

Decolonizing Methodologies
Research and Indigenous Peoples

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perceived as a threatening activity. The research community has a number of terms which are used to good effect as exclusionary devices to dismiss the challenges made from outside the fold. Research can be judged as 'not rigorous', 'not robust', 'not real', 'not theorized', 'not valid', 'not reliable'. Sound conceptual understandings can falter when the research design is considered flawed. While researchers are trained to conform to the models provided for them, indigenous researchers have to meet these criteria as well as indigenous criteria that can judge research 'not useful', 'not indigenous', 'not friendly', 'not just'. Reconciling such views can be difficult. The indigenous agenda challenges indigenous researchers to work across these boundaries. It is a challenge that provides a focus and direction helpful in thinking through the complexities of indigenous research. At the same time, the process is evolving as researchers working in this field dialogue and collaborate on shared concerns.

Notes

- 1 Alfred, G. R. (1996), *Heeding the Voices of Our Ancestors*, Oxford University Press, Toronto, p. 18.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- 3 Blea, I. I. (1995), *Researching Chicano Communities*, Praeger, Westport, p. 2.
- 4 Stringer, E. T. (1996), *Action Research: a Handbook for Practitioners*, Sage Books, California, p. 15.
- 5 Trask, H. (1993), *From a Native Daughter: Common Courage Press*, Maine.
- 6 Acoose, J. (1995), *Iskwewak - Kahl' Ki Yanw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princesses Nor Easy Squaws*, Women's Press, Toronto, p. 30. See also Garrod, A. and C. Larimore, eds (1997), *First Person, First Peoples: Native American College Graduates Tell Their Life Stories*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca.

Twenty-five Indigenous Projects

The implications for indigenous research which have been derived from the imperatives inside the struggles of the 1970s seem to be clear and straightforward: the survival of peoples, cultures and languages; the struggle to become self-determining, the need to take back control of our destinies. These imperatives have demanded more than rhetoric and acts of defiance. The acts of reclaiming, reformulating and reconstituting indigenous cultures and languages have required the mounting of an ambitious research programme, one that is very strategic in its purpose and activities and relentless in its pursuit of social justice. Within the programme are a number of very distinct projects. Themes such as cultural survival, self-determination, healing, restoration and social justice are engaging indigenous researchers and communities in a diverse array of projects. The projects intersect with each other in various ways. They have multiple goals and involve different indigenous communities of interest. Some projects, for example, have been driven by lawyers and constitutional experts, others by women and health workers, or by social workers and policy analysts. This chapter sets out 25 different projects currently being pursued by indigenous communities. The projects constitute a very complex research programme. Each one intersects with the agenda for indigenous research discussed in Chapter 6 in two or three different ways, that is by site/s and by processes. Each project is outlined to give a bare indication of the parameters offered within it and how these may link in with some of the others.

It is not claimed that the projects are entirely indigenous, or that they have been created by indigenous researchers. Some approaches have arisen out of social science methodologies, which in turn have arisen out of methodological issues raised by research with various oppressed groups. Some projects invite multi-disciplinary research approaches. Others have arisen more directly out of indigenous practices. There are two technical points to make here. First, while most projects fall well within what will be recognized as empirical research, not all do.

Some important work is related to theorizing indigenous issues at the level of ideas, policy analysis and critical debate, and to setting out in writing indigenous spiritual beliefs and world views. Second, the focus is primarily on social science research projects rather than what may be happening in the natural or physical sciences or technology. There is one technical distinction to clarify. In the chapter I draw on Sandra Harding's very simple distinction between methodology and method, that is, 'A research methodology is a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed', while 'A research method is a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence'.² Methodology is important because it frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments and methods to be employed, and shapes the analyses. Within an indigenous framework, methodological debates are ones concerned with the broader politics and strategic goals of indigenous research. It is at this level that researchers have to clarify and justify their intentions. Methods become the means and procedures through which the central problems of the research are addressed. Indigenous methodologies are often a mix of existing methodological approaches and indigenous practices. The mix reflects the training of indigenous researchers, which continues to be within the academy, and the parameters and common sense understandings of research which govern how indigenous communities and researchers define their activities.

The Projects

The following projects are not ranked or listed in any particular order.

1 *Claiming*

In a sense colonialism has reduced indigenous peoples to making claims and assertions about our rights and dues. It is an approach that has a certain noisiness to it. Indigenous peoples, however, have transformed claiming into an interesting and dynamic process. Considerable work and energy have gone into developing the methodologies which relate to 'claiming' and 'reclaiming'. The formal claims process demanded by tribunals, courts and governments has required some indigenous groups to conduct intensive research projects, resulting in the writing of nation, tribe and family histories. These 'histories' have a focus and purpose; that is, to establish the legitimacy of the claims being asserted for the rest of time. Because they have been written to support claims to territories and resources, or about past injustices, they have been constructed around selected stories. These claiming histories have

also been written for different audiences. One audience is the formal court or tribunal audience, which is mainly non-indigenous; another is the general non-indigenous population; and a third is the people themselves. For this last audience the histories are also important teaching histories. They teach both the non-indigenous audience and the new generations of indigenous peoples an official account of their collective story. But, importantly, it is a history which has no ending because it assumes that once justice has been done the people will continue their journey. It may be that in time the histories have to be rewritten around other priorities.

2 *Testimonies* (testimonio)

'My Name is Rigoberta Menchu, I am twenty-three years old, and this is my testimony'.²

Testimonies intersect with claiming because they are a means through which oral evidence is presented to a particular type of audience. There is a formality to testimonies and a notion that truth is being revealed 'under oath'. Indigenous testimonies are a way of talking about an extremely painful event or series of events.³ The formality of testimony provides a structure within which events can be related and feelings expressed.⁴ A testimony is also a form through which the voice of a 'witness' is accorded space and protection. It can be constructed as a monologue and as a public performance. The structure of testimony – its formality, context and sense of immediacy – appeals to many indigenous participants, particularly elders. It is an approach that translates well to a formal written document. While the listener may ask questions, testimonies structure the responses, silencing certain types of questions and formalizing others. *Testimonio* is more familiar to Latin American contexts as a narrative of collective memory: it has become one of a number of literary methods for making sense of histories, of voices and representation, and of the political narrative of oppression.⁵

3 *Story telling*

Story telling, oral histories, the perspectives of elders and of women have become an integral part of all indigenous research. Each individual story is powerful. But the point about the stories is not that they simply tell a story, or tell a story simply. These new stories contribute to a collective story in which every indigenous person has a place. For many indigenous writers stories are ways of passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and

pass the story down further. The story and the story teller both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story. As a research tool, Russell Bishop suggests, story telling is a useful and culturally appropriate way of representing the 'diversities of truth' within which the story teller rather than the researcher retains control.⁶ Margaret Kovach argues that stories are connected to knowing, that the story is both method and meaning, and is a central feature of indigenous research and knowledge methodologies.⁷

Jo-ann Archibald describes story as work that educates the heart, the mind, the body and the spirit. She suggests that stories engage listeners and the story teller in a respectful relationship of reciprocity that creates and sustains oral cultures.⁸ Intrinsic in story telling is a focus on dialogue and conversations amongst ourselves as indigenous peoples, to ourselves and for ourselves. Such approaches fit well with the oral traditions which are still a reality in day-to-day indigenous lives. Importantly, story telling is also about humour and gossip and creativity. Stories tell of love and sexual encounters, of war and revenge. Their themes tell us about our cultures. Stories employ familiar characters and motifs which can reassure as well as challenge. Familiar characters can be invested with the qualities of an individual or can be used to invoke a set of shared understandings and histories.

4 *Celebrating survival – survivance*

Celebrating survival is a particular sort of approach. Non-indigenous research has been intent on documenting the demise and cultural assimilation of indigenous peoples. Instead it is possible to celebrate survival, or what Gerald Vizenor has called 'survivance' – survival and resistance.⁹ Survivance accentuates the degree to which indigenous peoples and communities have retained cultural and spiritual values and authenticity in resisting colonialism. The approach is reflected sometimes in story form, sometimes in popular music and sometimes as an event in which artists and story tellers come together to celebrate collectively a sense of life and diversity and connectedness. Events and accounts which focus on the active resistance are important not just because they speak to our survival, but because they celebrate our being at an ordinary human level and affirm our identities as indigenous women and men. Gregory Cajete writes that 'celebrating is a natural outcome of spiritual sharing and it too can take a diversity of forms. It is an individual and communal process that celebrates the mystery of life and the journey that each of us takes. Celebration is a way of spreading the lights around.'¹⁰

5 *Remembering*

The remembering of a people relates not so much to an idealized remembering of a golden past but more specifically to the remembering of a painful past, re-remembering in terms of connecting bodies with place and experience, and, importantly, people's responses to that pain. While collectively indigenous communities can talk through the history of traumatic events, there are frequent silences and intervals in the stories about what happened after the event. Often there is no collective remembering as communities were systematically ripped apart, children were removed for adoption, and extended families separated across different reserves and national boundaries. In these experiences the obliteration of memory was a deliberate strategy of oppression. The aftermath of such pain was borne by individuals or smaller family units, sometimes unconsciously, or consciously obliterated through alcohol, violence and self-destruction. Communities often turned inward and let their suffering give way to a desire to be dead. Violence and family abuse became entrenched in communities which had no hope. White society did not see and did not care. This form of remembering is painful because it involves remembering not just what colonization was about but what being dehumanized meant for our own cultural practices. Both healing and transformation, after what is referred to as historical trauma, become crucial strategies in any approach that asks a community to remember what they may have decided unconsciously or consciously to forget.

6 *Indigenizing and indigenist processes*

This project has two dimensions. The first one is similar to that which has occurred in literature, with a centring in consciousness of the landscapes, images, languages, themes, metaphors and stories of the indigenous world, and the disconnecting of many of the cultural ties between the settler society and its metropolitan homeland. This project involves non-indigenous activists and intellectuals. The second aspect is more of an indigenous project. The term is used more frequently in South and Central America. The term centres a politics of indigenous identity and indigenous cultural action. M. Annette Jaimes refers to indigenism as being grounded in the alternative conceptions of world view and value systems: 'These differences provide a basis for a conceptualization of indigenism that counters the negative connotations of its meanings in Third World countries, where it has become synonymous with the "primitive", or with backwardness among superstitious peoples.'¹¹ Lester Rigney, an Aborigine researcher working from Flinders University in South Australia, names the approach he takes as indigenist research: it

borrowed freely from feminist and other critical approaches to research, but privileges indigenous voices. In the US Karina Walters and Jane Simoni have developed an 'indigenist' stress-coping model for addressing the 'soul wound' of historical trauma and contemporary discrimination against Native women.¹²

7 *Intervening*

Intervening takes action research to mean literally the process of being proactive and of becoming involved as an interested worker for change. Intervention-based projects are usually designed around making structural and cultural changes. Graham Smith describes this approach as a necessary approach when faced with crisis conditions. Smith argues firstly, that Maori educational crises continue – this points to a failure of educational policy reforms, research and researchers. Secondly, educational researchers have continued to fail to intervene because of the lack of responsibility and accountability placed on researchers and policy makers. Thirdly much of research has been counter-productive to Maori interests, and has merely served the dominant Pakeha group interests, by maintaining the status quo of unequal power distribution.¹³

Intervention is often used against indigenous communities – for example, as an excuse to invade and occupy territories under the pretence of saving or rescuing an indigenous community. In 2008 the Australian Government intervened in the Northern Territory, ostensibly as an emergency reaction to widespread child abuse. The use of the armed forces on its own citizens in a democratic country is rare, but was justified under the rules of an emergency and was supported by some Aborigine activists. The indigenous intervening project carries with it some working principles. For example, the community itself invites the project in and sets out its parameters. The various departments and agencies involved in such a project are also expected to be willing to change themselves in some way – to redirect policy, design new programmes or train staff differently. Intervening is thus directed at changing institutions that deal with indigenous peoples, and not at changing indigenous peoples to fit the structures.

8 *Revitalizing and regenerating*

Indigenous languages, their arts and their cultural practices are in various states of crisis. Many indigenous languages are officially 'dead', with fewer than a hundred speakers. Others are in the last stages before what is described by linguists as 'language death'. Revitalization initiatives in languages encompass education, broadcasting, publishing and community-

based programmes. Margie Hohepa has used the term regeneration rather than revitalization to argue that a language does not die and does not need to be brought to life; rather, the generations of people who speak the language die, and the new generations need to make the language live by speaking it. Indigenous languages are also described as endangered, with various estimates that 3,000 language will be extinct by the end of the twenty-first century.¹⁴ While the Welsh people are not formally part of the indigenous peoples' movements as described in Chapter 6, their programmes are often studied as examples of indigenous achievement. In the cases of Maori and Welsh languages, there is a clear singular language. Many places have to battle for the survival of several languages spoken by small populations. In Canada, for example, most of the indigenous languages could be categorized as being on the verge of extinction. British Columbia has a diverse range of indigenous languages, all of which require support. Literacy campaigns tend to frame language survival programmes as being of lesser significance than national literacy. Such campaigns are designed around either official languages or one or two dominant languages. The indigenous language is often regarded as being subversive to national interests and national literacy campaigns, and is actively killed off – a process that Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar have called linguistic genocide.¹⁵

9 *Connecting*

The importance of making connections and affirming connectedness has been noted by other minority group researchers. Connectedness positions individuals in sets of relationships with other people and with the environment. Many indigenous creation stories link people through genealogy to the land, to stars and other places in the universe, to birds and fish, animals, insects and plants. To be connected is to be whole. The project of connecting is pursued in New South Wales in one form as literally connecting members of families with each other. A link programme has been designed to restore the descendants of 'stolen children', ones forcibly taken from their families and adopted, to their family connections. Forced adoption and dehumanizing child welfare practices were carried out in many indigenous contexts. Being reconnected to their families and their culture has been a painful journey for many of these children, now adults. Connecting also involves connecting people to their traditional lands through the restoration of specific rituals and practices. In New Zealand one example of this is the practice of burying the afterbirth in the land. The word for afterbirth is the same as the word for land, *whenua*. The practice was prohibited

as Maori mothers were forced to have their babies in hospitals rather than at home. Now the policies and hospital practices have changed and Maori parents have reinstated the practice of taking the afterbirth and burying it in traditional territory. Connecting children to their land and their genealogies through this process is also part of a larger health project designed to encourage young Maori mothers to take better care of themselves and their babies through stronger cultural supports. Connecting is related to issues of identity and place, to spiritual relationships and community well-being.

There are other challenges in relation to the project of connecting. Researchers, policy makers, educators, and social service providers who work with or whose work impacts on indigenous communities need to have a critical conscience about ensuring that their activities connect in humanizing ways with indigenous communities. It is a very common experience to hear indigenous communities outline the multiple ways in which agencies and individuals treat them with disrespect and disregard. Connecting is about establishing good relations.

10 Reading

Critical rereading of Western history and the indigenous presence in the making of that history, once a school curriculum designed to assimilate indigenous children, has taken on a different impetus. The new reading programme is motivated partly by a research drive to establish and support claims, but also by a need to understand what has informed both internal colonialism and new forms of colonization. The genealogy of colonialism is being mapped and used as a way to locate a different sort of origin story: the origins of imperial policies and practices, the origins of the imperial visions, the origins of ideas and values. These origin stories are deconstructed accounts of the West, its history through the eyes of indigenous and colonized peoples. The rereading of imperial history by post-colonial and cultural studies scholars provides a different, much more critical approach to history than was previously acceptable. It is no longer the single narrative story of important white imperial figures, adventurers and heroes who fought their way through undiscovered lands to establish imperial rule and bring civilization and salvation to 'barbaric savages' who lived in 'utter degradation'.

11 Writing and theory making

Indigenous people are writing and theory making. In Chapter 1 the writing project was named as 'the empire writes back' project. In a localized context, however, writing is employed in a variety of imaginative,

critical, and also quite functional ways. Maori author Witi Ihimaera has assembled a five-volume anthology of Maori literature representing, he argues, the 'crossroads ... of a literature of a past and a literature of a present and future'.¹⁶ The title of an anthology of Native Women's writings of North America, *Reinventing the Enemy's Language*, gives a sense of the issues being explored through writing.¹⁷ Similar anthologies and works of indigenous literature are being published around the world by indigenous writers for indigenous reading audiences. The boundaries of poetry, plays, song writing, fiction and non-fiction are blurred as indigenous writers seek to use language in ways that capture the messages, nuances and flavour of indigenous lives. Native literary and film theorists have also emerged – among them Craig Womack, Robert Warrior and Leonie Pihama – who follow in the critical anti-colonial tradition of Ngũgĩ Wa'Thiong'o and argue for the significance of indigenous views in indigenous literature and film.¹⁸ The activity of writing has produced the related activity of publishing. Indigenous publishing companies, language resources and focused academic journals such as *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* or the *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, or *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* are all examples of serious engagement with writing. Language revitalization initiatives have created a demand for multi-media language resources for children. In the Western Isles of Scotland, a Stormaway publishing house called Acair has produced children's comic books in Scottish Gaelic, and cookbooks and other material which support the Gaelic language. Similar small publishing groups are operating across the indigenous world. Writing workshops and writing courses offered by indigenous writers like Okanagan scholar Jeannette Armstrong for indigenous people who want to write are held in many places.¹⁹ The work of authors such as Patricia Grace, Paula Gunn Allen, Louise Erdrich, Witi Ihimaera and Sally Morgan is read by both indigenous and non-indigenous audiences. Biographies and autobiographies including those 'which are accounts 'told to a non-indigenous person', are sought after by a new reading audience of indigenous people.

12 Representing

Indigenous communities have struggled since colonization to be able to exercise what is viewed as a fundamental right, that is to represent ourselves. The representing project spans both the notion of representation as a political concept and representation as a form of voice and expression. In the political sense colonialism specifically excluded indigenous peoples from any form of decision making. States and governments have long

made decisions hostile to the interests of indigenous communities, justifying these by offering the paternalistic view that indigenous peoples were like children who needed others to protect them and decide what was in their best interests. Paternalism is still present in many forms in the way governments, local bodies and non-government agencies decide on issues which have an impact on indigenous communities. Being able as a minimum right to voice the views and opinions of indigenous communities in various decision-making bodies is still a focus of struggle. Even at the minimal level of representation indigenous communities are often 'thrown in' with all other minorities, as one voice amongst many. The politics of sovereignty and self-determination have been about resisting being thrown in with every other minority group by making claims on the basis of prior rights.

Representation is also a project of indigenous artists, writers, poets, film makers and others who attempt to express an indigenous spirit, experience or world view. Representation of indigenous peoples by indigenous people is about countering the dominant society's image of indigenous peoples, their lifestyles and belief systems. It is also about proposing solutions to the real-life dilemmas that indigenous communities confront, and trying to capture the complexities of being indigenous. Many of the dilemmas are internalized stress factors in community life, which are neither named nor voiced because they are either taken for granted or hidden by a community. And there is the humour of Alexie Sherman, who wrote *Reservation Blues*. Film makers like Merata Mita have a very clear purpose in their work which locates it firmly within a decolonization framework.

Not surprisingly, when my obsessive struggle with filmmaking began, it was with the issues that most concerned us as Maori women that I became preoccupied – the issues of injustice, land, te reo Maori [Maori language], the Treaty, and racism. Add to that women and gender issues, and for those who don't know, these are the things that consume us, consume our energy, beset us every moment of our daily lives; they are brutalising, violent, and some of us die because of them.²⁰

13 *Gendering*

Gendering indigenous debates, whether they are related to the politics of self-determination or the politics of the family, is concerned with issues arising from the relations between indigenous men and women that have come about through colonialism. Colonialization is recognized as having had a destructive effect on indigenous gender relations that reached out across all spheres of indigenous society. Family organization, child rearing,

political and spiritual life, work and social activities were all disordered by a colonial system that positioned its own women as the property of men, with primarily domestic roles. Women across many different indigenous societies claim an entirely different relationship, one embedded in beliefs about the land and the universe, about the spiritual significance of women, and about the collective endeavours that were required in the organization of society. Indigenous women would argue that their traditional roles included full participation in many aspects of political decision making and marked gender separations which were complementary in order to maintain harmony and stability. Gendering contemporary indigenous debates – for example, debates about economic development, about domestic violence, HIV/AIDS and war – occurs inside indigenous communities and – while colonialism is an important topic in other contexts, such as in Western feminist debates – analysis of colonialism is a central tenet of indigenous feminism. A key challenge within contemporary indigenous politics is the restoration to women of what are seen as their traditional roles, rights and responsibilities. Aroha Mead gives an account of a statement delivered by two Maori women to the Twelfth Session (1994) of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, which addressed the way colonialism has influenced indigenous men and had a detrimental affect on indigenous gender relations.

[N]ever before have I witnessed what occurred while the full statement was being read out. Indigenous women sitting within their delegations were visibly moved – some looked around to see who was talking about their pain – some gave victory signals and physical signs of agreement, and many, perhaps even the majority, sat stoically, with tears swelling in their eyes. The words broke through the barriers of language and regionalism. A raw wound was clearly touched.²¹

14 *Envisioning*

One of the strategies that indigenous peoples have employed effectively to bind people together politically asks that people imagine a future, that they rise above present-day situations which are generally depressing, dream a new dream and set a new vision. The confidence of knowing that we have survived and can only go forward provides some impetus to a process of envisioning. The power of indigenous peoples to change to their own lives and set new directions, despite their impoverished and oppressed conditions, speaks to the politics of survival. Gregory Cajete talks about vision making as knowledge making, as one the methodologies for producing indigenous knowledge through vision quests and dreaming, a reflection of the spirit which is also the mind.

Sometimes the visions which bind people were set a long time ago and have been passed down the generations as poems, songs, stories, proverbs or sayings. Every indigenous community probably has special sayings, predictions, riddles and proverbs which are debated frequently and raised both informally and formally. Children are socialized into these sayings and pass them down to their own children. The profound statements of indigenous leaders from the last century and the centuries before are often written in diaries and notebooks, carved into stone, or distributed by T-shirt and poster. Often the original source of the comment has been forgotten but the power of the words remain. They make our spirits soar and give us hope. Indigenous people have borrowed freely from each other and it is not uncommon to find the saying of an Indian chief struck to the kitchen wall in a Maori home, or the saying of a Maori chief embroidered into a wall hanging in an Aborigine home. These sayings have acted like resistance codes which can be passed down by word of mouth to the next person, to the next generation.

15 Reframing

Reframing is about taking much greater control over the ways in which indigenous issues and social problems are discussed and handled. One of the reasons why so many of the social problems which beset indigenous communities are never solved is that the issues have been framed in a particular way. For example, governments and social agencies have failed to see many indigenous social problems as being related to any sort of history. They have framed indigenous issues in the 'indigenous problem' basket, to be handled in the usual cynical and paternalistic manner. The framing of an issue is about making decisions about its parameters, about what is in the foreground, what is in the background, and what shadings or complexities exist within the frame. The project of reframing is related to defining the problem or issue and determining how best to solve that problem. Many indigenous activists have argued that such things as mental illness, alcoholism and suicide, for example, are not about psychological and individualized failure but about colonization or lack of collective self-determination. Many community health initiatives address the whole community, its history and its wider context as part of the problem and part of the solution.

Reframing occurs in other contexts where indigenous people resist being boxed and labelled according to categories which do not fit. This is particularly pertinent in relation to various development programmes, government and non-government. In the case of Maori, for example, a

Maori language initiative for young children from birth to school age – known as Te Kohanga Reo, or Maori language nests – constantly has to explain why it is not a child-care centre but a language and culture initiative for young children. The problem of definition is important in this case because it affects funding, but the constant need to justify difference is experienced by many other communities whose initiatives are about changing things on a holistic basis rather than endorsing the individualized programme emphasis of government models. The need to reframe is about retaining the strengths of a vision and the participation of a whole community.

Reframing occurs also within the way indigenous people write or engage with theories and accounts of what it means to be indigenous. In the politics of indigenous women, for example, there is continuing resistance to the way Western feminists have attempted to define the issues for indigenous women and categorize the positions in which indigenous women should be located. Moves to discuss patriarchy without addressing imperialism and racism are always reframed by indigenous women, and of course other minority women, as inadequate analyses. Similarly, moves to attack indigenous culture or indigenous men 'as a group' are also resisted because for indigenous women the issues are far more complex and the objective of analysis is always focused on solving problems. In the end indigenous men and women have to live together in a world in which both genders are under attack.

16 Restoring

Indigenous peoples across the world have disproportionately high rates of imprisonment, suicide and alcoholism. Some indigenous activists regard these rates as the continuation of a war. Says Bobbi Sykes, 'The main question, which has not been addressed by government, is the legitimacy or otherwise of the assumption that white domination of Aboriginal people is in itself a concept of justice.'²² For Aborigines the high rates of black deaths in custody eventually provoked the establishment of a Royal Commission of Inquiry in 1987 into a problem which had been hidden for many years. The Aborigine rates of death in custody was said to be higher than the rate in apartheid South Africa. Inside the incarceration rates for indigenous peoples are similar rates for youth offending and for indigenous women. In the health arena indigenous people have high rates of morbidity and mortality. Maori women have one of the highest rates of lung cancer in the world. Maori suicide rates, both male and female, have risen sharply over the last decade, with New Zealand rates amongst the highest in OECD countries. Aborigine rates

of illness have frequently been cited as examples of 'Fourth World' rates, which are worse than the rates in developing Third World states, and are made more horrific by the fact that these communities live in nations that have the highest standards of living.

Restoring well-being – spiritually, emotionally, physically and materially – has involved social workers and health workers in a range of initiatives, some of which have been incorporated into mainstream programmes. Restorative justice in Canada, for example, applies concepts of the 'healing circle' and victim restoration which are based on indigenous processes. These systems have been discussed widely and used to motivate other societies to develop better ways of dealing with offenders and victims. In New Zealand adoption policies and programmes for dealing with children have similarly coopted indigenous practices. Restoring is a project which is conceived as a holistic approach to problem solving. It is holistic in terms of the emotional, spiritual and physical nexus, and also in terms of the individual and the collective, the political and the cultural. Restorative programmes are based on a model of healing rather than of punishing. They sometimes employ concepts such as public shaming as a way of provoking individual accountability and collective problem solving. Health programmes addressing basic health issues have begun to seek ways to connect with indigenous communities through appropriate public health policy and practice models. The failure of public health programmes to improve the health of indigenous communities significantly has motivated a self-help approach by communities.

17 *Returning*

This project intersects with that of claiming. It involves the returning of lands, rivers and mountains to their indigenous owners. It involves the repatriation of artefacts, remains and other cultural materials stolen or removed and taken overseas. Sykes lists the following examples: pickled heads, human gloves, scrotum tobacco pouches, dried scalps, pickled foetus, cicatured skins, complete stuffed, mummified children's bodies and women with child.²³ In New Zealand the current Minister of Maori Affairs, who is a Maori, has set out a plan to return all tattooed Maori heads housed in museums and other collections across the world. They apparently number in the hundreds. In a previous chapter I discussed the house Mataatua, which has now been returned to Ngati Awa and was reopened in 2011 as a magnificent modern meeting house that is set to inspire the realization of development opportunities.

Returning also involves the living. One major tribe in New Zealand has negotiated the return of traditional food-gathering sites which will be

marked out for their exclusive use by tribal members. Other programmes have been initiated to repatriate people either through ensuring their membership in official tribal registers or by physically reclaiming them. Adopted children, for example, are encouraged to seek their birth families and return to their original communities.

18 *Democratizing and indigenous governance*

Although indigenous communities claim a model of democracy in their traditional ways of decision making, many contemporary indigenous organizations were formed through the direct involvement of states and governments. Legislation was used to establish and regulate indigenous councils and committees, forms of representation and titles to lands. They are colonial constructions that have been taken for granted as authentic indigenous formations. Needless to say, many councils were created as exclusively male domains while the health and welfare programmes were assigned to the women. Maori lawyer Annette Sykes argues, for example, in relation to a claim being made by Maori women to the Waitangi Tribunal, that

The essence of the claim is to bring to the forefront of the current Treaty jurisprudence, the need to look at notions of governance in Aotearoa and the exclusionary practices that exist, which inhibit and prevent participation by Maori women in the tribal models for self-determination, that have been erected under New Zealand legislation, and the erosion that this in itself has had on Te Mana Wahine in Te Ao Maori [the *mana* of women in the Maori World].²⁴

Democratizing in indigenous terms is a process of extending participation outwards through reinstating indigenous principles of collectivity and public debate without necessarily recreating a parliamentary or senatorial style of government. Governance has been a theme for development agencies wishing to transform underdeveloped societies and communities. In this work concepts of 'tribe' are hugely loaded terms that imply backwardness, ignorance, cruelty to women and children. It means that indigenous nations and communities have to develop twenty-first-century governance approaches that are embedded in an indigenous value system and geared to meet contemporary social challenges with the best minds and skillsets of the community.

19 *Networking*

Networking has become an efficient medium for stimulating information flows, educating people quickly about issues and creating extensive international talking circles. Building networks is about building

knowledge and data bases which are based on the principles of relationships and connections. Relationships are initiated on a face-to-face basis and then maintained over many years, often without any direct contact. People's names are passed on and introductions are used to bring new members into the network. The face-to-face encounter is about checking out an individual's credentials, not just their political credentials but their personalities and spirit. Networking by indigenous peoples is a form of resistance. People are expected to position themselves clearly and state their purposes. Establishing trust is an important feature. In many states police surveillance of indigenous activists and their families is common practice. In some states, such as Guatemala, the disappearance of indigenous peoples has also been common practice. In these contexts networking is dangerous.

Networking is a way of making contacts between marginalized communities. By definition their marginalization excludes them from participation in the activities of the dominant non-indigenous society, which controls most forms of communication. The project of networking is about process. Networking is a process which indigenous peoples have used effectively to build relationships and disseminate knowledge and information.

20 *Naming*

This project takes its name from Brazilian educator Paulo Freire whose saying, 'name the word, name the world' (which was about literacy programmes), has been applied in the indigenous context to literally rename the landscape. This means renaming the world using the original indigenous names. Naming as a project of Maori people can be seen in the struggles over the geographical names of some of New Zealand's mountains and significant sites, which were renamed randomly after British people and places. Many of the Maori names have now been restored. Naming can also be seen in the naming of children. Indigenous names carried histories of people, places and events. As a result of Christian baptism practices, which introduced Christian names and family names, and schooling practices, where teachers shortened names or introduced either generic names or nicknames, many indigenous communities hid their indigenous names either by using them only in indigenous ceremonies or by positioning them as second names. A more recent assertion in Maori naming practices has been to name children again with long ancestral names and to take on new names through life, both of which were once traditional practices. Children quite literally wear their history in their names.

Naming applies to other things as well. It is about retaining as much control over meanings as possible. By 'naming the world' people name their realities. For communities there are realities which can only be found, as self-evident concepts, in the indigenous language; they can never be captured by another language.

21 *Protecting*

This project is multi-faceted. It is concerned with protecting peoples, communities, languages, customs and beliefs, art and ideas, natural resources and the things indigenous peoples produce. The scale of protecting can be as enormous as the Pacific Ocean or the Amazon rainforest and as small as an infant. It can be as real as land and as abstract as a belief about the spiritual essence of the land. Every indigenous community is attempting to protect several different things simultaneously. In some areas alliances with non-indigenous organizations have been beneficial in terms of rallying international support. In other areas a community is trying to protect itself by staying alive or staying off alcohol.

Some countries have identified sacred sites and have designated protected areas. Many of these, unfortunately, become tourist spots. Issues about the protection of indigenous knowledge have been discussed at various indigenous conferences, which have produced charters and conventions aimed at signalling to the world at large that indigenous knowledges ought to be protected. History seems to suggest that many of these calls for international adherence to such charters will be at best highly selective. The need to protect a way of life, a language and the right to make our own history is a deep need linked to the survival of indigenous peoples.

22 *Creating*

The project of creating is about transcending the basic survival mode through using a resource or capability that every indigenous community has retained throughout colonization – the ability to create and be creative. The project of creating is not just about the artistic endeavours of individuals, but about the spirit of creating that indigenous communities have exercised over thousands of years. Imagination enables people to rise above their own circumstances, to dream new visions and to hold on to old ones. It fosters inventions and discoveries, facilitates simple improvements to people's lives and uplifts our spirits. Creating is not the exclusive domain of the rich, nor of the technologically superior, but of the imaginative. Creating is about channelling collective creativity in

order to produce solutions to indigenous problems. Every indigenous community has considered and come up with various innovative solutions to problems. That was before colonialism. Throughout the period of colonization indigenous peoples survived because of their imaginative spirit, their ability to adapt and to think around a problem.

Indigenous communities also have something to offer the non-indigenous world. There are many programmes incorporating indigenous elements, which on that account are viewed on the international scene as 'innovative' and unique. Indigenous peoples' ideas and beliefs often embedded in complicated metaphors and mythic tales, are now being sought as the basis for thinking more laterally in current theories about the environment, the earth and the universe.

Communities are the ones who know the answers to their own problems, although their ideas tend to be dismissed when suggested to various agencies and governments. Visits to communities that have developed their own programmes demonstrate both flourishing creativity and the strength of commitment shown when the programme is owned by the community.

23 *Negotiating*

Negotiating is about thinking and acting strategically. It is about recognizing and working towards long-term goals. Patience is a quality possessed in abundance by indigenous communities. Patience and negotiation are linked to a very long view of our survival. When one reads of the decisions made by various indigenous leaders to accept the terms and conditions of colonization, what emerges from those stories is the concern shown by leaders for the long-term survival chances of the collective, of their own people. That was the basis of their courage and, despite the outrage younger generations of indigenous people might feel about the deals that some leaders accepted, the broader picture across several indigenous contexts is one of dignity and acceptance of a specific reality. Their negotiations were undertaken quite literally with guns held at their heads, with their people starving and with death all around them.

In today's environment negotiation is still about deal making and it is still about concepts of leadership. Negotiations are also about respect, self-respect and respect for the opposition. Indigenous rules of negotiation usually contain both rituals of respect and protocols for discussion. The protocols and procedures are integral to the actual negotiation; neglect or failure to acknowledge or take such protocols seriously can be read as a lack of commitment to both the process and the outcome. Many

indigenous societies are socialized into some forms of negotiation because they are part of trading practices or basic communication styles. The contemporary negotiation project is related to self-determination, in that indigenous nations are negotiating terms for settlements which often mean semi-autonomous government or statutory representation or control over key resources, such as natural resources within their own territories. Negotiation also occurs where small gains are at stake, however, such as when local communities have worked out an agreement with a local government or agency or another local community. The formality of negotiation is important in protecting the sanctity of the agreement which emerges. Indigenous peoples know and understand what it means for agreements to be dishonoured. The continued faith in the process of negotiating is about retaining a faith in the humanity of indigenous beliefs, values and customary practices.

24 *Discovering the beauty of our knowledge*

This project is about discovering our own indigenous knowledge and Western science and technology, and making our knowledge systems work for indigenous development. There are very few indigenous scientists who remain closely connected to their own indigenous communities. Indigenous students across many contexts have struggled with Western science as it has been taught to them in schools. Traditionally, science has been hostile to indigenous ways of knowing. Science teaching in schools has also been fraught with hostile attitudes towards indigenous cultures, and the way indigenous students learn. There are huge debates within the scientific community about the nature of science and how it ought to be taught. This debate is over the notion of constructivism, and concerns the extent to which knowledge is socially constructed or exists 'out there' as a body of knowledge that students simply learn. The development of ethno-science and the application of science to matters that interest indigenous peoples, such as environmental and resource management or biodiversity, offer some new possibilities for indigenous people to engage with the sciences they find most relevant. However, the project is as much about rediscovering indigenous knowledge and its continued relevance to the way we lead our lives. Indigenous knowledge in terms of the environment is well recognized as traditional ecological knowledge. Indigenous knowledge extends beyond the environment, however; it has values and principles about human behavior and ethics, about relationships, about wellness and leading a good life. Knowledge has beauty and can make the world beautiful if used in a good way.²⁵

25 Sharing

The final project discussed here is about sharing knowledge between indigenous peoples, around networks and across the world of indigenous peoples. Sharing contains views about knowledge being a collective benefit and knowledge being a form of resistance. Like networking, sharing is a process that is responsive to the marginalized contexts in which indigenous communities exist. Even in the context of New Zealand – a small country, relatively well-off in terms of televisions and communications – Maori people learn more about the issues that affect them at community gatherings held on *marae* than they do from the mainstream media. These gatherings may be for weddings or funerals, but they are also used as opportunities to keep the community informed about a wide range of things. The face-to-face nature of sharing is supplemented with local newspapers focusing on indigenous issues and local radio stations specializing in indigenous news and music. Sharing is also related to the failure of education systems to educate indigenous people adequately or appropriately. It is important for keeping people informed about issues and events that affect them. It is a form of oral literacy, which connects with the story telling and formal occasions that feature in indigenous life.

Sharing is a responsibility of research. The technical term for this is the dissemination of results, usually very boring to non-researchers, very technical and very cold. For indigenous researchers, sharing is about demystifying knowledge and information and speaking in plain terms to the community. Community gatherings provide a very daunting forum in which to speak about research. Oral presentations conform to cultural protocols and expectations. Often the audience may need to be involved emotionally with laughter, deep reflection, sadness, anger, challenges and debate. It is a very skilled speaker who can share openly at this level within the rules of the community.

Summary

The projects touched on in this chapter are not offered as a definitive list of activities in which indigenous communities are engaged. Since the book was first published a number of articles and books have identified and applied specific indigenous methodologies that use indigenous concepts. Numerous collaborative projects are being undertaken with non-indigenous researchers and organizations. Many of these research partnerships help to develop a trained workforce through the mentoring and guidance provided by the non-indigenous researchers. There are also

the more typical social science research projects and methodologies that have not been mentioned here. Some of these approaches, for example those in critical ethnography, have been written about and theorized by scholars working in those disciplines. The naming of the projects listed in this chapter was deliberate. I hope the message it gives to communities is that they have issues that matter, and processes and methodologies that can work for them.

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9

*Responding to the Imperatives of an Indigenous Agenda:
A Case Study of Maori*

The following two chapters represent a case study of one indigenous development, which demonstrates how many of the issues raised in the previous chapters come together. This chapter discusses the beginnings of a different type of involvement in research by Maori. Rather than accept the position either of 'victim' or of 'object', Maori people voiced resistance to research from the late 1960s and began to pose their own research questions. There were three incentives for this shift in approach to research: (1) the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal,¹ (2) the development of a language revitalization movement known as Te Kohanga Reo; and (3) the spaces opened up in the social sciences by more critical and reflexive approaches to research. This chapter tracks the transition from Maori as the researched to Maori as the researcher. Although this transition has occurred in the last 20 years, it would be wrong to claim either an overall change in attitudes by Maori to research or a steady progression of changes. The intersecting spaces opened up by the development of research for the Waitangi Tribunal, the new enthusiasm shown for Te Kohanga Reo, and the critique of positivist research by feminist and critical theorists created a set of conditions from which culturally sensitive approaches to research were developed, and from which a more sympathetic Maori approach started to emerge.

There are three distinct parts to this chapter. The first part examines the creation of a set of more favourable conditions for research involving Maori. There is a brief discussion of the spaces opened up through feminist and critical critiques of positivism, followed by a consideration of the impact of the Waitangi Tribunal and Te Kohanga Reo on setting the scene for establishing Maori research priorities. The second part of the chapter picks up on issues related to research of Maori and to the ways in which research has been employed and/or represented as 'truth'. In this second part there is also a very brief discussion of alternative Maori claims about knowledge and research that intersect with the assumption that