders merely explain the realities of Indigenous people through their lenses. Indeed, there is the need to develop First Nations communities that are based upon Indigenous ideals. This, they argue, requires an appreciation of a new intellectual project, or, alternatively, an importation of traditional ways of knowing and being; an intellectual project that employs traditional Indigenous methodologies and epistemologies that involve "extra-reasonable" activities such as experiential knowledge, dreams, fasts, and ceremonial life (Newhouse et al., 2002, p. 78).

Newhouse et al. (2002) discuss the evolution of the Department of Native Studies at Trent University. It is argued that the philosophical and epistemological foundations of the Department were and continue to be built upon three interrelated pillars: academic; cultural; and applied/practical. While the academic component consists of traditional Western methods of teaching and research, the cultural component is rooted in traditional Indigenous culture and thus a more wholistic way of knowing which includes the mental, physical, emotional, and spiritual aspects of who people are. The applied component provides the much needed practical skills required.

It is argued that the cultural component "has adopted a philosophy of education that attempts to address the teachings of the Elders" (Kulchyski, McCaskill, and Newhouse, 1999, p. xviii). To accomplish this, the Department has instituted a practice of hiring Elders to teach language and cultural courses. Elder and Professor Shirley Williams (1993) posits, language courses

are crucial to Indigenous Studies because "language is where culture is" (p. 425). S. Williams (1993) is also convinced of the role language development has for Indigenous students in terms of instilling pride in students. Eventually, Trent University established criteria that accepted Indigenous knowledge as being on par with Western academic credentials and these teaching positions that Elders were fulfilling were turned into full faculty tenured positions.

The Department of Native Studies at Trent University also differs from a traditional Western academic department in other ways in that there are three additional positions. These positions consist of a Cultural Advisor, a Counsellor, as well as an Academic Skills Coordinator. These positions are invaluable to the overall function and general day-to-day operation of the Department. For example, the Cultural Advisor, Vern Douglas, works to fulfill the cultural component through the organization and facilitation of events such as the Elders' and Traditional Peoples' Conference, held annually in February, and evening Traditional Teachings. In addition, Counsellor Joeann Argue is available to students to assist them in their journey through the primarily Western based academy, while Academic Skills Coordinator Christine Welter works at recruiting Indigenous students.

The Department has taken additional steps to increase the number of Indigenous students studying at the university level. A diploma program was established in 1975 where, if the student chooses, he or she can transfer to the degree program after successfully completing the diploma requirements. In 1978, the BA program was expanded into an honours program and in 1985, the Department joined the Frost Centre "and created an Aboriginal studies cluster within its Master of Arts program" (Newhouse et al., 2002, p. 68). In addition, in 1999 the Department began offering courses in its newly formed Ph.D. program. With the foundation already established, the doctoral program is interdisciplinary and is based upon the integration of Indigenous and Western academic knowledge that encompasses the same three pillars: academic; cultural; and, applied/practical.

In October 2004, Trent University's newest building officially opened. This building houses the First Peoples House of Learning (FPHL) and Peter Gzowski College. (See appendix A.) This new house is named after the latter, Peter Gzowski. Unfortunately, it is argued by Newhouse (2004) that Trent University officials "found it easier to name the building after an immigrant Canadian rather than an Aboriginal person" (p. 13). This is most unfortunate in that cultural icons such as the naming of buildings and the positioning of monuments, as forms of cultural markers and symbolic literacy, are essential sources of empowerment. Regardless of this disappointment in the naming of the FPHL, it boasts a First Peoples Gathering Space, an outdoor Ceremonial Space, and the First Peoples Performance Space, and is clad in the four colours of the Medicine Wheel; yellow, red, black, and white.

In June 2005, Trent University's Native Studies Ph.D Program celebrated its first graduates: Kevin Fitzmaurice, Jeff Lambe, and John Phillips. Indigenous knowledge was a component of the convocation ceremony; Eagle feathers were gifted to the new doctoral graduates, and the Otonabee Woman's Hand Drum performed an honour song. In June 2006, the

Department celebrated additional graduates: Yale Belanger, Nicole Bell, Songwit Chuamsakul, Susan Hill, and Ross Hoffman, three of which are Indigenous people. As of 2010 the Ph.D program has fifteen graduates. It was in 2006, the Department of Native Studies underwent a name change to the Department of Indigenous Studies.

My Story

Due to the patrilineal line of descent once codified in the *Indian Act*, I grew up in urban Toronto, Ontario Canada (See Gehl, 2000; and Gehl, 2004.). Eventually, I turned to the discipline of Native Studies at Trent University to undertake my MA and Ph.D. degrees. While in this Department, over the years I have taken the opportunity to participate in the cultural component of the curriculum. Some of the awareness, understanding, and knowledge gained include the Anishinaabe Creation story, the Sacred Pipe, the Anishinaabe Seven Stages of Life, Wisakedjàk stories, as well as the significance of the Eagle. In addition, while at Trent I have come to appreciate Indigenous systems of governance such as the Anishinaabe Clan System, the role of Elders and youth, the need for gender balance, and the ethic of the Seven Grandfather Teachings. I also participated in the Elders' and Traditional Peoples' Conference, taken the opportunity to practice drumming and singing with the Otonabee Woman's Hand Drum, and established relationships with Elders, language speakers, and traditional knowers Doug Williams and Shirley Williams.

While in the Ph.D. program I opted to take the Bimadiziwin (the way of a good life) Experiential Option; a component of the program that provides students with the opportunity to transform and learn Indigenous knowledge in a traditional way as discussed by Simpson, Cajete, and others. More specifically, the Bimadiziwin option "involves a formally-structured relationship between an Elder and a student" where "the student gets to know her own self in order to understand life" (Bell, Davis, Douglas, Gaywish, Hoffman, Lambe, Manitowabi, McCaskill, Pompana, Williams, Williams, 2005, p. 73). Succinctly, the goal is a process of learning where personal transformation occurs through "returning to the Original Instructions" (Bell et al., 2005, p. 73).

Within the Bimadiziwin option, students are responsible for finding an Elder to work with and they must submit a written proposal with their objectives clearly stated. Afterwards, a reflection paper and an oral presentation is offered to the department's cultural committee composed of four Elders/traditional people, where, in conjunction with the Elder who guided the student, it is determined through a pass or fail system if indeed personal transformation within the parameters of the Original Instructions has occurred.

During my Bimadiziwin I was fortunate to have the opportunity to spend time with Algonquin Anishinaabe Elder William Commanda, keeper of three original Algonquin Anishinaabe Wampum Belts. (See figure two below.) Wampum Belt diplomacy is a sophisticated system of codifying political relationships using an Indigenous set of symbols and traditional

medium. In reflecting on my experience with William, I realize indeed he was teaching me traditional Algonquin Anishinaabe symbolic literacy

Fig. 2: *Algonquin Wampum Belts*
Photo credit Nikolaus K. Gehl
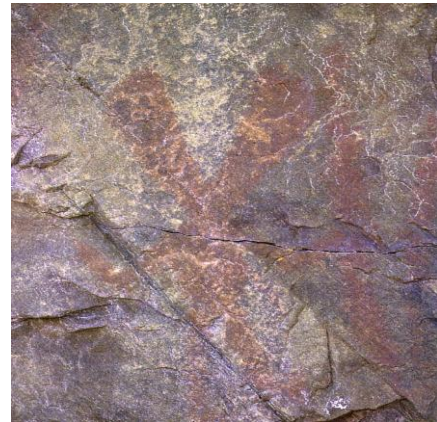
Fig. 3: *Wisakedjàk at Mazinaw Rock*
Photo credit Nikolaus K. Gehl

During my Bimadiziwin I also focused on the Anishinaabe Creation story and establishing a spiritual and thus deeper relationship with Algonquin traditional territory. While out on the land I visited sacred locations for Algonquin Anishinaabe: Mazinaw Rock at Bon Echo Provincial Park in Ontario; and Oiseau Rock on the northern shore of the Ottawa River in Quebec. With the Anishinaabe Creation story in hand and in mind, I was able to appreciate firsthand the intersection of the four sacred elements of Creation: Water, Rock, Wind, and Fire discussed in the Creation story as well as appreciate ancient pictographs. (See figure three above.)   In taking the responsibility of knowing my ancestral traditions through the Bimadiziwin option as I have, I am now more firmly grounded, both ontologically and epistemologically, in my Algonquin Anishinaabe worldview.

Conclusion

Indian day, boarding, and residential schools such as the ones that my kokomis and Charlie Wenjack attended, where they were faced with a particular form of oppression known as cognitive imperialism and as such an education style that merely prepared them for inequality, are no longer in operation. Although here in Canada the provinces continue to control curriculum within the public school system where many Indigenous people attend school, changes in Indigenous education have occurred. Today, First Nations bands do have administrative control of their schools.

The events of the 1960s represented a turning point in that student protests and demands initiated the development of several Indigenous Studies post secondary programs in Canada. In this paper I have suggested that Trent University's Indigenous Studies program is at the forefront in terms of establishing and operating under a set of disciplinary principles that are unique to Indigenous Studies, as well as in terms of practicing Indigenous epistemologies.

Through Trent University's Indigenous Studies program, my ontology is now more firmly rooted in an Algonquin Anishinaabe worldview. I am able to read and understand the Algonquin Anishinaabe Wampum Belts and appreciate the pictographs, such as Wisakedjàk, that are inscribed at sacred locations, and thus demonstrate some proficiency with traditional Indigenous symbolic literacy. It is in this way that, through Trent University's Indigenous Studies program, my cognitive processing style has indeed been indigenized.

In presenting my kokomis' and my story, I have argued that Trent University's Indigenous Studies program answers Battiste, Hampton, Cook-Lynn, and Kidwell's call for new epistemologies that serve to counter the cognitive imperialism that processes of colonization unleashed against Indigenous people and their shared cognitive realities. In responding to the question, "Is Indigenous knowledge postcolonial?" and although Indigenous knowledge predated European arrival, I have demonstrated through my experience with Indigenous Studies at Trent University that I have indeed established what some might call a deepened postcolonial mindset. This is my story.

Appendix A

Kinoomaagewin/Education

Spiderwoman Theatre's Muriel Miguel, Lisa Mayo, and Gloria Miguel presented 'Persistence of Memory' to officially open Nozhem – First PeoplesPerformance Space at Trent University.

'Enweying' hosts First Peoples House of Learning on Trent University campus.

University opens doors to Native lodgings

By Lynn Gehl

PETERBOROUGH – Autumn marks the start of a new academic year. It is a time of beginnings and great promise.

October marked the grand opening of Trent University's newest building, Enweying (The Way We Speak Together). The building hosts The First Peoples House of Learning (FPHL) and Peter Gzowski College. This new yellow (or officially ochre #33) six-storey building sits on the east side of the Otonabee River – the place of new beginnings for First Nations Peoples. It consists of both academic and residential space, four academic departments, including Native Studies, Mathematics, Economics and Business Administration, the Dean of Graduate Studies, and the Associate Vice-President of Research.

The new college was named after radio broadcaster and journalist Peter Gzowski who served as Trent's eighth Chancellor. The name of the building honours his legacy as well as promotes dialogue, a fundamental aspect of university life.

The First Peoples House of Learning components include First Peoples Gathering Space, an atrium/gallery space, an outdoor ceremonial space and the First Peoples Performance Space. An early decision by the Native Studies Department to distribute them throughout the building rather than group them all in one location was designed to facilitate cross-cultural dialogue.

The top of the six-storey building contains the 250-bed Gzowski student residence. The first floor consists of academic teaching space – lecture halls, seminar and workshop rooms.

The building, designed by Dunlop Architects of Toronto and Two Row Architects of Six Nations, is fully clad in the four colours of a medicine wheel – yellow, red, black and white – which represent the dawn of a new day, celebration, growth, and wisdom, respectively.

An excerpt for the FPHL vision statement reads: The First Peoples House of Learning is a celebration of Aboriginal learning and knowledge. It acts as a beacon of hope and opportunity, drawing peoples together in a spirit of optimism and a sense of innovation and creativity, inviting people of all nations to put their minds and spirits together to see what future can be made for the First Peoples of this land and for all members of creation.

The First Peoples Performance Space, also known as Nozhem – female bear – was officially opened on Wednesday, October 13, with a special performance of Spiderwoman Theatre's "Persistence of Memory" featuring Muriel Miguel, Gloria Miguel and Lisa Mayo with stage manager Deborah Ratelle. This production continued through Saturday, October 16.

Under the guidance of Professor Marrie Mumford, Canada Research Chair of Aboriginal Arts and Literature, many more Indigenous performance initiatives are planned for Nozhem. The space is also a dream of Professor of Native Studies Edna Manitowabi who sees theatre and performance as helping to heal our spirit and helps us to understand each other.

Performances in Nozhem continue with Nishinaabe-Kweg Ngamowinan Indigenous Women's Songs November 19-21. It will feature Asani, Spirit Wind, the Otonabee Women's Hand Drum, Waseskun and others.

For information on this and upcoming performances and ticket information please call 705 748-1011 ext 7921.

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Lynn Gehl, Turtle Clan, is a non-status member of the Algonquin Nation, and a Trent University graduate student.

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Acknowledgements

Matauranga Maori Literacies: Indigenous Literacy as Epistemological Freedom v. Eurocentric Imperialism.

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Abstract

This paper discusses ideas of functional, cultural and critical literacy as inherent within indigenous/Maori ideas of literacy as being multifaceted and (w)holistic. The paper challenges prevailing ideas that functional literacy has long term benefits for Maori and argues that the current narrow focus of literacy pervading New Zealand education, and in particular tertiary/post secondary education is antithetic to the desires of Maori to live as Maori. The views and approach by one indigenous New Zealand institution, a Wananga, to respond to dominant agendas whilst advancing Maori desires and aspirations is highlighted.

Introduction

Literacy in its long held denotative sense and referred to here as reading, writing, listening and speaking is being promoted as a key skill for all peoples to have to participate in society in the future. However, these definitions of what literacy is are subjective and yet are applied to indigenous groups, including Maori[1] as a panacea for Maori levels of social discomfort. The monocultural views that literacy refers to reading, writing, listening and speaking – what is commonly termed functional literacy is being applied to Maori as supporting the common good. What this ignores is the cultural capital and intellectual sovereignty sought by Maori and indigenous peoples and our own informed intellectual and spiritual capital as regards our views of what counts as literacy and what literacy counts, and who says so. In this agenda Maori voice is largely marginalised to support dominant group agendas of economic slavery of the indigenous population of Aotearoa/[2]New Zealand.

This paper examines a Maori view of literacy as relevant to the adult education environment and within a wananga[3] context. It highlights the current literacy focus as an agenda that is narrow in focus advancing economic outcomes in isolation from other important factors of importance to Maori and that the agenda promotes 'economic slavery' aimed at ensuring the units of production – low class workers, overly represented by Maori, as the units to be upskilled with the sole purpose to increase our productivity for capitalist agendas. It continues and contributes to a growing critical literature by indigenous and Maori authors and groups that see a shift away from 'orthodox' (Rawiri, 2008:1) and Eurocentric views of what

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[1] Maori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand.
[2] Aotearoa is the Maori name commonly given to New Zealand recognising Maori discovery of this land.
[3] Wananga are tertiary/post secondary educational institutions that are characterised by being Maori led, have their philosophical base in Maori knowledge and predominantly serve Maori students educational needs.

is and is not appropriate for us (Romero-Little, 2006). Shore (2003:20-21) makes exposes and makes transparent these agendas explaining;

> *I want to put notions of difference and diversity on the agenda because they are fraught with complexity and also because they are inescapably associated with literacy teaching...I want to ask how common framings of literacy as social practice 'forget' that dominant discourse in adult literacy education is deeply structured and framed by White Western understandings of textual and social practice.*

Indigenous institutions of higher learning

Whare Wananga represent the oldest social and educational institution in Aotearoa/New Zealand predating western educational institutions in this country. Wananga traditionally had primary responsibility for the development of skills, knowledge and the transmission thereof for the benefit of society. Whare wananga are generally recognised as dealing with two distinct knowledge types, higher level exoteric known as te kauae runga and lower more common forms known as te kauae raro. The higher whare wananga that were responsible for esoteric knowledge were underpinned by a group of secular fora and institutions within their own right know as 'whare.' These knowledge institutions permeated Maori society and included whare kura, whare kau po, whare maire, whare pora, whare takiura, whare puni, whare tatai, whare mata, whare takaha, whare korero, whare kohanga, whare kahu, whare porukuruku, whare tapere and whare tupapaku. These whare required specialised knowledge and contextual literacy skills to be successful in and were developed over time. Given this history as the oldest institution of literacy provision in Aotearoa/New Zealand it is fitting therefore that wananga and others interested in Maori sovereignty begin to explore, articulate and take positions in the provision of literacy within appropriate contexts of knowing.

Functional Literacy[4]: A smallpox blanket?

In July 2008, the New Zealand Government launched a Skills Strategy to address the future needs of the New Zealand workforce. The rationale for the strategy was to ensure that the skills of the workforce would support the nation to remain competitive in a global environment[5]. Skills Strategy Implementation Plans and Action Plans were developed and published.

> *The Literacy, Language and Numeracy action plan outlines the response to this challenge and is focused on building, over five years, the demand for and supply of literacy, language and numeracy learning opportunities, as well as the capability of providers. The aim is to build a system that is responsive to changing demands in the*

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[44] An idea gaining more saliency with me at this point is the idea of 'colonial literacy.' This developing idea acknowledges that the literacy that predominantly occupies the mind is a colonial legacy of the predominance of reading and writing, most often in English and that is historically located with and in ideas of assimilation or extinction of indigenous groups.

[5] NZ Skills Strategy, 2008 NZ Government.

workplace and in the wider community. ...Capability building will focus on ensuring that provision of literacy and numeracy in all contexts is high quality and results in transferable skills for learners. This includes a focus on increasing the qualifications of educators and their access to sustained professional development, developing teaching and learning resources and tools, and providing advice to employers, educators and providers.[6]

The Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) Investment Guidance 2008-2010 (which guides funding decisions for individual institutions) includes key shifts relating to increasing literacy, numeracy and language in the workforce. Key performance indicators for the key shifts are:

a. Increased participation of people with the foundation learning needs in quality training focused on lifting literacy language and numeracy skills.

b. Participation by tutors and providers in professional development programmes supporting effective teaching practice for lifting literacy, language and numeracy skills.

Through the Literacy and Numeracy Action Plan (2008-2012), a TEC work stream under the Skills Strategy, specific funding is available to wananga to make the organisational changes required to introduce progressively more literacy and numeracy into their provision.

The (TEC) has defined literacy as the written or oral language people use in their everyday lives and work; it includes reading, writing, speaking and listening. The TEC considers skills in this area are essential for good communication, critical thinking and problem solving in the workforce. It includes building the skills to communicate (at work) for speakers of other languages. Numeracy is the bridge between mathematics and real life. It includes the knowledge and skills needed to apply mathematics to everyday family and financial matters, work and community tasks.

It is clear that the thrust of focus is on functional literacy. Function literacy aims to increase fuller participation in a literate society or a society attempting to become more literate by the individuals within the society. Functional literacy agendas are achieved by the development of programmes of education aimed at meeting the reading and writing needs of the society concerned (George, Isaacs, Pihama and Yates, 2009). Someone is considered to be functionally literate when they are able to reads and write to a level that allows them to complete the requirements of daily life particularly in job settings, successfully (Harman and Hunter, cited in Lankshear with Lawlor, 1987). Similar to current aims of Aotearoa/New Zealand prescribed agendas Rassool (1999) describes functional literacy as literacy related to work related tasks, employability and the requirements of an economy and is reduced to skills

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[6] NZ Skills Strategy Implementation Plan 2008-2009, 2008.

with particular outcomes and measurements supported by testing techniques to match the changes in functional literacy levels with the performance of any given society.

Papen (2005) explains that functional literacy focuses on the deficits a person has and assumes that these deficits are the base of the problem. Programmes are constructed to help people to develop these skills to participate in the economy as labour units in the workplace. George, Isaacs, Pihama and Yates (2009) identify that this had some success but also has had some less than powerful results.

Government agendas and Indigenous aspirations

While Maori would not deny the relative importance of employment agendas and material well being in mediating the socio-economic inequalities that see Maori employment, health and income rates significantly below those of non-Maori New Zealanders (Rawiri, 2008) the idea that Maori might continue to disproportionately occupy the under skilled and under educated majority is equally untenable. The current agenda within New Zealand of using tertiary education programmes to embed literacy to increase the literacy skills levels as it relates to Maori, while not overtly saying so, to ensure that New Zealand has a more educated and skilled workforce in the future exemplifies a banal focus on utilising Maori as productive labour units to support future needs of government in achieving capitalist agendas of economic stability and growth. In this agenda the space and place of Maori culture and Maori sovereignty is not considered by decision makers as equally important.[7] When used in this way literacy becomes assimilationist in nature, something indigenous authors (Hohepa, 2001) that must be carefully avoided.

The desire by Maori to live as Maori is challenged by this limiting focus. In particular the covert idea that Maori will be necessary to form the lower class of the labour force in future and that literacy will support higher rates of Maori productivity has undertones of racism. These ideas are being promoted as good for Maori and as contributing to Maori employability into the future. This has some element of truth as capitalism is underpinned by competitive advantage and the individual over the collective cognisant with Eurocentric worldviews and yet antithetic to the ideas and values inherent within Te ao Maori, Maori worldviews and matauranga Maori.

Indigenous Literacy: Reconnecting the sacred?

Multiple Literacies[8]

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[7] Cornel West (1993:xvi) vividly reminds us how our human beingness is compromised by banal focuses on economic imperialism when he writes,

> *The expansion of corporate power is driven by this pervasive commercialisation and commodification for two basic reasons. First, market activities of buying and selling. Advertising and promoting weaken non-market activities of caring and sharing, nurturing and connecting. Short term stimulation and instant titillation edge out quality relations and substantive community....and no democracy can survive that focuses solely on the economic dimension.*

[8] See also; Wood, J. (2004). *Defining Literacies.*

Te Ao Maori and its body of knowledge, Matauranga Maori, has always recognised multiple literacies. In these contexts it is apparent that in the field of 'indigenous literacies' (Rawiri, 2008) a body of knowledge that could be termed matauranga Maori literacy is possible to re-exist. As Rawiri (2008:16) notes;

> *While literacy has always been valued by indigenous peoples as a means of achieving economic prosperity, within indigenous and First Nations understandings literacy functions in a more fundamental and critical way. Literacy is the means with which to express, understand, provide for, and make sense of, one's self and the 'whole' richness of one's self in its widest cultural, spiritual, intellectual and physical sense (Penetito, in Irwin et al, 2001). There are many rich ancestral 'literacy' practices which function in this way. Describing these as 'indigenous literacies' validates these as literacy skills and approaches as being just as important, and just as relevant as orthodox Western understandings and economic approaches to adult literacy learning...Separating indigenous and First Nations peoples from their ancestral literacies has had serious adverse social and adverse environmental consequences on a world-wide scale.*

Literacies include the ability to communicate and understand the environment including nature, weather patterns, star paths, tides and seasons (Edwards, 2009) as well as the ability to communicate and relate to human entities, most commonly done through whaikorero, karanga, pao, waiata, whakatauki and general korero. Other literacy forms included 'art' such as whakairo, raranga, taniko, kowhaiwhai just to name a few. These literacies primarily were about communication, living and balance that supported mutual causality (Meyer, 2009). All of these literacies were present and intact within Te Ao Maori prior to the arrival of Pakeha as part of a replete system for the maintenance, enhancement and advancement of this encyclopaedic knowledge existed. The arrival of non-Maori to these lands had devastating effects on those knowledge systems. The development of non-Maori social systems and structures meant that Maori systems were replaced and set aside. Much of this occurred by force of will and force of arms. Maori at these times were highly literate with those skills that provided healthy and fulfilling lives contributing to high levels of well being and the realisation of potentials. An illustrative example of this difference in literate ability in relation to wananga is that when non-Maori arrived to these shores they were unable to read or comprehend the encrypted messages contained within our various language forms such as whakairo, raranga, taniko to name a few and so they grouped them and called them 'art.' These literacy forms were relegated to categories of 'inferior' and 'quaint' and were gradually subjugated.

The idea of multiple literacies is gaining new ground and recognition in the field of literacy, particularly in the field now knows as New Literacy Studies and what might just as easily be termed in a Maori context (K)new Literacy Studies given that our literacy ideas are an inherited legacy from tipuna – ancestors. The New Literacy Studies field has increasingly recognised that the acquisition of skills as per the dominant approaches are increasingly being

replaced as social practice requiring the acknowledgment of multiple literacies as having greatest value.

In this recognition the place of power relations becomes evident and as Street (2003) explains 'asking whose literacies are dominant and whose are marginalised' and I would add and for whose and what purposes.

Streets work is important as it proposes an alternate ideological model of literacy that acknowledges the place of culture as part of practice and content and the relationship to context advancing Bourdieus' idea of 'habitus' – cultural context as essential. Street further notes that in this context even the term 'literacy' becomes inadequate as a descriptor of the activity.

Pillars of cultural, critical and functional literacies is a view of literacy as having multiple parts of a wholistic indigenous reality and worldview that are inextricably linked to survival, revival and advancement at we seek to maintain, enhance and advance consciousness and action – it reflects our desire to live as Maori.

Views from the literature

Literacy is the means with which to express, understand, provide for, and make sense of, one's self and the 'whole' richness of one's self in its widest cultural, spiritual, intellectual and physical sense. There are many rich, ancestral 'literacy' practices which function in this way. Describing these as 'indigenous literacies', validates these literacy skills and approaches as being just as important, and just as relevant as conventional western understandings (Rawiri, 2005).

Cultural literacy

Within a wananga context cultural literacy is the bedrock upon which our education is built. We continue to use maramatanga Maori (Maori wisdom) in the application of our legislative requirement of Tikanga and Ahuatanga Maori in our programmes that have at their very core high levels of cultural literacy. In this way we are able in some small part, toaddress the ethnocide agendas that have permeated New Zealand society and provide distinctive approaches to teaching and learning in the New Zealand context that recognise and values tangata whenua and our 1000 years of residence and survival success in these lands and from where for centuries our literacy ideas have been developed (Romero-Little 2006).

Indigenous learners learn in distinctive ways. Universalised literacy agendas do not support indigenous learning methodologies. What has been termed in other lands as 'Native Literacy' is a developing field and acknowledges wholism[9] and advances and expresses knowledges in

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[9] Wholistic is an indigenous philosophical position that acknowledges that all things and all elements are inter-related.

contemporary terms and has evolved to directly include native cultural components and language retention.

Cultural literacy in the context of wananga refers to the transmission of culture to support indigenous identity through culture. A recent study conducted by another wananga identifies that the transmission in uniquely Maori ways and contexts as part of ancestor legacies and 'ancestor literacies' (Rawiri, 2008) is a powerful catalyst to success advancing the idea that cultural literacy, that is teaching through culture also involves appropriate context and spiritual presence for effectiveness (Ministry of Education, 2009). These ideas are epitomised in the view that it is far better for indigenous people not to be taught about their culture but rather to be taught through and in their culture (Hohepa, 2001). West (1993:99) reminds us that;

> *Any progressive discussion about the future of racial equality must speak to black poverty and black identity.*

Current Aotearoa/New Zealand literacy agendas speak to Maori poverty, but disguised within ideas of maintaining social classes that disproportionately position Maori in the bottom end and remain silent on the place of Maori identity advanced through cultural and critical literacy (Wood, 2004).

A current tension that highlights covert racism is that in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context government literacy agendas for embedding are only valid in the English language and not in the indigenous language. This is quite obviously an oppressive agenda that contributes to the maintenance of the dominance of the English language over the Maori language – te reo Maori, and further highlights an abuse of power. This is further manifest when we realise that Maori experiences of English literacy are primarily schooling experiences and that those experiences have caused ethno-stress and trauma for many. The marginalisataion of te reo Maori as valid from current literacy agendas mimics the assimilation policies of the 1900's and holds very little positive meaning for Maori in its orthodox form (Rawiri, 2008:53). Further, the bias towards English language gives dominant literacy discourses a perceived, but incorrect distinction of superiority, both racial and ideological (George, Isaacs, Pihama and Yates, 2009).

In indigenous terms literacy begins with orality and timeless indigenous values. Historically indigenous learning was measured against literacy that involved and advanced 'colonized thinking.' No exploration of what Tangata Whenua Literacy (TWL) might offer and look like has yet been fully explored in the Maori Aotearoa context. This work is essential. As an example, the peoples of Canada have a view on 'Aboriginal Literacy' that they describe as 'distinctive perspective on literacy and includes culture and language in the context of Native education as a whole.' It is further described as the beginning of the life long process of affirming the worldview and thus empowering the spirit of Aboriginal peoples. TWL might include language proficiency in both Maori and English, reading the geography of land, the

messages in Maori symbol, to read body language, to read tohu or signs (Smith, 1998; Balanoff and Chambers, 2005; Sharples, 2007; Rawiri, 2008, Edwards 2009).

Adult literacy programmes must build on wider and broader cultural values (Balanoff and Chambers, 2005). Elders are a foremost source of indigenous literacy in the wider sense that we conceptualise literacy. Being literate in indigenous terms is about ways of living and being in totality. It is a part of everyday life. Literacy in indigenous contexts must focus on empowerment and profound contributions to indigenous Maori identity. The idea of 'text' needs to be conceived in indigenous terms. For example, elders and information from elders would be considered text. Indigenous languages are essential to forming a 'fully literate' indigenous person. Literacy evaluation must have indigenous epistemologies present. The current literacy drives from round the world are largely western, white and male.[10]

Rithmatic, reading and riting are equally as important as respect, relationship and reciprocity. Literacies are ideological and so what counts as literacy and what literacy counts is also an issue of power and control representing interests. Literacy agendas are indicative of the dynamics of power. In the context of where we are working, Te Wananga o Aotearoa, we view literacy in a (w)holistic way recognising multiple equally important elements as part of a strategy to increase literacies over time as part of the current educational vision

> Kia whai mauri ora i nga mahi katoa – *That all activities of Te Wananga o Aotearoa actively support learning journey's that seek to maintain, enhance and advance Mauri ora - conscious well being.*

The idea of conscious well being is a common theme emanating in indigenous contexts worldwide. Antone and Cordoba (2005:10) strikingly remind us that;

> *Aboriginal languages, culture and tradition need to be forefront in literacy learning for Aboriginal people.*

Critical Literacy

The Maori relationship with non-Maori is fairly young, being less than 250 years old. It is a history of oppression and ethnocide but also one of resilience, survival and revival. The major interface between Maori and non-Maori remains the New Zealand government. The New Zealand government delegates its responsibility to its various ministries and groups within those ministries.

Given that Maori occupy marginalised and minority positions in Aotearoa a Wananga literacy agenda must be aimed at fracturing and giving greater balance to the unequal power relations. In this regard literacy for Te Wananga o Aotearoa must provide skills and abilities to

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[10] Reference, Wood, J. (2004). *Defining Literacies*.

challenge taken for granted assumptions that support consciousness raising about the unequal power relations, their existence, creation and possible fracture to support Maori agendas of survival and self determination.

Literacy is always negotiated by its purpose and is always political because literacy by its definition and focus includes some and excludes others while purporting to be available to and for universal good and being power neutral (Wood, 2004).

Shor (2009) succinctly explains why for the disenfranchised and for the marginalised any literacy agenda must in clued critical literacy when he states;

> *Critical literacy thus challenges the status quo in an effort to discover alternative paths for self and social development. This kind of literacy – words rethinking worlds, self dissenting in society – connects the political and the personal, the public and the private, the global and the local, the economic and the pedagogical for rethinking our lives and for promoting justice in place of inequity.*

In this way literacy from a Matauranga Maori perspective and as subjugated knowledge offers opportunities to create a (k)new society that critiques the power currently in power and advances subjugated knowledge in the face of colonial canons of imperialism present today. This view accepts the idea that for liberation and freedom to be a reality Maori must be actively engaged in critical thinking from a Matauranga Maori frame and position using appropriate 'gaze,' frame and lens with which to filter and discern thought and action. Acknowledging that critical thinking from this perspective is essential also acknowledges that to do so requires critical literacy in the first place for the development of a critical consciousness from which transformation and change becomes possible.

In relation to functional literacy critical literacy asks that the elements of any functional literacy agenda are accountable to ensuring those engaged are aware of how society constructs and maintains inequity and then also seek to change it. A functional and embedded literacy that does not do this is complicit in the oppression of, in this case, Maori and Maori knowledge paradigms. When functional and critical literacy are in synergetic form the agenda becomes one of literacy for self determination and equity med at meeting the reading and writing needs of the society concerned (George, Isaacs, Pihama and Yates, 2009). In this way Matauranga Maori literacy is culturally and contextually grounded, is responsive to change and so can easily accommodate functional literacy, more readily so in te reo Maori

and due to its dynamic nature is able to respond to inequities of power.Writing on critical literacy Lankshear and McLaren (1993: xviii) state;

> *In short, literacies are ideological. They reflect the differential structured power available to human agents through which to secure the promotion and serving of other interests, including the power to shape literacy in ways consistent with those interests. Consequently the conceptions people have of what literacy involves of what counts as*

being literate, what they see as 'real' or 'appropriate' uses of reading and writing skills and the way people actually read and write in the course of their daily lives – these all reflect and promote values, beliefs, assumptions and practices which shape the way life is lived within a given social milieu and in turn, influence which interests are promoted or undermined as a result of how life is lived there. Thus literacies are indices of the dynamics of power.

When cultural, critical and functional literacy are (w)holistically synchronic then we are able to begin to envision ethno-transformation and change. The ideas above are summarised in the table below;

Reconciling Indigenous and Eurocentric Literacies

Given the points made above the need to ethnovision literacy becomes vitally important for indigenous groups. Nakata (2000) encourages such groups to develop relevant theoretical frameworks for literacy to discern and to filter and arrive at new spaces. This idea acknowledges that indigenous peoples need not depend on established systems and thought alone and in this way the creation of theoretical frameworks in these contexts becomes 'counter-scholarship' and is 'counter hegemonic aimed at reclaiming indigenous health, wellbeing and possibility. The elements of Te Wananga o Aotearoa's contribution to literacy is multipurpose supporting indigenous ideas of (w)holism and multiple literacies essential to living as Maori and is summarised as;

Aotearoa
Identity

Cultural, Social, Economic,
Intellectual transformation

Functional, Critical,
Cultural Literacies

Mauri Ora
Consciousness

Functional, Critical,
Cultural Literacies

Cultural, Social, Economic,
Intellectual transformation

Aotearoa
Identity
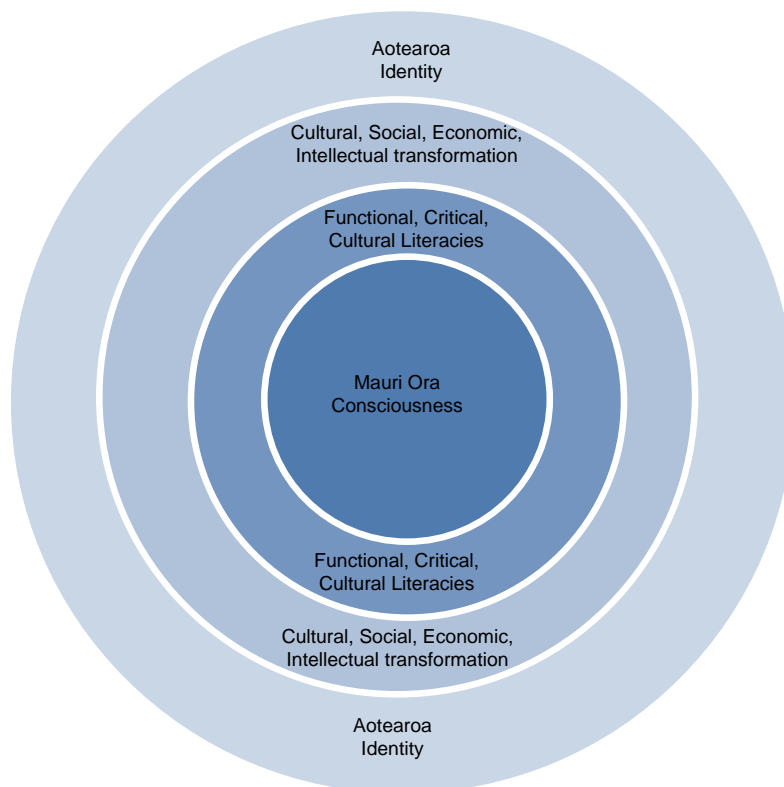
The inner circle represents human consciousness and the human spirit that is the essence of our mauri ora, or conscious wellbeing. This is a Maori idea that our spirit is nurtured and must be in a good space for our fullest potentials to be realised. We are responsible for caring for and having due regard for our mauri for its powerfulness to continue to emanate.

The second circle identifies three pillars of literacy focus at Te Wananga o Aotearoa as part of our view of multiple literacies and (w)holism. These are cultural literacy, critical literacy and functional literacy.

The third circle is where literacy contributions are made, within domains of cultural, social, economic and intellectual, for the express purpose of advancing positive transformation to support mauri. In many cases they provide the stimulus for learning.

The fourth circle, Aotearoa Identity, ensures we consider our contribution as tangata whenua of this land and that we uphold our obligations and responsibilities as kaitiaki for Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Conclusion

As with nearly all, if not all the initiatives that have advanced Maori aspirations and transformation it is likely that for literacy to be of value to Maori literacy that supports us will have to;

- Be developed outside of (limiting) dominant thinking and ideas.
- Be informed by Matauranga Maori.
- Require diverse solutions for diverse realities.
- Require Maori and Maori allies to 'do extra' to 'sanitise' infected policy ideas.

It is clear from the evidence and literature reviewed here that Government ideologies worldwide do not consider indigenous peoples or our ideas as regards key and important areas of work that impact significantly on indigenous identity and well being. Indigenous people will need to powerfully continue to remind our colonisers that Eurocentric thought is not the benchmark against which all knowledge and good ideas should be measured. At the same time we will need to provide counter narratives as to what literacies count, what counts as literacy and be the ones to say so.

Indigenous literacies are wholistic and occur in relationship with each other. These relationships and indigenous worldviews are able to allow for the introduction and inclusion of more recent literacies such as reading and writing but these must be tested against indigenous paradigms and world views for appropriateness. This includes analysing purpose, function and process that ensures and advances indigenous authority and control over indigenous lives.

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Justifying the Choice of Academic Language through the Theory of Science

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A simple matter?

Language plays a central role in a researcher's dialogue with colleagues and with the public. This paper deals with the situation for researchers whose mother tongue is an indigenous or minority language, who do their research in areas or countries where the majority language isn't one of the world's larger languages. Even in countries where English is not the native language, there seems to be an increasing opinion that English is the most suitable and acceptable language for academic purposes. In addition, it is often argued that it is not acceptable to write in a lesser used language, e.g., in the Sámi language, if you want to make an academic career. Politically, it is decided at a high level that the use of lesser used languages, such as Sámi, should be strengthened. In practice, though, it is a challenge to achieve the goal of using Sámi e.g. academically as long as higher education and research evaluation systems emphasize publishing in English through international publishing channels.

Through my own research, I have reflected on the language issue and how to make room for indigenous or lesser used languages in the academic setting. I have been advised that I should choose English as the language of my research, and that the choice of language is not an academic issue, but rather a question that belongs to the political arena. This paper is an attempt to examine whether it is possible to justify the choice of academic language (in my case, Sámi language) on the basis of the rules of academia itself; that is, on basis of the ethos of science.

On the academic language situation

When discussing this language issue, it seems relevant to take a brief look at both the past and present language traditions of science and the use of Sámi in academic contexts.

Language conventions in European academia

For a long time, Latin had a special position, especially in the academic circles of Europe, or the West, and was widely used as the language of communication – both in writing and speech. Latin kept this strong position until the mid-1700s. Then the situation changed, and from the 1750s onward, the national languages of the European countries were more commonly used in public and academic contexts. From the 1850s, the use of Latin decreased, and the major national languages of Europe (German, French and English) were commonly used in academia. In this period, German strengthened its position as an academic language.

After World War II, German lost ground as an academic language. National languages were commonly used in academic contexts, and English began to develop into the international means of communication in academia.

At present, the position of English as an international academic language still seems to be growing stronger, and studies show that this has an impact on the use of national languages for academic purposes. A study done in Norway shows that, in 2001, eighty-one percent of the doctoral theses were written in English (Ljosland 2003: 19), and Norwegian research circles have begun to see this trend as a challenge.

Sámi in academia

The Sámi area (referred to as Sápmi) covers parts of four different nation states, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Sámi belongs to the Finno-Ugrian language family. There are ten different Sámi languages: South Sámi, Ume Sámi, Pite Sámi, Lule Sámi, North Sámi, Inari Sámi, Skolt Sámi, Akkala Sámi, Kildin Sámi and Ter Sámi. North Sámi is the largest of these languages in number of speakers, and is spoken in the northern parts of Norway and in parts of northern Finland and Sweden, in most communities as a minority language. Today, the overall number of Sámi speakers is relatively low, and in many areas Sámi language is endangered or even extinct. This is a result of the assimilation politics that were led by different governments towards the Sámi people, in connection with missionary activities and for nation building purposes.

In Finno-Ugrian research, languages have been used in quite the same way as in European academic circles in general. In addition, Hungarian was used for academic purposes in the 1700s and 1800s and Finnish came into use as an academic language in the late 1800s. From then on, studies of Sámi language were mostly published in German, Finnish, Norwegian and English (Wickman 1988: 792–818). In the 1970s, discussions on the study of Sámi issues and the use of Sámi in research increased, and, since then, also the use of Sámi as the original language in academic publications at the highest level of scholarship has gradually increased. The arguments for using Sámi are similar to the ones that were expressed in the 1800s when national languages were evolving into academic languages.

In Norway, Sámi became an academic subject at the University of Oslo in the 1870s. After the founding of the University of Tromsø in 1974, Sámi became a subject there as well. From then on, Sámi as a subject lost some of its footing in the University of Oslo, where Sámi as a subject was discontinued in 1989.

Sámi is at present a subject in higher education and/or research in Norway at the University of Tromsø, the Sámi University College in Guovdageaidnu, Bodø University College and Nord-Trøndelag University College; in Finland at the University of Oulu, the University of Lapland in Rovaniemi and the University of Helsinki; and in Sweden at the University of Umeå and the University of Uppsala. Sámi language can also be studied at educational centres which

provide university-level courses in cooperation with some higher education institution. The amount of research done from the Sámi perspective varies greatly from institution to institution, and so does the extent to which Sámi is used as a language of instruction and communication. Sámi University College is the only independent institution of higher education and research which uses Sámi as the main language in all its operations (as a subject, as language of instruction, in research and in administration).

The number of Sámi speaking students is quite low, mainly due to the language policy that was led towards the Sámi, as mentioned above.

It is a challenge for the educational system to make subjects more academic in Sámi language. Just like Norwegian (and many other smaller national languages), Sámi has to compete with English as an academic language. As a minority language, Sámi is still in a very different situation from Norwegian, because Sámi is not the major language of any country. Thus, Sámi has to compete with the four national languages of the Sámi region (Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish and Russian) as well as with English in both academia and most other social areas of language use.

Reflections on the theory of science

Branches of the theory of science

Theory of science is a meta-science which aims at exploring how or under what conditions fields of science try to attain the goal of providing accurate, reliable and interesting data. Theory of science can be divided into three branches: *the history of science, the philosophy of science,* and *the sociology of science.* The history of science examines the historical progress of science in general or particular fields of science. The philosophy of science studies and explains the philosophical norms and conditions of research. The sociology of science, in turn, examines the position or the role of science in society and the relationship between society and science (Gilje & Grimen 1995: 11, 19–20, 254; Kjørup 1996: 23).

The philosophy of science emphasizes, for example, basic norms and conditions such as tenability or validity, and the repeatability of studies. This, again, entails that the study must be open and available for review. Scientific studies must also be objective, so that the views, beliefs, values and attitudes of the researchers themselves affect scientific results as little as possible. Objectivity entails many challenges in view of the fact that scientific understanding or its dissemination is always connected with time, the social situation and the conditions of society (Kjørup 1996: 26). As concerns objectivity, there are also specific challenges connected with the carrying out of a study by indigenous or minority researchers (see Section 3.2).

The sociology of science connects norms and values to the position of science in society and the relationship between science and society. Associate Professor Kalleberg defines validity

as the highest norm of science, explaining that this norm is implemented through compliance with research ethics or profound moral guidelines (imperatives). He refers to the American sociologist Robert Merton in explaining six basic moral imperatives, which are disinterestedness, critical attitude, originality, universalism, communism (common property or ownership) and humility (Kalleberg 2002: 156–180).

Kalleberg writes especially about *scientific humility*, arguing that this guideline should affect the relationship of science to the community of researchers, the community that is being studied, and the users of the research. Scientific humility means that researchers should be aware of the boundaries of professional knowledge and realize that they can learn from other people. Still, researchers should not use scientific humility to disparage themselves or their competence. Kalleberg contrasts scientific humility with what he refers to as "scientific arrogance", which he considers to be a result of ethnocentric misunderstandings; according to him, such arrogance can hinder compliance with the norm of tenability or validity in science.

Kalleberg further examines how humanistic research is carried out in communication with people and society. Researchers are expected to communicate with both the community in which they carry out their study and with other researchers in their field. Kalleberg refers to this communication as double dialogue, claiming that such a dialogue is both specific to and necessary in cultural and social fields of study (Kalleberg 2002: 156–180). Communication with other researchers in one's field entails peer review. Peer review enables all those who are involved in the branch to participate in checking, verifying and criticizing other researchers' scientific results and the reliability of these results. This takes place in professional discourse between equal colleagues. It is the obligation of a researcher to expose research results to such criticism.

The special challenges of indigenous researchers

The carrying out of a study is tied to the paradigms of the fields of science, characterized by the professional examples, values, concepts and ways of thinking in each particular field of science (Kjørup 1996: 113). Indigenous researchers – i.e. Aikio (1990), Deloria (1997) and Smith (1999) – have examined scientific paradigms critically and analyzed how implicit norms and values of paradigms affect indigenous researchers and studies conducted on indigenous issues. Their analyses are interesting, as they refer to challenges connected with how indigenous researchers can join the academic community.

Established scientific conventions contain methods that do not always succeed in embracing and acknowledging all the sources of information. For example, indigenous cultures abound in competence which has, so far, not been accorded the position it deserves. Therefore, indigenous researchers have analyzed the views and values that scientific conventions and research paradigms represent. Do the paradigms provide opportunities to study issues from the indigenous perspective without sacrificing the reliability of the study methods and the validity of the results?

According to Maori researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith, there has been a relationship of dependence between Western research paradigms and economic or imperialistic interests. She claims that "the nexus between cultural ways of knowing, scientific discoveries, economic impulses and imperial power enabled the West to make ideological claims to having a superior civilization" (Smith 1999: 64). This has had implications for the perspective of science in general. As a result, the condition of the majority automatically becomes "the centre", because the superiority of the West is seldom questioned. Smith writes about an approach of post-colonialism and decolonization. She emphasizes that this approach does not aim at rejecting Western science and its results. Instead, one of its objectives is to examine the relations between *minorities* and *majorities,* or *indigenous peoples* and *the West,* in the theory of science and in research. This approach also aims at analyzing the implicit values of research paradigms: What should (indigenous) research focus on, and from whose perspective and with what kinds of objectives should this research be conducted? Can the indigenous condition become "the centre" in the theory of science? (Smith 1999, p.39.) Sámi researcher Marjut Aikio (1990: 18) also refers to these issues. If we return to the concepts used by Kalleberg, we can assume that this issue rises from ethnocentrism[11] and ethnocentric misunderstandings of the European conventions of science.

The requirement of objectivity, or impartiality, is one of the most important scientific norms. Its purpose is to make sure that the personal views and interests of a researcher do not influence the results of the study. It is considered an advantage if the researcher manages to examine issues from an outside perspective or through a "stranger's" eyes. Indigenous researchers experience that the requirement of objectivity strikes them in a more severe way than researchers who belong to the dominant population.[12] It is often questioned whether indigenous researchers can objectively present the knowledge that has been created amongst their people or in their society. Their interest in carrying out genuine research in their own society may also be called into question, and they may be considered biased defenders of their own communities.

This can also apply to mainstream researchers who have become "too familiar" with indigenous communities. Norwegian Professor Kirsti Strøm Bull says: "I was […] told that I was not objective, as I had good contacts in the Sámi community. Friendship and real knowledge about the daily life of the Sámi made me a less reliable researcher. […] Sámi researchers have been called into question much more outspokenly […]. Many of them have been told that they are incapable of doing research on Sámi issues because they are Sámi

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[11] Kalleberg uses the term ethnocentrism referring to the tendency of a 'group of people' (*etnos*) to describe, explain and evaluate the culture of other groups as if their own culture were naturally located in the centre. The term 'etnos' is used quite broadly for any category of 'those born in the area' – whether they are Norwegians, Eastern Norwegians, people of this time, business leaders, Sámi, Muslims, bishops, senior citizens or social scientists. (Kalleberg 2002: 172.)

[12] "In methodological terms there is a major problem in bringing non-Western traditions within the scope of serious scientific perspective, and that there is inherent racism in academia and in scientific circles. Some of the racism is doctrinaire and unforgiving – for instance, the belief that, for a person and/or community possessing any knowledge that is not white/Western in origin, the data is unreliable. A corollary of this belief is that non-Western peoples tend to be excitable, are subjective and not objective, and consequently are unreliable observers" (Deloria 1997: 34))

themselves. A Norwegian researcher who studies his/her own society is not questioned in the same way" (Strøm Bull 2002: 89). It is characteristic that the ability of researchers representing the dominant population to objectively study issues concerning the majority society is not called into question in the same way. We can ask whether such an interpretation of objectivity rises from ethnocentric misunderstanding or the "scientific arrogance" of the academic heritage.

The use of language in academic contexts is another challenge. An indigenous language may be protected through legislation and political decisions. For example, Sámi is an official language in Norway according to law. It is decided on high political levels that Sámi should be used in research and higher education. Nevertheless, the priorities and conventions of strong and broad-based academic circles can, in practice, result in linguistic inequality. In this situation, the choice of academic language becomes a dilemma for indigenous researchers: Do they want to write in their native language, and are they allowed to do so, or must they write in a national language or English, and what are their reflections before making this choice?

Choosing the working language of academic research

Choice of language - A theory of science issue?

A study conducted in Norway shows that the norms of a scientific field are important in the choice of the language in which the research is carried out. It also shows that, in Norway, the norms often lead to the choice of English as the academic working language or the language of outreach, even though English is not the researchers' native language. The use of English seems to be expected to such an extent that researchers do not even think of questioning it; thus, the choice of academic language becomes automatic rather than an active choice (Ljosland 2003: 96-97, 105).

Is it possible, then, to justify the choice of academic language in terms of the theory of science? If so, what are the arguments? My analysis is based on the ways in which humanistic research preserves and passes down culture and is linked with society; I also examine the issue on the basis of Kalleberg's views, which are based on the sociology of science. Kalleberg has emphasized *scientific humility* presumably because this guideline is connected to all the other imperatives (Kalleberg 2002: 161).

In my opinion, the choice of academic language is a matter of scientific humility, and I connect this guideline first with scientific openness and double communication. Still, it does not seem to be enough to determine the most suitable academic language solely on the basis of these two factors. Therefore, I also examine how the choice of academic language is connected with the guideline of common property and with the way theories and scientific results should be to the benefit of all.

The choice of academic language - openness and communication

Research in the social and cultural fields is characterized by the need to conduct studies in communication and dialogue with people. This entails a form of communication that Kalleberg calls double dialogue – as the researcher needs to communicate with both the academic community and with the community where the research is carried out (Kalleberg 2002: 165). One objective of such double dialogue is that the research must be open to critical evaluation. As one of the standards of science, the academic community must be allowed to review the validity of the study (peer review). On the other hand, the researcher also receives critical commentary from the community in which the study is carried out, as the members of the community are, presumably, specialists on their own society and social conditions.

In my opinion, this could be referred to as *multiple communications*, because there may be several groups with which the researcher communicates both in the academic and the studied communities. In academia, there may be a local or regional level (for example, within a country) in addition to the global level. At the regional level of science, indigenous and minority researchers may form separate groups. For example, those who do research on the Sámi language form a "regional" group of researchers who work across national borders. The community in which the study is carried out also has several groups: the study field (e.g. the informants of the study), the public, and the users.

In this communication, the language of academic research and outreach is an important instrument. The following figure illustrates the suitability of the academic language for such dialogue. In the figure, there are four different groups with which the researcher communicates. The figure also includes three language categories: the international academic language (i.e. English), the national language (where this is not English), and the indigenous language. Using my own doctoral thesis[13] as an example, I examine how suitable the languages are in terms of the communication groups.

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[13] Working title: "Álaheaivuona mearrasámegiela suopmana guorahallan, mas deattuhuvvo fonemarádju, fonemadistribušuvdna ja fonologalaš variašuvdna" ("A Study of the Sea Sámi Dialect on the Alta Fjord with a Focus on Phonemes, their Distribution and Phonological Variation").

Figure 2: Suitability of academic language in terms of communication groups

Language	Field of study	The public	Regional academic community	Global academic community	Communication group
English			Suitable	Suitable	Most suitable
National language*	Suitable			Suitable	
Indigenous language**	Most suitable	Most suitable	Most suitable		

Suitability of language:

░ (Most suitable)	Most suitable
░ (Suitable)	Suitable
(Less suitable)	Less suitable

Note:

* Here, "national languages" may be Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish or Russian.

** Here, "indigenous language" means Sámi.

The first communication group: The field of study

Communication with the field starts with the planning of the research, and continues throughout the study and publishing of results. The way the researcher uses language is important throughout this process. The research situation requires confidence and trust between the researcher and the studied community.

Presumably, it is easier to build this trust when the researcher knows the language of the informants or the community that he/she is studying.

Language reflects the special knowledge a people possesses concerning their sources of livelihood and society in general. Thus, language is precise and suitable for providing information on issues concerning the community in question. Informants may not be able to explain these issues precisely in another language, if that language does not have a corresponding basis of knowledge and terminology with which information is received. This may affect how the material is interpreted and understood; it may also, eventually, affect the validity of the results.

Communication is important in making the results available for review provided by the informants in the field of study. For my research, the indigenous language (Sámi) was the most suitable one, because I do research on a dialect of Sámi language. Not all my informants or members of the studied community are used to written Sámi, and it is also possible to communicate with the field in the national language (here, Norwegian). English will not work as a means of communicating the results of the study to the informants and their community.

My informants are mainly elderly people, whose native language is Sámi, with Norwegian as their second language – or they grew up becoming simultaneously bilingual in Sámi and Norwegian. Most of them have not had English as a subject in school.

The second communication group: The public

The results also need to be available to the wider public. The primary specialist public that I expect to comment on the results of my dialect study is the Sámi community in general. Therefore, Sámi is the most suitable means of communication also with this group. The situation of this group is similar to that of the field of study, or informants' community: not everyone is used to reading the Sámi language, and, therefore, it would also be possible to use the national language (here, Norwegian) as an instrument of communication. By using Norwegian, I would also reach the members of the wider society who are interested in my research – but only in the Norwegian part of Sápmi. If I want to reach the members of the mainstream society who are interested in the subject in the other countries with a Sámi population, I would have to use the national languages of these countries (Swedish, Finnish or Russian) or English.

The third communication group: The regional academic community

The results of a dialect study are primarily used by other researchers who do research on the Sámi language (throughout Sápmi), and they can also be referred to as a regional academic community. They are the most immediate group of colleagues who will provide valid commentary on the study results. Students doing their BA or MA degrees in Sámi are also part of the regional academic community as users of these research results. In the case of this group, Sámi is the most suitable language to ensure communication and make the results available. This choice is also connected with the promotion of Sámi as an academic language.

As there are ten Sámi languages (see section 2.2), not all of them with official written standards, and not all of them being mutually intelligible, it may be necessary to publish research results in some language other than Sámi. In such a situation, English might be a suitable means of communication, as there are great differences between the national languages of the Sámi region.

The fourth communication group: The global academic community

Generally, peer review requires that the study results be available and understandable to the international academic community. For this purpose, national languages are mostly unsuitable (for example, Norwegian can be used in wider linguistic circles only or mostly in Scandinavia). In this context, English would be the most suitable academic language.

The choice of academic language and the benefits of science

The "communist" guideline means that the academic community owns and makes use of the results of research[14], and that theory and scientific results should be to the benefit of all.

Just as there are several levels of communication with colleagues and the public, there can also be several levels to "the benefit of all". This academic community is an interest group which is not necessarily closely connected with the studied environment. Usually, there are more immediate target groups which may have a need to get and make use of the research results. One such target group may be the community which has initiated the research or in which the need for the study has arisen and the study is carried out. The imperative of scientific humility entails that a researcher respects this immediate target group and their knowledge. In my opinion, this means, for example, that a community should not be used only as a source of information and material – as may happen when researchers who are members of the dominant population conduct studies on indigenous knowledge (Aikio 1990: 23). Researchers should be able to share their research results with the immediate target group, so that the results are accessible to this community and benefit its further development.

Scientific research benefits society in many ways. I will not analyze the benefits of concrete study results here. Instead, I will examine how scientific research can benefit society indirectly. E.g. the use of language for academic purposes can be beneficial to society in various ways. For example, it can contribute to the status and the domains of language, to the development of a professional language, and to language as a resource which maintains both culture and identity.

The impact of academic language – The domain issue

In sociolinguistic research, the American researcher Fishman has used the concept of "domain" to explain in what kind of social and formal contexts language is used. The term is used in research on minority languages in multilingual societies, and is relevant e.g. for the Sámi language. The domains at the level of society include family (or home), the work sphere, education, the Church and religious communities, entertainment, media, politics and contacts with authorities, etc. [15] (Fishman 1991: 44). In multilingual societies, a minority language is often used primarily in informal domains, whereas the majority language is used in formal domains (Hyltenstam – Stroud 1991: 47). Thus, the theory of domains can be applied to measure the status of language usage. According to Fishman, it is important for a language to be used in the formal domains: for example, in higher education and research; furthermore, a loss of footing in such domains means that the situation of the language is

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[14] "Here, 'communism' means the common ownership of scientific theories and data. Scientific research results are usually a result of social cooperation. There is no private title to the results. They belong to the whole community of researchers" (Gilje & Grimen 1993: 234).
[15] The contexts in which a language is used can also be examined in a stricter sense. We can analyze certain role relations within the domains, for example, parent – child, grandparent – grandchild (within the family domain), or employee – employee, supervisor – lower employee (within the domain of work) (Fishman 1991: 44).

deteriorating (Fishman 1991: 107). The domain concept is somewhat problematic, as the term itself and the different domains have not been defined comprehensively (Ljosland 2003: 27–29, 108–109). Nevertheless, I use the term domain here to refer to the settings in which language is used in society, and my focus is on the language domain of education and research.

As mentioned earlier, English is being used increasingly in the academic domain. Of course, there are practical reasons for this, as the results can be published widely, and the researcher reaches a wide audience by using English. Even so, this may lead to a gradual weakening of the status of other (national or lesser used) languages in the academic domain, which may have an impact on the general social status of these languages.

A language is not a force that itself actively supports or suppresses another language. It is the active use of a language in the different domains that determines both the position and the status of the language and how this status changes. The maintenance of the domain of an academic language is closely connected with the linguistic choices of the managers of the domain (here: researchers). On the grounds that academic use of a language affects the status of this language in society in general, we see that the use of a language for academic purposes benefits society – in addition to the basic results of the conducted research. This is important for the status of e.g. Sámi language, as Sámi is both a minority language and in many areas an endangered language. Therefore, it is vital to promote the academic use of Sámi and thus provide Sámi society with additional linguistic benefits or "profit" which can be used to raise the status of Sámi in society.

The influence of the academic language on development of a professional language

Knowledge and distribution of knowledge are connected with language. For distribution of knowledge, we need a professional language at a high academic level, at lower professional levels and in contacts with the public. The development of an accurate and practicable professional language is part of the process of building basic academic conditions, and this takes place e.g. in research and the publishing of research results. After such development, the professional language can be passed down to the lower levels of the educational system e.g. through teaching.

Every language is especially precise in certain fields. Such linguistic variety is connected, for instance, with social conditions and the level of specialization in the sphere of livelihoods. As an example, Sámi has an extremely precise vocabulary concerning reindeer herding and other primary trades or livelihoods. The inclusion of this terminology in research and higher education benefits both the maintenance and the development of terms and knowledge. Language is created through use. When new social or professional fields (e.g., academic branches) are created, we need to develop a professional language for these fields as well, both linguistically and in terms of the field itself. This can be solved, for example, by constructing new concepts, giving old terms new meanings, or by introducing loan words or

adapted concepts. If we want new professional language to become established in a certain language, this process needs to be linked with the active use of the language. This is why a language cannot be just a subject of research: it also needs to be used as a means of research and expression.

In terms of linguistics, one language cannot be considered more academic than another. The actual use of a language in the academic domain determines whether the development of the professional language reaches a sufficiently high level so that the language is practicable in the academic setting. If a language is neglected in academic contexts, the professional language will lag behind. The choice of the academic language and the development of professional language are interconnected, and the development of professional language clearly benefits from the use of the language in academia.

Language as a resource which strengthens culture and identity

Sámi researchers have discussed the connection between language and identity. For example in a study by the Nordic Sámi Institute[16], language was seen as the most important explanatory factor for Sámi identity. In this study it was stated that "From the cultural perspective, we find a few cultural characteristics that are also called the characteristics of identity. They contain the sources of livelihood, such as fishing and hunting, semi- or non-nomadic reindeer herding and agriculture. Other characteristics can be found in the culture of the spiritual history, such as shamanism and rituals connected with the bear. Furthermore, we find such characteristics in art, that is, in images, useful objects, crafts, the traditional clothing, music, yoiking and in language, which is probably the most important characteristic" (Ruong 1987: 19; translation from Sámi).

The relationship between language and identity is a challenging issue. The human identity is based on a person's ability to understand and manage both his/her personality and the environment. This fundamental competence is acquired during one's lifetime as one communicates with other people. Language is a person's most important means of communication and the instrument through which he/she builds up his/her basic understanding and perception. Aikio has written about the importance of one's native language (1990: 24). She refers to the mother tongue a person's special linguistic and cultural capital, linking language with the very existence of a person. She also states that the maintenance of the language is vital for the continuity and passing down of culture. Thus, presumably, a person's mother tongue is the best means for dealing with things that are connected with learning and the construction of an identity. What, then, is the impact on the construction of one's (professional) identity, if one's mother tongue does not have status in the arenas in which the communication and the learning that shape identity take place? And what is the impact on the community being studied and the persons giving information, if they experience that their information will not be published in their own language? From the point of view of shaping people's and a nation's, identity and basic understanding, it is extremely

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[16] The Nordic Sámi Institute was affiliated with Sámi University College in 2005.

important to change the conditions of communication and language usage in the educational system.

Conclusions

This paper is based on my reflections concerning the choice of academic working language, related to my own research project on Sámi language. I have examined the choice of academic language with reference to norms and guidelines from the established theory of science. Scientific humility (as opposed to scientific arrogance and ethnocentrism) is a general guideline, which I link to principles of scientific openness and communication, and to different measures of the benefits of science – i.e. how academic language can be of indirect benefit to society, in addition to the specific results of particular studies that are conducted. Scientific openness and communication with the public is an important guideline, which requires a consciously made choice of academic language. Scientific humility entails dealing with the language issue so that communication between the different groups is possible and the groups have the opportunity to review and provide critical commentary on the research results. Various considerations can be used for determining the most suitable academic language, and when making the choice, it is necessary to take the needs of the communication groups into consideration. Through choice of academic language, the researcher either broadens or restricts the opportunities of the communication groups to review the study and its results.

By deciding to carry out the research and publishing the results only in an indigenous language, one succeeds in reaching the communication group(s) that can review results on the basis of their competence as primary-level specialists. It is important that this group can control whether their information has been included correctly in the results of the research. By publishing in an indigenous language such as Sámi, one also reaches a regional academic community of Sámi researchers, regardless of national borders in the Sámi area. However, in such a case, one greatly restricts the opportunities of the global academic community to join the discourse and review the study.

If a study is carried out, and results are published, only in an international academic language (such as English), this opens the opportunities of review from the global academic community. This will, however, restrict or take away the opportunities of the local public to participate in the review of the results in areas where English is not the majority language (such as in Norway, where most people have English as their second or even their third language). When the research community and the local public cannot join in the discourse, the level of critical assessment decreases and the quality verification of the results will be insufficient. The publishing of scientific results only in English (and not in the national or indigenous language) may even be considered a conscious way of preventing the local public from joining the reviewing process.

The norm of "communism" in science requires that science be common property and "to the benefit of all". In my reflection, also the principle of science being to the benefit of all may be linked to the guideline of scientific humility. Here, the questions are: how can research be to the utmost benefit of all? Which groups need to use the results, for example, to attain social goals, and what kind of obligations does the academic community have to meet the needs of these groups? By the choice of academic language, a researcher can appreciate both the needs of the studied community and the academic community in general. This may require publishing the results in more than one language. If the language of the studied community is used academically, this may benefit society indirectly, as it has an effect both on the maintenance and the development of the language as well as on its general status. Language is a means of communication; and it also plays an important role in our education and the shaping of our understanding and identity.

It is a challenge for Sámi research that there are many languages that we can use: the various Sámi languages, the different national languages, and the international academic language(s). I feel that research into Sámi issues should benefit Sámi society both through its results and through its language. This goal can be attained only if we take responsibility in the sphere of language and allow Sámi to be the original language of our research. At the same time, the ethos of science obliges us to make our research available to the academic community for review. Thus, the choice of academic language is not a simple matter – and it has no simple solutions. It may not be impossible to choose only one academic language, as we need to reach several communication groups with our research results. I intend to use Sámi as the original language in my research, as I feel that this meets the needs of the Sámi society in the best way. However, I also find it necessary to publish my results in other languages and, in this way, meet the requirement of openness as concerns other academic circles.

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Effects of Industry on Maori Cultural Values: The Case of the Tarawera River:

Materoa Dodd

Abstract

The research is a case study of the relationship between three tribes; Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau and Ngāti Awa and the Tarawera River during the second half of the 20ᵗʰ century when the river was polluted with effluent from pulp and paper mills. It involves the cultural story of the Tarawera River as told by the iwi (tribes) of the river informed by Maori epistemologies and what has come to be known as a 'kaupapa Maori research' approach. Reference is made to the history, legends, customs and lifestyle that have arisen from the relationship between iwi and the river. It includes comments on the pollution of the river from members of each iwi. The world views, experiences, and perceptions reported on here have forced a fundamental change on the iwi, a change that has affected their cultural and social relationship to the river. The price of economic development on the river has been cultural and ecological genocide.

The cultural voice echoes a familiar story in indigenous communities. In the Maori context the research provides opportunities for further inquiry into determining the socio-cultural, economic and political future of the iwi of the river.

Introduction

This case study provides compelling findings about the changes that have occurred amongst each of the iwi (tribes) of the Tarawera River and its estuarine environment as a result of effluent and other discharge from mills into the river. The story is grounded in the cultural and spiritual essence that once vitalized the river. Without the presence of mauri (essence, life principle), iwi say the river has lost its vitality, its life force, its quintessential presence and in cultural and environmental terms, has been withering to death from pollution. The relationship of each of the iwi to the river stems from strong whakapapa (genealogy) links through eponymous ancestors and famous navigators who founded the respective iwi and the river and its environment. The ancestors also named the river environment taking care to invest the forethought of sustainability as each place of significance was restricted to the type of usage concurring with the ancient cycle of water distinguished for physical and metaphysical purposes.
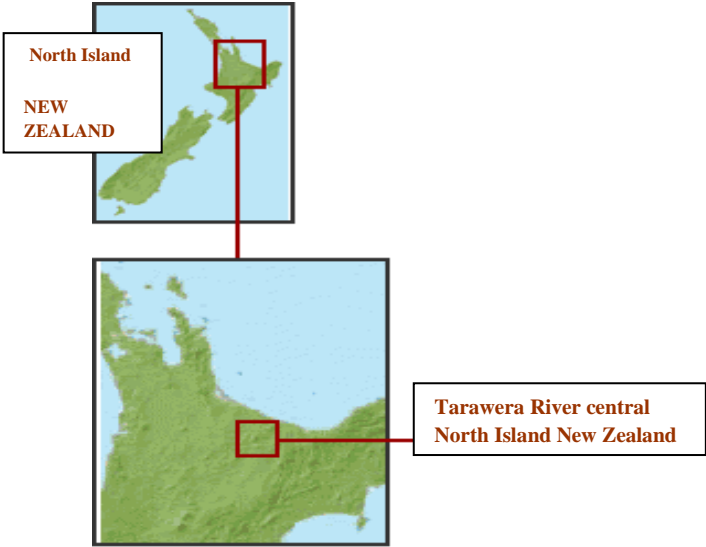
The bounty of the river in full force with relative vitality is conveyed in the stories of the lifestyle enjoyed prior to and in the early days of the establishment of the pulp and paper mills

at Kawerau. The cultural story details everyday accounts of swimming, eating, fishing, and gathering food from the river. Historically the river was always a place to go to gather herbal and medicinal plants from and to be healed. The light and shade, the diversity of the river in the fullness of its life, tells a story of abundance, a premise to the provision of food for the iwi kitchens, and to pleasure and provide for manuhiri (guests). In its pristine state, the river was abundant.

The force of industry and the physical benefits that the mills have bought to the iwi of the Tarawera have silenced their voices. One force has simply replaced the life force of the river so that now, iwi cannot take or gather food from the river from Kawerau down, nor can they provide food from the river for manuhiri. The river has lost its luster as a place to enjoy and most importantly its cultural soul and therefore place in the "iwi environment." The disintegration of whanaungatanga (kin interrelationships) and social relationships that were formed around the river environment have been displaced by reference to "the Black Drain" and prohibitions on all forms of contact with the river. Many mill workers and families, past and present, some still working and living in Kawerau, told in explicit detail the changes that the mill and its discharges have brought to bear upon their lives and their families.

Location

The Tarawera River is located in the Bay of Plenty of the North Island of New Zealand. Its many tributaries flow approximately 50 kilometers long and 20 kilometers wide beginning from Mount Tarawera located at the source of the river, between Lake Okataina to the north, Lake Okareka, Lake Tikitapu, and Lake Rotokakahi to the west, and Lake Rotomahana to the south. It flows northward through Kawerau to just south of Matata, to its outlet to Te Moana Nui a Toi, the Pacific Ocean.

Aerial shot of Tarawera River outlet and report Author Materoa Dodd with test-tube sample from the river.

North Island

NEW ZEALAND

Tarawera River central North Island New Zealand

Methodology

Under the rubric of Kaupapa Maori research different sets of ideas and issues are claimed as important. Smith, G. (1991) summarizes Kaupapa Maori research:

1. Is related to 'being Maori'
2. Is connected to Maori philosophy and principles
3. Takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Maori, the importance of Maori language and culture; and
4. Is concerned with the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well being

The research attempts to learn from iwi what their experiences of the river were in its pristine state and in its changing state (over the last forty-four years). The Case Study approach is used as it allows for the gathering of information on one or more multiple cases (Yin 1994). The Case Study report did not set out with any preconceived ideas about what iwi experiences were. The research was mindful of the need to provide the cultural worldview as the context for the epistemological framework and methodological approach to the report. In so doing, the research involves action research approached and informed by Maori epistemologies and what has come to be known as 'kaupapa Maori research' an approach that is about bringing to the centre and privileging Maori centered research, indigenous values, attitudes and practices... (Smith, L.T. 1995, p. 125).

Approach

Each tribe was assigned a lead researcher who affiliated to the respective tribe, was fluent in English and Maori and held a respected level of knowledge about the tribe and was respected amongst their people. This was a key factor in the success of the research and the ability to gather the knowledge and information and bring the chief informants and focus group participants together. Bishop (1996, p.15) contends, "kaupapa Maori research … involving Maori knowledge and people needs to be conducted in culturally appropriate ways" and this point is made explicit by Smith L.T. (1999) that being Maori is an essential criterion for carrying out kaupapa Maori research.

There were three to five Chief Informants from each tribal area and they were interviewed individually. The informants chosen were the key repositories of cultural lore and knowledge and chiefs (rangatira) in their own right. The interviews were conducted in both English and Maori.

The robustness of the focus group sample enabled a high degree of research participation. The focus groups included 8-12 members from each tribe drawn from a sample of participants ranging in age from 18-88 years, a 60:40 male and female ratio and with lower to middle socio-economic backgrounds. All participants had whakapapa (kin related) relationships to

the river and 80% of the participants had lived within 20 kilometers of the river and 50% had either worked or had a family member who had worked at the pulp and paper mill over the last half of the 20th century. All focus groups were conducted in Maori and English and transcribed as recorded.

Limitations of Research

The following potential limitations of the case study are acknowledged:
- Lack of technical information and background relating to the precise nature and effect of specific organochlorine contaminants;
- Ethical issues unanswered by industry and faced by workers exposed to the emission of dioxins.
- A literature survey in the case study would have strengthened the findings with respect to an international context and the significance for indigenous populations.
- Locating the research in a wider indigenous socio-cultural, economic and political context.

PART ONE – CHIEF INFORMANTS

Iwi of the river
The Tarawera River and its tributaries are entrenched in the identity and lives of the three iwi of the river: Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau, and Ngāti Awa. Each iwi has its own stories, stories that convey its relationship to the river since the founding of the lands, mountains and waterways of the Tarawera River by the ancestors.

Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau locate along the river in and around the greater Kawerau area, particularly at Onepu. Te Arawa in particular the sub-tribe Tuhourangi locate at the source of the river at Tarawera and near its outlet at the town of Matata. Ngāti Awa locates to the east of the river and its environment.

The Heartland

The river is central to the history and legends of each iwi. There are many famous sayings and stories that convey the connection of the river to its heartland, through other famous landmarks, and people. The river carries the birthright of chiefly lines from Tuwharetoa, Te Rangiaorere, Tuhourangi, and Te Ramaapakura who were all born along the river. Iwi identify with the river as reflected in the following famous and unique salutation:

Ko Ruawahia te maunga, *Ko Tarawera te awa,* *Ko Te Arawa te iwi*.	Ruawahia is the mountain, Tarawera is the river, Te Arawa the people

Mana (prestige)

The river is a symbol of mana amongst the respective iwi, with each tributary and its association with significant landmarks intertwining to add to its reputation. They are the life blood of Tarawera. All those tributaries both small and large give substance to the Tarawera River's vested interest to other mountains, valleys, forests, and to the seas and across the land. It is its connection to the heartland.
Te Hau Tutua, Ngati Awa.

Legend has it that the mountain of Putauaki (once) stood next to the other mountains Ngauruhoe and Tongariro at Taupo. A jealous quarrel took place amongst them, and they moved, including Putauaki, who wanted to move next to (the active volcano) Whakaari. It is said that mountains only move at night. When it came time for Putauaki to move it became daylight, and so he became fixed by the rays of the sun at Kawerau where he stands now. He wept for Whakaari, and it is said that his tears became the Tarawera River.
Anaru Rangiheuea, Hiko Hohepa, Te Arawa

The Naming of Tarawera as Te Awa o Te Atua

There are different stories about the naming of the river from each iwi. Tuhourangi and Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau refer to the legend of the naming of the river by the great chief of the Te Arawa waka (canoe), Ngatoro-i-Rangi:

As Ngatoro-i-Rangi traveled along the eastern coastline to Matata he reached the Tarawera River. Upon discovering its cleanliness and purity he named it Te Awa o Te Atua, the river of the Gods. He prayed to the Gods to protect him on his journey inland and then followed the river inland, making landmarks and claiming different lands around the area. When Ngatoro-i-Rangi reached the summit of Tongariro he became frozen from the cold, so he called out to his sisters Kuiwai and Haungaroa who were in Hawaiiki, to send him warmth. They heard his plea and with the assistance of the Gods, Pupu, and Te Hoata, sent him heat from Hawaiiki. It came underground and under the land passing through a number of places and rising up at Tarawera.

Hiko Hohepa.

Ngati Awa recall the naming of the river by the great chief Toroa, as he observed his daughter Wairaka bathing in the river:

Ka puta mai te mate wahine o Wairaka i Te Awa o Te Atua. Waiho Te Awa o te Atua kia rere atu ana", na Toroa tenei korero.	When Wairaka had her menstrual period at Te Awa o Te Atua, Toroa is quoted as saying "Let Te Awa o Te Atua wash it away." *Onehou Phillis, Ngati Awa*

Waiata, Pepeha and Pātere (Songs, Proverbs, Chants)

Legends, which relate the history of the river, have also been recorded in waiata, pepeha, and pātere. Onehou Phillis recited some of the teachings of her father, Eruera Manuera, about the significance of the landmarks around the river and the mountain, Putauaki, to Ngati Awa:

Ka piki ake ki te taumata ra o toku maunga o Putauaki, ka titiro iho au ki nga nohoanga o aku tipuna e hora mai ra i nga puke tapu me nga awaawa o Rangitaiki, Ohinemataroa, me Te Awa o te Atua.	I climb to the summit of my mountain Putauaki and I look across upon the places where my ancestors dwelt, spread across the sacred hills and valleys of Rangitaiki, Ohinemataroa, and Te Awa o te Atua.

Tikanga (Customs)

The relationship between iwi and the river was traditionally controlled through customs and practices that conserved the river in a pure and pristine state. Some of the important aspects to that relationship we were told about include:

- Respect for the mauri, - life force - of the river. The mauri is believed to be the full expression of the natural and spiritual processes of the river;
- The separation and respect for specially designated areas such as waahi tapu, or sacred sites;
- The gathering of particular food in appropriate seasons and at appropriate times; and
- The avoidance of despoliation or destruction of the river and its life.

Tapu (Sacred)

William Savage and Graham Te Rire spoke about many of the ceremonies associated with mauri such as baptism, thanksgiving, and cleansing, which were traditionally offered along t

Kei te mohio ki nga waahi tapu, Kotahi rau rima tekau kei te taha o Tarawera. Mai te pito whakarunga ki te pito whakararo. Nga taniwha I mohiotia nei, ko Tarakura, ko Irakewa, ko Tupai, ko Tamarau, ko Te Whai.	I am familiar with its sacred places. There are as many as 150 along the Tarawera, from its headwaters, to its lower reaches. Some of the taniwha that are known are Tarakura, Irakewa, Tupai, Tamarau, and Te Whai. *Te Hau Tutua.*

Mauri (Life Essence)

The state of the mauri or life force of the river is the cultural litmus test for assessing the wellbeing of the river. I was told by each iwi that without mauri, the river would die.

Onehou Phillis spoke of how all things have a life force, a mauri that is sacrosanct. Her words were animated by all of the cultural experts who spoke about the mauri as being the living essence, or soul, of the river:

Ko te mauri he mea tino tapu kei roto i nga wahi tapu katoa. Ki te kore te mauri, ka mate nga mea katoa.	Mauri, it is most sacred, it is the life force that dwells within all sacred places. Without mauri, all things die. *Te Hau Tutua.*
Ko te mauri ki ahau, hei whakaohoho i te tangata. Ko te ara ki te ao wairua, ki te ao tangata ki a tatau. He mauri kei te awa me era atu mea katoa. Ka kore te mauri ke mate te tangata.	To me, the mauri is what arouses the inner being it is the passage from the spirit world to the world of humankind, to us. The river has a mauri, without mauri, man is lost and will perish. *Ben Mamaku.*

There were different stories about the placing of the mauri in the river. Many cultural experts and focus group participants believe that the mauri of the river comes from its abundance from the many tributaries that flow into it. It is believed that the tributaries provide for nourishment of both the spiritual and physical well being of the river beginning from Tarawera and carrying life through the land out to Te Awa o te Atua at Te Moana nui a Toi, at Matata.

Anaru Rangiheuea told us that according to Te Arawa, the mauri of the river was originally established by Ngatoro-i-rangi when he was first naming the river. He also told us that he believed that the mauri of the river was still intact in certain parts of the upper catchment because of the deeds of the ancestors.

Hiko Hohepa told us that the ancestors had appealed to the Gods to put in place the mauri so that the river would be pure in order to sustain the people. This event was referred to as "Te tini o Ikatere."

Iwi focus group participants also told us about ceremonies that they had been part of, where people were taken to the river by tohunga to help heal transgressions of the heart and soul. However, there were serious doubts about the ability of the water to heal anymore due to the water being polluted and dirty. There was huge concern particularly from the cultural experts that some of the spiritual practices were still being undertaken and were routine in certain parts of the river.

Graham Te Rire, and William Savage told us that whilst they all still remained spiritually bound to the river, their gravest concerns were for the loss of the mauri and wairua (spirit) of the river, and the contemplation that the force has no life.

PART TWO – IWI FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

Introduction

We were told that the relationship between iwi and the river has changed as a result of the introduction of pollutants to the river since the establishment of the mills. The impact has been more directly felt in certain areas of the river. Participants told us that it is the pollution

of the river by the "paru" or filth, from effluent discharge, which is responsible for the despoliation of the resources of the river.

Kai-Awa (Food of the River)

All of the iwi focus groups and cultural experts told us about the continuous supply of food traditionally available from the river in times gone by. We were told about the abundance of kai-awa (food of the river) particularly fish species and watercress. Some of the traditional foods are still gathered by iwi, mainly from Tuhourangi, in the upper catchment area around Tarawera. There are iwi who continue to gather traditional foods from the polluted areas of the river, despite the hazard of collecting and gathering and the risk to health and safety from consuming the food.

There was lots of food, eels and watercress.... My Father used to throw watercress back into the river three times as his way of thanking the river for so much food...
Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant
According to participants Tarawera was famous for its enormous eels. The large eels of five to ten feet long were called paiwai. We were told that eels used to migrate during the third month. The migratory eels were known as matamoe. Kaiherehere was another name for them. Trout, freshwater crayfish and morihana would also be plentiful at the same time.
The most famous delicacy that all iwi are now virtually denied is whitebait. One focus group participant told us:

During the weekends I would come back to Matata to accompany my mother-in-law to whitebait at the mouth of the river. We used to catch whitebait by the kerosene tins. Everybody used to fish from the riverbank. There was a total abundance of whitebait, and heaps of it was caught.
Ngati Awa iwi focus group participant

Manaakitanga (hospitality of guests)

The gathering of kai-awa from the river was not only for the purpose of sustenance and survival; it also has an intrinsic cultural value manifest in the custom of manaaki for manuhiri and tangata whenua alike.

The loss of the ability of each iwi to gather food that is culturally significant has eroded one of the most important roles of tangata whenua. The foods that were part of the staple diet of each iwi have disappeared. Along with the loss of culturally important food, the iwi have lost the enjoyment of water from the river, to drink it, and to swim in it, and enjoy the recreation of the river. *Hiko Hohepa from Te Arawa* summed up how each iwi felt about the loss of their staple diet and enjoyment:

The water and parts of our lands around the river are polluted and there is no kai now. This affects the ability of the marae to feed their manuhiri, therefore the rangatiratanga o nga tangata whenua, or the chieftainship of the host people, is taken away in this respect. If you go to Tuhoe, they feed you kereru, but the marae along the river, cannot offer you kai from the river. The iwi of the river will lose this taonga forever if the pollution of the river is not stopped.

Whanaungatanga (relationships)

The principles of the cultural relationship between the river is reflected in the notion of whanaungatanga whereby it is said that people can leave the river, but the river cannot leave the people:

Although a number of participants had moved away from the river, the river remains part of them, and they remain part of the river. Physical separation does not sever the ties to the river, because whakapapa or geneology is the means by which the relationship between iwi and the river endures. *Te Arawa Focus iwi focus group participant*

Rongoa (medicine)

A participant told us that his Grandfather was the healer for the area during the 1930's:
There were areas of land next to the river where the plant life included pikopiko, tikouka, mitata and different manuka herbs that were procured for eating and medicinal purposes. Many herbs that were used as rongoa (medicine) by healers, could be gathered in abundance from along the river. *Te Arawa iwi focus group participant*

Transport and Recreation

The river was an arterial system and a place for recreation and enjoyment:

If you swam across the river, you were great, even if you dogpaddled. On the transport side of things, we used to ride our horses across the river, or paddle our waka, or swim. It was our playground. *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

Kaitiakitanga (steward, guardian)

There are provisions in the Resource Management Act which relate to the role of kaitiaki, or steward, guardian, regulator. Some participants told us that an understanding of the role of kaitiaki was pivotal to understanding the cultural relationship to the river.

| *Kua kii ke au, he taonga a Tarawera. He taonga e tukuna iho e matou ki a matou tamariki mokopuna. Na reira me noho ora a ia. Ma te aha noho ora ai? Ma te pai o ta matou tiaki i a ia. Anei ano te whakapono a te Maori, ehara nana nga taonga o tona ao. Mo te wa e ora ana a ia, ko ia te kai-tiaki. He kai-tiaki noa iho a ia."* | I have said that Tarawera is part of our heritage, for us to ensure and to bequeath to the following generations. Therefore it must be maintained in good condition. How do we achieve that? By good stewardship and care. It is a basic Maori tenet that the things of this world do not belong to us. During our lifetime we are only guardians - merely guardians." *Ngati Rangitihi iwi focus group participant* |

PART THREE - POLLUTION

Discharge of effluent form the pulp and paper mills

We heard from all iwi focus group participants and a number of cultural experts, about the pollution of the river. All spoke explicitly about the pollution of the river as a result of the discharge of effluent by the Tasman Pulp and Paper Mill and the Caxton Mill at Kawerau. A

number of focus group participants had either worked at one of the mills, or had family members that had worked at the mills.

The most compelling stories about the pollution came from people who were or had been residents of Onepu in Kawerau - over the last forty-four years. Some residents quietly expressed apprehension about being given the opportunity to be heard for the first time, and one participant who wished to remain anonymous asking, "Will our cultural voice be heard?"

Ahuatanga (Appearance)

We were told that the most graphic impact from the pollution has been the change in the colour and appearance of the river:

Recently I took a trip along the Tarawera, from the Tarawera Falls to the Tasman Mill, to where the discharges happen, and it is completely different. It is black from there on right down to the outlet. It is completely black, polluted, paru, and it has got an odour. It is in a bad state. The upper Tarawera is crystal clear, and the lower Tarawera is black. It is a black drain. Physically you can see the difference. *Ngati Awa iwi focus group participant*

Participants told us of the sorrow and dismay about the filth and the stench from the mill that had destroyed the river over the years. Many families have moved away from the river environment, to nearby towns. Many more families have moved far away as they did not want to live anywhere near the river.

CONCLUSION

The research conducted informs us on the cultural story of the Tarawera River, it examines the ways in which the relationship between the tribes of Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau and Ngāti Awa and the Tarawera River has changed since the discharge of effluent from pulp and paper mills into the river began in the second half of the 20th century.

The Tarawera River stands as the embodiment of the ancestors, named and claimed with sacred place-names indicating specific use; for sacred ceremonial rites; for social and recreational activities; for cleansing; for transport; for fishing; to gather food for families and feed large gatherings - these were the norm, the socio-cultural practices once undertaken by iwi and their families within the river environment.

The research tells the story of the river through interviews with tribal leaders, cultural experts, iwi informants and former mill workers. Most can recall the river in its pristine state, others can attest to the abundance and bounty of the river, cultural experts can connect and recite ancestral linkages through incantation, song, and stories and some tell of their experiences with chemicals and the work practices of industry.

Clearly, the relationship of each iwi with the river as kaitiaki (stewards) of the river has been affected by the establishment of the pulp and paper mills. The price of economic development on the river has been cultural and ecological genocide.

The cultural voice echoes a familiar story in indigenous communities. In the Maori context the research provides opportunities for further inquiry into determining the socio-cultural,

economic and political future of the iwi of the river. Without the presence of mauri (essence, life principle), iwi say the river has lost its vitality, its life force, its quintessential presence. The future physical and metaphysical relationships to the river sit within the wider and universal struggle for indigenous self-determination in regard to "wai" water in all its forms. That struggle is dynamic.

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Contextualising Ogiek's Indigenous Environmental Education through Oral Literature for Sustainable Conservation of Mau Forest, Kenya.

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Abstract

Environmental conservation in many parts of the world presents a daunting task owing to factors like population increase. In Kenya, for example, environmental degradation has occurred at an alarming rate in areas such as the Mau Forest, the home of the majority of the Ogiek people. Traditionally, the Ogiek are hunter- gatherers and have distinctive histories of interaction with the natural environment. But, they have been gradually rendered homeless through appropriation of parts of the Mau Forest for other uses since the colonial periods. Mau Forest is located in the Rift Valley Province and straddles Kericho, Nakuru, Narok and, Bomet districts. Over the years, the Ogiek have inhabited in the Mau Forest with little impact on the environment. This paper critically examines the influence of Ogiek indigenous education on environmental conservation. The study was informed by General Systems Theory and the Cultural Ecology Theory. An ethno-historical approach was employed in the design, instrumentation, data collection, analysis and interpretation. To achieve systematic collection of data, purposive sampling techniques were used. The research sample was drawn from seven sites in the Mau Forest, namely; Teret, Sururu, Nessuit, Mariashoni, Bararget, Tinet and Kiptororo. Fourty-five members of the Ogiek community, mainly cultural consultants, were interviewed for the study. Cultural consultants provided the most complete and representative information about particular aspects of Ogiek life because of their experience and training. Informants were interviewed individually as group interviews were susceptible to biases and distortion of information. The main instruments for data collection were observation and interview schedules. In addition to oral interviews, this study used a variety of documentary sources. The information obtained from the various sources was checked for validity and reliability using triangulation as well as external and internal criticism approaches to data analysis. The results reveal that the Ogiek had two primary methods of education: initiation and Konoito territorial strategy as integrated within their oral literature environmental conservation strategies. It is hoped that the research findings will be useful to policy makers in such fields as education and environmental conservation on the need for the integration of indigenous knowledge systems into modern environmental management strategies.

Introduction

Education is an integral part of life in any society. The social and cultural forces surrounding each individual thus form the basis of indigenous education. Hinzen (1988) observes that during the long ages of Pre-history, human beings survived because they were capable of learning by example and experience to adapt their way of life to their environment throughout succeeding generations.

Indigenous education in its various forms is intimately intertwined with social life. Sifuna (1990) emphasizes that what was taught in traditional societies was related to the social context in which people lived as well as the demands of their particular environment.

Thus, indigenous education had a direct and symbiotic relationship with the environment (Castle, 1966 and Ocitti, 1973, 1974). Indigenous education also responded to social change and was an important catalyst of change. Indigenous education was therefore associated with social development.

Indigenous education takes many forms, depending on the particular historical and cultural background. According to Ishumi (1976) this education is influenced by the prevailing economic, social, religious and political systems. In short, this system of education sustains community development. In support of this, former President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, described indigenous education as an integral part of life (Hino, 1996).

The Ogiek also referred to as the Dorobo, form a minority group among the Kalenjin. They constitute an underlying sub-stratum for the Kalenjin and the Maasai people and perhaps the Kikuyu according to Muriuki (1976), Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973). The Ogiek are one of the earliest known inhabitants of East Africa. They are presently among the few survivors of the early inhabitants of East Africa. Unfortunately, they are facing extinction as they are being assimilated by other communities (Sutton, 1976 and Towett, 2004). The Ogiek have been mostly hunter-gatherers who inhabited the forest areas of East Africa. Representatives of this group are today scattered over various parts of Kenya, but the majority of them are to be found in the Mau Forest. Mau Forest, the home of the Ogiek people, is located in the Rift Valley Province and straddles four districts: Kericho, Nakuru, Narok and Bomet.

However, Kratz (2000) notes that the Ogiek, unlike many other hunter- gatherers, gathered little plant food and mostly relied on a diet of meat and honey, supplemented by the trade in grains during the pre-colonial times. She stresses that with abundant rain and rich volcanic soils on the escarpment, few plants produce the large tubers, nuts and meaty fruits that were so important to the hunter-gatherer diet in the drier areas. The Ogiek of Mau Highlands have a history of sustainable interaction with the natural environment (Yeoman, 1979). They are indigenous minority hunting and honey gathering people. Over the years, this community has managed to survive in the Mau Forest without causing significant environmental degradation.

Methodology

Detailed explanations of the relevant research design and instruments that were used to collect data were discussed. Similarly, sample size and sampling procedures as well as data analysis were also addressed.

Research Design

The subject of inquiry was based on the assumption that individuals construct social reality in the form of meanings and interpretations and that the reconstructions tend to be transitory and situational (Cohen, 1993; Gall, 2003). This was the study of a people's representations of their history and hence linked to the study of their oral tradition.

A relevant research design for this study was an ethno-historical design. This is the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions concerning the past events. The study sought to investigate the socio-

cultural aspects of indigenous education of the Mau Ogiek that have been able to engender sustained environmental management of Mau Forest.

An ethno-historical design typically combined two research strategies, the emic (local viewpoint) and the *etic* (scientist-oriented) approach. On the one hand, the emic approach investigated how the local people explained, thought, perceived and categorized their worldview. From this, the researcher identified the rules of behaviour and the meanings attached to them.

On the other hand, while in the field the researcher used the *etic* (scientist- oriented) approach that shifted the focus from the local categories, expressions, explanations and interpretations to those of the ethno-historian. This approach counterchecked the defects of the first approach taking into account that members of a culture are often too involved in what they are doing to interpret their cultures impartially. Operating ethically, the researcher emphasized what was observed and seen to be important to this study. In this way, the researcher tries to bring an objective and comprehensive viewpoint to this study.

Sample Size and Sampling Procedures

The research sample was drawn from seven sites in Mau Highlands: Teret, Sururu, Nessuit, Mariashoni, Bararget, Tinet and Kiptororo. These are the places where the majority of the Mau Ogiek reside (Towett, 2004). To ensure an objective and comprehensive data, the selection of the informants was done using the snowball and purposive sampling techniques of the non-probability sampling strategy. These techniques were advantageous over probability sampling because not everybody in the target population was knowledgeable about specific details and information that the researcher intended to investigate.

Using the snowball and purposive sampling techniques, the researcher identified fourty five elderly Ogiek individuals who provided useful information on specific knowledge that this study sought to investigate (Babbie, 1986 and Gall, 2003). These people were then used as informants to identify others who qualified for inclusion in the study and these, in turn, identified yet others, hence the number kept on snowballing (Dalen, 1979; Cohen, 1994; Gall, 2003). Some of the informants were identified from the Kenya National Archives (KNA) in Nairobi while undertaking collection of archival sources. The others were mentioned in the course of the fieldwork. Most informants were interviewed individually as often group interviews were susceptible to biases and distortions of information.

Those fourty five elderly persons interviewed included men and women among the Ogiek. More specifically, oral interviews focused on obtaining relevant information from the key cultural consultants who by experience and training provided the most complete and useful data about particular aspects of life of their society (Kottak, 2002). Key cultural consultants interviewed included members of specialized groups like religious and ritual experts, herbalists, sponsors and all those who were skilful in the art of traditional rites such as initiation.

Instrumentation

The main instruments that were used to collect the data were an observation schedule and interview schedules. The researcher administered observation and interview schedules for each of the targeted groups; the council of elders, herbalists, sponsors and religious leaders as well as early converts, colonial chiefs and government officials.

The items in the instruments were designed in such a way that they were relevant to each of the group of informants mentioned above and were ultimately useful in achieving the research objectives outlined in this study.

The interview schedule was designed to collect data on establishing whether there was a relationship between Indigenous Education and environmental conservation among the precolonial Ogiek of Mau Forest.

Data Collection Procedure

Data collection approaches included the use of field observations, oral interviews and documentary (primary and secondary) sources. Oral interviews, observations and documentary sources were the main sources for data collection in this study. The data was collected by interviewing individuals, observing events as well as analyzing documentary (primary and secondary) sources.

The researcher conducted fieldwork that addressed specific questions that have been identified to ensure the realization of the set objectives. Hence, the study was approached with a specific problem to investigate and collect the data that took into account fundamental issues such as beliefs, customs, taboos and values that were deemed relevant to the problem.

Being an ethno-historical design, the researcher conducted content analysis of materials in libraries, archival and internet documents as well as oral interviews that were supplemented by observation.

Data Analysis

The critical undertaking in analyzing qualitative research was for the researcher to manage and organize the data. The researcher constructed patterns that emerged from the data and tried to get meaning out of them. Starting with a large set of issues and data, the researcher progressively narrowed them into small and important groups of the key data as acknowledged by earlier scholars and based on the research objectives (Dey, 1993; Bogdan, 1998; Krathwohl, 1998; Kottak, 2002; Gall, 2003). Following Patton's (1990) and Gay & Airasian's (2003) approaches to data and content analysis, the investigator undertook a multistage process of organizing, categorizing, synthesizing, and interpreting the data. Each of these processes were found to be iterative as the researcher cycled through these stages more than once in a continual effort to narrow and get meaning of the emerging themes and categories that formed the organizing frame work in this study. Indeed, Gay and Airasian (2003:229) identify four steps in analyzing qualitative research data, which were ultimately utilized in this study, namely: reading or memoing, describing, classifying and interpreting.

Results and Discussion

The intention of this paper is to explore the relationship between the Ogiek system of indigenous education and environmental conservation as practised in Mau Forest of Kenya. Using this objective as the key to analyse and discuss the results, the study identified three major findings based on the superstructural systems, theories and institutions among the Ogiek. The first finding revealed that it was the dependency on the natural resources and the relationship between the Ogiek and all life within the forest that motivated them to use their indigenous skills and wisdom to protect the environment. Secondly, the paper established that the continued existence of the Ogiek culture was dependent upon the survival of Mau Forest, and hence the ability to live in it, for without it, the Ogiek culture would cease to exist.

Thirdly, the finding of the study revealed that the Ogiek were incapable of retaining their essential characteristics if the ecosystem was eventually destroyed. It was this in-built attitude which enabled the Ogiek to conserve their natural resources without any written legislation.

Clan, Council of Elders and Konoito Territorial Strategy

Indigenous education forms an integral part of the total process of 'socialisation' within the Ogiek society by which children and youth acquired acceptable codes of behaviour. The process of socialization was effectively implemented in real-life situations. For instance, in the home, or in the field and during ceremonial occasions, the child was made aware of the relationship which bond the family, clan and his ethnic community with its immediate natural environment.

In order to affect these issues, certain social and cultural mechanisms were applied and designed to regulate the child's behavioural patterns. And, also to initiate one into an acceptable mode of conduct which conformed to the norms of behaviour within the Ogiek Society. Through the prolonged period of socialization and experience with nature, the Ogiek were able to maintain a stable and balanced co-existence with the natural environment. For that reason, various clans regulated the conservation of the forest by ensuring that none of their members felled trees irresponsibly (Tuei, 2006). In fact, indiscriminate felling of immature, mature and sacred trees were prohibited especially those used to serve self ends.

Indeed, authority to use the forest products was sanctioned by the council of elders and only permission was granted for products that were utilized mostly in communal activities such as annual ceremonies, festivities and other related rituals, as well as for purposes of apprenticeship. Such restriction on utilization of the natural products also applied to wild animals within each territorial unit. To enforce this, each *Konoito* was assigned to a specific clan to look after it. The clan was thus accountable for the proper use of the trees, plants and animals thereof. Clans that did not observe such restrictions were forced to surrender their *konoito* and errant members were punished so as to discourage them from destroying the environment. For instance, children were denied food while others were severely beaten. Serial offenders (Rop, 2006; Maina, 2006) were forced to carry heavy logs over long distances under supervision by the parents, some elders and clan members. In conjunction to the significant role played by the council of elders, parents and other elderly persons in society, they were bestowed with the sole responsibility as being society's custodians and

models of good behaviour, as well as embodiments of the instrumental virtues and values related to environmental conservation. In essence, they provided examples of how values attached to conservation of natural resources were integrated into daily undertakings.

Ogiek's broad curriculum entailed adopting members of the younger generations (children) to their physical environment and teaching them how to control and use it. Furthermore, it formed the basis of explaining to the youth that their own future and that of the community depended on the understanding and perpetuation of the institutions dealing with issues of the biosphere. All these issues find acceptance in the conceptual understanding that Ogiek socialization process took a vertical dimension whereby the elders instructed the young to adopt the already established social ecological norms without questioning hence maintaining their status quo. In fact, children had absolute freedom to attend adult activities without the consent of the parents and elders. Though, acquisition of education was strictly adult centred. Moreover, Ogiek indigenous education emphasized preservation of the cultural heritage and nature, since their education ultimately grew out of their immediate heritage and nature based on realistic and situational learning as predetermined by their physical environment.

Therefore, children had to learn about weather, landscape, animals and insect life. Precisely, they learnt which kinds of grasses or trees were suitable for which purposes and what had to be done on them to sustainably conserve the same for future generations. Imperatively, they were also taught how to care for the animals within their territorial unit, by joining with the elders while performing such responsibilities. Participation and observation were the fundamental principles guiding the learning process of the Ogiek's forest education. The exploitation of the natural resources had clear checks and balances thus allowing indigenous environmental sustainability (Chelule, 2006). In pursuance of the normative (acceptable standards and beliefs governing correct behaviour) and expressive (unity and consensus) goals, Ogiek indigenous education fostered a strong communal sense and responsibility in control and utilization of the physical environment. Ideally, individualistic tendencies were allowed to grow only under the umbrella of society. In that sense, youths were trained on their roles in all-embracing network of kinship relationship and what their rights and obligations were within their immediate environment.

The Ogiek had a system of managing the forests through their lineage based on their management techniques (Sigei, 2006) which enabled the community to use it in a sustainable way without degrading the environment. The Ogiek, through their customary tenure system, have managed their forests communally. They allocated blocks of forests to various clans. The forest areas or territories *(Konoituek)* were first occupied by the clan, which in turn divided it according to the family tree (Blackburn, 1976, 1986). Each family was then responsible for the animals and plants in the allocated land. It was this environmental conservational strategy that ensured that no one hunted or cut any tree without permission from the family responsible for the particular forest land (Sangwea, 2006).

According to Ogiek customary law, hunting, gathering and tree felling must first meet the standard criteria explained in the earlier discussion before it was sanctioned by the council of elders. The natural resources of the Mau Forest are essential to the lives of the Ogiek. Water resources were placed under the control of the elders. However, because of cross-cutting permanent streams which run parallel to each other draining the Mau Forest, this enabled animals and humans to remain in the areas for long periods. Between the streams are strips of land, sloping down the Mau Forest from a central ridge, which extends upwards through all

the forest zones (Yeoman, 1979). According to Blackburn (1974) each zone was owned by a different local lineage for easier environmental management strategy.

More significantly, Ogiek parents did their best to provide children and youths with an essentially practical type of education. As the foregoing analysis shows, the nature and content of this practical education was largely emanated from the immediate environment and was distinctively gender –centred. A male child's education was greatly determined by his father's occupation while that of a girl was associated with the mother's feminine roles. Fundamentally, though Ogiek children were instructed and guided by their parents, there was a strong emphasis in the learning process through participant observation.

Indeed, the Ogiek land tenure system aimed at defusing feuds resulting from conflict over hunting and bee-keeping rights. Essentially, it was the responsibility of the elders to ensure that the resources were appropriately utilized for the benefit of the community and the methods for preserving and conserving the natural environment were passed on from generation to generation (Obare & Wagnwe, 1998; Nomi, 2004; Sigei, 2006). Indeed, their guidance affirmed the integrative ethical and moral responsibility of each member of the community to the physical and spiritual laws of nature. It was clearly understood that the existence of the community depended on their continued preservation of their habitat.

Educative Proverbs, Songs, Stories and Dance as Ecological Learning Strategies

Therefore, each individual had a duty to conserve the environment for their own survival. Lessons on environmental conservation were taught by parents and elders to the rest of the community through proverbs, legends and folktales. Indeed, proverbs were used widely in ordinary conversation (Chesaina, 1991) as a way of enhancing informal instructions by Ogiek elders. One commonly used proverb that has clear emphasis on environmental conservation was *onion ak kwoni, ko Chepiswet* (Sangwea, 2006) meaning Chepswet, the bird associated with rain, is here and there. This called for the need to preserve it. A second proverbs, also used as a folktale, was, *Konyun Kotinye Temenik mut*, (Sang, 2006; Kirui, 2006) meaning my house has five branches. This emphasized the importance of branches to trees and stressed on the attainment of numeracy skills by the learners. Another proverb illustrating the importance of conserving trees was *Makiyumen Sosur, Yemoeniyeb* (Chelule, O.I. 31.5.2006; Tuei, 2006). This wise sayings stressed that one should not shelter under a *Sasuriet* tree when it is raining only for them to start cutting it after the rain. These proverbs were used by adults to convey lessons, warnings and advice to the children on the need to conserve the environment by using the resources in it wisely.

The Ogiek attached great importance to proverbs, legends and folktales as the condensed wisdom of their ancestors that had great impact on the mind of individuals than the ordinary words. Children were therefore instructed to conform to the mores, customs and standards of behaviour inherent in these teachings by learning the minute details of the folklore. Disobedience was however followed by various forms of punishment as illustrated above. Legends as understood as tales that were fabricated to account for real events that took place as vividly illustrated in Ogiek sayings that, *ngwan muma sirgiriet* (Sangwea, 2006) meaning you should not killed donkeys as the consequences are grave; bad omens) would befallen on the victim. This clearly became a good reinforcing strategy to preservation of animals generally. We would summed up that learning through oral literature (Proverbs, legends,

folktales etc) by the Ogiek entailed constant correcting and warnings to the children of the vices that were forbidden in their broad based curriculum of the physical environment. Indeed, they were constantly reminded to uphold proper management and utilization of the natural resources within their territorial jurisdiction.

The Ogiek had no centralised institutions like chieftaincies or political leaders (Ogot, 1978) such as headmen but rather relied heavily on lineage councils to handle social and ecological issues (Bargochut, 2006). It was within their kinship structure that one's rights and duties were defined and articulated. Based on the foregoing discussion, it is imperative to acknowledge that the youth were advised to create a strong sense of unity and to maintain it. This maintenance of the status quo was achieved through clan observance of the taboos, rituals, ceremonies, ownership of land, communal responsibility and mutual help of the clan membership. These issues were wholistically approached and articulated in relation to the social and natural environment. In this way, the young were brought up within the forest environment. They were made up to become well adjusted persons so as to acquire their appropriate skills for their sex roles to control and exploit the natural resources within it.

The Ogiek were rich in ecological knowledge with a sophisticated and widely respected intangible heritage, consisting of dance, music, myths, the culture of forest spirits as well as indigenous knowledge of biodiversity, medicine and sustainable exploitations of the natural resources. It was also through their elaborate indigenous institutions that enabled the Ogiek to co-exist peacefully with the natural environment. Hence, they had well organized clan leadership of council of elders whose mandate was to deal with the community's welfare, land and security (Towett, 2004).

As already discussed in the foregoing analysis of Ogiek's educational curriculum, it should also be stressed that the development of their culture has been largely centred on transmission of knowledge about biodiversity and ecosystem capacity from generations to generations. This was done through the medium of oral literature (proverbs, songs, stories, dance) and ceremonies (initiation) as some of the learning methods and processes of education. More specifically, they clearly demonstrated these endeavours as embodied in their songs and speeches that were made with specific reference to conservation of their environment as reflected (Bisimba, 2006; Chebunye, 2006 and Tonui, 2006) in the following instances:

i) *Kemenye Kipleleon ole yotu moek sait aeng* meaning Ogiek adored the beautiful scenery of Kipleleon which was endowed with fertile land and plenty of pasture as a result of being a forested area. It was also a source of water for their wild and domestic animals hence the need to jealously guard it of over exploitation.

ii) *Ngungunyandenyon nemi Kuto Kile boisiek mat obagach*, demonstrated the fertility of expansive Mau Forest and promised to protect it under all cost from being degraded by aggressors of other communities and hence the need for constant check to ensure conservation of natural resources thereof.

iii) *Kipluguny en tugat kot kout Sigiriet en Likia koboru ngorsetnebo mengotet* this vividly explained that their pattern and settlement would be complete with the occupation of Likia indigenous Forest in Eastern Mau Forest as it was regarded as the central abode for them by their ancestors. They attached greater significance to it because of the mythological understanding of it to be sacred and where various rituals

were performed, hence the need to have it preserved as an embodiment of their cultural heritage.

In these selected episodes and myths, it was clear that the Ogiek demonstrated as knowledgeable environmentalists as earlier deduced by Majtenyi (2001) and had adequately developed refined methods and an onset determination to preserve and conserve Mau Forest ecosystem. In this way, their ecological knowledge systems were passed down from generation to generation by the elders of the community (Obare & Wagnwe, 1998; Ronoh, 2006). At the lineage level, children and youths learnt what was of utility to the society as concern the management of their ecosystem in a balanced and integrated way.

However, at the lineage level, all kinds of subjects were discussed by the council of elders particularly those touching on the regulation of social and ecological management system. At the lineage council, the elders lead the young in inculcating indigenous knowledge systems with regards to ecological management of the environment. In essence, the youths were taught about their natural environment and basically how they could utilize their surroundings for their survival (Tuei, 2006; Langat, 2006; Sangwea, 2006). For instance, they learnt which kinds of grasses were suitable for which purpose and the work that had to be done to obtain food by joining with elders in this work. Based on the relationship between survival and environment, the Ogiek children and youths learnt through a 'difficult forest environment' and thus life was a real struggle against these difficult aspects of the environment such as learning the tactics and techniques of escape when attacked by dangerous animals, poisonous snakes or fighting for safety from fierce bees. As a result, certain emotional attitudes and sentiments were developed around them. Therefore, children had to be taught an integrated and broad based curriculum on all these important aspects of the environment in order to overcome and exploit them, and taking into account their normative and moralist view of sustainable utilization of these natural resources.

Most of the songs (as cited thereof) were geared towards perpetuation of their customs of sharing to which young people were taught to conform with. They were also inculcated values concerning their intricate relationship both to the social and the natural environment. In this particular respect, Ogiek cosmology promoted values that supported conservation and discouraged values and ethics incompatible with sustainable ways of life. Knowledge was imparted through strict instruction of the young by the old, through proverbs, songs and sayings intended to teach about environmental conservation.

In these songs and proverbs already discussed, some emphasis could be inferred on the need to conserve the young trees as they were the most important in the forest. This type of education ensured that actions needed for the survival and well-being of their society were taught (what was strictly of utility to them) and passed down from one generation to the next, thus maintaining the equilibrium and status quo of the society as far as nature was concerned. For instance, as a sign of respect and identification, each family names their portion of land acknowledging their responsibility to the occupancy and usage of the property. This also explained the central role that land played in the life of the Ogiek. In this regard, each individual was taught the importance of preservation of natural resources and they individually monitored the progression of environmental conservation strategy as they acted as demarcation devices that regulate their territorial settlement and forest conservation mechanisms.

Therefore, regulations on the management of environmental resources were followed to the later since the punishment meted on an individual who degraded the environment outweighs its benefits. It was revealed by various cultural consultants interviewed, that the punishment of those found destroying the natural habitat for whatever purpose outweighs the reward they would ultimately get in return. (Maina, 2006; Mosonik, 2006; Sirgatet, 2006). And, because of such a penalty, many individuals saw that there was no need to destroy the environment and thus they resorted to using it in a more appropriate and sustainable way to attain their basic needs as recommended thereof in their unwritten constitution (Oduor, 2004; Sang, 2006). Therefore, the youths were taught to be more pragmatic in their approach and utilisation of environmental resources at their disposal.

In the context of the Ogiek community, freedom of the individual was purely subordinated to the interests of the lineage or the community and hence co-operation in the management of environmental resources was preferred to competition. It was such collective responsibility and interrelated bonding that greatly assisted in environmental conservation of its rich biodiversity of Mau Forest. It was that co-operative spirit of love and sympathy for fellow human beings (Ocitti, 1990, 1994) that was emphasized as cardinal principles as reflected in all aspects of human relations and most activities within the Ogiek lineage system. This normative philosophy of education promoted to a greater extent a clearly defined integrative strategy in the management of environmental resources within Mau Forest (Chumo, 2006). Basing on this strategy and deducing from the foregoing analysis, it was very clear that individuals, parents and council of elders contribute to decisions that affected them and played an indispensable part in creating a secure and sustainable society. It was through, Ogiek's cosmology that they cultivated a strong sense of individual and collective responsibility, generosity and justice among the people, and between people and the environment.

Taking into cognizance the views and arguments postulated in this discussion, it would be clear to deductively emphasize that the Ogiek indigenous education was based on the core principle of an intuitively inseparable and an indepth conceptual understanding of the link and closer relationship between the people, mode of subsistence and the environment. Therefore, for environmental conservation to be achievable, every individual in the society was to have a sound philosophy that was based on an unwritten constitution framework on the need to maintain a stable, secure and sustainable environment for the good of the Ogiek community in general. Such a framework was integrated and modelled on the broad-based curriculum of education offered to Ogiek children and the youth. The main objective of such environmental education was aimed at sustainability, adaptation and continuosly redirection in response to experience and emerging trends and needs in the society. Indeed, Ogiek precolonial society's goals, contents, and methods of education were geared to help the learners to realize their full potentials so as to be able to cope with their local, social, and physical environment as well as their metaphysical understanding of the universe.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to explore the relationship between the Ogiek system of indigenous education and environmental conservation as practised in Mau Forest of Kenya. Using this objective as the key to analyse and discuss the results, the paper identified three major findings based on the Ogiek's socio-economic superstructural systems, theories and institutions as they relate to their natural environment during the precolonial times. The first

finding revealed that it was the dependency on the natural resources and the relationship between the Ogiek and all life within the forest that motivated them to use their indigenous skills and wisdom to protect the environment. Secondly, the study established that the continued existence of the Ogiek culture was dependent upon the survival of Mau Forest, and hence the ability to live in it, for without it, the Ogiek culture would cease to exist.

Thirdly, the finding of the study revealed that the Ogiek were incapable of retaining their essential characteristics if the ecosystem was eventually destroyed. It was this in-built attitude which enabled the Ogiek to conserve their natural resources without any written legislation.

In essence, the existence of the indigenous Mau Forest ecosystem was inextricably linked with the survival of the community. Indeed, the transmission of indigenous education among the Ogiek was a complex and fundamental process embedded within their insights socio-ecological, economic, political, cultural and religious structures and institutions. It was this characteristic rather than the inherent complexity of any biological and physical environment that determined the intricacy and methods of the transmission process and the complexity of their curriculum.

The Ogiek, commonly referred to as the 'caretakers' of the Mau Forest have existed for centuries living in a symbiotic and peaceful relation with nature. Their deeper understanding of their relationship with the environment, have helped the Ogiek to cultivate a variety of methods as elaborated and articulated in the various socio-political economic institutions and religious endeavours discussed thereof, in order to conserve and preserve the Mau Forest's natural resources. By so doing, they became very successful protectors of the forest. In fact, the study findings revealed that it was the dependency on the natural resources and the relationship between the Ogiek and all life within the forest that motivated them to use their indigenous skills and wisdom to protect the environment.

Essentially, the Mau Forest's natural resources played an important role in Ogiek culture that rendered the urgent need for their conservation extremely imperative. The unique relationship with the land and its environment in totality was necessary for the cultural and spiritual survival of these people. The vitality of the biodiversity and the ecological system of the Mau Forest was virtually central to the traditions, spiritual growth and economic livelihood of the Ogiek. Therefore, the study findings revealed that the continued existence of the indigenous Ogiek was dependent upon the survival of Mau Forest, and hence the ability to live in it, for without it, the Ogiek would cease to exist. The Ogiek perfected a cultural and spiritual tradition that closely integrated their culture and nature.

The Ogiek were uniquely specialized people and were intimately related to Mau Forest ecosystem in many respects. In cognizance to this fact, the findings of the study revealed that the Ogiek were incapable of retaining their essential characteristics, if that ecosystem was eventually destroyed. This was in tandem with the fact that the Ogiek indigenous education put much emphasis on the normative and expressive goals where by their educational theory hold the view that each individual's relationship affects and is affected by that of the others and subsequently that of its immediate ecological settings.

The Ogiek managed the environment and its resources thereof quite successful for a long time through well-designed, productive and sustainable indigenous environmental conservation strategies that had evolved gradually through well defined socio-ecological, economic and political superstructures of this community. However, there could be little doubt that these strategies emanated from the people who had valued and concerned for their environment and its related ecosystem. Such an attitude enabled the Ogiek to conserve their natural resources without any written legislation.

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Fashioning our own whare: a rangahau journey

Shelly Davies, Thomas Tawhiri Brigitte Te Aweawe-Bevan, Leilana Harris, Kahu Te Kanawa, Shelley Hoani, and Te Kapua Hohepa-Watene.

There once was a girl with no voice. She had a kind heart and carried a kete with her which was old and had a hole in the bottom. She lived with a whānau who she loved but she wasn't really sure if she belonged. Her calling was to help and support the whānau, but she was too whakamā to speak, and felt ashamed of her old, broken kete. Although she loved everyone around her and did what she could to help and support them, without a voice her influence was limited.

One day her whaea told her about a new calling—one that could be done alongside her old one—and asked the girl if she would accept it. She did. She was frustrated with having no voice, and wanted to see if a new calling would help her become more brave. With the new call came a new whānau—not to replace the old one, but to add to it. And the new whānau brought new knowledge and new spaces, and new challenges. The girl with no voice drank up the knowledge, stepped into the new spaces, and took on the new challenges as if her life depended on it. She gathered harakeke and used it to fix her broken kete. She wondered why she hadn't thought to do that before.

With the new knowledge came new kupu, which she rolled around her mouth and tasted. Some were salty and others were sweet, but they all made her hungry for more kupu, and she said so. She didn't even realise that she had spoken. She was so busy in the new spaces, jumping, stretching and running, that she didn't stop to think about the sound her voice made as it echoed in the spaces, getting louder with each utterance. The new challenges were daunting at first, but she loved the hikoi and as she walked she picked things up off the ground: a story here, a waiata there, a whakatauki, a poem... As she took them in her hands they felt familiar, and she realised they had been in her kete long ago.

With gratitude she collected them and put them back into her kete. She uttered karakia of thanks, and wondered aloud to herself who else might have a broken or empty kete. She went to find out. And as she walked, she sang.

In 2007, the Tertiary Education Commission established the Research Capability Fund which was intended to support Wānanga with increasing research capability in their institutions. Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWoA) put into place a plan to establish Kaiārahi Rangahau who would be based in each rohe with the purpose of "developing and supporting both emerging and active researchers" (Te Anga, 2008). As with all new initiatives, the establishment of this position created unique challenges and a steep learning curve for those of us who took up the wero and stepped into the new role. Towards the end of our first year as Kaiārahi Rangahau,

we travelled together to a story conference in Melbourne, Australia, and determined to write the story of our journey thus far. It is this story, or rather our individual stories, interwoven like muka in a whenu, which provide you with a view of something greater than its individual strands—our learnings, experiences, insights and emotions as first-time kaiarahi rangahau.

He Whakapapa

Maku anō hei hanga i tōku nei whare
I shall fashion my own house
nā Kīngi Tāwhiao

The Rangahau Strategy at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and indeed TWoA as a whole draws strongly on the above whakatauki. *I shall fashion my own house.* We build our own whare, in our own way, so that it best suits our people. The whare, a "metaphor of New Zealand's oldest social institution," has been used as a framework for conceptualising and operationalising rangahau at TWoA (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2007). Rangahau, while often equated with the term "research" and while sharing many characteristics with the commonly held notion of research, for us is a uniquely indigenous concept. Rangahau has been described as "original thought, inquiry and wisdom" (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2007), but for TWoA also includes the idea of old knowledge in a new time, or the (re)claiming of "(k)new knowledge" (Edwards, 2009) and the development of our engagement with and capability in rangahau as individuals, as an institution, and as a people is a strong movement within TWoA.

Kaiārahi Rangahau were tasked with the responsibility to:

- Develop and increase staff capability in rangahau (including rangahau methods based on indigenous epistemologies and worldviews that inform indigenous ways of knowing);
- Generate an increase in completed rangahau projects based on tikanga and āhuatanga Māori;
- Generate an increase in completed, high quality rangahau outputs and outcomes that inform teaching and organisational practice.
- Enhance learner outcomes resulting from improved knowledge surrounding teaching and learning practices and;
- Build rangahau capability so that TWoA can actively and fairly compete for Performance Based Research Funds (PBRF).

These responsibilities were to be fulfilled by conducting the following activities, among others:

- Support with bibliographies, references etc
- Produce at least five rangahau outputs produced from each region
- Collect and record rangahau activity which is completed and ongoing in the rohe

- Support with rangahau proposals for academic upgrades i.e. Thesis and PhD proposals
- Support with internal contestable fund applications and other rangahau funding applications if needed
- Develop and deliver Rangahau training initiatives for regional staff
- Guide staff on the PBRF process and required documentation

And all this was to be done alongside our fulltime positions as Kaiako, Academic Advisors, and Kaiako Matua, while being rangahau active, and at all times conducting ourselves within the recently articulated kaupapa wānanga framework. Kaupapa Wānanga is an articulation of Wānanga ways of knowing, doing and being which support Te Tirohanga Whanui of TWoA, which is the conscious pursuit of mauri ora:

Kia whai 'Mauri Ora' i nga mahi katoa.

That all activities of Te Wananga o Aotearoa actively support learning journeys
that seek to maintain, enhance and advance Mauri ora - conscious well being.

In action, Kaupapa Wānanga consists of four takepū which are "a tool for embracing and inviting te ao Māori practices, thinking and behaviours" in all we do. Ngā takepū are: "Kaitiakitanga—to care, responsible trusteeship; Koha—making contributions of consequence; and Āhurutanga—safe space, to make the world a better place; and Mauri Ora—wellbeing, realising fullest potential" (Hunia, Pohatu, & Ngāpō, 2009). Āhurutanga was created for us as a team (six Kaiārahi Rangahau, our own "mentor," and two other rangahau kaimahi) to travel to Melbourne, attend a story conference, and simply get away from all the distractions in our hectic lives and just *get some mahi done!*

The inspiration we felt in this space meant that, when asked to write 500 words each about our own journey as Kaiārahi Rangahau, our voices were varied, colourful and deeply personal. The call to write "about our journey" was received in the way it was given—not necessarily literally or explicitly about the journey. Some narratives were written in the first person, others were not. Some talked of our recent experience travelling together while others gave a much broader view of the past twelve months or even further back. Some stories were told transparently while others were metaphorical. Some authors, like the kumara who never speaks of his own sweetness, were more comfortable writing about their own mentors, leaving us to read the story hidden between the lines to learn of their own journey. Some accounts appear on the surface to be altogether unrelated to the author's journey, but at the same time are representative of a pivotal moment in the journey, and the growth achieved along the way. Having taken all this into account, however, what we get is a deep, broad, emotional as well as critical insider view of the journey of TWoA's first kaiārahi rangahau, how we influenced the journey, and how that journey affected us.

Te Haerenga

"My Research Journey," by Thomas Tawhiri

Tenei au, tenei au,	*Here am I, here am I,*
te hokai nei i taku tapuwae	*Swiftly moving by the power of my karakia*
Ko te hokai-nuku	*Swiftly moving over the earth*
Ko te hokai-rangi	*Swiftly moving through the heavens*
Ko te hokai o to tipuna	*the swift movement of your ancestor*
A Tane-nui-a-rangi	*Tane-nui-a-rangi,*
I pikitia ai ki te Rangi-tuhaha	*who climbed up to the isolated realms*
Ki Tihi-i-manonoI	*to the summit of Manono*
rokohina atu ra	*and there found*
Ko Io-Matua-Kore anake	*Io-the-Parentless alone*
i riro iho ai	*He brought back down*
Nga Kete o te Wananga	*the Baskets of Knowledge*
ko te Kete Tuauri	*the Basket called Tuauri*
ko te Kete Tuatea	*the Basket called Tuatea*
ko te Kete Aronui	*the Basket called Aronui.*
Ka tiritiria, ka poupoua	*Portioned out, planted*
Ki a Papatuanuku	*in Mother Earth*
Ka puta te Ira-tangata	*the life principle of humankind*
Ki te whai-ao	*comes forth from the dawn*
Ki te Ao-marama	*into the world of light*
Tihei mauri ora	*and so it shall be!*

My research journey in Te Wānanga o Aotearoa begins with a tauparapara passed down from our tīpuna. It tells the story of Tane-nui-ā-rangi, the progenitor of mankind and his journey to the heavens in search of knowledge. In a metaphorical sense this ancient chant seeks to explain how the ira tangata came to know things from both the earthly and spiritual realms passed down from te ira atua. The tauparapara reinforces the view that nothing is ever static and although the destination may be unknown, it is the journey and the story gained from the journey that enriches one's experience of life.

Te Wānanga o Aotearoa has its own mauri ora; it enhances and brings to life the aspirations and visions of Māori and the culture and values that underpin who we are. TWoA is a vibrant and dynamic Wānanga and although we have faced challenges we are on the cusp of an exciting period in our development; one of change and transformation. The creation of the Kaiārahi Rangahau position is part of this transformation, and rangahau is at the forefront of our movement forward. Under Government legislation we are the kaitiaki of Āhuatanga and Tikanga Māori, and rangahau is a key component of our kaitiakitanga to preserve indigenous thinking and knowledge.

We are a young academic institution only twenty five years old and although we may not have the academic research history of mainstream universities, we are a Wānanga with a Māori worldview that is dynamic, unique and indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand. We offer new and fresh perspectives into an academic world which can in my experience regurgitate and recycle old thinking. We give our academic partners an alternative way of thinking that is creative and innovative and a direct link to indigenous thinking that enhances a way of being. Universal truth and a Māori way of being is evident in our values and our applied Takepū (applied principles) that naturally direct our activities, our actions and behaviours. This enables us to shift to states of innovation, participation and contribution (Kaupapa Wānanga). The Takepū are alive and practiced through-out our Wānanga this cannot be duplicated in a laboratory, a language lab or in a thesis.

My image of a "researcher" was rather draconian; some intellectual locked away in a dark corner, working on some random idea that they were passionate about, producing a paper that would gather dust on some discreet library shelf. The Kaiārahi Rangahau in TWoA was far from that image. The role was to build meaningful relationships, raise rangahau awareness and identify possible activity that would contribute to build TWoA-wide rangahau capability.

My initial reservations about being a kairangahau were based on what I felt was lacking as a mainstream researcher in a university. A good friend made me realize that in reality, I'd been engged in rangahau for years and didn't even know it, as a performer, composer, tutor and judge of kapa haka, and as an ākonga of Māori weaponry, whakapapa, hapū and iwi history, whaikōrero and oratory skills and Te Reo Māori.

What my friend made me realize is that in TWoA I could contribute and koha back. I knew then that I am in the right place and doing what I am passionate about: being and living Māori.

Thomas speaks of Wānanga, a space in which ako occurs. A space about hui, kōrero, sharing of knowledge, and growth. He describes his change in understanding of what research and rangahau are, and of how he can contribute to the whānau—how he does bring skills and understanding and experience which is of value. He also speaks of being and living Māori, and Wānanga is an intrinsically Māori space, in which values and ngā takepū are key. In Wānanga, our kete are filled, as was Thomas'.

Whaowhia te kete Mātauranga
Fill the basket of Knowledge

"Ngā whakaaro o roto - reflections from and within" by Brigitte Te Awe Awe-Bevan

When Tāne climbed to the uppermost heaven to obtain ngā kete wānanga he was helped by the weaving together of ngā hau. Ranga comes from the word raranga. Ranga and hau are hence brought together to form the word "rangahau", which could be referred to as one of the first research projects undertaken (Rogers & Te Awe Awe-Bevan, 2008).

From hui, wānanga, conferences and academic forums in Christchurch, Ohāki, Wellington and Palmerston North, to storytelling in Melbourne, the past 12 months of my journey as a Kaiārahi Rangahau at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa has been a continuous circle of ako; sharing, searching, finding, and learning.

I have observed the skills of my colleagues in their communications and sharing of information, building up the rangahau capabilities within staff of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa in their own respective rohe; and seeing where my practice can be improved within my rohe. Great relationships have been formed, and I feel very humble to be amongst such talent and intelligence. Furthermore, my own role as a kaiārahi rangahau in the Papaioea rohe has observed the incredible pūkenga and talents of staff - all of them unique.

Beautiful compositions portraying topics of the day, histories of the past and visions for the future are being composed, re-composed and exposed, presented in the beauty of te reo Māori; portrayed and expounded in the splendour of whaikōrero, karanga, kapa haka, mōteatea, haka, poi, waiata and waiata-ā-ringa. Artwork providing historical and contemporary overtures are being created and re-created and exhibited continuously. Abstracts and papers towards conferences, workshops and publications further illustrate indigenous thought of tikanga Māori, āhuatanga Māori, and āhuatanga ako.

These enormous talents emerging and being exposed through rangahau are only the tip of the iceberg and will continue to be portrayed and grown in the tapestry of time as abundances of ngā kete wānanga, that will overflow with the unique knowledge that is revealed. Bringing together the work of staff as a collective towards the development of rangahau culture within Te Wānanga o Aotearoa to me, has been a humbling learning experience.

The term whānau is a metaphor for a collective of people striving towards the same goal. For me, my colleagues are my whānau: kaiārahi rangahau, all Māori kairangahau, indigenous to Aotearoa, collectively recognising rangahau as Māori world views and truths (Tawhiri, 2009). We guide and support each other through ongoing rangahau and the use of electronic and kanohi ki te kanohi wānanga as we strive towards the same goal. Time spent together as a whānau is a rarity and therefore a tāonga, and weaves together intelligence and passion, sharing visions for the future of indigenous rangahau ā whānau. Expressions of tino rangatiratanga and indigenous world views are passed on to others to provide understanding, and we as kairangahau continue to journey and use rangahau, wānanga and ako as platforms to guide, learn and reflect from and within.

Brigitte's story has a strong theme of whanaungatanga: whānau as a collective group on a journey together; whānau as peers supporting and learning from one another; new relationships formed and others strengthened. The term "whānau" to describe these relationships is fitting especially in the context of the Kaiārahi role and the tuakana-teina relationship. Tuakana and teina are siblings—one older and one younger, whether in age or experience. The relationships built with our peers, our "whānau," extend beyond the collegial and become familial, and through these relationships we share responsibility and we find strength.

Ehara i te mea, he kotahi tangata nāna i whakaara te pō
It is not the case of only one person who shares this responsibility;
several people should be credited for the event in question

"Memorabilia" by Leilana Harris

My first thoughts when given the privilege to attend a story telling conference in Melbourne were excitement and doubt. The excitement was caused by the prospect of experiencing the beautiful, colourful, ancient aboriginal culture. Little did I know that the only taste of aboriginal culture I would experience was an aboriginal man walking his baby in a pram. The doubt was a little voice in my mind, saying, "Can't you just go to the pā to hear stories? What a waste of time! Telling stories is what our people DO!"

My final thought when leaving Melbourne, Australia would not be excitement or doubt but rather, "unforgettable in every way."

We were greeted by a raven perched on an airport fence which for me was very welcoming. Amongst all of man's creation, God's creation would steal the show; a beautiful pitch black raven smiled against a bland, concrete setting.... I was absolutely convinced that the winds and the lands of Australia had felt the presence of people from a sister land, and our visit was being sanctioned by the ancients who had sent a raven to welcome us on to their whenua.

The conference was held at a remarkable, historic convent. I could see that its walls held a multitude of stories. As soon as I walked through the gates, I knew this would be an experience I would never forget.

It was obvious from the introductory session that my take on the idea of a "conference" was about to change. I found myself continually comparing my past conference experiences with this story telling conference. What I expected would be story telling from an indigenous aboriginal perspective, turned out to be indigenous experiences from another land—a land I would never have related the word indigenous with... England.

The next two days would challenge my belief systems and open me up to a world I never knew existed. Well maybe I did, I just turned a blind eye to it. I tasted a culture that was something out of 'my ordinary'—a culture that would colour me in and go outside of the lines. The richness that was shared in all of the kōrero was amazing. I was being inundated with stories from people from all different spaces and places and I loved it, I truly loved it.

And not only was I affected but my contributions impacted on others. Who would have thought that my take on Cinderella would excite people? That's when it became apparent to me that no matter what land, culture or background you come from, you have a story to tell and your story is relevant. This visit gently reminded me that we all have a story and that the need to tell that story to the world with unconditional love is imperative.

Our sister land waved us goodbye with her warm wholesome winds and Papatuanuku welcomed us home with open arms.

Leilana's story gives us insight into āhurutanga. It speaks of a space being made, provided, and accessed, and describes the profound effect that space and the experiences in it had on her. Her growth in this space has shaped her as a kaiārahi rangahau and opened her to myriad possibilities: Conferences don't always fit into the conference "box." Stories have power. Not just Māori ones. Not just indigenous ones. Given this āhurutanga, Leilana spread her wings and took flight in a very short time.

He manu hou ahau, he pī ka rere
I am a young bird, a chick just learning to fly

"My Mum" by Kahutoi Te Kanawa

Never before in my life have a felt such a void as when my mum passed.

In the first few minutes after being told of my mum's passing, I was overcome by the knowledge that she would not have to suffer anymore. Then in the days to come during the tangihanga, it was evident that her loss to our family, community, hapū, iwi and the nation would be felt.

She truly left a legacy of stories. We, as a family, have our own stories about her, but hearing stories from other people gave an insight into their association with her and how she touched them so deeply. As thousands attended the tangi, they were saddened by her loss just as much as we were. Their tributes gave us further insight into the care, love and joy she attributed to other peoples' lives. These were moments in time. Moments she gave to others in which she shared her knowledge and skills willingly; from her only surviving sibling who talked about their childhood, to the friends, weavers, artists, educators, kaumātua, kuia, cousins, and even the homeless child that saw her as a mother figure.

I was overwhelmed at the sight of so many people attending her tangi to pay their last respects. These stories will forever live on in my memory. Here was my mum, resting peacefully and deservedly so. She is tired now and has lived a lifetime of loving, giving, sharing and kinship that can be passed on. So how does one receive this knowledge she leaves behind to pass on? The recipients of this knowledge and skill have a great responsibility now to keep the legacy alive and to rekindle the hopes, dreams and aspirations of what my mother left behind for us to continue on with.

As we adorned ourselves with the cloaks she made for each and every one of her children, our whāngai and Dad, this showed without doubt her lifetime's work and love for us. This is a feat in itself, to have each member of her family adorned with a cloak. This is a true gift of aroha and honour.

Wearing our cloaks to honour mum, as we proceeded to take her to her final resting place, was a sight that many people who were in attendance will never forget. They talked about that for days, and said that they would probably never see this again in their lifetime. Although we as a family were aware this is a rare sight to see, especially today, once again Mum elevated us, even in death. I am fortunate to have learnt some of the skills that have been left by her and will treasure this for the rest of my life and will continue to pass this on. However the stories that we heard about our mother from other people, reminded us, that "unity brings strength." My Mum tried to do that with many people she associated with, and we feel that loss.

Kahutoi's story invokes powerful images of koha. The koha of korowai made by a mother for her children. The koha of knowledge and skill passed on through generations and shared

with community and country. The koha of love expressed by a nation at the passing of a treasured tohunga raranga. And that koha can now be seen in the work that Kahutoi does as a Kaiārahi Rangahau. This story also shows that being given the opportunity to write was a koha for Kahutoi, a place to express her loss and grief and start to reconcile herself with them. In return she gives as a koha to us, her story. Her mother's koha to her now becomes her koha to others, and the legacy continues.

Te ohākī o ngā tāngata mātua
The bequest of the ancestors

"…and they lived happily ever after." by Shelley Hoani

This is the 'fairytale' ending that many of us may recognise from our childhood. It is just as familiar as the infamous words 'once upon a time.' But just as not all stories end with happily ever after, not all stories start like a fairy tale, either. My story, this story, begins with a text message and four simple yet life-changing words: "Aunty passed away tonight."

Aunty passed away tonight *and with her goes a lifetime of memories and experiences yet to be spoken, yet to be shared. But in the days that follow those that are left behind remember with fondness the many scoldings she meted out and the feathers that she ruffled. With tears in our eyes we laugh as each of us recounts a memorable moment or a favourite expression and then collectively and as if on cue we break out into a waiata, one of her many favourites. United in our loss, comforted in our memories and consoled by our stories, we drift back and forth between the past and present, ever mindful that our futures are forever changed.*

Aunty passed away tonight *and I think to myself where to from here? I haven't just lost an Aunty I've also lost my mentor and my guide. Once she stood beside me guiding my karanga with her reassuring voice and a lifetime of experience. But now she silently leads the way as my karanga heralds her spiritual return 'ā wairua nei' to the homestead where she lived and loved. How do I honour this great woman who took me under her wing and introduced me to tikanga and āhuatanga Māori? How do the words of my karanga find their way to the surface when I can barely breathe, when my heart is so heavy? I have no answers, all I know is that life goes on and if she were beside me today she would tell me (in a loving yet firm voice) to 'haere tonu;' to keep going.*

Aunty passed away tonight *and as I watch my cousins around me I now realise that I am not the only one whose life she influenced. "Mā te wā e tohu" was a favourite expression of hers, "time will tell," she would say, and in that exact moment I know that this is one of those times that she spoke of. With that knowing comes the realisation that I am not alone, that we are not alone, and along with that also comes the remembrance of another gem that she shared with us during her lifetime: "i runga i te aroha me te rangimarie" – "in love and peace." As*

I look back on my life's story perhaps this is the 'happily ever after' that speaks to me, that guides me and in the end prepares me for the text message: "Aunty passed away tonight".

In Shelley's story we sense mauri ora. We sense the peace and wellbeing she finds as she recognises the koha that have been given to her by her beloved aunty. What a powerful epiphany to recognise that the aunty who has passed on also prepared Shelley for her passing? That in a time of such loss and grief, there is recognition that through her teachings, this aunty contributed to Shelley's own well-being, and because of those contributions Shelley is well, even in such a difficult time. The story is rich with symbols of wellness—the karanga, the ability to hold fast to the teachings, the whānau's ability to sing, spontaneously and collectively, as though their aunty were still here singing along with them.

Whāia te Mātauranga hei oranga mō koutou
Seek after learning for the sake of your wellbeing

[untitled] by Te Kapua Hohepa-Watene

Once upon a time, or rather, E ai kī ngā korero, there was a beautiful blue waka called 'Te Wānanga o Aotearoa'. This waka travelled up and down the country and anyone could jump on board. The challenge was to take the first step. To make this step less threatening, Captain Bentham and his crew created two big yellow safety nets called 'aroha' and 'manaaki'.

Once aboard, each passenger was given a bright red scarf with the word 'whānau' on it. Whenever they wore it they felt safe, warm and happy. They knew they could approach any of the crew, who were wearing silver 'kaitiaki' scarves, for anything that they needed.

Along the journey there were some scary taniwha who tried to stop the waka but when the crew put up their 'kotahitanga' sail, the taniwha were left behind. The waka also had several flags flying on it which were the colours of the rainbow.

One day some of the crew members called 'te whānau manaaki rangahau' (later known as 'te kahui rangahau') decided to put up a new purple 'rangahau' flag beside the others. It was very heavy, so crew members from different parts of the waka were called upon to help them out. These crew members were called 'kaiārahi rangahau'. Fortunately, some songs had already been composed for the flag raising ceremony, including: "Toroa te Nukuroa", "Wānanga 2020", "Te Toi Awhio", "Te Toi Roa" and "Te Mata Wānanga".

After attending other flag raising conferences around the world, including a meeting called "WIPCE", they realised that everybody on the waka could participate in the ceremony in some way or another. Some could compose waiata, others could perform 'haka', while still others could carve or paint the flagpole, weave some strong ropes, or write a book about it.

The day finally came and the flag had been coloured with bright 'koru' designs and smelt crisp and fresh.

As the flag was being raised a bird called 'PBRF' landed on it and asked if it could change the shape and colour of the flag. The kaiārahi were not happy with the proposed changes and said "Kāore. If we changed the flag it wouldn't look, feel or fly right," so the bird flew away.

As the flag got higher, some of the crew became weary. The kaiarahi had a korero with the whānau and discovered that everyone needed more time and space. They also learned that more kaiārahi were going to be needed in order to keep the flag flying once it was raised. One of the ways to encourage the crew was to acknowledge that they had already conquered many seas and raised many flags; this flag was no different.

Then one day, when the sea was calm and the sun was glittering on the big blue waka, a white bird called 'wairua' settled on the front of the waka. The crew were inspired and the rangahau flag was raised. For the time being, everyone lived happily ever after....kia tau te rangimarie.

Te Kapua's story speaks to us of kaitiakitanga—of the group who were given the task of raising the new flag; rangahau. It speaks of that responsibility and how the weight of it was measured and shared with other kaitiaki. The kaiārahi in the story learned and gained strength from those who went before them: the captain of the waka, the kaitiaki who raised the other flags, the crew of the waka and the whānau on board. Te Kapua's story oozes indigeneity in the colours, the symbols, the sounds, the people and the collective desire to build their own whare—or in this case—raise their own flag.

E ai ō harirau, hei rere mai
You have the wings to fly here

He Aromatawai

As for my story? Well you're reading it. I was the girl who had no voice. Our collective journey brought us to this place and brought me the voice to tell it. And in this moment, in this space, we as the Kaiārahi Rangahau take a moment to pause and reflect. Our stories show knowings discovered and rediscovered about ourselves, our abilities, our responsibilities, our indigeneity and our right to rangahau. Our stories tell of kete repaired and refilled. Julie Kaomea (2004) explains how rangahau can affect us in these ways:

> *Above all else, indigenous research should be about healing and empowerment. It should involve the return of dignity and the restoration of sovereignty, and it should ultimately bring formerly colonised communities one step further along the path of self-determination. We should think on these factors as they apply to our own research, and if and when we decide to proceed, we should do so humbly, in an effort to serve. (p.43)*

And serve we have, and healed and empowered we have been. Our kete have been filled, our flags raised, our korowai worn, and our karanga and our voices have flown to our whanau. Through Kaupapa Wānanga we are returning dignity and restoring sovereignty, and in doing so we are building our whare; a whare rangahau which we are building for ourselves, in our own way.

Maku anō hei hanga i tōku nei whare
Ko ngā poupou, he māhoe, he patete
Ko te tahuhu, he hīnau
Me whakatupu ki te hua o te rengarenga
Me whakapakari ki te hua o te kawariki
I shall fashion my own house
The support posts shall be of māhoe and patete,
the ridgepole of hinau
The inhabitants shall be raised on the rengarenga
and nurtured on the kawariki

*nā **Kīngi Tāwhiao***

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The Yoik Opens A Door to Sámi Oral Literature: A Path into Language, Identity and Self-Esteem

Vuokko Hirvonen

Introduction

Recently, I read an essay by Tina Deschenie, the editor of the Tribal College Journal, on her memories and experiences of learning and teaching literature. She reminisced how, in her childhood, her father used to tell them – the children – stories about the Coyote in the Dine language. At home, she learned oral, traditional Dine stories and songs. However, she never got a chance to hear or learn them in school; neither was she ever taught anything about the written literature of the Dine. The stories they read in school were the ones that are found in famous American or European children's and young people's books and the so-called classics. She did not get to learn about traditional Indigenous narratives and works written by Indigenous people themselves until she began her studies at her tribal college of higher education (Deschenie 2007: 19).

The Sámi have similar experiences, and many authors have written how school has made Sámi oral tradition worthless and invisible (see e.g. Hirvonen 1999). In the past twenty years, when I have taught Sámi written and oral literature at the Sámi University College, I have seen how important it is for people's identities that they know and learn about the literature and culture of their nation. With the help of literature, we can construct a new Indigenous identity and self-esteem in the academy.

Postcolonial theories have aroused a great deal of interest in literary research in the Indigenous world, too, because they examine how authors of colonized regions break, through their texts, the hierarchies that European thought and use of power have created in these countries [see Ashcroft – Griffiths – Tiffin 1989 (1994)]. When I now begin to examine the knowledge I have gained as a teacher of literature, I will look at the teaching of Sámi literature as a decolonization process which has helped the students better understand their background, history and culture; it has also healed deep cultural wounds and strengthened the self-esteem of the students. When analyzing this process, I will make use of the Medicine Wheel and its tools according to the explanation of the Mi'kmaq Indian researcher Marie Battiste (2000). Through this wheel, we can map and analyze the influence of colonialism and find new ways of approaching research issues that arise from our own needs – and resolve them from the perspective of our own background.

According to Battiste, the Medicine Wheel has four doors: the Western, the Northern, the Eastern and the Southern Door. When we open the Western Door, we jump into the world of the autumn and map the many faces, contours and effects of colonialism, as well as the ways

it has controlled people's lives. The Northern Door is the "home of winter", but also the sphere of dreams, hopes and diagnosis. It is the region from which the diagnosis of colonialism emanates and through which we can study the distress and social impact that colonialism has entailed. Being a symbol of the spring, the Eastern Door is the door of civilization and light. It challenges us to find new types of solutions and to promote activities that nourish and empower us and restore our collective understandings of how to promote the common efforts of Indigenous peoples. The Eastern Door heals our collective identity, our communities and the spirit that sustains us (Battiste 2000: xxii-xxx).

The Southern Door is the door of summer, which opens the way to new views and equality between nations. Here, the focus is on our own traditions that protect and sustain us. By making use of them, we can preserve our own communities, education and governance; this also enables us to make use of Indigenous knowledge and systems and their applications. All this will benefit future generations and improve our lives and future (Battiste 2000: xxii-xxx).

With the help of the Medicine Wheel, I will now explain the ways of working that we have used in the teaching of both oral and written literature; I will also analyze the process that the students have gone through during their studies. Although I have not applied such an analytic method consciously in my teaching, I can now see similarities between the teaching and the Medicine Wheel. Thus, this paper focuses on how we can use oral Indigenous literature in learning our language, strengthening our self-esteem and building up a positive identity.

Sámi literature as a broad concept

Since the founding of the Sámi University College, our students have been able to study the Sámi language and Sámi literature as separate subjects; from 2009 on, they can get a master's degree in them. From the very beginning, the purpose of the studies in Sámi literature has been to learn about Sámi oral traditions and the written literature of the Sámi. The objective of the part on Sámi oral tradition is that the students will acquaint themselves with the different genres of oral heritage and their characteristics and local traditions; they also learn to know the most important sources and collections of traditions. The methods of teaching and learning include lectures, group work, network learning, individual learning, oral presentations and analyses.

Ever since the first year, the course on oral traditions has also included carrying out a small research project. The students choose or define the subject of the study themselves, interview people who are skilled in some sphere of Sámi heritage, gather information and write a research paper on the basis of the interviews. In recent years, the assignment has consisted of finding out about the *yoiks*, or Sámi chants, of the student's family or home region. Most students have found this an important and challenging task. The research connects the students to the history of their own community, family and society; it also honors and makes the Sámi heritage and knowledge mastered by the elders of society visible. In this way it brings the Sámi University College close to ordinary people. Therefore, I will, in this

presentation, especially analyze the learning process that takes place during this research and the impact it has on the students.

The Western Door: The closed doors of yoiking are opened
Yoiking is one of the most visible and best-known features of Sámi culture. It is Sámi oral poetry. Until the past few decades, yoiking was, as a part of Sámi culture and identity, suppressed in many regions. Nevertheless, the study of the cultural, social and spiritual significance of the Sámi tradition of yoiking has been one of the main themes of this education. We do not teach our students *to yoik*: we teach them *about yoiking*. At the beginning of the studies, yoiking and the concepts connected with it are defined, and the students get a general picture of the research that has been carried out on yoiking. They also learn how the Sámi knowledge and skills of yoiking have, through ages, been passed down from one generation to another as well as gathered and preserved. After defining oral traditions as literature, we also reflect on and analyze the lyrics of yoiks with the help of literary tools and cultural knowledge.

For centuries, yoiking was a forbidden and punishable act, and, as a result of this, the skill of yoiking was almost totally wiped out from many areas. The prohibitions against yoiking were launched in connection with the conversion of the Sámi into Christianity – a process, which grew more intensive in the Nordic countries in the 1600s. Christianity did not manage to destroy Sámi culture and spirituality on its own, but it was supported by the ideology of nationalism that spread from mainland Europe to the Nordic countries in the mid-1800s. Its main slogan was "one nation, one language, one state". It was based on an ideology of uniting, which resulted in that the culture and language of the main population gained a foothold and the needs of minorities were forgotten or considered as dangerous from the point of view unity. It was also commonly thought that smaller peoples, such as the Sámi, and their linguistic and cultural needs could be ignored in the development of society (Aikio-Puoskari 2002: 94–95).

This view has been most visible in education, where it has been extremely difficult for a long time to teach the Sámi language and to use Sámi as the language of instruction. Although the Sámi are the Indigenous people of the Nordic countries, they and their culture have not been taken into consideration in national curricula, textbooks and teaching. Thus, the school system has, for more than a hundred years, intensively built a picture of a homogenous nation, without paying attention to the cultural and linguistic pluralism that prevails within these nation-states. This dogma has not just had an impact on the attitudes of the dominant population but also the views of the Sámi themselves. The school has been guided by a thinking that is based on colonialism, Eurocentrism and universalism; according to it, the thinking, religions and customs of Western countries are of a higher level than those of Indigenous peoples or the peoples of other non-familiar regions. The school has taught many generations of Sámi to reject and look down on their own language and culture (cf. Smith 1999: 64). Indeed, one of the methods of colonialism is to make people estranged from their own culture. Although we have not lost our language or given up our identity, many of us do

not know the values and customs of our culture; neither can we pass them down to new generations.

As the relationship of the Sámi to their own culture is characterized by such a heavy historical burden and silence, it is no wonder that when our students have been getting ready for a research trip, some of them have reflected in the following way on how difficult the assignment feels: "In my family or area, there are no longer any yoiks. So what can I do?" Students are distressed and feel that they cannot do their assignment. How can we help them in this situation?

Finding words and terms for closed doors: Opening the Northern Door

When the Western Door has closed doors, the Northern Door opens the way into looking for responses to the prohibitions. What has happened, when the students have not learned to know their own culture and are afraid of failing their assignment? According to Marie Battiste, such experiences are the result of cognitive assimilation (imperialism), which entails manipulation so that other nations' knowledge systems are suppressed and considered inferior to the dominant knowledge system [1999 (1986)]. This is the way the school system has functioned for example in Sápmi, when it has based its own epistemologies and knowledge systems on just one system, leaving out the perspectives of the Sámi.

A good example of this is yoiking, the epistemological starting point of which lies in reciprocity, in both receiving and giving, in the gift. The studies on yoiking tell that yoiking is a gift, which a person can get from the earth spirits or other natural spirits. However, the most common way of getting it is to learn it from one's parents and relatives. In many Sámi areas, you are not supposed to make a yoik for yourself: you must get it as a gift from someone else. The recipient of the gift can, in turn, yoik another person, an area, an animal or a feeling. Rauna Kuokkanen explains this logic of the gift so that it deals with many Indigenous peoples' characteristic way of thinking, which is based on the reciprocal principle of the land and its gifts. In ordinary language, this means and is understood as "giving back" or "returning". When we give back, we maintain a balance in human relationships and in the relationships between people and the socio-cosmic order (Kuokkanen 2007: 145; see also Kuokkanen 2005).

When the missionaries and the clergy condemned and forbade yoiking, they also rejected a central part of the Sámi world view, breaking a tradition of thousands of years. This also meant destroying an important ontological part of Sámi culture. Eventually, the Sámi themselves, too, began to consider yoiking as a sin and a worthless activity. Through the prohibitions, people have been silenced, and they have kept silent, in their own culture, as they have been deprived of their right to express their deepest feelings in their native language, through the traditional ways of their culture.

Yoiking has also been the primary feature of the identity through which the Sámi have expressed and made visible the fact that they are a distinct people. Yoiking entails strong

social and collective ties that unite families and communities, thus consolidating the sense of belonging together among the Sámi. The pentatonic melody of the yoik, or *luohti*, its departure from Western musical forms and the Sámi language that is used in yoiking have, in turn, resulted in that the representatives of the dominant culture have considered yoiking a strange tradition (see e.g. Acerbi 1802). On the basis of this musical difference, both the representatives of the Church and many researchers have defined yoiking as "the language of the Devil" and as something of an inferior nature. Such assessments have created value hierarchies and dichotomies, in which Sámi culture is looked down on and considered unattractive. As concerns this issue, Maori researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith has noted that research is the central element of the colonization process, as it justifies the definition of knowledge (1999: 173). This statement works the other way, too, when the Sámi get the chance to analyze and resolve the mistakes of earlier studies and, at the same time, build new types of knowledge systems on their own terms and present this knowledge to dominant populations. In this way, the Sámi can bring the marginal into the center and express their views and criticize the ideologies of hegemonic cultural centers (cf. Salazar 1991: 102).

The door of light: Knowing the yoiking history of one's family gives a sense of value

The Eastern Door is the door of civilization and light, as it symbolizes the spring and the beginning of new life. As concerns yoiking, the door of remembering has been kept closed in many Sámi areas. Even today, the prohibitions against yoiking have an effect on the minds of many people. During their research trips, our students have experienced this, but they have also learned how to open closed doors.

In connection with the research tasks, the parents of some students have denied that they can yoik, but the students have learned the truth later, when other relatives or friends have remembered the yoiks of the parents or told that the parents used to be skilful yoikers when young. Such events arouse conflicting feelings in the students, who start to wonder why their parents do not want to tell about their yoiking skills. Will they dare to share this new piece of information with their parents at all, and do their parents want to open the door of secrecy? Mostly, such stories have had a happy ending: this small study has helped the parents of the students and other relatives talk about the yoiks of the family and their yoiking skills, inspiring family members to yoik again. This has also made the students feel extremely happy about finding out about the yoiks of their family.

It is important to note that not all Sámi have lost their yoiking tradition or their skill of creating yoiks, and the yoik can again be heard publicly. The environment sees the yoik as something that has great value and is an important cultural symbol, a sign of the family, and another name of the person: The yoik is one of the greatest gifts, or presents, that a person can give to another person. It is a sign of the fact that the close relative – for example mother, father, sister or grandfather – who has yoiked you loves and appreciates you greatly. If someone yoiks you out of love for you, you are linked to society at large and to the line of generations; this way, you have received a new identity and a new name. Some students tell

that they got a "child's yoik" already as a child (usually) from their mother or father. When they grew older, they got a new yoik, which was, typically, based on the first yoik. The recipient of the gift can him/herself become also a giver of a gift: the students also tell that they have yoiked their children. This is a manifestation of the logic of the gift, according to which a good experience in an individual creates the need to share the experience with other people (see Kuokkanen 2007: 147).

The yoik is strongly connected with the Indigenous logic of the gift, and this explains why the assignment has aroused a variety of conflicting emotions from delight to hatred in the students. Some of them have admitted, after analyzing the yield of the research trips and hearing about other people's ties to yoiking, that they feel envious because they do not have a yoik of their own; they may also feel spiritually poorer because they have not learned to yoik. This can be interpreted so that, in the sphere of yoiking and the yoik, they have not been able to share either the philosophy of giving and returning a gift or the concrete experiences connected with it. There are also students who find yoiking strange as, for them, it is not familiar since childhood or schooldays. To their ear, yoiking does not sound beautiful. The reason behind this is that, as a result of colonization, they have become estranged from their own culture.

The Southern Door: The future of the yoik

The Southern Door is the door of summer, which opens the gate to new views and equality between peoples. In connection with their assignment, students have traveled to their home regions to gather information about the yoiks of their families or areas. For many, the research trips have opened a whole new world and the rich spring of yoiking which can be tapped without fear of it being drained.

After collecting the information, we gather in the classroom and each student tells about the results of his/her research to the group. The method of teaching and learning is collective, and the whole group participates in the discussion. This way, every student contributes to the building of the common good and the shared experience. Often, this is a very special learning situation, as the students come from a variety of Sámi areas and environments. Each area has its own style of yoiking, and the yoiking experiences and backgrounds of the students can also be very different.

Such meetings of students can be interpreted through the theory of social learning, which has discussion as its starting-point – in the same way as Socrates used discussion in his teaching. This method is characteristic of Indigenous cultures, too. It means that the knowledge, traditions and values of the students themselves are also taken into consideration and appreciated in education (Kirkness – Barnhard 2001). This was also confirmed by the words of one of our students, an adult who had already studied in many schools: "Imagine, I am already at the age of a grandmother, and never before has my Sámi background and cultural

heritage been paid attention to and appreciated. Isn't it strange? This makes me feel almost ecstatic!"..

During their research projects students learn about the yoiks and the history of their family and about the yoiking tradition. This process could be called the decolonization of the mind. For example, one student found out completely new things about her grand-grandfather and the yoiking history of her family. Her grand-grandfather was a Christian, who worked as a parish clerk. Everyone knew that he sang hymns beautifully, but none of his grandchildren had ever heard him yoik or knew nothing about his yoiking skills. The student also listened to yoiks in old yoik collections – and found many yoiks sung by her grand-grandfather. In one book, she also found a photograph of her grand-grandfather, and the text under it said that the man was a skilful yoiker. When the student interviewed more relatives, she found a relative, who said that he yoiked when he was alone out on the fells. He had never dared to yoik in front of his friends. Without this assignment, this hidden information would never have come to daylight: the student would never have come to know this. In this case, the yoik clearly empowered the student; it became a source of pride for her and part of her identity.

As a result of such information, the students have redefined themselves, accepted new aspects into their Sámi identity and realized that yoiking is part of Sámi cultural heritage. The kind of learning is a social process, a result of cooperation during which collective feelings, information and experiences are shared. Such teaching and learning conditions are very probably similar to the learning situations in the traditional *siidas*, or Sámi villages, and families – the environments Mikkel Nils Sara calls "shared rooms", in which people of different ages met and reminisced about different kinds of things (2003). Each person told his/her story as the others listened, commented and added their views. People learned the structures of narration in the same way they learned to yoik and create yoiks.

Sámi knowledge and heritage changes pedagogy

The oral tradition of our ancestors contains a great amount of worldly wisdom – all based on their experiences. Therefore, Sámi oral literature opens the gate to knowledge and interpretation. Through oral literature, we can tell where we come from and share our personal histories and identities as well as the histories of our communities – and attain collective integrity. The oral tradition, here yoiking, reflects that which is important for us, and, through language, we express our own world view and values. This world view has grown from our surroundings and from the connection we have with nature and all living creatures.

Traditional narratives, stories, myths, yoiking, proverbs and beliefs are the spring that we can tap in building a positive identity. Therefore, Sámi oral tradition plays an important role in managing and promoting the Sámi language and culture, as well as in strengthening the identity of the individual. With the help of literature studies, it is possible to build a positive

Sámi identity and a new kind of subjectivity and to consolidate Sámi culture. Then, a strong identity will give us strength to look forward and create a "shared room", a better future.

The Sámi University College can, through the kind of research, teaching and learning methods that I have discussed in this article with the help of Battiste's Medicine Wheels, advance the epistemological interests and the world view of the Sámi into the sphere of the academy. Such a pedagogic approach proves that the students can take responsibility for their learning, which, of course, promotes deep-level learning. At the same time, this way of working and doing research is connected with Sámi culture and its views of knowledge. This process also entails the collective sharing of information and experiences, which, in turn, enhances spiritual well-being and will gradually heal the whole Sámi society.

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Hei –Hawaiian string figures: Capturing the Poetic Visions of a People

Kalani Akana

Abstract

Hei is the Hawaiian tradition of string figure making that is unlike the western tradition of cat's cradle and is more closely related to the dance tradition of my people. Our dance tradition, hula, is poetry based and conveys the thoughts, visions, and prophecies of that poetry through chant accompanied by hand, face, and body gesture and movements that are employed to interpret the essentials of the story being told or remembered.

Hei preserves genealogical, geographical, biographical, and biological information. This paper will explore two of these functions: 1) hei as capturing geographical information; and, 2) hei as preserving genealogical information.

In addition, I will discuss my own heuristic experience in learning hei. Spiritual learning is an essential part of my own native Hawaiian heuristics. Spiritual learning is also an important element in my indigenous research methodology.

Poetic Visions of a People

Dr. Peter Hanohano and I were talking about a mutual acquaintance of ours, Emil Wolfgramm, a scholar who lectures frequently on the "poetic visions" of his Tongan people. I especially like when Emil lectures on our common Polynesian ancestor, the so-called trickster, Mäui. I demonstrated to Peter the Hawaiian string figure showing Mäui's lasso which he used to slow the sun so that the people of Hawaiÿi would have enough time to do their work. Peter exclaimed, "that's a poetic vision of our people". Indeed, *hei*[i] or 'string figures' are our Hawaiian people's way of perpetuating and recreating the poetic visions of our ancestors.

For me, relearning these figures has been an exciting process of discovery on both a cultural and spiritual level. Because I was only able to learn three hei figures from a *kupuna* 'elder' when I was a teenager, I relied on Dickey's *String Figures of Hawaiÿi*, the sole book on Hawaiian hei in the world, to learn other figures. When the instructions were too complicated, I was reminded of and shown other ways of learning and researching which I believe many indigenous peoples already utilize – indigenous research.

Indigenous research is quite exciting because it affirms the teachings of our *küpuna* or elders, especially spiritual learning. This is what sets indigenous research apart from other qualitative research methodologies. Here, spiritual knowing is a natural part of the methodology of the native researcher. Gregory Cajete (2000) writes that dreams and visions are some of the "methodological elements and tools of Native science that have traditionally facillitated such learning" (p. 67). Ermine (1999) also writes about this kind of spiritual knowing and Marlene Brant-Castellano (2000) also identifies revelation, dreams, visions, cellular memory and intuition as sources of knowledge (p. 24). Lastly, Margaret Kovach (2009) addresses the issue of direct instruction from ancestors in her new book, *Indigenous Methodologies* (pp. 57, 58, 117).

As more and more of our elders pass away, native Hawaiian researchers like me are seemingly disadvantaged and cut off from our cultural sources of knowledge and wisdom. However, direct instruction from our ancestors is one way in which we Hawaiians can remain connected to those who have passed on to *ke ao pöpolohiwa a Käne* 'the deep purple clouded realm of Käne". To establish this connection, the researcher must know his/her own genealogy because in the Hawaiian belief system the *'aumäkua* or ancestors will only share information with family members. If the researcher cannot identify his or her ancestor, the validity of claimed information received is hihgly questionable. Moreover, it is implausible for a Hawaiian to receive spiritiual information from the ancestors of the First Nations peoples as we have no known genealogical tie to them. Spiritual information is thus privileged information which cannot be accessed by people not belonging to the indigenous group. There is no getting around it.

The indigenous researcher must also know his or her own native language. Others have shared that in a dream such-and-such chief told them to do so-and-so. When I ask what that ancient chief said, they share his words in English. This is questionable because the language of the ancestors is Hawaiian. Although I learned Hawaiian as a second language learner in high school and college, I was fortunate to have close associations with many Hawaiian elders such as my surrogate kupuna, Elizabeth Kauahipaula, and others who strenghtened my speaking ability. From these elders I learned a way of listening and speaking. Along with that way of listening and speaking, they also modeled a way of understanding. It is this way of understanding or worldview which further enables the indgienous researcher in problem solving, decoding, and interpreting data.

Lastly, it is also imperative that the indigenous Hawaiian researcher of today have some hands-on, breathing and living experience in a cultural activity. For some indigenous peoples, culture is a continuing way of life. For most of us Hawaiians, assimilation and alienation from the land has separated the majority of us from our living culture so cultural activities like *hula* ÿtraditional dance', canoeing, planting, fishing, arts such as barkcloth fabrication and design, featherwork, and carving, and more recently the warrior art of *lua*[ii] are ways to remain culturally connected. Mastery of one or more of these cultural ways of knowing assists the researcher in understanding other aspects of culture. In my situation, previous

training and ritual graduation in Hawaiian chant and dance assisted much in my understanding of how the chants and stories that accompanied the string figure worked, and, as a result gave me insights as to how to reproduce the figures based on the deeper meanings of the chants.

The following two case studies are examples of my indigenous Hawaiian research.

The Sun Teeter Totters

The string figure, *Kühau Piÿo ka Lä*, is considered a classic amongst Hawaiian practitioners. It is accompanied by an unusually long chant in terms of string figure making:

Kühau Piÿo ka Lä	The **sun** rises and totters over
Ka lä i ke kula o ‘Ahuÿena	the plains of Ahuÿena
Komo i ka laÿi o Kailua lä, ‘O Kona	It enters into the calm of Kailua here in **Kona**
‘O Kona ia o ke kai malino	Kona of the calm seas
He lae o waho o Kapülau	Now at the cape outside of Kapülau
Kani ke aÿo i Waiÿulaÿula, ‘O Kaÿü	The puffins of Waiÿulaÿula cry, now at **Kaÿü**
‘O Kaÿu ia, ‘äina kua makani,	This is Kaÿü, a wind-blown land hauna i ka lepo suffuse with earthiness
Lele koaÿe Kaumea lä, ‘o Puna	Where the tropic bird flies, now at **Puna**
‘O Puna ia o ke kai köloa i ka ulu hala	This is the Puna district where the sea roars in the hala grove
E nü ana ke kai o Keaÿau lä, ‘O Hilo	And the sea of Keaÿau groans
‘O Hilo ia o ka ua kinai	Now at **Hilo** of the neverending rains
Kinakinai i ka ua maoÿole lä,	Unextinguishable are the rains that never clear
‘o Hämäkua,	now at **Hämäkua**
‘O Hämäkua i ka pali Koÿolau	Hämäkua of the windward cliffs
E nahu ana ka niho i ka ipu	The teeth bite into the gourd
I ka pali o Koholälele	The feathergathers go along the cliffs of Kohalälele
‘O Waipiÿo läua ‘o Waimanu	Now the valleys of **Waipiÿo** and **Waimanu** appear
‘O Kohala iki, ‘O Kohala nui	Great **Kohala**, Small Kohala
‘O Kohala ua ‘Äpaÿapaÿa	Kohala of the strong ‘Äpaÿapaÿa wind
‘O Pili läua ‘o Kalähikola	Now appear **Pili** and **Kalähikiola** hills
‘O nä puÿu haele lua o ke kanaka	The **companion hills** of man
‘O Käneÿoÿopa e neÿe ana	There is Lame Käne crawling about
ma ka huÿahuÿa	in the sea foam
me ka ‘alaÿala päÿina pöhaku	where the ink sacs burst open.
Aloha käkou.	Let us love.

According to Dickey (1928), the chant is a love song recounting the travels of young lovers in Kona who eventually break apart in Kaÿü, come together in Puna, travel to Hämäkua and

finally come together in Kohala. As the chant moves from district to district, the string figues are changed into new shapes representing each of the districts that the lovers pass through.

With regards to *Kühau Piÿo ka Lä*, Dickey (1928) wrote that "the chant is known to many Hawaiians who do not know how to make the string figure." (p.14)   That statement motivated me to learn the figure. I had learned and mastered the chant but did not know how to construct it.

While I was successful learning a dozen or so figures from Dickey, I could not interpret the instructions reccorded for *Kühau Piÿo ka Lä*. There was a major roadblock to learning. Sometime during my yearlong attempt and daily frustration, I was reminded of the admonition of some *küpuna* 'elders' at a song writing workshop in the mid 80's. That workshop was two hours and every elder in the room spoke of his or her own version and experience with this saying: "If you want to write a chant or song, you have to pray. You have to pray to God (Jehovah, added for clarity) and He will give you the ability to write." We didnÿt get step-by step instructions, handouts, or formulas. Just the words, "Pray!" This advice worked for me when I wrote my first song so I embraced their guidance again. As the sun was setting[iii], I put away my string, said a prayer and uttered a short Hawaiian chant asking for insights into learning Dickey's seemingly difficult-to-understand written instructions. That night I received a dream in which one of my *kupuna* 'ancestor' visited and chanted to me. This female ancestress did not show me any sign or even demonstrate how to create the string figure.   All she did was chant.

The next day I sat down to decipher Dickey and in my usual frustration I set the instructions aside to clear my mind.   During that waiting period I was somehow led or inspired to allow my fingers to move intuitively. This is what I was led to do:

1. Loop over thumbs and index fingers.
2. Hook little, ring, and middle fingers over distal index string then bring hands close together so that index fingers can hook the thumb-index back string. With indexes facing downward and pulling away turn from each other simultaneously turn them outwards and upwards under their own distal strings. Release little, ring, and middle fingers.
3. From proximal side the little fingers enter the index loops from below and hook down the proximal index string.

Compare this to Dickey's instructions (only first 3 of 21 steps):

1. Position 1 (loop over thumbs and little fingers with strings running over palms)
2. From distal side pick up left palmar string with ball of right index. Pass left index from proximal side into right index loop, and from the distal side with ball of left index pick up right palmar string. Extend, keeping indexes bent. This is Opening A with indexes turned down.
3. Pass indexes from proximal side into little finger loops. Release little fingers.

The aforementioned, inspired initial steps unlocked the rest of the instructions which were more easily decipherable. I would explain that my muscles also seemed to have some memory of the figure although I had not learned it before.

I would compare my result with the figures illustrated in Dickey as a way to affirm and test the resulting figures. This is largely how I learned each figure in the progression of moving string figures made for the retelling of the story of *Kūhau Piÿo ka Lä*. Thus the figure of the sun *rising and tottering of the plains of Kona* transforms to a figure

e representing *Kona*, which changes to a figure representing *Kaÿü*, then *Puna, Hilo, Hämäkua, Waipiÿo* and *Waimanu*, and lastly *Kohala*, then companion hills, then a man crawling along the shoreline. These figures are very much like road signs on one level. They are also symbolic with deeper meanings at another level that will be discussed below.

Some movements described by Dickey seemed nonsensical to me. For example, when creating *Hämäkua* and when chanting the line "the gourd is being gripped by the teeth" he lays the figure on a table, separates out two dangling loops and picks it up again. Instead, I took a lead from the Hawaiian text "*e nahu ana ka ipu i ka niho*", and grabbed hold of the lead string (representing the rim of a gourd) with my teeth as I separated the two dangling loops in the air that would eventually represent the valleys of Waipiÿo and Waimanu.

Throughout the learning of the chant and hei, knowledge of the Hawaiian language assists the creator in constructing the figure. For example, when the chanter says *Komo i ka laÿi*, he inserts both indexes below each arm of the figure representation for the teetering sun. *Komo* 'to enter' is a signal word for the stringer to insert the indexes into the spaces below the arms of the sun. Dickey does not explain this so only a Hawaiian language speaker would pick up on the signal. Another example happens at *Kaÿü*, when one chants *lele* 'to jump' a string is released and it "jumps" upwards revealing the new figure, *Puna*. At *Puna* when the word *nü* 'to groan' is chanted, the index fingers twists over a string causing the figure to buckle and sway like a groaning sea. Key words appear throughout the chant to assist the hei figure maker in the storytelling. Again, these nuances in the chant are understood only by knowing the Hawaiian language.

As Dickey himself observed, "The Hawaiian is fond of motion or change in a string figure."[iv] These motions and actions assist the viewer and learner in understanding and appreciating the story being told. Here the string, constructed within the confines of the hands, assist in the storytelling just as the hands and feet movements of hula[v] assist in the storytelling. The same cultural rules that dictate the movements of hula also apply to hei and as such, a novice learner of *Kūhau Piÿo ka Lä* can also apply these rules to the learning of the piece. For example, if the fingers move away from the body they must return back. If the hei is moved up, it must return down. A movement on the right is usually repeated on the left.

As in *hula,* the art of Hawaiian dance, the word clues in the accompanying chant helps the audience to fully understand the *kaona* or hidden meaning of the poetry and assists the performer in how to convey meaning. For example, when I form *Hilo* my eyes widen to express my awe at seeing the large rain clouds of Hilo represented by the large rectangular shapes of the figure. When I form *Hämäkua*, my eyes narrow because I must now concentrate on pulling the figure downwards to show the narrow opening into the precipitous terrain of Hämäkua. The epithet for Hämäkua is "puka kihikihi" or Hämäkua of the "narrow opening" and that is shown symbolically in the figure. When I bite down upon the string to pull it apart (as explained above), my expression is fraught with concentration as one would be scaling the cliffs of Hämäkua collecting bird feathers to place within the gourd dangled and grasped only by the human beak. When my fingers successfully unloosen the lower part of the figure, my eyes widen again and expression lightens up even as a weary traveler would when his eyes beset upon the beautiful vistas of Waipiÿo, the Valley of Kings.

The last key to solving the problem of relearning *Kühau Piÿo ka Lä* is the application of traditional Hawaiian knowledge and worldview. In *mele* 'song, chant'*,* much of the thinking and values of the küpuna are encapsulated in its *kaona* or 'hidden meaning'. Dickey's Hawaiian informants provided him some kaona. For example, he ends the chant saying that "these two hills then stand for the lovers as they finally travel the journey of life together"[vi] This is true as the hills, Pili and Kalähikiola, have traditionally been referred to as lovers and he would have only gotten this information from the Hawaiians he interviewed. The meanings of the hills also provide a deeper understanding. Pili means "to be close, to cling" and Kalähikiola means the"life-bringing sun *or* the day bringing salvation".

The end figure of *Kühau Piÿo ka Lä* suggests more than stated by Dickey. When the string practitioner chants the last line, *e neÿe ana ma ka huÿahuÿa* 'creeping amidst the seam foam', the index fingers and thumbs manipulate the figure so that the two hills actually move away from each another. They also get smaller and will actually disappear when extended to the fullest. This suggests a more natural conclusion; the two lovers have come to the end of their natural journey in life.

This idea is supported by traditional knowledge. In speaking of another song, "Hilo Hanakahi", which also tells of a similar journey through the same districts of Hawaiÿi as in *Ku Hau Piÿo ka Lä*, a noted educator writes:

> *Mary Kawena Pukuÿi says that old people advised her when seeking knowledge of the past to travel with her right (strong) arm on the side of the mountains, where strength lies; if one journeys for relaxation or to assuage grief, he journeys with the sea on his left (weaker) side, so that it may wash away his sorrows and tribulations* (Elbert & Mahoe, 1970, p. 50).

The journey in *Kühau Piÿo ka Lä* circuits the island of Hawaiÿi in a counterclockwise fashion with the left shoulder to the mountains and right shoulder to the sea. This kind of travel also

indicates a journey to wash away the sorrows and tribulations of life. The loving couple apparently has tribulations as suggested in the *Kona*, *Kaÿü*, and perhaps the *Hämäkua* verses. They apparently come together in Kohala at the two hills , Pili and Kalähikiola, but also apparently spend their sunset years separated by death as suggested by the line, *ÿo Käneÿoÿopa e neÿe ana i ka huÿahuÿa,* 'lame Käne creeping along the sea foam.'

Maimed Woman in the Moon

I overlooked the string figure, *Lonomuku,* for many years. The drawing (figure 25) in Dickey's *String Figures from Hawaiÿi* was not attractive to me. In fact, I thought it ugly because it was so assymetrical. It wasn't until I read the description provided that I realized that I knew this story. I had both read the story *Lonomuku* in an old Hawaiian language newspaper[vii] as well as heard it told by a kupuna.

> Lonomuku was a woman born at Iwi o Pele near the hill Kauiki on Maui. Her husband was a taskmaster who made her carry the refuse a long way in two gourds (*pa-ipu*) and throw it off a cliff. She finally rebelled and with a gourd under each arm, leaped to the moon. Her husband seized one foot, and when he found he could not hold her back, bit it off. She may still be seen in the moon with a gourd under each arm, and but one foot (Dickey, 1928, p. 51).

There are many variations of the story with the Hawaiian language texts offering more and clearer details. Some versions say that Lonomuku detached her foot to escape her husband's grip. Other versions say that the gourds were actually her children that she transformed in her escape upon rainbow that transported her to the moon. Yet other versions say that the husband, ʻAikanaka was abusive. There is an Oÿahu island version of this story because Hiÿiaka points to the hill, Mäÿeliÿeli near Heÿeia, which Lonomuku uses as a launching spot to the moon.

In any case, the story of Lonomuku motivated me to learn the string figure. While I had no living küpuna to show me how to construct *Lonomuku,* I had Dickey's instructions, prior knowledge of the story, and prior experiences with Hawaiian hei construction. However, learning *Lonomuku* by reading Dickey's instructions were as daunting as learning *Kühau Piÿo ka Lä.* The instructions were also a major roadblock for me. As I learned to do with *Kühau Piÿo ka Lä* I uttered my *pule* 'prayer'. Again, I received a dream visitation. Pukuÿi (1972, p.172) describes this kind of dream:

> The *höÿike na ka pō,* the revelatory dream, nearly always brought a message from the *ÿaumākua*. These ancestor gods spoke clearly or in allusion; they appeared virtually in any of mystical plant, animal, or mineral forms; they hid their appearance in symbol and allegory. But, invariably, the *ÿaumākua* revealed matters close and pertinent to the waking life of the dreamer and his family.

Kameÿeleihiwa (1992) and later Benham (1998) also described knowledge received from the ʻaumakua or *kumupaʻa* ʻspiritual guardians and guidesʼ.

In my dream I saw a kupuna merely stepping over the roots of a large tree. This "stepping" I later interpreted as being the instructions as to how the fingers were to move over and under strings. As I learned through my experience in mastering *Kühau Piÿo ka Lä,* I allowed muscle memory and intution to guide my fingers in the manipulation of the string. In addition, I used Dickeyʼs instructions as confirmation and his figures as affirmation to see if my figure was the same and it was.

This hei figure is remarkable because it shows Lonomukuʼs torn leg. One side of the figure is long and one side is short. Here is where cultural knowledge must be applied to understand the *kaona* ʻhidden meaningʼ of the figure. Symbolically, the two lateral sides of *Lonomuku* refer to the two genealogical branches descended from Lonomuku – senior and junior lines. The Hawaiian genealogist and küpuna know that Lonomuku was also called Hina and her husband called ʻAikanaka. Thus, in that genealogy, the longer, vertical lateral string represents Puna, the oldest son. The shorter, vertical lateral represents Hema, the youngest son. From Puna descend all of the chiefs of the islands of Kauaÿi and Oÿahu. From Hema descend all of the chiefs of the islands of Maui, Molokaÿi and Hawaiÿi. Genealogical connections are valued and important to Hawaiians because it shows how we are all spiritually connected. Thus, when the grandparent created *Lonomuku,* she not only retold a story of old but also left her genealogy No doubt part of her storytelling also included admonitions against spouse abuse as well. The elders also used *Lonomuku* to explain the lunar phases caused by the lame womanʼs walkbouts and the craters in the face of the moon, reported to being Lonomukuʼs transformed children whom she took with her as she escaped ʻAikanaka.

Sun and Moon Lessons

Hawaiian ancestral knowledge can be accessed when the indigenous researcher knows his or her genealogy, native language, and is grounded culturally. For many Hawaiian researchers, alienation from our ancestral lands and resources separated us from living our culture. Moreso, then, the Hawaiian researcher must ground himself deeply in a cultural activity. When these conditions are met, the researcher may be better able to receive spiritual learning, a final and essential element to indigenous research.

Although string media have changed the vibrations caused by the working of *ʻolonä* fiber can now be recreated in the vibrations of yarn, kitestring, or nylon. The "string" imprints of yesterday continue to linger in time and space so that when we recreate string figures today; those same imprints are visible to us again. When coupled with the stories and chants of yesterday, the string figure maker also continues to recreate the poetic visions of our ancestors. By remembering these poetic visions we are educated and inspired by the deep knowledge of the old ones that is still accessible to us descendants today.

i Hei also means "to capture or snare"
ii Lua is hand-to-hand combat style involving bone breaking, joint dislocation, and nerve destruction.
iii It is customary to not make string figures at night as the word 'hei' also means 'rigor mortis' and the movements of the hands at night were thought to resemble the hands of one dying.
iv See Dickey, page 11
v The traditional art of Hawaiian dance uses symbolic hand gestures, feet and body movement, and facial expressions to tell stories that to glorify and honor the gods, the chiefly classes who descended from the gods, and the land, sky and sea which were manifestations of the gods. There is generally a group that chants and a group that dances.
vi Ibid, 18
vii Lonomuku, Ka Nupepa Kuÿokoÿa, March 30, 1865

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Author Biography

The Institute of Koorie Education at Deakin University unequivocally recognises the integrity of Indigenous Knowledge. In respect of the principles and values enshrined in Indigenous Knowledge systems and in intensive consultation from Elders and Respected Persons the recognition of intellectual property for this paper is vested in the ancestral spirit of the lands of those who contributed. That spirit swirled inside all to produce a plan that drew vestige from centuries of wisdom therefore all in attendance at an important workshop of 2009 are listed as the authors. The Aboriginal Nations of those involved from the Nations of for their representation Wiradjuri, Wotjobaluk, Gunditjmara, Latji Latji, Arabana, Wemba Wemba, Bangerang, Wathaurung, Yorta Yorta, Kurnai/Gunai and Miriwung Jerrong.

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Foremost, as an Algonquin person my first interest is Algonquin history where afterwards my interests circulate around traditional Anishinaabe knowledge such as the strawberry, the eagle, the water song, wampum diplomacy, the clan system of governance, scroll knowledge, and the petrographs and petroglyphs located in Ontario, Canada. Other interests include the history of the treaty, land claims, and self-government process in Canada; the legal and cultural politics of Indigenous identity; what motivates volition; the limitations of reason, intentionality, and cognition as ways of knowing; as well as academic discussions of Indigenous knowledge philosophy and Indigenous methodologies. In addition to recently completing my doctoral degree (May 2010) and currently translating my dissertation, titled Maan Pii Nde' Eng: A Debwewin Journey Through the Algonquin Land Claims and Self-Government Process into manuscript form, Aboriginal Legal Services of Toronto, over the past 15 years, has and continues to kindly and diligently represent me in a Constitutional challenge to The Indian Act regarding the government of Canada's discriminatory treatment toward children of unknown paternity that leads to them being unregistered members of their own communities. Committed to community knowledge production I publish in community newspapers as well as academic journals. I also cultivate flowering plants, weave wampum belts, draw, and carve little wooden turtles.

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Shane lives in his tribal homelands of Kawhia on New Zealands west coast of the North Island with his partner and five children. He serves his various marae communities in various capacities and has a love for education and research. His study interest areas include indigenous epistemologies and social cohesion. He enjoys living by the sea and being in relationship with the forests within his region. His favourite food is butter chicken and enjoys old school sounds. In his work role at Te Wananga o Aotearoa he is the Executive Director of Curriculum and Research. His ambition is to sit on the deck at home and think more.

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I am a Sea Sámi woman from the northern part of Norway. I grew up in the small village Gámavuonna/Komagfjord in the municipality of Alta, but have lived in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino since 1988. I have got a Masters degree in Sámi language, and I am currently working on my PhD-thesis on the phonology of the Sea Sámi dialect. I also take interest in other language issues, such as place names and issues concerning translation and interpretation. Elected Vice Rector of Sámi University College and in connection to her work, both as Vice Rector and with my PhD-project has dealt with issues concerning the development of Sámi language as an academic language.

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Materoa is of Ngati Awa and Ngai Te Rangi descent. She is a Senior Lecturer in Development Studies at the University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand where she conducts Nation Building research about post-settlement governance organisations and international indigenous development. Materoa's experience and teaching is in political, socio-cultural and economic development. Materoa specializes in monitoring international development trends and their impact on nation-state economies and indigenous populations. Materoa is a representative on Te Runanga o Ngati Awa (tribal authority) and a member of the Council of Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi (tribal university). Materoa is the Chair of Ngati Wharepaia hapu (sub tribe) in Whakatane and the regional Mataatua representative on the National Federation of Maori Authorities.

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As authors from Kenya, Africa, they share an interest in Indigenous education of the Ogiek on environmental conservation and have published number of papers in the areas. Moreover, Ronah is presently completing a Doctor of Philosophy while working as a Lecturer at Egerton University.

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The authors are all kaimahi (workers) at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa employed in various roles across the country and spent a year in a mentoring position around rangahau (research). Shelly Davies (Ngātiwai, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Porou) is a writer, kaiako (teacher) and Subject Analyst with Te KAO; Thomas Tawhiri (Te Whakatōhea, Ngāti Raukawa ki Wharepuhunga) is an evaluator and Subject Analyst with Te KAO; Brigitte Te AweAwe-Bevan (Rangitāne, Te Atiawa, Ngāti Raukawa, Muaupoko, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Kauwhata) is a kaiako of Adult Education; Leilana Harris (Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāpuhi) is a Rangahau Coordinator; Kahutoi Te Kanawa (Ngati Maniapoto,Waikato, Apakura and Rarua) is a weaver, kairangahau (researcher) and kaiako of Raranga (weaving); Shelley Hoani (Waikato, Ngati Pou/Ngati Mahuta) is a mother and Kaiārahi Matua (Senior Leader) for Rangahau; and Te Kapua Hohepa-Watene (Te Arawa, Kai Tahu) is a kaiako of computing and kairangahau.

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Kalani Akana   kalaniakana@yahoo.com
'O Hawaiÿi ka pae 'äina. 'O Anahola me Häna Houpo Aliÿi nä kuläiwi o nä küpuna.
E nä känaka 'öiwi mai ka lä hiki a i ka lä kau. Aloha käkou.

Kalani Akana is an indigenous practitioner and researcher in traditional Hawaiian chant, dance and hei, the storytelling art of string figure making. He has lectured at the university on Hawaiian chant and song composition and on Hawaiian history, culture, oratory and language at the community college level. The bulk of his twenty plus years in education has been in teaching elementary school as a pioneer teacher in the first Hawaiian language school on his island of Oÿahu. Kalani has also served as a Hawaiian Studies resource teacher, curriculum developer and coordinator, and school administrator. He describes his best job as getting community küpuna or elders into the public schools to teach and share their stories and life experiences. Currently, Kalani is a PhD candidate at the University of Hawaiÿi's College of Education and is an associate in Hoÿokuläiwi: Center for Native Hawaiian and Indigenous Education. He is a published poet and composer. His greatest desire is to see the Hawaiian nation bloom and flourish. E ola käkou a pau loa lä!