INTERNATIONAL INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CONFERENCE 2012

PROCEEDINGS

Proceedings of the International Indigenous Development Research Conference 2012

CONTENTS

READING THE WEATHER

How local farmers mitigate climate change and variability in the Okavango Delta of Botswana

Oluwatoyin Dare Kolawole*

Barbara Ngwenya†

Gagoitseope Mmopelwa‡

Piotr Wolski§

Abstract

This paper addresses the question of how local farmers mitigate climate change and variability in the Okavango Delta of Botswana. A multi-stage sampling procedure was employed to sample a total of 592 household heads (both men and women) in eight rural communities in Ngamiland of Botswana, from August 2011 to February 2012. Interview schedules and key informant interviews were used in eliciting quantitative and qualitative information from small farmers, respectively. The findings show that age, education level, number of years engaged in farming, sources of weather information, knowledge of weather forecasting and the farmer's decision on farming practices had significant correlation with the respondents' perception about the nature of both local and scientific weather knowledge. Climate variability mitigation measures utilised by farmers are mainly informed by their ability to predict the weather and make decisions on crop type selection in a given season.

*   Senior Research Scholar, Okavango Research Institute, University of Botswana, Maun, Botswana. Email: tkolawole@ori.ub.bw

†   Associate Professor, Okavango Research Institute, University of Botswana, Maun, Botswana.

‡   Senior Research Scholar, Okavango Research Institute, University of Botswana, Maun, Botswana.

§   Associate Professor, Okavango Research Institute, University of Botswana, Maun, Botswana; Climate System Analysis Group, University of Cape Town, South Africa.

Keywords

Introduction

Traditional African cultures partly comprise an institution of "rainmakers" – people who not so much cause the rain as predict or forecast it (see Gewald, 2002). This forecasting is based on the skilful and arcane art of observing nature: for example, the timing or flowering of plants, hatching of insects and arrival of migratory birds. Local knowledge is often passed from one generation to another. It is evident that the local approach to weather forecasting is as accurate as the modern scientific ones, and possibly accepted with more credibility than modern forecasts (see Onyango, 2009; Ouma, 2009). Nonetheless, modernisation is now perceived as contributing to the erosion of the local knowledge systems of community people. Somewhat linked to this is the phenomenon that Africa's smallholder farmers are now being overwhelmed by the current scenario of climate change and variability.

The study addresses, amongst others, the questions of how local farmers mitigate climate change and variability in Botswana, how small farmers access scientific information on seasonal weather forecasts and whether or not science should be complementary or supplementary to indigenous seasonal weather forecasts.

Methodology

Study area

The Okavango Delta is a globally renowned Ramsar Site. It is characterised by permanent watercourses, seasonal flood plains and islands, and a range of wildlife and vegetation species. The Okavango River in Ngamiland District is part of a larger northern drainage system that includes the Chobe and Linyati river basins. The Okavango Delta system thus provides perennial water sources that support riparian and non-riparian livelihood activities (see Figure 1). The district is divided into two administrative entities, namely, the Ngami and Okavango sub-districts.

The provisional population figure of Ngamiland (East, West and the Delta) in the 2011 population census result is 137,593, with an annual growth rate of 1.9% (Central Statistics Office, 2011). The district is characterised by a multi-ethnic setting with a diversity of cultures and ethnic groups who pursue various livelihoods and use resources differently. Some of the ethnic groups are Batawana, BaYei, Hambukushu, BaSarwa, BaXhereku, BaSubiya and BaKgalagadi. These diverse populations are predominantly farming, fishing and cattle-rearing households, who through the socialisation process pass down the same livelihood strategies to their children. While a majority (75%) of the farming activities in this area rely on rain-fed agriculture, about 25% of farming activities are based on the use of inundated flood plains, locally known as molapo farming (VanderPost, 2009). Molapo farming is found in the flood plains and at the western and south-eastern fringes of the delta, mainly Gumare/Tubu and in the Shorobe-Matlapaneng/Maun area (see Figure 1).

Sample size and data collection

Using a multi-stage sampling procedure, a total of 592 household heads were sampled from eight rural communities from August 2011 to February 2012 (see Table 1). A fair representation of the Okavango Delta was ensured by sampling three communities from the distal area (Semboyo, Habu and Tsau), two from the
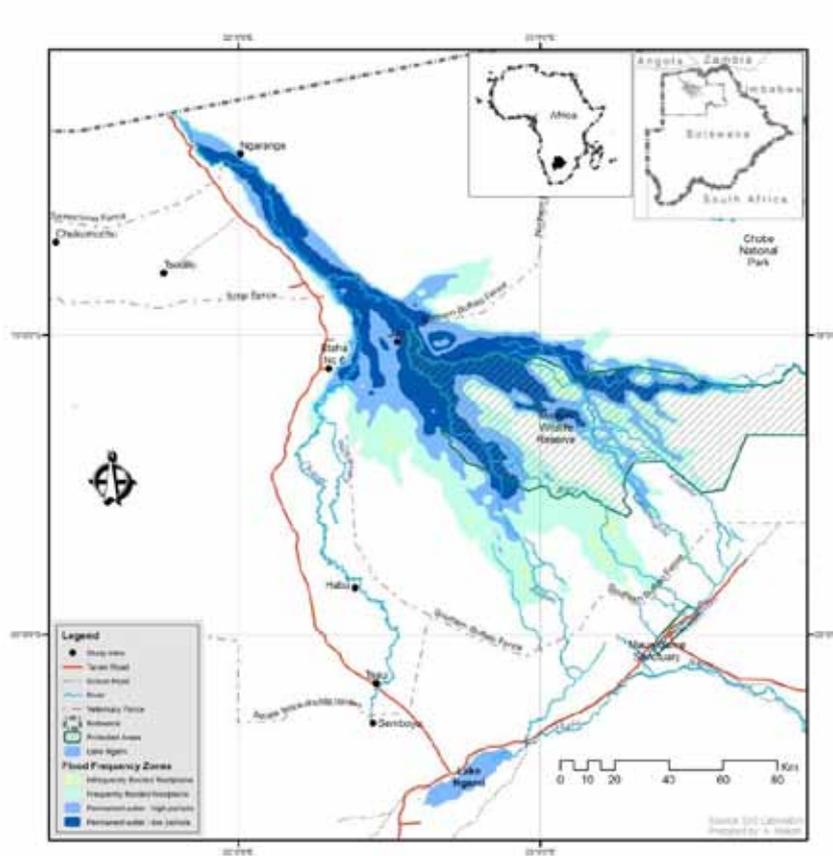
FIGURE 1: A map showing the distribution of riparian communities and water channels in the Okavango Delta as well as the communities studied.

TABLE 1: Villages and total number of households sampled for the survey.

S/N	Village	Total number of households (HHs)	25–30% of households (HHs)
1.	Semboyo	118	30
2.	Habu	161	40
3.	Tsau	494	124
4.	Etsha 6	821	221
5.	Jao	63	19
6.	Ngarange	332	95
7.	Tsodilo	78	23
8.	Chukumuchu	128	40
Total		**2195**	**592**

Source: Field survey, 2011–2012; Central Statistics Office (2011).

mid-Delta area (Jao and Etsha 6) and three from the upper panhandle area (Ngarange, Tsodilo and Chukumuchu). The respondents were interviewed using a pre-tested closed-ended and open-ended interview schedule. The key informant approach was used to elicit qualitative data from farmers in our preliminary survey.

Results and discussions

Demographic attributes of farmers

The data show that 36.0% of the respondents were males and 64.0% were females. The average age of the respondents was 51.06 years. Nonetheless, a fairly significant proportion of the farmers (24.8%) were older than 65 years. While 43.8% of them had never attended any formal or non-formal education system, only 3.2% had post-secondary education. Some 18.4% had obtained a Secondary School Certificate, while only 5.1% had never finished secondary education. Only 5.4% of the farmers had attended adult literacy class. Generally, most farmers in the study area had not acquired requisite (formal) education. The average household size was about 4 persons. Specifically, while the minimum size of 1 person per household was ascribed to 6.6% of the respondents, the maximum of 9 members per household comprised 21.6% of the entire population.

The percentage distributions of farmers were analysed based on their monthly earnings in Botswana pula (BWP). The average income for the entire population is BWP620.02 per month. While 72.8% earned less than BWP500 per month, only 0.2% of the farmers earned more than BWP9,000 per month.

Negotiation of scientific weather information

Farmers were analysed in relation to how they negotiated knowledge of scientific weather forecasting. All (100%) of the farmers indicated that they had not had any personal contact with the Meteorological Service department or agents in the previous 6 months. Nonetheless, the media through which farmers accessed weather information were diverse. Specifically, 3.4% of them had access to weather information through television alone; 41.7% through radio alone; 11.8% through both radio and television; 2% through radio, television and other means; 0.3% through occasional personal contact with Meteorological Service agents; 5.6% through friends, colleagues and neighbours; and 4.7% through other channels such as agricultural extension officers (also known as agricultural demonstrators). More importantly, some 34.2% of the farmers claimed they did not receive weather information at all. As to why they did not adopt scientific weather information, some 6.1% of the farmers claimed that "some or most scientific weather information are too complex to understand". While 4.9% of them indicated that "some or most of the forecasts are erroneous or do not tally with actual reality", some 2.4% indicated that "weather information are not properly conveyed by the Met. Service in the language we understand". Also, 16.2% of the farmers claimed that "media (e.g., TV, radio, newspapers, etc.) through which weather information are conveyed are not available to us". While 42.7% of the respondents claimed that there were "other reasons for not adopting weather information", some 34.2% of them indicated that "we do not have access to any weather forecast information; weather forecasting agents do not have contacts with our community".

Overall, well over 76.0% of the farmers did not adopt scientific weather information. As such, the majority of them utilised local weather information for making farming decisions. For instance, some 56.3% of the respondents claimed "I obtain information from elderly people in my neigbourhood". Following this are those (26.5%) who indicated "apart from

obtaining information from *Ngaka/Dingaka,*[1] friends and neighbours, I also obtain information independently". In addition, some 5.6% of the farmers claimed "I obtain weather information from friends, colleagues and neighbours".

Farmer's (local) knowledge of weather forecasting

The percentage distributions of farmers were analysed based on their (local) knowledge of weather forecasting. Well over 70% of them strongly agreed or agreed with the statement "based on personal experience, I can predict whether there will be enough rains or not in a farming year". Some 49.0% of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "through mere smells, I can discern whether it is going to rain or not at a particular time". An overwhelming 81.5% opined that they could "through the chirpings of some birds and sounds from certain insects … predict whether it is going to rain or not". Also, some 61.0% of the population "make necessary decision to overcome any weather problem as required and deemed fit". Most farmers (74.8%) acknowledged that they could predict whether it will rain or not through certain plants. A great majority (93.6%) of the farmers either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "our forefathers from whom we acquired farming experience have had long standing and proven experience of weather forecast from which I have benefitted". While 78.5% of them either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "I can, through the gathering of clouds in certain direction in the sky, predict whether it will rain or not", some 63% of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "I can predict the abundance or otherwise of rains based on the pattern of early rains in a farming year". About 74% of them also agreed or strongly agreed with the

statement "through certain symbols/signs, I am able to discern whether there will be excessive or scarce rains in a given farming year". Only 29.4% of the farmers either agreed or strongly agreed that "through star constellation, I can predict whether it will rain or not", while a majority (57.9%) of the population either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement. Whereas some 53.5% of them either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "from personal experience, I'm able to predict the extreme of temperatures in a given farming year", some 60.1% either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "using trend observation [sequence of yearly weather events], I can determine what the climate would be in a particular farming season".

These analyses suggest that, through many years of careful observation of phenomena around them, farmers use diverse symbolic natural objects and items to predict the weather. To buttress this claim, preliminary investigations in Etsha 6, Jao, Semboyo, Chukumuchu, Tsodilo and Ngarange show that community people and farmers have diverse approaches to weather prediction. These include certain indicators or signals from some particular trees, clouds gathering and their direction, star constellations, and certain birds' movement or appearance. For instance, in the Semboyo community (where a significant proportion of the population has indigenous weather knowledge), one of the elders said:

> There is a certain wild berry tree (called Moretlwa), which bears fruits twice in a year (we call this Moretlwa wa ntlha). If the tree bears fruits from November to early December in a given year before the advent of the rains [first rainfall], this portends that there would be a low rainfall in that year. However, if the tree bears fruits around February/March (we call this Moretlwa Wa bobedi), it shows that there will be plenty or more rainfall in that year. But in a situation where the tree bears no fruits at all, this portends a serious danger; a

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1   Ngaka (singular) or dingaka (plural) mean(s) (a) traditional doctor(s) in Setswana.

drought is inevitable in that given year. Also, there is a tree [locally referred to as Motopi]; the flowering or fruiting of this tree prior to the rains is an indication that the year will experience abundant rainfalls.

Mitigating climate change or dearth of rainfall, therefore, involves the identification and planting of certain crops, which naturally have the capability to withstand drought conditions. For instance:

> Farmers plant certain traditional crops because of their life spans and maturity period. Our people do this in response to the peculiarity of the environment. Of interest is that people act on the basis of the advice provided by the chief (Kgosi) who apparently must have received certain spiritual instructions in line with the nature of the approaching season. For instance, sorghum (Mabele-Mapindi) which takes longer to mature is planted during rainy years. However, another variety of sorghum (Mabele-Pende) is planted during the seasons of little rainfall. Also, Ngwai, which is a variety of beans, is planted during years of little rainfall while Diwowa (another variety of beans) is planted when the rains are abundant. (A group of elders in the Ngarange community, Botswana)

Farmers' perception about the nature of local and scientific weather knowledge

The percentage distributions of farmers were analysed in relation to their perception about the nature of local and scientific weather knowledge. While some 44.8% of the population agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "scientific weather forecast cannot be relied upon as it does fail most of the time", a total of 48.5% either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement. Nonetheless, our preliminary investigations with some key informants indicate that local people have a strong opinion

that their weather knowledge is more reliable than that of the climatologists as they do not even know what it [weather "science"] is all about! This claim also buttresses Onyango (2009) and Ouma's (2009) viewpoints. While some 61.5% of them either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "unlike local knowledge, which is simple to understand in weather prediction, the same cannot be said of scientific knowledge", 32.8% either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement. A significant proportion (83.6%) of the study population either agreed or strongly agreed with statement that "both local and scientific knowledge in weather forecasting are over the years produced through observation, experimentation and validation". Also, 80.1% of them either agreed or strongly agreed that "unlike scientific knowledge in weather reading, which follows certain procedures in its production process, local knowledge is unregulated or unorganised". An overwhelming majority (93.6%) of the population either agreed or strongly agreed that "local knowledge in weather prediction does not need any sophisticated tools or equipment to do the job" as it applies in scientific weather forecast. Also, a majority (82.4%) of the farmers were of the opinion that "unlike western science, formal education or training is not needed to acquire skills in local weather forecasting". While 89.8% of them either agreed or strongly agreed that "unlike western approach to weather forecasting, wielding local knowledge in weather prediction requires little or no financial investments". From another perspective, some 59.4% of the study population either agreed or strongly agreed that "scientific weather forecast and local predictions are mutually exclusive; they are two different things altogether". Some 33.1%, however, had a contrary opinion about the statement. Also, while 56.4% of the farmers either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "local approaches to weather prediction are always accurate and as such are the best in making the right decisions in farming activities", a total of 36.0% of them

either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement. Nonetheless, an overwhelming majority of the farmers (93.4%) concurred that "whereas scientific weather forecasting is purely secular, local knowledge in weather reading entails a great measure of spirituality". Some 57.2% of farmers interviewed either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "scientific approach to weather forecasting should only be complementary or supplementary to local approach in making farming decisions".

More importantly, the viewpoints of farmers in our preliminary investigations suggest that a significant number of farmers felt that it would be interesting to find a suitable platform where they could work with climatologists with a view to effectively mitigating climate change and variability.

How farmers produce weather knowledge

The percentage distributions of farmers by how they produce local weather knowledge were analysed. A significant proportion (60.6%) of the farmers claimed "we engage in local observations and experimentation to produce weather knowledge" and also "rely on many years of experience with our immediate environment to generate weather knowledge". Whereas some 12.5% of them claimed "we rely solely on local procedure in weather forecasting", 7.4% felt "we do not even care whether weather information/knowledge exists or not". The inference is that most farmers constantly interact with the natural phenomena around them to generate weather knowledge.

Relationships between farmers' attributes and their perception about the nature of local and Western knowledge in weather forecasting

The data in Table 2 show a correlation analysis of the relationships existing between the demographic, socio-economic and psychosocial characteristics of the farmers and their perceptions about the nature of both local and

TABLE 2: Correlation analysis showing the relationship between farmers' attributes and their perception about the nature of local and Western knowledge in weather forecasting.

Variable	"r" value	Co-efficient of determination (r^2)	P value	Decision
Age	0.209**	0.043	0.000	Significant
Education level	−0.109*	0.012	0.026	Significant
Number of years engaged in farming	0.105**	0.011	0.013	Significant
Household monthly income	−0.011	0.000	0.787	Not significant
Household size	−0.011	0.000	0.798	Not significant
Source(s) of indigenous weather information	0.177**	0.031	0.000	Significant
Knowledge of weather forecasting	0.392**	0.154	0.000	Significant
Farmer's decision on farming practices	−0.464**	0.215	0.000	Significant

Source: Field survey, 2011–2012
** Test statistic significant at P ≤ 0.01 level
* Test statistic significant at P ≤ 0.05 level

scientific knowledge in weather forecasting. Analysis showed that at $p \leq 0.01$ level of significance, there is a positive and significant correlation between a farmer's age (r = 0.209) and his or her perception about local and scientific weather knowledge. As many of the farmers had a favourable perception about their knowledge systems, this might imply that, the older the farmer is, the more likely he or she is to prefer the use of local knowledge in mitigating climate variability and change. The reason is that his or her experience plays a major role in local knowledge production and farming activities. This is further buttressed by the positive and significant correlation existing between the number of years in which the farmer has engaged in farming activities (r = 0.105; $p \leq 0.01$) and his or her perception about the nature of both knowledge systems. At $p \leq 0.05$ confidence level, a significant but negative correlation exists between a farmer's education (r = –0.109) and his or her perception about the nature of both local and scientific knowledge in weather forecasting. This implies that, the more educated the farmer becomes, the more likely he or she is to prefer the use of scientific weather knowledge in farming decisions. Also, sources of indigenous weather information (r = 0.177; $p \leq 0.01$) and (local) knowledge of weather forecasting (r = 0.392; $p \leq 0.01$) both had positive and significant correlation with the nature of the two knowledge systems. The inference is that, the more accessible the local knowledge information is, the more the farmer would prefer its use. And, the more knowledgeable the farmer becomes in terms of the acquisition of wealth of local knowledge in weather forecasting, the more favourable the farmer's perception is about indigenous weather knowledge. Overall, a farmer's decision on farming practices (r = –0.464; $p \leq 0.01$) had a strong but negative correlation with his or her perception about the nature of scientific weather knowledge. This implies that his or her decision is at variance with scientific weather information, possibly because of the

unavailability of weather information from the relevant agencies.

The co-efficient of determination (r^2) explains the magnitude of the relationship of each of the explanatory variables (*Xs*) on farmers' perception about the nature of weather knowledge (which is the dependent variable *Y*). For instance, knowledge of weather forecasting by the farmer explains 15.4% of the variation in *Y*. Also, some 21.5% of the variation in *Y* is explained by the farmer's decision on farming practices. The age of the farmer and his or her education level only explain 4.3% and 1.2% of the variation in variable *Y* (which is the farmer's perception about the nature of both knowledge systems), respectively.

Conclusion

The farmers studied were predominantly women but included a significant proportion of the men folk. Although the average age of those engaged in farming in the population was about 51 years, a significant percentage of the population was older than 65 years. The average household size was about 4 persons. Also, the average income of the farmers was BWP620. While none of the farmers had had contact with Meteorological Service agents in the 6 months before the survey was conducted, a majority of those who had access to weather information did so through the wireless. More importantly, most of the respondents indicated they did not have access to weather information and their communities did not have contact with weather forecasting agents. And, a majority of the farmers mainly obtained weather information from elderly people within their neighbourhood and through native diviners or doctors (dingaka). Generally, local farmers relied on many years of experience with their immediate environment to generate weather knowledge. About 90% of them were of the opinion that the production of local knowledge in weather forecasting needed no capital investment; nor

did it need any sophisticated equipment. Also, a majority (57.2%) of the farmers felt scientific weather forecasting should complement the local approach in weather reading.

Age, education level, number of years engaged in farming, sources of weather information, knowledge of weather forecasting and the farmer's decision on farming practices had significant correlation with the respondents' perception about the nature of both local and scientific weather information. While it is acknowledged that the identified factors are crucial for policies and decision making in weather information dissemination, more attention needs to be paid to the yearnings of farmers to work closely with scientists in the production of weather forecasting knowledge.

Acknowledgements

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TIPPING THE BALANCE

An analysis of the impact of the Working for Families policy on Māori whānau

*Heather Gifford**

Amohia Boulton†

Sue Triggs‡

Chris Cunningham§

Abstract

New Zealand's Working for Families (WFF) policy introduced in 2004 aimed to address, amongst other things, the poverty faced by low-income working families. While WFF has been evaluated, little evidence exists on its impact on Māori. Using data from the Best Outcomes for Māori: Te Hoe Nuku Roa longitudinal survey, we found that WFF has positively impacted income adequacy for WFF-eligible families. There was a large decline in the proportion of families whose income was "not enough" to meet their everyday needs, and an equivalent increase in the "just enough" category in the periods before and after WFF was introduced. However, we note that improvements in income adequacy occurred within a period of other macro-environment changes for low-income families. Gains made at the individual whānau level may well be fragile, as the economic situation of low-income families is still one of considerable hardship. Consequently, support for vulnerable families remains of critical importance.

Keywords

social policy, Māori, poverty, income, whānau

* Director, Whakauae Research for Māori Health and Development, Whanganui, New Zealand.
Email: heather@whakauae.co.nz

† Associate Director, Whakauae Research for Māori Health and Development, Whanganui, New Zealand.

‡ Consultant Statistician, Research Centre for Māori Health & Development, Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand.

§ Research Centre for Māori Health & Development, Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand.

Introduction

This paper presents quantitative data on economic living standards of whānau before and after the introduction of Working for Families (WFF). The living standards of WFF-eligible families were also compared with other types of household. A separate qualitative study, carried out as part of the wider research into WFF, conducted interviews with a subset of Te Hoe Nuku Roa (THNR) households to gather in-depth data on their knowledge of the policy and its effects on their whānau wellbeing; this data is presented elsewhere (Boulton & Gifford, 2011; Gifford & Boulton, 2012).

WFF was introduced in 2004 in New Zealand as a means of addressing a number of social policy goals. The policy's objectives were to reduce child poverty, improve the incomes of working families, strengthen work incentives for unemployed parents and make it easier for families to access financial assistance (Johnson, 2005). Components of the policy include increasing family incomes, making work pay, assisting with childcare costs and more affordable housing for families (Ministry of Social Development, n.d.). While the research team recognise that evaluation of the WFF policy has been given consideration (Bryson, Evans, Knight, La Valle, & Vegeris, 2007; Evans, Knight, & La Valle, 2007; Wehipeihana & Pipi, 2008), to our knowledge this is the first time research has been undertaken that specifically investigates the impact of WFF for Māori whānau.

Methodology

In 2011–2012, Whakauae Research for Māori Health and Development (WRMHD) and the Research Centre for Māori Health and Development (RCMHD), Massey University, jointly analysed data from the Best Outcomes for Māori: Te Hoe Nuku Roa longitudinal study of Māori households in an attempt to identify the impact of WFF on Māori households and whānau.

Te Hoe Nuku Roa is the longest-running longitudinal survey of Māori households, originally designed to provide an ongoing sociocultural-demographic profile of Māori households, whānau and individuals. The study design, well described elsewhere (Durie, 1995), surveys the same people or households at 3-to-5-year intervals. The initial survey (Wave 1) began late in 1995. The number of Māori households currently enrolled with THNR is 850 (roughly 2,500 individuals) across 7 regional council areas.

The tool used for the first five sampling waves was an omnibus survey that asked a broad range of questions on lifestyle, culture, te reo Māori, education, health, income, employment and household composition. The Wave 4 questionnaire also added detailed questions on whānau membership and interaction dynamics, as well as an Economic Living Standards Indicator ($ELSI_{SF}$) (Jensen, Spittal, Crichton, Sathiyandra, & Krishnan, 2002), which had been developed through collaboration with the Ministry for Social Development (Cunningham et al., 2002).

Wave 4 included 6 geographic regions – Northland, Auckland, Gisborne, Manawatū/Whanganui, Wellington and Southland – which together accounted for just over half of the Māori-descent population resident in New Zealand. These 6 regions are broadly similar to the overall New Zealand population of Māori descent in terms of key demographic, social and economic variables.

The first part of the research examined changes in living standards of whānau using data from households interviewed in Wave 4 (2004–2007). While THNR was not specifically designed to evaluate WFF, it provided a useful platform to do so, as around half the Wave 4 sample was collected before WFF and half after, with a fairly equal split between WFF-eligible families and ineligible households.

The second part of the research examined changes in the living circumstances of

households between Wave 4 and Wave 5 of THNR and looked at the effect of these changes on living standards. The effect of WFF over this period was tested by comparing the living standards of whānau eligible for WFF who were interviewed before WFF (2004, Wave 4) with the living standards of the same whānau after WFF (2011, Wave 5), taking into account other household changes.

The final sample size was 579 whānau or households (see Table 1), of which 330 were interviewed before WFF and 249 were interviewed within Wave 4. Of these, 278 were whānau who were eligible for WFF: 160 sampled before and 118 after WFF was implemented. Wave 5 data were being collected at the same time as this research paper was being prepared. Therefore, living standard comparisons between Wave 4 and Wave 5 were based on a preliminary sample of 267 of the 579 households interviewed in Wave 4, 132 of whom were eligible for WFF in Wave 4. This analysis used pairwise (matched) comparisons between Wave 4 and Wave 5 responses for each person.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations of our analysis. The actual data collected by any survey is always subject to a level of bias, as certain types of people are not contactable or decline to participate. Males and young adults were under-represented relative to the actual Māori population, as were households with fewer residents. Of the people interviewed in Wave

1, 44% were re-interviewed in Wave 4, with a greater loss of young people and households who move a lot (such as renters). The loss of young adults means that the young families were under-represented in the WFF dataset. The Wave 4 data was weighted in order to minimise the effect of these biases.

Statistical limitations and the complexity of WFF eligibility and entitlements meant that levels of hardship and differences between groups may have been underestimated. Lack of strong differentiation in perceived living standards, as measured by $ELSI_{SF}$, may have also led to an underestimation of differences between groups. By far the majority of all types of household reported that their standard of living was "medium" or "high", according to $ELSI_{SF}$ definitions, and that they were satisfied with their standard of living, despite marked differences in income adequacy and economising behaviour.

Findings

More detailed findings from the quantitative analysis are presented elsewhere in our technical reports (Gifford & Boulton 2012; Research Centre for Māori Health and Development, 2012). This paper discusses the high-level findings arising from the study.

WFF-eligible whānau demonstrated need for financial support

It was apparent that the whānau who were targeted and eligible for a range of WFF payments

TABLE 1:   Te Hoe Nuku Roa sample for Working for Families (WFF) analysis.

Whānau type	Wave 4 sample			Wave 5 sample
	Before WFF	**After WFF**	**Total**	**Total**
WFF-eligible	160	118	278	131
Not eligible	170	131	301	136
Total	330	249	579	267

were in need of some form of financial support to increase income adequacy. Prior to the implementation of the WFF policy, the living standards of WFF-eligible Māori families or whānau were markedly and significantly lower than ineligible Māori households. Beneficiary families with dependent children were the worst off economically, followed by other beneficiary households (excluding superannuitants) and low-income working families with dependent children. High-income families with dependent children scored towards the top end of the living standards scale (as measured by $ELSI_{SF}$). Households without dependent children had above-average living standards if the principal adult was employed or retired. This finding confirms those reported in other studies (Jensen et al., 2006; Krishnan, Jensen, & Ballantyne, 2002). Twice as many WFF-eligible whānau scored in the hardship category and three-quarters of WFF-eligible whānau reported that their income was not enough or only just enough to meet their needs.

WFF-eligible whānau experienced an improvement in income adequacy

Comparisons between the households interviewed before and after the introduction of WFF (between 2004 and 2007) indicated that WFF positively impacted income adequacy for WFF-eligible whānau. In particular, there was a decline in the proportion of whānau whose income was not enough to meet their everyday needs and an equivalent increase in the just enough category. After analysis of both Wave 4 and Wave 5 data, we found that WFF-eligible families were still worse off economically than other households, but with a slight improvement in living standards and a significant improvement in income adequacy between Wave 4 and Wave 5. Housing satisfaction also improved. One area of concern was the much higher proportion of families having to economise on the purchase of fruit and vegetables in 2011 compared with 2004.

The impact of WFF was significant but modest, and possibly fragile

Both the quantitative and the qualitative analyses reported elsewhere (Boulton & Gifford 2011; Gifford & Boulton, 2012) confirmed that WFF whānau experienced a significant although modest improvement in income adequacy. While the results of this study provide evidence of the contribution that WFF payments make towards improving income adequacy, we note that this improvement – a "tipping of the balance" for many families towards having just enough income – was realised within a period of other supportive policies for low-income families, such as an increase in the minimum wage and a decrease in the unemployment rate. In the period 2007–2011, following the collection of Wave 4 data, the economy experienced a substantial downturn, with an increase in both the unemployment rate and the number of people in receipt of the Domestic Purposes Benefit (DPB). At the same time, the cost of housing increased, potentially eroding gains in housing affordability. Furthermore, the cost of food increased at a faster rate than wages and general inflation during this same period. Thus, the gains we describe above may well be fragile, particularly as the economic situation of low-income families remains one of considerable hardship in many cases, with families still having to economise on basic necessities such as fruit and vegetables and visits to the doctor. Early gains made by WFF in the period 2004–2007, as evidenced both in this study and in others (Perry, 2011), have been impacted by the more recent wider economic recession, resulting in continuing hardship and income insufficiency for many Māori whānau.

The policy (and research) setting and whānau dynamics are very complex

It is challenging to single out the contribution to whānau living standards of the WFF policy, given its inherently complex and dynamic

nature; which necessarily involved changes to a range of entitlements and to eligibility over time, and was implemented within a volatile economic setting. The impact of WFF can, at best, be described as modest when compared with the substantial changes in living standards displayed by many households as a consequence of changes in household circumstances (such as family formation and splitting), movement into and out of the labour force, and income change.

With the exception of a stable group of retirees, the majority of households had some change in their circumstances over the study period. The rate of change was especially high for WFF-eligible families, where 29% changed their family type, two-thirds had a change in the number of dependent children, half had a change in income and over two-thirds of principal adults changed their labour force status. One feature of the data was the fluctuation in labour force status around the margins of employment: between full-time and part-time work, and between work, parenting, study and looking for work. The role of whānau in helping to care for each other, and especially for children, the unwell or the elderly, is a benefit to both whānau and broader society. However, it is also important to recognise the pressure this places on some whānau. A third of all whānau (and half of all sole-parent whānau) had at least one other person living with them who was not part of the "nuclear family", but who was most often a relative. More than 1 in 8 of the extended households included an older relative or a whāngai, or young relative, while several other households comprised a sole parent living with his or her parent(s) and siblings. Māori resiliency is seen in the manner in which whānau contribute horizontally to vulnerable members. Two-thirds of Māori interviewed for THNR had given money to help their whānau over the previous month; the figure was the same for households whose income did not meet their own everyday needs as it was for wealthier households.

Evident tensions between WFF policy objectives

The WFF welfare package, introduced in the 2004 budget, signalled a significant change in welfare policy in New Zealand. It was conceptualised as a tool to target those sectors of the population experiencing social disadvantage and unequal opportunity with a view to increasing overall living standards and reducing poverty across the community. Rather than being specifically tailored to addressing the needs of Māori, its development was informed by the wider reducing-inequalities framework, with its emphasis on ethnic disparity primarily conditioned by socio-economic factors. Working for Families was designed to make it easier to work and to raise a family. Targeting low-to-middle-income families with dependent children (Perry, 2004), the WFF package sought to improve the incomes of working families going outside the benefit system to meet welfare goals (Johnson, 2005). As previously discussed, low living standards, high levels of hardship, low income adequacy and the need to economise on even the most basic of items (such as fruit and vegetables) underpinned the need for an improvement in income adequacy for low-income families with dependent children. However, the particularly low living standards faced by beneficiary families are at odds with their lower level of WFF entitlements. We believe this inconsistency or tension arises from the divergence between the "making work pay" and the "income adequacy" aims of the WFF policy. As a nation, we need to consider the implications of excluding unemployed and beneficiary families from full entitlements of the WFF policy. In particular, we question the impact of exclusion for Māori whānau who are over-represented in unemployment and beneficiary statistics. The focus needs to remain on tamariki within whānau and on the impact poverty will be likely to have on their lifetime trajectory and potential life outcomes.

Conclusions

WFF has tipped the balance for whānau who are recipients of WFF entitlements. However, an equally important finding of this study is the dynamism of whānau in terms of their composition and circumstances.

The results of this study support the contention that WFF payments have made a contribution towards improving income adequacy. However, it is noted that this improvement – a tipping of the balance for many families towards having just enough income – was realised alongside implementation of other policies for low-income families, such as an increase in the minimum wage and a decrease in the unemployment rate. The more recent economic downturn may reverse the modest improvements that have been made, resulting in a return for many households to a state of income inadequacy. Thus, the gain may be a fragile one, particularly as the economic situation of low-income families was still one of considerable hardship in many cases, with families having to economise on basic necessities such as fruit and vegetables and visits to the doctor.

During the study period (2004–2011), many individual households showed substantial changes in living standards, often associated with changes in household circumstances such as family formation and splitting, movement into and out of the labour force, and changes to their income. Capturing and understanding the dynamism of whānau, especially as it applies to design and implementation of social policy, is a critical and ongoing research goal.

Acknowledgements

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I TUKU IHO, HE TAPU TE UPOKO

From our ancestors the head is sacred

Hinemoa Elder*

Abstract

International research shows both "minority" culture and indigeneity are risk factors for traumatic brain injury (TBI). Local epidemiological studies show that mokopuna (grandchildren) are significantly over-represented in TBI populations. The important role of family is well established in child and adolescent TBI literature. Despite awareness of these factors, no studies exploring whānau knowledge about mokopuna TBI have been identified.

Method. This study asked two questions:
1. What do Māori people say about mokopuna TBI in the context of the Māori cultural belief that the head is the most sacred part of the body?
2. How could this information be used to build theory to inform addressing the rehabilitation needs of this group?

Eighteen marae wānanga (culture-specific fora in traditional meeting houses) were held. Data was analysed using rangahau kaupapa Māori (Māori indigenous research methods).

Results. Several sets of results are presented. Seven central themes privilege the fundamental role of wairua in TBI and of whānau in holding specific knowledge and practices required to address this aspect. A Māori formulation of TBI forms a further layer of findings. Next, the wairua theory of mokopuna TBI proposes that TBI not only injures brain anatomy and physiology but also injures wairua. This means that culturally determined interventions are both indicated and expected, thereby providing a guide to intervention.

Conclusion. A Māori theory of mokopuna TBI has been identified. This theory highlights the importance of whānau knowledge in action. This construct challenges other work that focuses

*   Child and Adolescent Psychiatrist, Regional Youth Forensic Services Auckland, Massey University, New Zealand.
     Email: hinemoa@xtra.co.nz

on teaching families from the perspective that they have no pre-existing relevant knowledge. Further research is needed to examine the implications of these findings.

Keywords

Introduction

Whānau meanings, beliefs and knowledge in mokopuna traumatic brain injury (TBI) have until now remained unexplored. This is despite well-established models that highlight the importance of whānau in hauora Māori (Durie, 2001).

Traumatic brain injury is important for a number of reasons. The injury and its consequence are often missed or misunderstood (Elder, 2012). Physical, social and emotional impairments may cause considerable lifelong disability (Ylvisaker, 1998). Traumatic brain injury is also associated with increased rates of psychiatric illness (Elder, 2012). While there is no globally accepted definition of TBI, it is generally accepted that it is an acquired injury to the brain caused by an external physical force that results in some degree of functional disability or psychosocial impairment or both. This definition excludes brain injuries that are congenital, processes that are degenerative and injuries sustained by birth trauma. The severity of the injury is classified in a number of ways, using the Glasgow Coma Scale and a range of other factors, including post-traumatic amnesia (McKinlay et al., 2008). Traumatic brain injury is most prevalent in infancy, childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood, and the most common causes include non-accidental traumatic brain injury in infancy, falls in childhood, motor vehicle accidents, and violence in adolescence and early adulthood (Barker-Collo, Wilde, & Feigin, 2009). Rehabilitation is interdisciplinary and tailored to the level of impairment (Ylvisaker, 1998).

International studies have clearly demonstrated the critical role of the family in optimising rehabilitation outcomes for children and adolescents with TBI (Anderson, Catroppa, Hariton, Morse, & Rosenfeld, 2005; Braga, Da Paz, & Ylvisaker, 2005; Burgess et al., 1999; Rivara et al., 1994; Saltapidas & Ponsford, 2007; Sander et al., 2007; Taylor, Drotar, & Wade, 1995; Taylor et al., 1999, 2001; Woods, Catroppa, Barnett, & Anderson, 2011; Yeates et al., 2002).

Better understanding of cultural world views salient to TBI is recognised as likely to improve both prevention and outcomes, but this remains a poorly understood area (New Zealand Guidelines Group, 2006; Saltapidas & Ponsford, 2008; Simpson, Mohr, & Redman, 2000; Staudenmayer, Diaz-Arrastia, Oliveira, Gentilello, & Shafti, 2007; Uomoto, 2005).

Māori

The most recent population census found that almost 18% of the New Zealand population (approximately 650,000 people) reported being of Māori descent, and demonstrated that Māori continue to be a young population with approximately 35% of Māori under 15 years old (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.). The Māori word mokopuna, commonly translated as grandchild, is used here to encompass infant, child and adolescent development. This word was used by the participants in this rangahau. It is therefore used in preference here.

Mokopuna TBI

Recent data shows that Māori rates of TBI are three times that of non-Māori; 995/100,000 compared with 340/100,000 (Barker-Collo, Feigin, Theadom, & Starkey, 2012). Specific studies of mokopuna and whānau experience across various domains of TBI rehabilitation have yet to be conducted.

An important consideration is the growing number of mokopuna exposed to Te Reo Rangatira (the Māori language) as their first language, with almost 25% of Māori whānau reported as having conversational language (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007, 2010b). This factor drives an increasing need to ensure culturally responsive health care approaches for whānau who feel most comfortable communicating and conceptualising in Te Reo Rangatira.

International literature on culture and TBI

A significant body of literature demonstrates disparities in access to appropriate rehabilitation services and outcome in indigenous and "minority cultures" in other parts of the world (Arango-Lasprilla & Kreutzer, 2010; Arango-Lasprilla et al., 2007; Faleafa, 2009; Haider et al., 2007; Jamieson, Harrison, & Berry, 2008; Keightley, Kendall, et al., 2011; Keightley, Ratnayake, et al., 2009; Langlois, Rutland-Brown, & Thomas, 2005; Nelson, Rhodes, Noona, Manson, & AI-SUPERPFP Team, 2007).

Overall, these factors highlight the need for culturally appropriate investigation of whānau knowledge about TBI in mokopuna.

Method

Marae wānanga were identified as the most appropriate place to invite discussion about mokopuna TBI (Barlow, 2005; Brown, 2009; Cheung, 2010; Durie, 2011; Elder, 2012; Kingi

& Bray, 2000; Lilley, 2009; Marsden, 2003; Statistics New Zealand & Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2003; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007, 2010a).

Locating this discussion in a culture-specific space provided layers of safety for all concerned. Permission was formally sought from the whānau of the researcher and university ethical approval was also obtained.

Nine marae each hosted two wānanga identified by Koroua and Kuia from the researchers whānau and the Rōpū Kaitiaki (guardianship group). These were located in rural, remote and urban communities. Written consent was obtained for recording the wānanga. Footage and written transcripts were analysed from the first round of wānanga using noho puku (self-reflection), whanaungatanga (connection) and kaitiakitanga (guardianship). The second round of wānanga involved member checking of the analysis followed by operationalising of the ideas using pūrākau (stories). Three pūrākau were written, each exemplifying a case study of a mokopuna with a TBI. Responses to these pūrākau were recorded. Analysis of the second wānanga utilised the same methods. In addition, Dedoose, an online research analysis tool, was used to code the data to build theory. Coding was peer reviewed. Summaries were sent to the participating marae. In addition, a Rōpū Kaitiaki of experts in both neuroscience and tikanga was established.

Results

The nine participating marae were Araiteuru, Tapu Te Ranga, Tutanekai, Owae, Pukemokimoki, Te Mahurehure, Potahi, Piritahi and Rauru. The first round of wānanga was attended by 79 people and 56 attended the second round. Marae wānanga continued until saturation. No participants declined consent.

Overall, four levels of results were determined: seven central ideas, a Māori formulation of mokopuna TBI, the wairua theory of mokopuna TBI, and Te Waka Oranga – an

interventional framework. This paper will focus on the theory-building component.

Analysis of data from the first set of wānanga, confirmed and refined at the second wānanga, identified the following seven ideas as central to consideration of mokopuna TBI. These are presented with examples of short quotations from the wānanga in italics, with the name of the marae. The number 1 signifies the quotation is from the first wānanga:

1. Wairua is fundamental and attended to as a priority:
   He mea wairua (it's a wairua thing). He mea wairua nei (this is a wairua thing). Te Mahurehure 1

2. Whānau are the functional unit of healing:
   His healing is with his people. Pukemokimoki 1

3. Whānau experience the clinical world as an alien culture:
   I prefer the Hauora because when you say, "I'm starting to feel my wairua", you know they actually understand that. If I was to say that up at the doctors, they'd say, "What's this guy on?" sort of thing, they can't relate to the vocab. Piritahi 1
   They don't believe in the wairua, the psychiatry people and they have said it most often. Owae 1

4. Mātauranga Māori has a wealth of resources specific to mokopuna traumatic brain injury:
   There is the oriori by Tuatoriki for Tuteremoana. Araiteuru 1
   Kei te mirimiri (to massage), kei te waiata (to sing), kei te awhi (to soothe), kei te poipoi i te pepi (to nurture the baby). Potahi 1

5. Māori identity is about connection:
   Something that I admire about being Māori is working together so that we acknowledge that we all have a piece of the puzzle to contribute, you don't have to be the everything and that I think helps soothe your wairua too, and knowing that you don't have to be responsible and take ownership, that everything is shared, I think for me that's always been a real special trait for being Māori.

Araiteuru 1

6. Places have a healing role because they define identity:
   What we talking about today is something so very valuable that in order to understand we need to go back, way back in time, way back into the past, where our people had the ability to attend to these problems of the mind, of the spirit, of the soul, because they lived in the harmony with nature, the environment. Rauru 1

7. Other trauma is remembered when traumatic brain injury discussion is invited:
   Brain trauma just doesn't happen from physical injuries, I'm talking trauma of incest, sexual assaults, and the damage that it does to affect the wairua and the shock and effect of those sort of acts on the human brain and the developing brain. Owae 1

These short verbatim quotes illustrate the central themes that participants agreed encompassed the most important elements of their discussions. These themes formed the foundation of how the participants responded to three pūrākau (stories) that were used to explore how the themes might be operationalised. The outcome of this process was termed Māori cultural formulation of mokopuna traumatic brain injury. Reflecting on how the participants responded to the pūrākau, grouping quotations and field notes, and presenting findings to other researchers and to the Rōpū Kaitiaki were the processes of analysis. Centrifugal thinking was critical here (Durie, 2002), moving into the larger ideas that were being utilised by the participants to make sense of and respond to the pūrākau. Four elements were identified: wairua (uniquely Māori profound connectivity), tangata (people), wā (time) and wāhi (place). Theory-building processes then built on these findings. Theory building involved nuanced coding using an online mixed methods tool, Dedoose (www.dedoose.com). Peer review of coding and presentation to the Rōpū Kaitiaki also informed the theory building.

The wairua theory of mokopuna TBI

The wairua theory of mokopuna TBI proposes that wairua is also injured in mokopuna TBI. According to this theory, wairua is understood as a profound sense of connectivity between Māori and all aspects of the universe. This injury to wairua occurs because the head is regarded as a sacred part of the body. The wairua injury activates a cascade of culturally determined responses. The theory proposes that Māori whānau have relevant latent cultural knowledge resources (beliefs, attributions and practices) held within whakapapa (genealogy). When mokopuna TBI occurs, these resources are activated.

This activation happens because the mokopuna TBI reawakens awareness of the head's special status. The whānau awareness that these resources exist and what they entail emerges from the mātauranga of whakapapa. Because whānau are most closely linked via wairua, they have the most important and potent role in responding effectively to the wairua injury.

The injury to wairua also initiates the communicating function of wairua. The injury's occurrence is transmitted via wairua through the whānau into the whakapapa, both into the past and forward into the future. The whakapapa stretches across time, holding within its memory other traumatic events and mātauranga of specific practices for healing mokopuna TBI.

The narratives did not reject Western medical interventions. Rather, this theory proposes that other approaches are necessary but not sufficient to meet Māori needs.

Practices that are activated are contained within Te Reo Rangatira me ōna tikanga (the Māori language and protocols). The sound and vibrational quality of Te Reo Rangatira is highlighted as an essential feature responsible for healing.

Discussion

This is the first time theory building using Rangahau Kaupapa Māori has been developed in the context of mokopuna TBI. This process uncovered relatively homogeneous responses that privileged wairua as the fundamental aspect of hauora to be attended to in this context. Whānau were found to have a crucial role both as a storehouse of knowledge and in the delivery of these knowledge resources. These features distinguish this paradigm from other work about the role of family in child and adolescent TBI that focuses on training families to become rehabilitationists (Braga et al., 2005) and on their "parenting" (Woods, Catroppa, & Anderson, 2012; Woods et al., 2011). However, such interventions perpetuate the idea that families are bereft of existing knowledge pertinent to their child's TBI. In contrast, this work locates whānau as an equal knowledge partner at the interface with clinical knowledge.

Graham Smith has provided an influential guide to critique of Kaupapa Māori theory (2003). Reviewing this theory in the light of his criteria provides a searching examination of the theory's quality. The theory meets Smith's criteria regarding its utility, applicability and the position of the resourcefulness of Māori. Robust methods provide the theory with the capacity to withstand challenge from both Māori hegemonic thinking and Western scientific approaches.

Future work

This theory is postulated to resonate with Māori people who have some operational connection to their marae. A recent report found that 55% of Māori reported they attend marae "often" or "very often" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010b). Another found that almost 70% of Māori had visited a marae in the previous year (Statistics New Zealand & Ministry of Culture and Heritage,

2003). This theory then has potential appeal to a majority of Māori, given the entry point for participants was marae based. Conversely, a significant group of Māori remain who may not find this theory reflects their experience. Whether this theory is applicable to adults with TBI is unknown. Here wairua is at the base of the hierarchy of cultural needs in mokopuna TBI. Specific links were found between wairua, whānau and whakapapa. This expands on Te Whare Tapa Whā model, in which the four elements of tinana (physical needs), whānau (relational needs), hinengaro (psychological needs) and wairua are equally weighted (Durie, 1994).

Conclusions

This is the first study using Māori-centred methods to explore Māori knowledge applied to mokopuna TBI. The results are likely to be salient for a majority of Māori. This theory espoused that, alongside injury to the brain itself, in mokopuna TBI, an injury to a culturally determined aspect of health – wairua – is present. Therefore, this aspect of injury requires application of cultural resources held within the genealogical storehouse of knowledge available to whānau, alongside clinically indicated interventions. This theory provides a guide to intervention. It challenges other work in the field by identifying whānau as equal knowledge partners at the interface with clinical services. Implications for testing of this theory in mokopuna TBI and in the context of other insults to the brain provide opportunities for future work.

Glossary

hapū	subtribe
hauora	Māori concept of holistic health
he	a or some
hui	meeting
iwi	tribe
kai	food
kaitiaki	guardian
karakia	prayer
kaupapa	subject, reason
marae	traditional Māori campus of related areas and buildings
mātauranga	sometimes translated as knowledge, knowledge systems
mokopuna	grandchild, used here to encompass all stages of child development, to honour the korero of participants
noho	stay, sit
noho puku	self-reflection
ora	wellbeing
oranga	healing, health
Pākehā	non-Māori non-Pacific New Zealander
pūrākau	story
rangatahi	adolescent
rōpū	group
taiohi	adolescent
tangata	human being, person
tapu	sacred
te	the
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Reo Māori	the Māori language
Te Reo Rangatira	the language of chiefs, another way of saying the Māori language
tinorangatiratanga	self-determination
tupuna	ancestor
upoko	head
wā	time
wāhi	place

wairua	sometimes translated as the spiritual dimension of wellbeing, profound connection, uniquely Māori
wānanga	traditional fora for learning and discussion
whakapapa	geneology
whānau	extended family
whānau ora	wellbeing of the extended family system
whanaunga	relation, kindred
whanaungatanga	process of making relational links

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STORYTELLING AS INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION

*Jaime Cidro**

Abstract

The role of Indigenous methodologies has become increasingly common among scholars. In Anishinawbe societies, the term adisokan is used to describe the role of storytelling. Traditional storytellers would travel between communities and pass along vital information through songs and stories. Consider the role of the scholar as an adisokan, sharing critical knowledge between communities on issues that affect those communities. Nanabush storytelling is one such way of sharing. Nanabush is a celebrated figure in Anishnawbe culture and folklore, a trickster figure who is, according to Anishinawbe legal scholar John Borrows (1997), part of a tradition of intellect that teaches us about partial and incomplete ideas. This paper explores how a Nanabush story was used, in the tradition of an adisokan, as a culturally specific and community-relevant analytic tool for the communities on Manitoulin Island.

Keywords

Indigenous methodology, Nanabush, trickster, health, identity

*   Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
     Email: j.cidro@uwinnipeg.ca

Introduction

In Anishnawbek communities, culture and tradition is something that is passed down by the women through the use of stories. The use of storytelling on Manitoulin Island is a celebrated part of the culture, and can be seen and heard across the community in visual and performing art. Nanabush shows himself in the visual art work of Daphne Odjig and Blake Debassige and through the De-ba-jeh-mu-jig Theatre Group, who take on the role of traditional storytelling and the exploration of important contemporary themes.

Nanabush, the Anishnawbek trickster, acts as our own worst critic by helping us to understand our behaviours, inadequacies and strengths. This trickster can be ridiculous, imprudent, hilarious and mischievous, and his antics help to ground our understanding of the world around us. As a part of a research project that explored the connection between identity formation and health behaviours for First Nations women on Manitoulin Island, storytelling through Nanabush was utilised as a tool to analyse the data and transmit the knowledge. The link between health, identity and Nanabush was inspired by one of the research participants. When asked about her identity, she said this:

> When people ask me where I am from, I have different answers for different people on different days. Sometimes I feel like Nanabush, like where do you want me to be from? I feel a little trickster about it, because I can. I am Ojibway and I am crane clan. There's no definitive answer to any of these things. (LH 6)

In Anishnawbe societies, the term adisokan is used to describe the role of storytelling (Vizenor, 1970). Adisokans, or traditional storytellers, travel to communities and share important information through the use of stories and songs. Researchers, particularly Aboriginal scholars, can also take on the contemporary role of an adisokan by sharing critical knowledge across communities. Wilson (2008) discusses the role of cultural knowledge transmitters working in an Indigenous paradigm. The use of storytelling as a research transmission tool is one way of doing this. This paper will explore how the use of Nanabush storytelling was imparted, not only as a way to transmit the knowledge gained through the research project, but also as a way to celebrate the role of researchers as contemporary storytellers or adisokans. This paper is adapted from a paper that will appear in the *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* in the Fall 2012 issue, volume 32(2). The use of Nanabush storytelling adds to the growing literature on Indigenous methodologies and provides new ways of understanding the role of researchers, not so much as knowledge gatherers and distributers, but as knowledge transmitters. This paper will briefly describe the research project, and more fully describe the rationale for using Nanabush storytelling as an analytical tool and for knowledge transmission.

Identity and First Nations health

Aboriginal communities are often characterised by the increasing disparities between their health and that of the non-Aboriginal population in Canada. Colonisation has left us with many First Nation people with lowered self-esteem and self-respect, and has disrupted family life, resulting in problems related to alcohol, drug and solvent use as well as physical, sexual and emotional abuse and suicide (Health Canada, 1998). First Nations women, who are often the main caregivers of the family and an integral part of cultural knowledge transmission, carry the main burden of ill health and low social status.

First Nations women's disproportionate level of ill health and low social status is seen in their lowered life expectancy, elevated morbidity rates and elevated suicide rates in comparison with non-First Nations women (Prairie Women's Health Centre of Excellence, 2004). The reasons for this ill health are multifactorial,

and a multidisciplinary investigation is required to truly grasp this complex issue. It is this high prevalence of disease, illness and ill health that emphasises that current health models and health policies are not meeting the needs of Aboriginal people in Canada. Health and wellness must be understood as encompassing the physical aspects of living, but they also require a more holistic and integrated approach that includes spiritual, emotional, physical and intellectual or mental aspects (Bartlett, 2005).

One social determinant of health is First Nations identity. Identity is complex and, according to Stuart Hall (1990), is a production "which is never complete, always in process and always constituted within, not outside representation" (p. 222). But First Nations identity is complicated by further factors. Lawrence (2004) defines Native identity as one that is "embedded within the systems of colonial power" as "highly political, with ramifications for how contemporary and historical collective experience is understood" and "is always being negotiated in relation to collective identity, and in the face of an external, colonizing society" (p. 1).

The research was done in partnership with the Noojmowin Teg Health Centre and thereby received a recommendation through the Manitoulin Anishnawbek Research Review Committee. Noojmowin Teg embraces the use of tradition and culture in promoting health to the Anishnawbek people they serve. The research was qualitative and involved conducting life histories with 12 First Nations women from the seven communities on the island. Key informant interviews were also held with health and human service workers on Manitoulin Island. The data were coded using grounded theory and NVIVO© software.

The story provided an allegory for presenting the themes that were revealed during the research that supported authentic and inauthentic cultural identity. Each passage represented different components of authentic and inauthentic identity. Inauthentic identity can be related to growing up outside of the community,

having Bill C-31 Indian status and not having access to traditions and culture because of limited access to teachers. There are many nuances to authentic identity construction for First Nations mixed-race women that the story did not address fully; however, storytelling provided one window to view the experiences of people.

Storytelling as knowledge transmission

The emerging field of knowledge translation or KT has become more and more prevalent in Aboriginal community research. While there are a plethora of terms describing the process of moving information between people, there are some generally accepted components. For example, knowledge transmission may refer to a linear process of shifting research knowledge from the researcher to the practitioner, organisation or community (Marshall & Guenette, 2011). Within an Aboriginal context, we see the transmitting of culture and values from generation to generation done through grandmothers, aunties and women who are considered "elders" (Barrios & Egan, 2002; Sams, 1994; Schweitzer, 1999; Weibel-Orlando, 1999). Women are considered "culture carriers" and are responsible for teaching children spiritual and cultural aspects of society. Anderson (2000) explains the role of women in carrying culture as the foundation of creation stories: "many Native creation stories are female centered, and there are many stories that speak about the role of women in bringing spirituality to the people" (p. 71). Anderson gives the example of the White Buffalo Woman in the Sioux creation story that brought the sacred pipe to her people. Using storytelling as a research methodology is therefore relevant to this research topic because I situate myself as an Indigenous female scholar sharing stories about other Indigenous women. I also see this research as a modern interpretation of fulfilling the traditional roles of women

as culture carriers by way of research.

Increasingly, we see Aboriginal scholars such as Borrows (1997) and Wilson (2008) making use of storytelling to convey meaning to the readers. Nanabush storytelling is an important contribution to Indigenous scholarship as it provides a way to discuss the key concepts of the research in a way that is culturally meaningful and significant to the Anishnawbek people. Storytelling is not an oversimplification of the data for the purpose of accessibility. The opposite is true, as the use of stories allows the reader to internalise the message and the multiple layers of meanings being expressed. A reader can retell the story so that some of it is altered to provide emphasis on concepts that are personally relevant. The relationship between the reader or listener and the story is thereby fluid.

Often, traditional stories, such as those told of Nanabush, have such a powerful impact on people it becomes part of their moral compass. As Archibald (2008) explains, "sometimes the traditional story becomes part of one's life-experience story, to be shared with others when appropriate" (p. 124). Storytelling within First Nation communities plays an important role, and the storyteller helps to "carry on the oral tradition's obligation of educational reciprocity" (Archibald, 2008, p. 112).

A challenge in conducting Aboriginal research is giving meaning to the data in a way that is not only accessible to members of the community, but also culturally appropriate. On Manitoulin Island, as with many First Nation communities, the role of stories to explain causality is an important cultural element. Storytelling is a way to communicate meanings. The use of Indigenous storytelling is slowly emerging as a way to explain contemporary issues. John Borrows, an Anishnawbe legal scholar from the Chippewas of Nawash Unceded First Nation of Neyaashiinigmiing Reserve on Georgian Bay, makes use of Nanabush stories to explain the legal positions of his people in environmental and land use disputes with government. His justification of this is that "a full understanding of First Nations law will only occur when people are more familiar with the myriad stories of a particular culture and the surrounding interpretations given to them by their people" (Borrows, 1997, p. 455).

Storytelling within the Anishnawbe tradition does more than merely transmit knowledge and provide guidance and meaning to life. As Gross (2002) explains, "the myths of the Anishinaabe are helping us to maintain a distinct identity, and by continuing to tell our sacred stories and controlling the telling of those stories, we are sustaining our cultural sovereignty" (p. 436). Nanabush is a celebrated figure in Anishnawbe culture and folklore. This trickster figure is a part of an

> intellectual tradition that teaches about ideas and principles that are partial and incomplete. … The Anishnawbe (Ojibway) of the Great Lakes call the trickster Nanabush; the First Nations people of the coastal Northwest know him as Raven; he is known as Glooscap by the Mi'kmaq of the Maritimes; and as Coyote, Crow, Wisakedjak, Badger, or Old Man among other First Nations people in North America. (Borrows, 1998, p. 39)

Many Nanabush stories focus on the relationship with food resources, environmental ethics and morality (Gross, 2002). Other scholars, such as Smith (1995), who looked at Nanabush stories from Manitoulin Island, observed that one of the major concerns of Nanabush stories is that of personality. She describes Nanabush as someone who "*balances* himself, depending on his body, his free soul (instinct/intuition) and his ego soul (reason) at appropriate times. He seeks *alliances* with others and exercises *caution* and *emotional restraint* and *reciprocates* for the help he has received" (Smith, 1995, p. 179). Gross (2002) also describes Nanabush as continually challenging the social norms, inviting a questioning of authority and tradition (p. 447).

Nanabush stories continue to play an important part in the lives of Anishnawbe people of

Manitoulin Island. This is most evident in the theatre group De-ba-jeh-mu-jig (which translates to "storytellers" in Anishnawbemowin). This is a community-based, non-profit group on Manitoulin Island that creates performing art celebrating the Anishnawbe world view. Many of their productions use Nanabush as a central character to discuss contemporary issues such as youth suicide (in a play entitled "Billy"). In April 2009, the De-ba-jeh-mu-jig Theatre Group held a two-day "Trickster Festival" devoted to the retelling or showcasing of new Nanabush stories. The story created for this research is similar to most Nanabush stories, in which this character is on some kind of journey and facing obstacles and challenges. As he navigates these obstacles, important life lessons are learned. In this original story, Nanabush is accompanying a girl on a journey, acting not only as a helper but also as an antagonist. The dialogue between the girl and Nanabush is written in both the local dialect of Anishnawbemowin and an English translation. This story is meant to provide another way of bringing meaning to the data in a way that is culturally relevant and meaningful. It is meant to complement the academic interpretation of the data and is not meant to provide the main analysis of the data. It represents a method of knowledge transmission that fits within the traditions of the communities of Manitoulin Island.

The values contained within the Indigenous research paradigm have come to be recognised by contemporary qualitative research methodology in general as important elements in research. Transmitting knowledge in a way that highlights and honours the contemporary cultures of Manitoulin Island is an important part of my role as a knowledge transmitter. The telling of this Nanabush trickster story comes out of a need to describe the experiences and stories of the research participants in a way that honours the traditions and cultures of the Anishnawbek of Manitoulin Island.

The story provides an allegory for presenting the themes that were revealed during the research that supported authentic and inauthentic cultural identity. Each passage represents different components of authentic and inauthentic identity. Inauthentic identity can be related to growing up outside of the community, having Bill C-31 Indian status and not having access to traditions and culture because of limited access to teachers.

There are many nuances to authentic identity construction for First Nations mixed-race women that the story did not address fully; however, storytelling provides one window to view the experiences of people. As the literature on Indigenous methodologies proliferates, researchers must consider their role as humble deliverers of knowledge that assist our families and communities in the pursuit of biimaadziwin or the good life. One way to do that is to look at culturally based modes of gathering information, understanding it and transmitting it back to the communities in ways that resonate and support cultural reclamation. Nanabush storytelling as an academic tool reinforces the concept of relationships between the topic, the research participants, the way we gather data and how it is disseminated – all components of the new Indigenous research paradigm described by Wilson (2008). On Manitoulin Island, the process of reclaiming culture has been under way for many years, and so has the culture of research. As these two cultures continue to enhance each other, so will the capacity of the communities to engage in research that promotes biimaadziwin. Educational reciprocity must be a critical obligation of adisokan researchers (Archibald, 2008). This reciprocity cannot be confined only to other scholars and our communities; the relationship with our future generations must be at the forefront of our minds – that is what Nanabush would say.

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SANTAL RELIGIOSITY AND THE IMPACT OF CONVERSION

A staggering situation in sociocultural development

A. H. M. Zehadul Karim*

Abstract

The Santals' religion is based absolutely on the traditional belief system of this ethnic group of people who strictly adhere to their sanatani (traditional) religious practices. But the Santals living in the north-western part of Bangladesh are now being converted to Christianity in large numbers, and they have been seemingly formalised to a newly evolved, maladaptive religiosity. For many years, the Santals in Bangladesh have maintained their own sanatani practices without any socio-political interference from the larger Bengali communities. But as time has passed, they have now become the victims of circumstances. The Santals are now almost landless, and many of them have been uprooted from their own settlement. In consequence, they are migrating to the urban city centres, where they seek employment in different Christian-based professional organisations. When Christianised, the Santals usually change their parental names, accepting their new Christian names indicatively as a mark of religious compliance to their conversion. Interestingly, however, it is found that the converters nevertheless retain their patronymic titles, having shown a kind of ethnic attachment to their tradition and genealogy. This abrupt shift in religious allegiance of the Santals precariously puts them in a world of contradiction and fluctuation with respect to their religious practices. This paper explores their sociocultural, religious and environmental adjustment in the context of their liminality and staggering situation.

Keywords

Santal religiosity, conversion to Christianity, sociocultural development

*   Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, International
     Islamic University Malaysia, Gombak, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
     Email: ahmzkarim@yahoo.com

Introduction and background – theme

The Santals in Bangladesh are an autochthonous ethnic minority group that have long been living in a very widely dispersed area of the Barind region, a different kind of environment in the north-western part of the country (Karim & Karim, 2006; Karim, Chowdhury, & Karim, 2008). Such ethnic minorities in Bangladesh are often referred to by the term adibashis or early settlers, and among these adibashis, the Santals are the most prominent and influential, having inhabited a special type of ecological setting fully based on their traditional sedentary economy, partly supplemented by fishing and horticulture (Datta-Majumder, 1956; Thompson, 1921). They have remained quite adaptable to this environment, being supported by their own techniques of farming. As an indigenous group, they have always lived in this area as a significant, small-scale subculture. They claim this land as the original inhabitants of the territories, which they have occupied for roughly 300 years, having been driven out by the British colonial power from the Indian part of West Bengal. But it has been learned from recent evidence (Karim et al., 2008) that the Santals have now been marginalised to a greater extent, and at the same time, they have been uprooted from their own original paternal homes in the Barind region. Being pauperised, the Santals now live in a very deplorable economic condition, which effectually forces them to seek shelter in the urban and peri-urban areas of Rajshahi City. These people in the villages are totally alienated from their original economic and cultural habitats, enduring very depressive sociocultural humiliation. Paradoxically, the major causes of their miseries emanate from the process of their pauperisation, which has occurred to them due to multifarious reasons (Karim & Karim, 2006; Karim et al., 2008). Being a threatened subculture, the Santals now strategically migrate to the urban areas, seeking religious and sociocultural shelter in the Christianised professional organisations located in the city. The Christian churches located in Rajshahi City provide these Santal groups of people with total economic support in the catchment areas surrounding their churches. They dispense economic patronage to them in different ways and forms. Many of the Santals, for that reason, have converted to Christianity, leaving behind their traditional *sanatani* religion. This abrupt shift in religion suddenly puts the Santals in a contradictory situation in regard to their religious and ritual practices. This paper explores the sociocultural, religious and ethnic adjustments and the controversies of the converted Santals in their new environmental situation. The research reported here is a field-based ethnographic study conducted among the Santals in the Rajshahi City area, which provides us with a kind of empirical database of their conversion situation. The paper provides a prototypical case study focused on the barriers of the Santals in regard to their cultural assimilation, and it clearly depicts the socio-psychological problems they encounter after their conversion to Christianity. Contextually, our argument in this paper is to focus on the "liminality situation" of these groups of Santal people, as evidenced in our data.

Ethnographic base and data sources

Data for this paper have been gathered from four adjoining areas of Rajshahi City as an integrative case study based on an ethnography, which was constructed under my direct participation as a principal researcher and the author of this paper. It was based on extensive formal interviews of all the heads of households with an all-inclusive questionnaire during the months of January through March 2012. The ethnographic survey was conducted among the Santal households found to have settled in four selected peri-urban areas of Rajshahi. These urban areas are: Aliganj (N = 35), Haragram (N = 55), Mahisbatan (N = 43) and Tallypara (N = 30). A total of 163 converted Santal

families that had settled in these areas were identified and interviewed most extensively.

Santal ethnicity, Christianisation impact and occupational diversities

In order to understand the Christianisation impact on the Santals, it is essential for us to know about the ethnicity, socio-religious background and economic status of this ethnic group. As mentioned, a total of 163 Santal families were identified from four neighbourhoods of Rajshahi City. From an ethnic point of view, the Santals use a different kind of patronymic title inherited from their predecessors; and all these titles are mostly connected with their occupational groupings, religious positions and leadership categories or, often, they are connected with religious practice. It is evident from Table 1 that a total of 12 broad categories of patronymic titles are found among the Santals in our study area. The table also shows that the most numerous groups are: Soren (14.72%), Biswas (14.72%), Tudu (12.27%) and Marandy (9.82%). Many of these titles

are now changing and it is suspected that a few low-caste Hindu groups of people are also claiming to be adibashis, perhaps with an intention of availing some socio-political privileges that are retained exclusively by the government for the adibashis as a tribal minority. It may be mentioned here that the title "Biswas" does not belong to the Santal "exogamous sect-grouping" as enlisted by other researchers (Ali, 1998), and thus it is suspected that this title might have been fictitiously taken by some non-tribal groups of people from other communities.

It has also been observed that, after their conversion, the Santals do not change their patronymic titles right away, and it is assumed that it will take a few generations to change their titles after they are fully Christianised. Our ethnographic documentation clearly depicts that, after conversion, almost all the Santals changed their first names and, in their place, took all Christian names as desired by the missionary people. But their conversion to Christianity does not show any impact on their ethnicity as such, as most of the Santals, even after their conversion, have been found using their same hereditary and ethnic patronymic titles. Many

TABLE 1: Distribution of the Santal families based on their patronymic titles.

Patronymic titles	Number of families (*N* = 163) %
Soren	24 (14.72%)
Biswas[*]	24 (14.72%)
Tudu	20 (12.27%)
Marandy	16 (9.82%)
Hembrom	16 (9.82%)
Murma	15 (9.20%)
Hansda	12 (7.36%)
Kisku	9 (5.52%)
Mardy	5 (3.07%)
Minch	4 (2.45%)
Larke	3 (1.84%)
Others[**]	15 (9.20%)

[*] It is uncommon among the Santals to bear a title such as Biswas, which is believed to be taken fictitiously.

[**]   The "others" category includes a few recently exotic Christian titles such as Rosario and Gomes.

researchers rightly point out that the Santals, having been brought up and socialised in one culture and religiosity for many generations, are now in a dilemma of ambiguity. Anthropologists suspect that, through an acculturative process of some generations, they might get used to a new way of life and, until then, they will retain their past cultural heritage through holding patronymic titles and preserving their old identity. People typically have difficulties when moving across cultures. On one hand, they find their old behaviours and attitudes fully maladaptive to their new life; on the other hand, they find it necessary to have a new change and directions to obtain their futuristic cultural goals and aspirations. The main argumentative narrative of this paper is to know about the practicability of the socio-religious situation of the Santals in terms of their future cultural survival.

Analytical discussion

As described, the Santals are the most poverty-stricken early settlers in the Barind region in the north-western part of Bangladesh, and had been residing in that area since the time of the British 300 years ago. The British ruler had driven them out from the Indian part of West Bengal to Bangladesh, with the motive of subduing their continuous revolution, which had created a political tension among them at that time. Finding no way out, the Santals from those Indian areas started going to Bangladesh in a continuous flow for socio-political shelter. But under the political and economic management system during the Pakistani period (1947–1970), the Santals started degenerating from this land, moving back again to India. In the last few decades, the fate of this community has largely been interfered with due to the expansionist attitudes of a few Bengali land grabbers, who forcibly took away their land and expelled many of the Santal families out of the Barind. Under this situation, it becomes quite obvious that, being defenceless as a threatened subculture, the Santals again started moving to Rajshahi City for their own protection. This brought them closer to the Christian community in the Rajshahi church areas. The result is nothing but a kind of self-induced and self-designated conversion to Christianity, which

TABLE 2: Distribution of the Santal families based on their principal occupation in Rajshahi City.

Occupations	Number (N = 163) %
Service holders[*]	79 (48.47%)
Retired service holders	6 (3.68%)
Day labourers	25 (15.34%)
Sweepers[**]	13 (7.88%)
Rickshaw pullers[***]	12 (7.36)
Housewives	6 (3.68%)
Farmers	5 (3.07%)
Carpenters	4 (2.45%)
Businessmen	3 (1.84%)
Others[****]	10 (6.14%)

[*] Most of the service holders are working in hospitals, schools and other professional organisations and non-governmental organisations run by Christian-based people.

[**] Sweepers are also employed in the hospitals and churches.

[***] Santal rickshaw pullers usually receive a loan given to them from different sources to buy their rickshaws.

[****] The "others" category includes many more occupations selectively chosen by the Santals.

attracted them in different ways. The missionaries greeted them with economic patronage, offering them employment in the church-based organisations and pulling them up to regain their social status in the community. It is interesting to note that all the conclusions derived here based on our findings in Table 1 and 2 also corroborate our previous findings on the Santal communities based on research conducted in different phases elsewhere in the country (Karim & Karim, 2006; Karim et al., 2008).

It is documented in the foregoing discussion of the paper that the economic factor importantly played a dominant role in the conversion of the Santals to Christianity. However, it would be unjust to say that the Christian missionaries ever forced them to such conversion. It is reported that the missionary people are well behaved, sociable and most frequently show a kind of extra modesty to everyone, which eventually attracted the adibashis to conversion. By contrast, the Bengali mainlanders simply failed

TABLE 3: Some important church-based development programmes and organisations located in Rajshahi.

Development activities of Catholic Church in Rajshahi	Development activities of Protestant Church in Rajshahi
CARITAS Development Programme, Mohisbatan	Christian Mission Hospital[*]
Ashadan or Mother Teresa Orphanage, Mohisbatan	Dr. Elizabeth Conan Memorial Nursing Institute[**]
Sick Centre (or Hospital)[***]	Mission Girls School[****]
Kapitanio School, Dingadoba	Santal Mission
Muktidata Non-Government Junior High School, Dingadoba	Students' Hostel
Tuberculosis Treatment Centre, Dingadoba	Rajshahi Rural Development Project (RRDP)
Students' Hostel, Aligang	Micro-credit programmes
Development of six residential areas of the Church	Control of the City Church
Supervisory control of 27 smaller churches	RRDP programmes of Christian Aid, UK
NORAD's assistance in a few selected programmes (see Sarker, 2007)	RRDP programmes funded by Church of Bangladesh

[*] The Christian Mission Hospital at Rajshahi was established in 1887. Dr Elizabeth Conan reconstructed the hospital in 1950 by including all privileges of medical treatment for Christian and non-Christian people. Dr Upendranath Malakar and his wife Dr Mina Malakar were renowned doctors, who served this institution for several decades with high reputation and expertise in gynaecology.

[**] Dr Upendranath Malakar and Dr Mina Malakar first established this nursing institute in the name of Dr Elizabeth Conan.

[***] Sick Centre is located at Dingadoba Mission Campus, which provides full facilities for sick Santals coming for treatment in Rajshahi.

[****] The English missionary people initially established a primary school at Hetem Khan, which was later shifted to the Haragram area near Court, and it was turned into a full-fledged high school for both boys and girls. At present, this school has about 1,000 students mostly from the Bengali Muslim community.

to integrate the Santals in their social behaviour; rather, they always kept a social distance from the adibashis, blaming them for drinking alcohol and possessing a few other habits disliked by the Bengali people. Due to such attitudinal distance, the two communities did not have a symbiotic relationship; instead, diametrically opposing sentiments have prevailed among these two groups of people, which has had a negative impact on human relationships. We have learned from some recently available evidence that a few orang asli (literally meaning the original people of the land) in Malaysia have been maintaining a very close neighbourly and community relationship with the Malay Muslims. This is perhaps because of the softer behaviour of the Malays and, at the same time, it might be because of their modest way of handling the situation. Tolerance of the Islamic religion in Malaysia allowed the orang asli groups of people in this country to have good attachment with the local Malay Muslims. But in the case of Bangladesh, the Santals were simply disallowed such cooperation as an ethnic minority.

Being Christianised, the Santals in Bangladesh are now absorbed into the diversified occupations available to them, thanks to initiatives taken by the missionaries, and, thus, they have emerged as a considered economic group preserving their own ethnic identity. Their traditional values and ethnic practices, however, remained unchanged. In their day-to-day culture, there exists a close relationship between the Christian religious celebrations and their secular festivals; the clergy never interferes in such amalgamating situations. Their "small-group cultural heritage" has never been questioned by the Christian churches; instead, they have shown some humanistic tolerance from a cultural point of view.

Now, obviously, the question comes as to what happens to their cultural identity, which to some extent has already been dislodged due to their conversion to Christianity. It has been observed that being traditional inhabitants of the land, the Santals still preserve their own ethnic identity as members of a subculture. There appears a sharp contrast between ethnicity and conversion; it has been observed that there is a clear reluctance on the part of the Santals to change the ethnic features and cultural habits that they have inherited through generations. They are solely conscious of their cultural heritage and this has been proved by their retention of their patronymic titles, having suffixed them to their newly taken Christian names.

Concluding comments

It is tempting to make a predicting statement about the future cultural survival of these Santal communities, as the issue seems to be very provocative in such a changing cultural situation. However, based on our research, it was found that the conversion to Christianity has not totally overshadowed the Santal traditional ethnicity as yet, because of their ethnic orientations, which have persisted in them through their long-adaptive, enchanted cultural values proliferated for generations. But the possibility of their total acculturation in the near future cannot be discarded fully. It has been observed that the converted Santals now live in a staggering situation and, contextually, a feeling of contradiction has already been rooted in their mental make-up; therefore, anthropologists predict that a change in their culture is almost on the verge of emergence (e.g., Karim & Karim 2006; Karim et al., 2008).

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MY MAI

Maximising Māori academic excellence

*Margaret Wilkie**

Abstract

Māori doctorates have potentials to transform our world. Kaupapa Māori is the foundational philosophy of an intervention that created new networks for Māori to pursue and complete doctoral degrees with the support of Māori from other academic disciplines and interinstitutionally. Illustrated by images taken from 2004 to 2012, this paper presents a "whānau of interest", engaging in the Māori and Indigenous (MAI) postgraduate support programme, taken nationwide by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga in 2002.

Māori at their home marae engaged with the MAI programme, hosting many of the annual MAI doctoral conferences and writing retreats. Other events were hosted in the institutions supporting the MAI programmes. My MAI is a visual record of this unique indigenous approach to enabling and maximising success in higher education for Māori. My MAI celebrates Māori academic excellence and its potential to maximise well-being, educationally, economically and perpetually, for Māori as a people, and for Aotearoa New Zealand as a nation.

Keywords

doctoral support, academic success, Kaupapa Māori

* Postdoctoral Teaching Fellow, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi: *indigenous-university*, Whakatāne, New Zealand.
Email: margaret.wilkie@wananga.ac.nz

Looking forward to the past

On Saturday, 22 June 2002, a group of 16 Māori gathered in a hui (meeting) in the capital city of Wellington, at the offices of Te Puni Kōkiri, the Māori Development agency of the government. Four sponsors from the University of Auckland, Dr Graham Smith, Dr Linda Smith and, destined to be doctors, Te Tuhi Robust and Wiremu Doherty presented to 12 Māori scholars the concept of MAI, a Māori and Indigenous postgraduate student support network, which over the next 10 years would grow to encompass all of the doctorate-granting tertiary institutions in the nation and extend out to indigenous postgraduate students and their mentors around the world (Penetito, 2003; Wilkie, 2005).

As educationists, many in the room knew that Māori faced major disparities in the participation and achievement of postgraduate degrees and that Māori were forced to choose between participating "in Pākehā dominant institutional frameworks where they are required to conform to the taken for granted structures, or not participating at all" (Smith, 1992, p. 9). The MAI programme had started from the demand generated by the graduates of a master's-level mentoring programme in the School of Education at the University of Auckland who were ready to step up to doctoral level study. This small, successful programme was developed further through Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga: The National Institute of Research Excellence for Māori Development and Advancement (NPM), a Centre of Research Excellence funded through the New Zealand

Tertiary Education Commission. Beginning with the hui in Poneke (Wellington Region), the capability building goal of NPM led to a network of six MAI bases in Ōtakau (Otago), Ōtautahi (Christchurch), Poneke (Wellington), Kirikiriroa (Hamilton) and two in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland). In 2005 the network was retitled MAI te Kupenga: The National Programme for Māori and Indigenous Postgraduate Advancement. One of the visionary aims for MAI te Kupenga was "to foster the talent pool to sustain a consciousness toward Māori development and advancement. The programme seeks to enhance the capacity and capability for intellectual leadership to assist the social, economic and cultural transformation of iwi and communities" (Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, 2005).

MAI is unique in the country because it has a focus on supporting individual Māori and Indigenous doctoral scholars regardless of which tertiary institution they are enrolled in. The Poneke MAI rōpu (group) was supported through He Parekereke: Institute for Research & Development in Māori and Pacific Education at Victoria University of Wellington.

One of the pitfalls of being institutionally based was that funding for MAI ki Poneke was managed through the financial systems of the university, which at the end of each year absorbed any "unspent" money into consolidated funds. Primarily for this reason, in 2004, a decision was made to make an earlier than planned strategic purchase of equipment to support the MAI hui, including a digital camera with the capability to record video. From this camera, now languishing near the

FIGURE 1.   MAI ki Poneke hui, Ako Pai Marae, Faculty of Education, Victoria University of Wellington, 2007. Image: M. Wilkie.

pile of obsolete technologies, several thousand images were taken capturing the experiences of the Poneke rōpu as we travelled through the country attending, contributing, hosting and supporting Māori-relevant international conferences, doctoral student conferences, academic skills workshops and writing retreats. MAI ki Poneke has a digital archive of these images with some appearing in this paper (see Figures 1–6, 8, 10–14).

Acknowledging the ethical requirements of fully informed consent, it is not possible to achieve individual consent for the use of these images in publication. My understanding is that the individuals in the archive of images of events tacitly gave their approval for their images to be shown by their involvement in the orchestrated image capture. This is particularly poignant with those scholars who have passed on, leaving only their images and intentions behind in the archive.

Kaupapa Māori

The kaupapa or philosophy that underpins the MAI programme is complex and diverse, encompassing the uniqueness that is Māori in the tertiary education sector. Writing in 1992, now Distinguished Professor Dr Graham Smith (in Figure 2, seated second from right front row) critically analysed Kaupapa Māori based interventions in education in Aotearoa New Zealand, identifying key elements common across all education sites where Kaupapa Māori is in practice. One element, Taonga Tuku Iho – a cultural aspirations principle – encompasses the vision for Māori advancement summarised by Professor Mason Durie (2001): to live as Māori, to enjoy a good standard of health and a high standard of living, and to actively participate as citizens of the world. In 2008 Professor Durie (in Figure 2, seated far right front row) spoke to the doctoral writing retreat, visioning Māori 25 years on in 2030.

FIGURE 2.   Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga Doctoral Writing Retreat, Hopuhopu 2008. Image: M. Wilkie.

Māori pursuing and achieving doctoral degrees in Aotearoa New Zealand tertiary institutions have to achieve the standards of the internationally recognised qualification. It is the process of support through the MAI programme that enables Māori to be Māori in hui, workshops and international conferences, to strengthen academic skills and confront issues and ideas that contribute to a well-rounded scholar in an international context. In turn, this may lead to employment using their knowledge and qualification with the flow-on effect of enhancing the standard of living and well-being for themselves and their whānau (wider family).

Ako Māori

"Ako Māori – a principle of teaching and learning" (Smith, 1992) is an important part of Kaupapa Māori education, as discussed by Māori educationist Dr Rangimarie Rose Pere (1994). Ako Māori involves learning from before birth to after death, and engaging in tuakana–teina (older sibling–younger sibling) learning relationships. Contrary to the hierarchy of the academy in the universities, in MAI hui and events, ages range from early 20s to over 70 years, and the roles of teacher and learner continue regardless of seniority in the academy.

One of the highly valued learning experiences was the series of academic writing workshops created by Professor Alison Jones of the University of Auckland, who was sponsored by NPM to share her skills and knowledge with MAI doctoral students throughout the country (see Figure 3). It is my opinion that the ripples of these workshops are shown in the precision of academic writing arising in the academy.

Attending any MAI event is likely to result in new learning for most of the participants, and being one of many Māori in a space engaging in high-level academic learning is the norm. Through MAI hui it is possible to contemplate and resolve, at least for a brief time, the tension between the individual pursuit of a doctoral degree in the academy and the collective approach to all matters that are common to Kaupapa Māori understanding.

The whānau representing an "extended family principle" in Smith's 1992 analysis is one way that Kaupapa Māori interventions, such as the MAI programme, can alleviate the impacts of the individual path towards the higher degrees. Bishop and Glynn (1999) describe the

FIGURE 3.   MAI ki Poneke tauira and guests attending Alison Jones's (pictured on right) Academic Writing Workshop, Lopdell Gardens, Karori Campus, Victoria University of Wellington. 2007. Images: M. Wilkie.

FIGURE 4.   2006 Combined MAI Doctoral Writing Retreat. Takahanga Marae, Kaikoura.

FIGURE 5.   MAI Doctoral Conference, Maketu Marae, Kawhia, 25–27 October 2007.

FIGURE 6.   MAI ki Poneke welcoming manuhiri (visitors) to the MAI Doctoral Conference, 2010, Te Herenga Waka Marae, Victoria University of Wellington. Image: M. Wilkie.

Years	Number enrolled
2003	248
2004	259
2005	275
2006	278
2007	309
2008	351
2009	392
2010	450
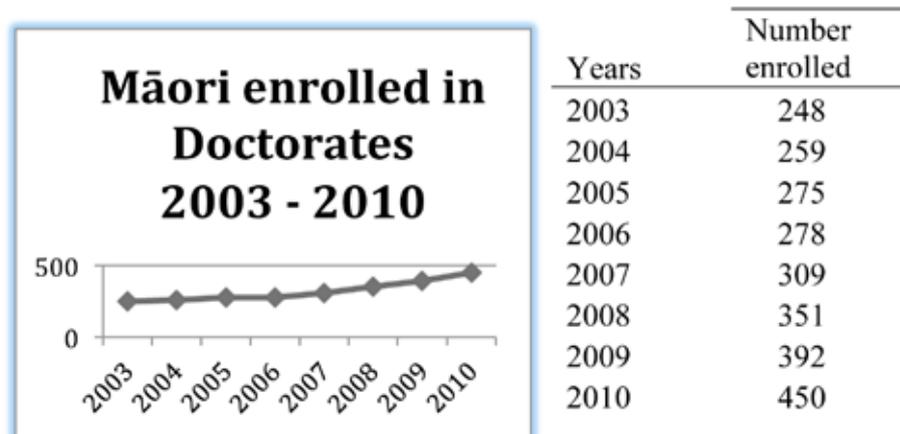
FIGURE 7.   Māori enrolled in doctoral studies in Aotearoa New Zealand 2003–2010. Source: Ministry of Education.

FIGURE 8. MAI ki Poneke rōpu with six PhD enrolled students attending the 2005 NPM Doctoral Writing Retreat at Hopuhopu. (Back) M Wilkie – MAI ki Poneke Administrative Coordinator 2003–2009, TT Cooper, A King, P Wainui, (Front) Dr Joanna Kidman – MAI ki Poneke Academic Coordinator 2004–2007, E Allen, A Tangaere-Royal.

Years	Number
2003	23
2004	31
2005	22
2006	28
2007	31
2008	35
2009	29
2010	47
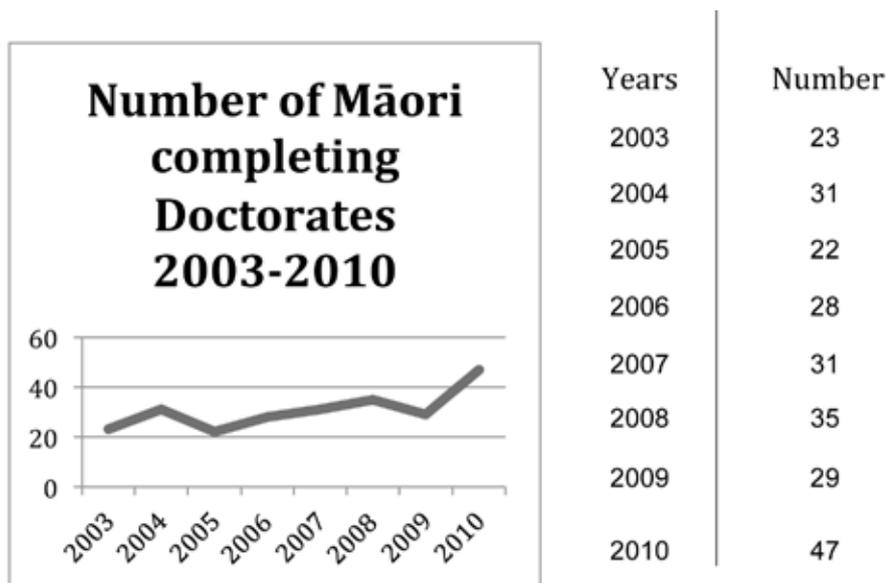
FIGURE 9. Māori completing doctoral studies in Aotearoa New Zealand 2003–2010. Source: Ministry of Education.

FIGURE 10.   Māori doctoral graduates address the Community Workshop held at the MAI Doctoral Conference hosted by MAI ki Poneke at Te Herenga Waka Marae, Victoria University of Wellington, 2010. (L–R) Dr Ocean Mercier (Physics), Dr Rawinia Higgins (Māori), Dr Willie-John Martin (Medicine), Dr Simon Lambert (Economics), Dr Pauline Harris (Astrophysics). Image: M. Wilkie.

FIGURE 11.   MAI ki Poneke and tangata whenua for powhiri, MAI Doctoral Conference 2010, Te Herenga Waka Marae. Victoria University of Wellington. Image: M. Wilkie.

FIGURE 12. All eyes looking at the programme. Doctoral students and carvings at Te Herenga Waka Marae, Victoria University of Wellington, MAI Doctoral Conference hosted by MAI ki Poneke, 2010. Photo: M. Wilkie.

FIGURE 13. Indigenous Australian scholars attending the MAI Doctoral Conference, 4–6 November 2011, with their permission: Melissa Walker, Odette Best, Bronwyn Fredericks, Deb Duthie and Christine Peacock. Image: M. Wilkie.

FIGURE 14.   Pou at Sunrise, Takahanga Marae, Kaikoura, May 2006. Image: M. Wilkie.

collective engagement of the MAI process as a "whānau of interest" after anthropologist Joan Metge (1995). It is a common or shared interest that links the members of a whānau of interest, contrary to the shared whakapapa (genealogy) of the more usual structure of a whānau. The process of whakawhanaungatanga – establishing relationships with and between people – is a core foundation of the MAI hui throughout the country.

In my own experiences of the MAI national doctoral conferences and writing retreats held throughout Aotearoa New Zealand over the past seven years, the events hosted by tangata whenua (people of the land) on their home marae (community-owned venues) not only strengthened the connections between individuals who are pursuing higher degrees, but also exposed local people to academics. At one event, sitting with members of tangata whenua, I was told they were waiting for the PhDs to arrive, and they were expecting to see

Einstein-like, older people wearing spectacles and white coats. Instead it was with delight they learnt of the PhD candidates who had already arrived: "All of you are Māori just like us."

How is it possible to gauge the success or otherwise of the MAI programme in its 10 years of operation? One way is the measure of Māori enrolments in doctoral level studies – an increasingly steeply angled curve in the representation of the statistics from the Ministry of Education, as shown in Figure 7.

Perhaps of more interest is the number of Māori who have completed their doctoral degrees: around 10% of the total in studies in any given year (see Figure 9).

Beyond the statistics shown in Figures 7 and 9, Māori are not one homogenous people, but rather a collection of iwi (tribal) groups living in one country, in the same way each of the Māori doctoral candidates and graduates are unique in terms of their topics of research. For me, when the MAI conferences enabled emerging

PhD researchers to present their experiences and findings to the whole group of like-minded Māori and other indigenous people, I appreciated for the most part not having to choose between streams of topics. MAI conferences helped me to get glimpses of understandings from across many of the disciplines of the universities, from astrophysics to zoology, and anthropology, biology, business, chemistry, ecology, economics, education, law, linguistics, marine biology, Māori studies, medicine, physics, psychology and political sciences, to name a few.

In the development of its capacity building programme, which includes the MAI te Kupenga network, aiming to support Māori prior to entry to doctoral studies, NPM created summer internships, 10 to 12 week internships between master's studies and entry to a doctoral programme, and bridging grants that support Māori students after submission of theses for examination. Smith (1992) termed this "Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga – the mediation of socio-economic impediments principle". For those existing in the global reality of the cost of living to support higher level studies, and at the same time, responding to imperatives of life as Māori and supporting whānau, actual financial support is valuable.

NPM-funded doctoral scholarships and conference attendance grants as well as publications and knowledge exchange during my time as a doctoral candidate enabled me to attend, participate, observe and photograph some of the events and activities as they unfolded between 2004 and 2012. On completion of my doctoral studies and with the support of an NPM doctoral bridging grant, I applied and was offered a position as a postdoctoral fellow with Aotearoa New Zealand's Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi: *indigenous-university*. Photographing writing retreats, academic skills workshops, the 2011 Doctoral Conference and the MAI ki Awanuiārangi rōpu activities continues during my placement there. Proof of the international development of the MAI

network is found in Figure 13 and the following extract about the MAI Doctoral Conference held at Wairaka Marae, Whakatāne. The image and words appeared in an NPM newsletter with full consent of these scholars.

The Māori and Indigenous (MAI) Doctoral Student Conference, hosted by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi: *indigenous-university* … welcomed its first international indigenous scholars in November [2011] … awaiting the call of the kaikarakia of Ngāti Awa of Wairaka Marae, the attendees were indigenous Australian scholars based in Brisbane at the Queensland University of Technology (QUT). Melissa Walker is a Palawa (Tasmanian Aboriginal) woman with more than 21 years' experience in nursing and indigenous health practice. Her PhD studies focus on indigenous women, wellness and social and emotional well-being. Odette Best is a south-western Gurreng Gurreng and Boonthamurra woman who has adoption ties to Koomumberri people. Her PhD [is] titled *Yatdjuligin: The stories of Aboriginal nurses in Queensland from 1950–2005* … Bronwyn Fredericks is a Murri (Queensland Aboriginal) woman from the Ipswich/Brisbane region. She is Associate Professor and Principal Research Fellow with the Faculty of Health, QUT. Bronwyn led the group to Aotearoa with Adjunct Professor Mick Adams … Deb Duthie is a descendant of the Wakka Wakka and Waramungu peoples of Cherbourg and Tennant Creek respectively. Deb's PhD *Reinvigorating the domestic violence sector: Systemically addressing conflict, power and practitioner turnover* [was] in its final stage of examination [during the MAI Conference] … Christine Peacock is a descendent of Erub in the Eastern Torres Strait Islands. She spoke of "Digitising philosophy: the dynamics of representation" and is a PhD Candidate in Creative Industries at QUT. (Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, 2012, p. 6)

What has become apparent to me over the past few years is that the increasing number of Māori doctoral graduates are entering a world with few opportunities for postdoctoral work in our own country. The increasing demand for doctoral supervision from the increasing numbers of Māori students highlights the scarcity of Māori academics holding positions in the doctoral degree granting institutions where they are in a position to supervise and support Māori doctoral students. Fortunately, the MAI network continues to thrive and expand throughout the country, and for the brief moments that we share together in hui, in workshops, at writing retreats and in conferences, it is a relief to be with other Māori who are also exceeding expectations of our academic achievements, going beyond the benchmark of the first undergraduate degrees and the normalisation of "yet another Māori PhD".

Acknowledgements

Kupu Māori – Māori Words

ako Māori	learning and teaching
hui	gathering or meeting
iwi	tribe
kaupapa Māori	philosophy
Kirikiriroa	Hamilton
manuhiri	visitors
Māori	indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand
marae	ancestral and contemporary meeting ground
Ōtakau	Otago
Ōtautahi	Christchurch
Poneke	Wellington
rōpu	group
Tāmaki Makaurau	Auckland
tangata whenua	people of the land
tauira	students and graduates
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi: *indigenous-university*	Doctoral degree conferring tertiary institution in Whakatāne, Aotearoa New Zealand

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MIYUPIMAATISIIUN IN EEYOU ISTCHEE

Indigenous healing and community engagement in health and social services delivery

*Ioana Radu**

Larry House†

Abstract

Healthy and thriving Indigenous families are the foundation for achieving decolonisation, self-determination, and well-being in Indigenous communities. Recognising and building upon Indigenous peoples' worldviews, research needs, and approaches ensures positive change by addressing the contemporary needs and opportunities arising in Indigenous families. In 2005, the Cree Board of Health and Social Services of James Bay (Province of Quebec, Canada) began a process of integrating Indigenous approaches to health and wellness by creating local Miyupimaatisiiun Committees in order to engage community members in the management and delivery of health and social services. The Cree Nation of Chisasibi took an active role in this process by developing a series of measures aimed at mobilising community participation in defining a local vision and principles for integrated health and social services. This paper provides an overview of the context in which this initiative has emerged, describes its objectives, and discusses some of its achievements.

Keywords

Cree Nation, Eeyou healing, Aboriginal medicine, Indigenous knowledge, Quebec

* PhD Candidate, Concordia University / DIALOG (Research and Knowledge Network Relating to Aboriginal Peoples), Montreal, Canada.
Email: oanarw@gmail.com

† Community Representative, Cree Board of Health and Social Services of James Bay, Chisasibi, Canada.
Email: houselaw@hotmail.com

Introduction

Research shows that culture and language are among the most important health determinants in the context of Aboriginal peoples because they influence the accessibility of the health care system and health information, they increase compliance with treatment, they strengthen the delivery of preventative programmes and services, and they can improve lifestyle choices. Indigenous-based approaches to healing and wellness have received increased recognition and acceptance by the mainstream Canadian health community, and both the federal and provincial governments have acknowledged the need to provide culturally framed health and social services (National Aboriginal Health Organization [NAHO], 2008; Martin-Hill, 2003).

Nevertheless, this recognition is fairly recent and has occurred within the context of a long history of colonisation and the oppression of Indigenous knowledge systems. It is therefore not surprising that the revitalisation of Indigenous healing and medicine has coincided with the broader movement of decolonisation and Canadian Aboriginal peoples' struggle for political autonomy. The Cree Nation of James Bay in northern Quebec was the first, and is still the only, Aboriginal nation in Canada to have taken full control of health and social services on a regional scale subsequent to the 1975 signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA). Today, the Cree receive health and social services through a community-responsive system marked by complex bureaucratic and fiscal arrangements between the federal, provincial and Cree jurisdictions. In order to better understand the current efforts of the community of Chisasibi to implement Eeyou (referring to a Cree person) healing practices, this article will first provide a general overview of Indigenous healing in Canada and outline the evolution of federal and provincial health and social service legislation. It will focus on the process through which the

Chisasibi Miyupimaatisiiun (being alive well)[1] Committee engaged community members in forging an integrated model of well-being and living a good life. The article will conclude with a few reflections on some key elements for community participation.

In this article, "Aboriginal" refers to Canada's First Nations, Inuit and Métis populations, and "Indigenous" refers to Aboriginal peoples internationally.

A brief overview of Aboriginal healing in Canada

Indigenous healing is neither monolithic nor static but a contemporary expression of knowledge systems and values reflecting the rich cultural diversity of Canada's First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities (NAHO, 2008). As Martin-Hill (2003) states, "the plurality of Indigenous knowledge engages a holistic paradigm that acknowledges the emotional, spiritual, physical, and mental well-being of a people" (p. 3). As such, Indigenous healing encompasses a variety of beliefs and practices that are not uniformly acknowledged or used across the country. Indeed, each practitioner makes use of various treatment methods that best respond to his or her client's needs (herbal remedies, sweats, ceremonies, etc.) and operates within specialised fields of practice (involving spiritualists, midwives, healers, medicine women/men, or herbalists). These practices are nonetheless interrelated, as each practitioner can hold a wide range of specialised knowledges[2] while reflecting particular conceptions of identity, place and health (Martin-Hill, 2003; NAHO, 2008).

Despite the fact that Indigenous healing is highly localised, it can be best characterised

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1 See Adelson (2000) for a detailed study of this concept among the Cree Nation.

2 We have deliberately used a plural form of the noun "knowledge" to indicate the multidimensional nature of the knowledge that one individual can hold.

as "eclectic," according to Waldram (2008). Whether treatment is based on the Medicine Wheel or group therapy, the client's need is what guides the approach. The various treatment programmes assessed by Waldram have shown that Indigenous healing requires a high degree of flexibility, as these programmes have "borrowed liberally from biomedical and psychotherapeutic treatment paradigms and have integrated these with Aboriginal paradigms" (p. 4). This hybridisation of approaches and methods is not limited to Indigenous/non-Indigenous sources but also extends *between* various Indigenous therapeutic practices (Waldram, 2008). The eclecticism that characterises Indigenous healing is what Martin-Hill (2003) calls "its genius and its ultimate complexity," as it presents challenges in terms of its institutionalisation and implementation within service provision (p. 10). Not only is healing as a concept both diverse and multiple but the role and characteristics of Indigenous practitioners also raise issues of authenticity and authority as well as of exploitation and appropriation (Martin-Hill, 2003; NAHO, 2008).

These contemporary realities can challenge cultural principles and values as clients' needs and circumstances evolve. Thus, community participation in the development and implementation of Indigenous healing is central not only to a culturally appropriate service delivery but also, and especially, to building a collective conception of illness and health that is in keeping with local knowledge and worldviews. Because Indigenous communities and the client base are heterogeneous, local community members require the appropriate conditions in which this negotiation can take place. Our experiences in working with the Cree Nation of Chisasibi illustrate that respect, transparency and openness are the main determinants of an equitable dialogue that is in line with the broader process of decolonisation and self-determination.

The evolution of health and social service legislation in the Cree region

From 1670 to 1903, the responsibility for the administration of welfare for the Cree population was assumed by the Hudson Bay Company (HBC), which managed a series of temporary and permanent trading posts inland from and along the east coast of James Bay. Federal legislation and administration had little impact in the remote Cree territory and were limited to occasional tours by two physicians. By the late 1960s, apart from basic health services provided at federal clinics, the Cree had very limited access to federal environmental health programs, and local community infrastructure was extremely poor. Social service provision was contracted out by the federal Department of Indian Affairs to provincial agencies in the region (Torrie, Bobet, Kishchuk, & Webster, 2005). The Province of Quebec's involvement in service delivery was nonexistent in the Cree territory before the 1950s. Since the province had not signed treaties with any of the eleven Aboriginal nations present on its territory, it considered the northern regions as "Indian domain" under federal responsibility. Indeed, the province had successfully sued Canada in 1939 over costs incurred in the provision of services to its Inuit population. A limited provincial health infrastructure was established as mining and forestry operations were extended along the southern limits of the Cree territory (for a detailed historical account, see Torrie et al., 2005).

In 1971, the Province of Quebec announced the James Bay project, a large-scale hydroelectric development that would have diverted at least five major rivers and flooded hundreds of square kilometres of Cree territory. Faced with irreversible environmental, social and political impacts as well as the Quebec government's refusal to negotiate, the Cree went to court and obtained an injunction in 1973. Although it was overturned only a week later, the legal challenge forced the provincial and federal governments

Territory covered by the environmental and social protection regime
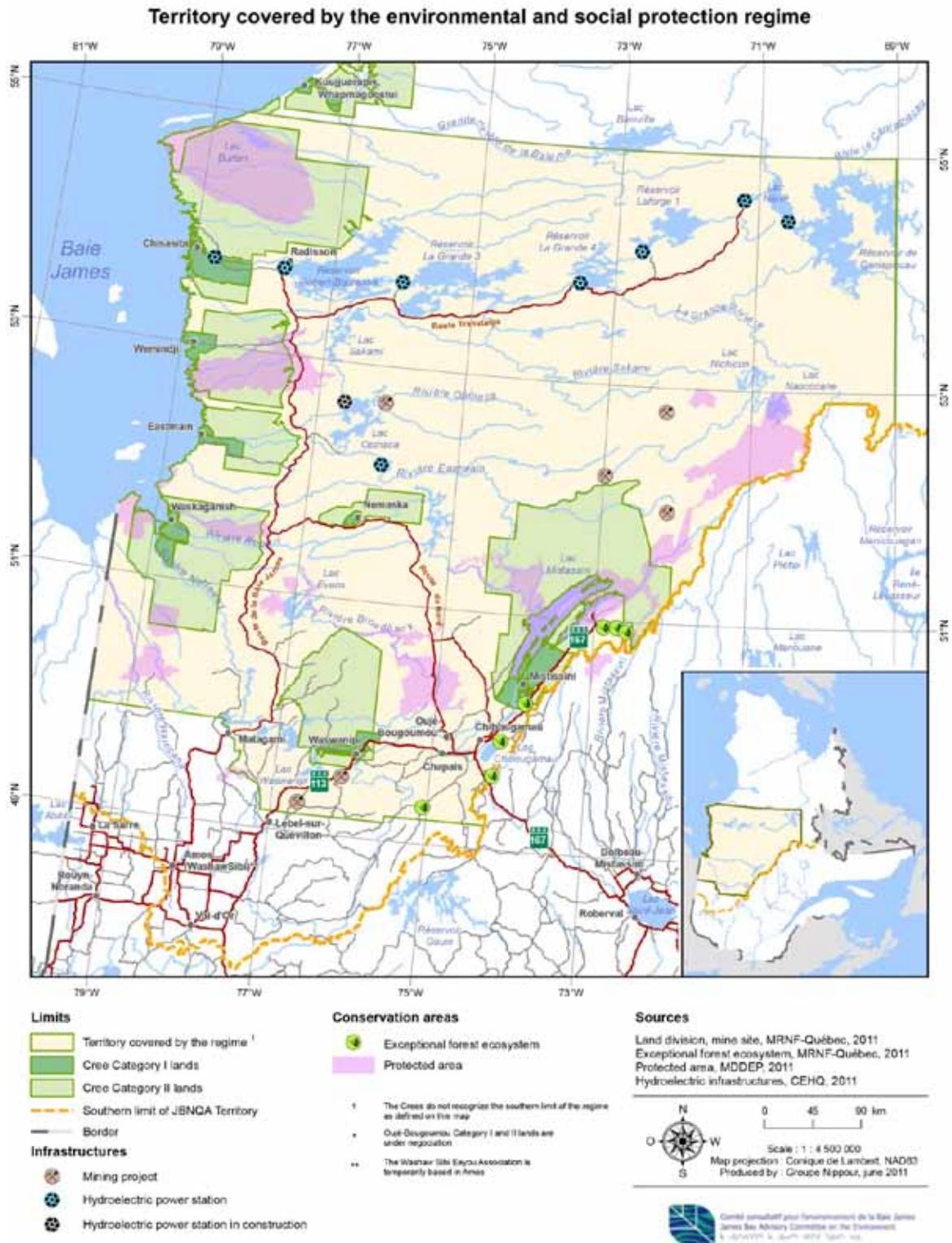
FIGURE 1. Cree Territory Covered by the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. Source: James Bay Advisory Committee on the Environment (2011).

to negotiate an agreement that would clarify the rights of the Cree and Inuit (Torrie et al., 2005).

Cree control over health and social services

In 1975, the JBNQA legislated Cree control over the management and delivery of health and social services through:

- the creation of a Cree Board operating under provincial jurisdiction;
- the transfer of fiscal responsibility to the province; and
- the transfer of federal health infrastructure to the province and later to the Cree.

Section 14, Chapter S-5 of the JBNQA formally recognised Cree values and traditions in regard to the development and delivery of health and social services. In 1978, the Cree Board of Health and Social Services of James Bay (CBHSSJB) was created to manage and administer health and social services for the Cree and non-Cree populations in the James Bay region. Finally, in 2002, *An Act respecting health services and social services for Cree Native persons* (R.S.Q., c. S-5) reiterated the province's responsibility for encouraging the Cree population "to participate in the founding, administration and development of institutions" and for providing appropriate services in taking into account the linguistic and socio-cultural characteristics of the region (Government of Quebec, 2012).

Despite the legislative authority recognised by Section 14, community-responsive service development and delivery reflective of Cree ethos have only recently been implemented following the 2004 signing of the Strategic Regional Plan (SRP) (Torrie et al., 2005). This implementation gap was due to the failure of both governments to properly and fully implement Section 14. The SRP states that "all services should be provided in accordance with the cultural values and realities of the Crees" and calls for the integration

of "traditional approaches to medicine and social services" (CBHSSJB, 2004, pp. 8–9). Among the measures outlined, the CBHSSJB has initiated a process to determine the future directions and integration of culturally-based "Cree Helping Methods" within the current health system (CBHSSJB, 2004, p. 29). The local Miyupimaatisiiun Committees have been mandated to assist local band councils and to act as liaisons between community members and the CBHSSJB (Cree Nation of Chisasibi [CNC], 2009).

Chisasibi Miyupimaatisiiun Committee: Local engagement in service delivery

Community health committees were initially envisioned in the federal Indian Health Policy (1978), but they were never formed in the Cree territory except on an ad hoc basis and never as permanently functioning organisations (Torrie et al., 2005). The Miyupimaatisiiun Committees are currently composed of local institutional representatives, at least one Elder and one youth member, and other community members appointed by the band council. They are responsible for reviewing matters related to community wellness and for assisting "the Council in implementing effective policies and strategies to promote the health and social welfare of the residents" (CNC, 2009, p. 3). In essence, the Committees serve as an interface between community members, the band council, and the CBHSSJB. Their mandate can nonetheless vary, depending on the community context. At the time of writing this article, the authors are aware of only the community of Chisasibi (out of nine Cree communities) having enacted a by-law to establish a local health committee in 2009.

The Chisasibi Miyupimaatisiiun Committee (CMC) is primarily concerned with mobilising community participation in defining a local vision and principles for integrated health and

social services and with increasing the appropriation of service delivery by community members in a way that directly meets local needs and a long-term vision of care and wellbeing. This orientation, developed at a Special General Assembly in 2009, was in response to the failure to properly communicate the SRP to the community, resulting in the disengagement of community members from the process. The Committee secured funding for two community-wide symposiums at which the SRP could be formally presented. More importantly, the symposiums sought to create a space for dialogue between community members and local service providers in order to:

- determine community needs and priorities in terms of health and wellness;
- suggest how the gap in service provision could be bridged; and
- establish guidelines for the development of a long-term vision for a local wellness plan.

The role of Eeyou healing in service delivery was a leading topic of discussion throughout the symposiums, especially since there was little integration of this aspect in service delivery, despite the "Cree Helping Methods" orientation of the SRP. The main questions raised by the participants were:

- What role can Eeyou healing have in regular service delivery?
- What is the procedure for implementing Indigenous medicine?
- How can healers' practices be assessed in terms of ethical conduct and overall case management?

The Miyupimaatisiiun Committee received a mandate from the community to expand Eeyou healing programming in Chisasibi (CMC, 2010). Between 2009 and 2010, it facilitated a 9-month Transfer of Traditional Knowledge project intended to increase community participation in traditional activities such as sweats, Sundance, traditional harvesting, food preparation, and counselling. Eeyou healing services

were also made available. Within a 3-month period, there were over 400 interventions (out of a total population of 3,015 people aged 15 years or older), which indicates that Eeyou healing can have a role in existing services (CMC, 2012; Statistics Canada, 2012). Healers are now being used by the CBHSSJB Mental Health Department and the Residential Schools Counselling Services.

While counselling services have continued, the questions raised during the symposiums indicated the need for a community roundtable on Indigenous healing. Similar to the experience of Aboriginal nations throughout Canada, which was discussed at the beginning of this article, Chisasibi community members wanted an open forum in which issues of transparency, appropriation, and ethics could be discussed. Two roundtables were held in early 2012. The first focused on specific aspects of Eeyou healing and how it can address the root causes of illness and psychosocial issues in the community. The second discussed concrete steps that the community can take for the implementation of Eeyou healing services. The consensus emerged that although Eeyou healing may not be relevant for all community members, it *does* respond to the needs of a considerable portion of the Chisasibi population. It was underlined that the perspective should not be presented as an "either/or" issue but simply as diversifying health and social services in order to respond to as many needs as possible. The long-term goal, when using either clinical approaches or Eeyou healing, is to help individuals to achieve balance in their lives. The community identified three major aspects for implementation: broad community activities focused on awareness; inter-agency coordination; and strategic management (CMC, 2012).

The Cree Nation of Chisasibi is currently developing a community vision and principles for integrated health and social services. The aim of the Community Nishiiyuu (contemporary Cree) Model is to establish an institutional structure, standard practices, and programming

for Eeyou healing. In the short term, the project outcome includes the completion of a Strategic Health Plan (2012–2013) for the Miyupimaatisiiun Committee. It is hoped that this process will have a Nation-wide impact as the CBHSSJB is negotiating a new Strategic Plan with the Quebec Ministry of Health and Social Services. Part of the negotiations includes the development of Nishiiyuu Miyupimaatisiiun (previously, Cree Helping Methods) programming to be submitted for consideration to the Ministry. Recent developments are very promising, as the community of Chisasibi was invited to participate in the negotiations.

Conclusion

For the Cree Nation, exercising jurisdiction over the social welfare and health of its members is an expression of self-governance and empowerment. This responds to the vision of a Cree society where "individuals are well balanced emotionally, spiritually, mentally and physically," where "families live in harmony and contribute to healthy communities," and where "communities are supportive, responsible and accountable" (CBHSSJB, 2004, p. 8). Incorporating Cree values and practices into service provision means moving beyond the Western medical model in order to base programming on Cree healing and care-giving practices.

Our experiences have shown that a successful implementation rests on a variety of factors. Firstly, an inclusive and respectful dialogue between community members, service providers and management is essential because it creates the appropriate conditions for defining a collective vision of health and well-being. Secondly, mediating institutions, such as the Miyupimaatisiiun Committees, ensure that community needs and worldviews are incorporated into the development of health and social policy and programming. Thirdly, the success of local initiatives depends on their integration into regional institutional and financial arrangements as well as into the broader policy context. Fourthly, even though the institutionalisation of Indigenous healing is still a matter of debate within Aboriginal nations, a structured approach with validated ethical and cultural protocols is central to building trust in the healing practice itself and to strengthening individual relationships between community members and healers. Finally, in order to be successful, local initiatives need a dedicated group of individuals whose particular skills and knowledge can facilitate an equitable dialogue, initiate collective reflection, and maintain transparent and respectful communication. Ultimately we aim to improve the quality of life in Aboriginal communities, which will lead to healthy, successful, and thriving families.

Glossary

Miyupimaatisiiun	Being alive well
Eeyou	A Cree person; also, a human being
Eeyou Istchee	Land of the Cree people
Nishiiyuu	Future generations of Cree

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INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE IN THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL CURRICULUM FOR SCIENCE

From conjecture to classroom practice

*Renee Baynes**

Jon Austin†

Abstract

In most countries of the world, a culturally specific (Western) form of science has masqueraded as universal, true and irrefutable. With the introduction of the first national Australian curriculum, Western science and its epistemological base have been challenged by formal expectations that Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges be included in formal school science programmes. This paper draws upon two studies that have addressed the preparedness of the educational community to take up the challenges and opportunities this development offers. The first study drew on the reactions of heads of science departments in secondary schools and the second looked at ways in which a group of educators are working to meet the expectation.

Keywords

science, Australian national curriculum, indigenous perspectives

* Lecturer, Centre for Australian Indigenous Knowledges, University of Southern Queensland, Australia.
  Email: Renee.Baynes@usq.edu.au
† Associate Professor, Department of Education, Centre for Australian Indigenous
  Knowledges, University of Southern Queensland, Australia.
  Email: Jon.Austin@usq.edu.au

Our context

The Australian national curriculum

Recently, broad Australian community and government attitudes have coalesced in favour of a move to develop and mandate a national curriculum for schools. Increased mobility of the Australian population across state and territory borders, perceived economic efficiencies, and a belief that centralisation of curriculum will lead to greater nationwide accountability and achievement are all contributing reasons for the decision of federal, state and territory ministers to agree to establish a national curriculum through the *Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australian*s (Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs, 2008).

The draft version of the Australian National Science Curriculum (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority [ACARA], 2010) was released for public comment and the mandated curriculum made available for implementation in schools in 2011. One feature of the national curriculum is the expectation that three cross-curricular perspectives will be "represented in learning areas in ways appropriate" to each content area (National Curriculum Board, 2009, p. 12). One of these is the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Histories and Cultures Priority*, which aims to deepen students' knowledge of Australia through engaging with indigenous cultures (ACARA, 2011).

Our concern

Jointly and individually, we have engaged in research and other activist work with an aim to advance the cause of practical reconciliation between Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and non-indigenous Australian populations. For this paper, we draw from two of those projects – Renee's doctoral work

(in progress) and Jon's "Reactions" project (Austin & Hickey, 2011) – which appear to us to expose both the challenges confronting any genuine intent to bring Australian indigenous perspectives into the school science curriculum and the vigour with which committed teachers face those challenges. The "Reactions" project looked to capture the range of initial responses to the suggestion in the draft Australian science curriculum that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges and perspectives be incorporated as content. Participant groups included university-based science teacher educators, heads of secondary school science departments, secondary specialist science teachers and general primary school classroom teachers. Renee's doctoral project charts the curriculum development processes and activities engaged in by a group of teachers as they work to bring the mandated Australian indigenous perspectives cross-curricular priority into their school and classroom science programmes.

For the purposes of this paper, we have extracted from these two projects. Part 1 explores the initial reactions from heads of science departments (HODs) in secondary schools to the prospect of a mandated Australian indigenous component in the science curriculum. The second part presents the motivations and responses of the teachers in Renee's project to the opportunities present and the challenges or obstacles placed before them by the HODs. This work draws on a small section of a larger, more complex data set in the doctoral project.

Part 1: HODs' reactions

In summary and in order of frequency and intensity of response in the Reactions project, the four most reported categories from HODs about the prospect of having to include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledges and perspectives in the science programmes for which they were responsible were:

1. "Is this really science?" Four of the five HODs interviewed based their concerns

about the possible incorporation of indigenous knowledge on their view of what constituted "science". Views ranged from a grudging acknowledgement of similarities to "real" or "proper" (= Western) science, through a reformulation of what indigenous knowledge equates to ("I may as well teach creation science") to derisory perspectives ("Look, this isn't science, they are really just stories"). The thrust of these concerns reinforced a discourse of primitivism and epistemological chauvinism (which, in many ways, curiously, betrays the purported strength of positivist, Kuhnian and Popperian science as being always open to disruption, change, validation and the always tentative acceptance of new "truths"). Additionally, the professional socialisation process has led most HODs to be prejudiced against anything other than "hard science": "Science teachers tend to be people who look at things very logically. There has to be a reason, it has to be quantitative … they don't look at things which are not scientific literacies or scientific models of thinking." And, of course, this particular view of science is culturally transcendent: "Science is one of those languages which is universal. I suppose the way in which we operate is quite universal."

2. "We don't have the knowledge base or the professional development available to get it." This was a common concern, and provided a range of justifications for a reluctance to commence curriculum development in this area. Some saw it as a failing that should and could be rectified: "That doesn't mean that I don't believe that knowledge base is out there in their culture. It's just that I don't know it." "I've come through an exclusively white Anglo-Saxon Western world education." Others identified a more ingrained problem of the reliance of teachers generally – and non-science specialists teaching

science, in particular – on textbooks for content: "High schools quite often are still very much textbook driven too … So people who are teaching in the middle phases or science are more reliant on a base resource." "You might be lucky, you might get a little bit on Aboriginal stuff in there. So there's very little in the text at the moment." One participant articulated what was possibly silently implicit in the concerns of a number of others: "In fact, where is there an embodiment of this knowledge? It is certainly not that I consider myself poorly read or anything like that, but it's not even in things such as *The Australian Science Teachers Journal* and so on. So how on earth do you actually get the information, if it's not in some of the biggest journals and so on available for science teachers?"

3. "There will be too much teacher apathy or outright resistance." That teachers would be unlikely to embrace the expectation of incorporating this new content was conceded by all participants: "People are going to say 'well I'm not teaching that'". The underlying reasons for such resistance to curriculum change fell into two clear categories. One was that the imagined content would probably find a better fit with other curriculum areas: "might be better located in SOSE [studies of society and the environment], geography, art … in English that these are stories". The second, and more frequently cited reason for teacher resistance, was the suspicion that, in this instance, the curriculum was being used to effect base political purposes: "I think, aside from the actual direct relevance, there's probably a degree of scepticism as to why it's happening, not rather than thinking, oh jeez, we really could look at what the contribution is there and just look at it objectively for what it is. I think that's probably the difficult parts to get past." More directly:

Is it a scientific aim, or is it a societal aim? The point there is, it seems to me as though again with science, one it has been feminised, two it has been [dumbed] down by lacking the mathematical rigour and three now, if we are actually trying to involve ourself in social Darwinism, then I think we're losing the whole purpose for us to exist, which is to evaluate issues on a scientific basis. Hence, I'm sorry but I look at that and I'm incredibly sceptical and cynical about it.

4. "As a social aim, potentially very beneficial." Despite the seemingly insurmountable objections – the "yes, buts" – all but one of the participants conceded clear benefits were likely to accrue from the introduction of this content into the science curriculum: "There is absolutely no doubt that Koori and Murri populations have absolutely fantastic observational skills built up over 50,000 years on this continent. So they know this continent far better than we Westerners do." "I think it would integrate society much better." "I think it will be more unity between the Aboriginal tradition and us … we'll see the other side of the fence." "I'm sure they can teach us an awful lot." Typically, such benefit was trowelled with a layer of paternalism:

The idea that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people operated very successfully and had very good practice and used a lot of scientific concepts, I think if you could get that understanding quite commonly known then I think maybe our ability to get those sorts of people employed and those types of people working with our broader groups on land care issues and farming practices might be a little bit more seamless.

At times, the HODs saw such benefits flowing almost exclusively towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students:

I think if Aboriginal kids can see that this is not totally removed from – well, science isn't totally removed from their life and you're getting that unity and they're more able to take on some of the things they need to take from us …

That is, this initiative was seen as a way to draw otherwise reluctant learners into more positive engagements with "challenging" parts of the school curriculum.

Part 2: Teacher responses

If the "calls" or the "yes, buts" led to a pessimistic view of the likely success of this curriculum innovation, then the responses from teachers in this imagined conversation should proffer glimmers of hope. Teachers in the "Implementation" project worked individually in their classrooms and schools to make indigenous knowledges and perspectives part of their teaching praxis. Their shared conversations about their individual work strengthened their resolve to continue in understanding the successes and impacts of their work. The data following is drawn mainly from two (of the eight) participants in the "Implementation" project, who rose to the challenges outlined above and struggled against institutional pressures to hold firm to their beliefs that embracing indigenous perspectives offered students "valuable, useful and worthwhile" learning experiences.

1. "Is this really science?" In contrast to the HODs, the participants who implemented their ideas in the classroom did not see as much conflict or tension between Western science and indigenous ways of knowing. They spoke of everybody owning knowledge about the world around them and suggested that "it's just a case of saying, well, it's all information, it's all a way of understanding our environment, our lives and our existence here on this patch of dirt". Without an epistemological conflict

around the nature of scientific and indigenous knowledge, these teachers were left wondering, "I don't understand why people just can't add this in". Just adding in indigenous knowledge, however, did not equate to an "add-on" approach. Teachers were also very conscious of avoiding being disrespectful to indigenous cultures or tokenistic in their presentation.

2. "We don't have the knowledge base or the professional development available to get it." The topics of the units implemented were forces, classification and geology. Teachers quickly overcame their lack of knowledge through connecting with indigenous people available to them within their own school communities. Even in a school where there was a low indigenous enrolment, it was possible to draw in community involvement. In considering indigenous classification, the teacher found it necessary to bring in a guest speaker who was able to guide students' understandings of how Aboriginal people considered the world around them, challenging students to consider classification from such a base level as animate and inanimate. This was combined with student-based internet research in the form of a project looking at indigenous and non-indigenous descriptions of the same animal. Within the forces unit, the teacher found a willing participant in an Aboriginal student, who happily and proudly brought in cultural artifacts, such as didgeridoos and digging sticks, and explained their use and significance. The teacher worked *with* this student and explained the forces at work so that the indigenous knowledge and scientific knowledge sat side by side. The student also visited another class where the teacher was not trained in science, allowing the learning to be extended beyond one classroom only and freeing the teacher from having to rely on a textbook.

3. "There will be too much teacher apathy or outright resistance." While the teachers involved in the "Implementation" project were conscientious supporters of indigenous knowledges in the science curriculum, they did encounter strong resistance from some of their colleagues:

There were some barriers. For instance, I did all the planning. I gave it to all the Year 8 science teachers lesson by lesson. This is how you can do it. One of the science teachers just refused to teach it, even to the point where there were two questions in the exam and he just took them out of the exam. "It's not in the textbook. I'm not addressing it."

This resistance had a deflating effect on the teacher, causing her to question the equity of education received between different classes within the same school:

It's not because I want power. It's not because I want to be in the spotlight because I've written this. It's because the other two classes that adhere to it just got so much productive learning out of it because the kids were relating to it.

4. "As a social aim, potentially very beneficial." Participants in the "Implementation project" certainly recognised and witnessed the benefits of indigenous knowledges in science for Aboriginal students. Speaking of the student who assisted her in class, one teacher said:

For Terry himself, from that day, better interaction in class. He almost – I could see him physically sit a little bit taller, listen and be so much more interactive. For his exam on the topic he actually got a C+. He hasn't got above a D for his exams all year. He's not very good at exams. He did really, really well with this exam.

It was not, however, only the impact on Aboriginal students that was recognised by the participants.

That was just so, so empowering for Terry but also for the other students as well because they were asking him questions. It was such an interactive lesson that – and the boys all responded so positively to it that I can't imagine why this whole concept is not a good idea.

Aside from providing engaging learning experiences, teachers recognised the opportunity to have the different knowledge systems work together:

Aboriginal and indigenous knowledges and perspectives … that was the perfect way of promoting that this is science and that we can work together, irrespective of where we come from and what we bring to the table, to pass on knowledge and critical thinking.

The experience of teaching indigenous knowledges and perspectives in science and the opportunity to reflect upon these experiences led participants to see the potential for promoting intercultural understanding between indigenous and non-indigenous students: "It opens up and it makes people think, oh, there's value in that and there's value in you."

Our conclusions and hopes

It would seem that the HODs responsible for the overall implementation of the indigenous knowledges in the science curriculum are more pessimistic and less likely to embrace change than motivated classroom teachers. Given the HODs reactions of "yes, but", innovation in the curriculum areas of indigenous perspectives will likely rest with culturally aware and epistemologically curious teachers. Where HODs are sympathetic and willing to allow teachers to explore the possibilities of indigenous perspectives in science, indigenous and non-indigenous students and teachers find the experience empowering.

In an era of high-stakes testing and standardised curriculum, teachers need the agency to work in developing innovative curriculum. Current developments in schooling in Australia work to reduce teacher curriculum innovation and control over what and how teaching takes place in their own classrooms. The mandate to include indigenous knowledges and perspectives through the national Australian curriculum in itself does not seem sufficient to overcome the perceived challenges seen by the HODs. Even where teachers have successfully implemented engaging, culturally aware lessons, there has been a level of resistance apparent.

Neither the "Reactions" nor the "Implementation" project engaged with indigenous voices surrounding the appropriateness, availability and use of indigenous knowledges and perspectives. We recognise this silence, see the same gaps in the development of the Australian national curriculum and suggest this is why data were not forthcoming through the projects on this issue. There seems to be a real danger of this mandated curriculum change becoming yet another neo-colonial project mining indigenous knowledges. Teachers in the implementation project have been left to find their own access to appropriate knowledge due to the gaps in the curriculum development process. This is a journey for white teachers that is fraught with nerves surrounding cultural sensitivities and tokenistic representations. It is a political-pedagogical challenge in the extreme.

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BUILDING FROM THE BOTTOM-UP

Indigenous development initiatives in the south-west Gulf of Carpentaria, Australia

*Seán Kerins**

Abstract

Facilitating the voluntary mobility of Indigenous Australians off their ancestral lands to areas where better education and job opportunities exist, and where there are higher standards of services, is one of the principles that underlies the Council of Australian Governments' *National Indigenous Reform Agreement*. For many Indigenous Australians who live on Indigenous-owned lands in remote Australia, the future lies not in being "yarded up like cattle" but in being on their homelands, where kinship, culture and ecological knowledge serve as reservoirs of creative alternatives to state development projects. This desire to remain on country has seen Indigenous Australians in remote regions build innovative, community-based development projects, combining their own knowledge systems with science to provide benefits to their country and communities, as well as to Australia more broadly.

Keywords

Aboriginal, alternate development, Caring for Country, Garawa, Waanyi

* Research Fellow, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research,
  Australian National University, Canberra, ACT, Australia.
  Email: Sean.kerins@anu.edu.au

Introduction

> Once the government cleared us off our lands by shooting us and putting chains around our necks and dragging us off. Then, long time later, they said "Here's your land back, we don't need it". That tall man he poured the sand through that old man's hands. That made us real happy and we began to move back home. Government gave us a bit of help to get back and set ourselves up. But you know what? They never really took those chains off from round our necks, cos now they slowly pullin' on them. They pullin' us off our lands again and yardin' us up like cattle in town. They pullin' us off our land by not giving us schooling, health and housing services on our homelands. They not helpin' us. They sayin' to the parents if you don't send your kids to school we gonna stop your money and send you to prison. But there aren't no schools, so the parents have to move off their country to live like white man in town with no culture. (Interview, Jack Green, (Garawa) at Borroloola, Northern Territory, Australia, 17 April 2012)

There are major statistical disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. The most significant is life expectancy. At the national level, for 2005–2007, life expectancy at birth for an Indigenous male was estimated to be 67.2 years, 11.5 years less than life expectancy at birth for a non-Indigenous male (78.7 years). Life expectancy at birth for Indigenous females was estimated to be 72.9 years, 9.7 years less than life expectancy at birth for non-Indigenous females (82.6 years). Indigenous life expectancy at birth differs across the states and territories, and the lowest for both males and females is found in the Northern Territory, estimated to be 61.5 years for males and 69.2 years for females (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009). In education, Indigenous students, especially in the Northern Territory, are performing well below non-Indigenous students in other

regions of Australia against standard measures such as the National Assessment Program—Literacy and Numeracy (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2010). Other disparities can be found in infant mortality, employment and median weekly personal incomes.

Alleviating disparities through development

The capacity to alleviate disparities by improving the conditions of existence is at the centre of development theory and practice. Yet how to achieve this is highly contested (Edelman & Haugerud, 2010). Is development solely about improving the conditions of existence or is it, as others have argued, a historical process of commodification, industrialisation and globalisation that creates the very problems it is trying to solve (Escobar, 1995)?

Within the development discourse, there are also contested positions on the role of "traditional" culture. Some romanticise it, some see it as a reservoir of knowledge to draw from, while others demonise it (Edelman & Haugerud, 2010; Escobar, 1995, 2008).

Such ambiguity, both of development and "traditional" culture, is problematic as it provides opportunities for states to use development discourse as a legitimising strategy for state control (Cooper & Packard, 1997). This is what is occurring through the Australian Government's Indigenous development policies across remote Australia, especially in the Northern Territory (Altman, 2007).

Australian Government responses to disparities between its citizens

In 2008, seeking to rectify some of the disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, the Australian Government, through the Council of Australian Governments,

launched the *National Indigenous Reform Agreement (Closing the Gap)* (Council of Australian Governments, 2009). This represents just one more attempt by Australian governments to impose on Indigenous "development".

The Closing the Gap framework focused on six targets – Indigenous life expectancy, infant mortality, early childhood development, education and employment – and sought to reduce disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations.

An analysis of the Closing the Gap framework and its establishment reveals two significant flaws. First, it was developed without consultation of Indigenous peoples. Second, it uses a single lens to examine urban, rural and remote areas, thus obscuring the diversity and complexity of Australia's Indigenous peoples' circumstances, histories and aspirations for the future. By obscuring this diversity, the Australian Government bypasses its obligations under the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which recognises that Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. Furthermore, it is "by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (United Nations, 2007, art. 3).

In place of negotiating with Indigenous peoples to freely determine their aspirations, state agencies imaginatively construct one amorphous Indigenous population with remediable socio-economic disparities and no unique rights as Indigenous peoples. In this way, the Australian Government's Indigenous policy "treat[s] people and cultures as abstract concepts, statistical figures to be moved up and down in the charts of 'progress'" (Escobar, 1995, p. 44).

The Closing the Gap framework articulates goals to incorporate Indigenous peoples living in remote locations into mainstream education and training and the market economy by "promote[ing] personal responsibility" (individualism) and "engagement and behaviours consistent with positive social norms", and

moving people off their ancestral lands by "facilitating voluntary mobility by individuals and families to areas where better education and job opportunities exist, with higher standards of services" (Council of Australian Governments, 2009, p. E-79). This is in accord with the dominant narrative, which states that Indigenous "development" can only be achieved by rejecting "traditional" culture, and moving from ancestral homelands to townships to embrace the mainstream and its market economy.

The Closing the Gap framework has also shaped other state policies, too many to explore in this brief paper, designed to alleviate disparities, such as the Australian Government's Indigenous Economic Development Strategy 2011–2018 (Australian Government, 2011a) and the Stronger Futures in the Northern Territory initiative (Australian Government, 2011b), which is essentially a 10-year continuation of the Northern Territory Emergency Response.

Indigenous agency

The dominant ideas and practices about Indigenous "development" promulgated by the state through the Closing the Gap framework, the Indigenous Economic Development Strategy and the Stronger Futures in the Northern Territory are built solely around individuals, problems and deficits. This way of thinking about Indigenous "development" is rejected by many Indigenous peoples whose ancestral lands are situated in the Northern Territory. Instead, they promote an alternate development approach to alleviate disparities between themselves and non-Indigenous citizens and to take control of their futures. This approach seeks to reverse what they see as the destructive social and cultural change that had come about from people being separated from and thus losing management control of their ancestral country and its resources, along with the marginalisation of their decision-making structures.

Distinct Indigenous forms of land tenure (common property regimes), along with their own cultural and social capital, are being used as the building blocks for a new development pathway that is very different to the Closing the Gap framework and other government policy initiatives. These Indigenous building blocks are not only bringing social benefits to remote communities; they are also bringing environmental benefits to wider Australia, through the protection of ecosystems and ecological processes (Altman & Kerins 2012).

The connection between Indigenous Australians managing their own lands – some 20% of the Australian continent – and national priorities in the areas of carbon pollution reduction, climate change mitigation and biodiversity conservation are highly subordinate to the dominant "mining Australia" discourse promulgated by Australian governments. Yet Indigenous Australian's participation and knowledge in these areas are vital for maintaining the ecosystem services on which we are all dependent.

The Garawa and Waanyi peoples' development approach

Here I draw on one particular example of Indigenous agency to adopt and shape state support to their own particular needs, highlighting community-based development initiatives that are already in place and improving the conditions of existence for the Garawa and Waanyi peoples in the south-west Gulf of Carpentaria in the Northern Territory of Australia.

The Garawa and Waanyi are two closely related and neighbouring peoples. They speak similar languages, share much of the same system of customary land tenure, have long-standing ceremonial relationships and have historically intermarried (Trigger, 1982). Archaeological records indicate Aboriginal people have been resident in the southern Gulf region for at least 30,000 years, if not considerably longer

(Pickering, 1997, p. 96). The Garawa and Waanyi lost all their land, beginning in the 1880s during state development of the pastoral industry. Those who resisted where shot (Roberts, 2005). Development could be measured by the dramatic increase in the stocking rates, which corresponded to the dramatic decrease in the Indigenous population in the region (Roberts, 2009). To survive, once their land and resources were usurped, some Garawa and Waanyi people were forced to provide their labour for rations and, later, meagre wages, while others endured life in the mission at Doomadgee, which has been described as "a history of infantilising surveillance underpinned by Australian law" (Trigger & Asche, 2010, p. 92).

The state development project of pastoralism in the south-west Gulf was a failure. Its decline is attributed to a number of fundamental barriers to production, such as poor grasses, infertile soils, remoteness, lack of infrastructure, low occupancy and near-zero inputs of capital, labour and management (Holmes, 2010).

This failure provided an opportunity for Garawa and Waanyi peoples to reclaim some of their land in the form of failed pastoral leases through the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976. In 1984 they reclaimed the Nicholson (Waanyi/Garawa Aboriginal Land Trust) and, in 1990, Robinson River (Garawa Aboriginal Land Trust). These land trust areas cover some 20,000 square kilometres (see Figure 1).

When the land was restituted to its owners, it came back in a degraded state. Heavy grazing had in places removed vegetation, exposing skeletal soils, increasing erosion, and damaging waterways. Feral animals and invasive weeds were also spreading, damaging sensitive habitats and competing with native flora and fauna. No compensation was paid for the damage to the land or the loss of economic opportunity as occurs in New Zealand Treaty of Waitangi settlement processes. This meant that when Garawa and Waanyi families returned to their
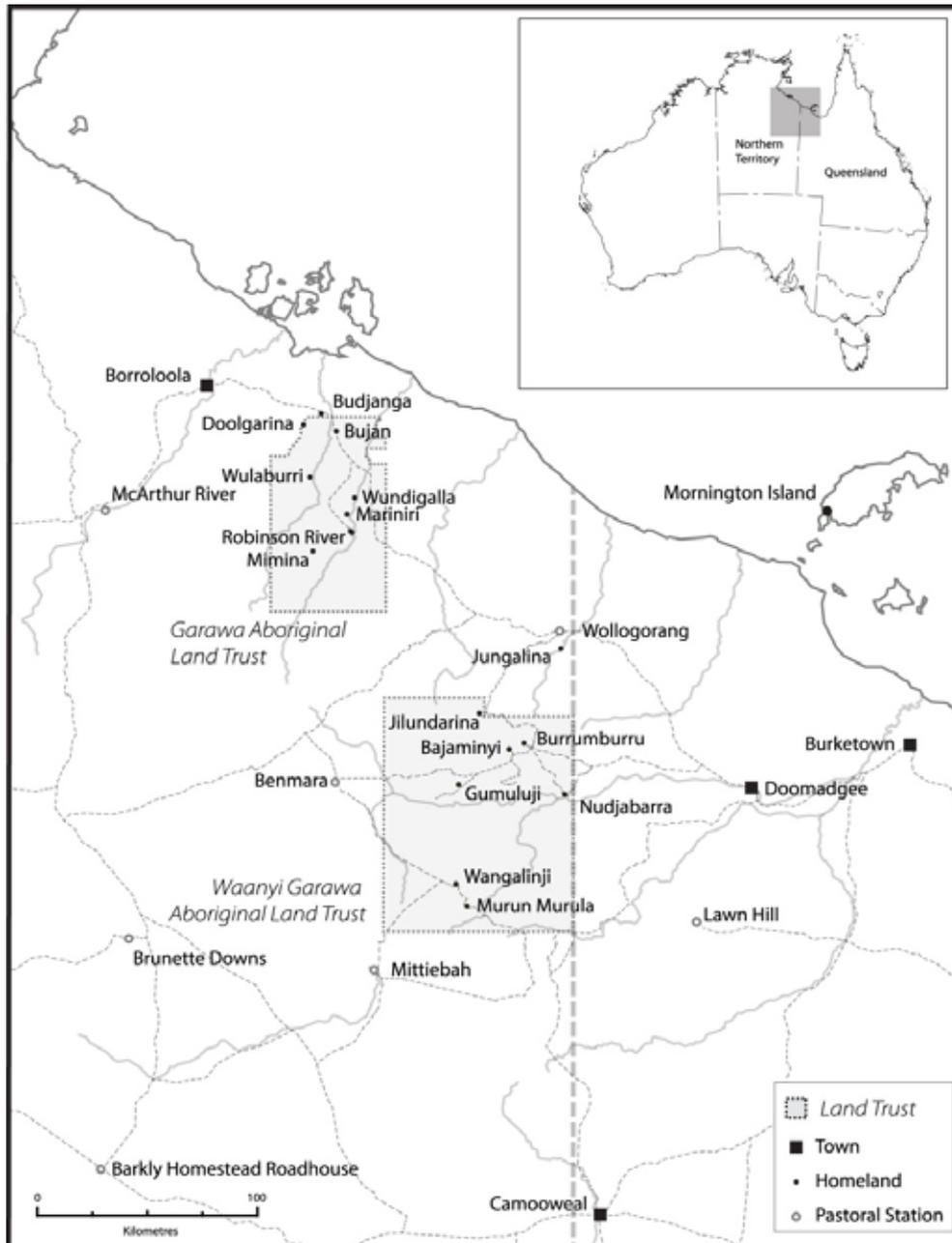
FIGURE 1. South-west Gulf of Carpentaria (Courtesy: S Kerins and J. Hughes).

land they had degraded natural capital, making development aspirations extremely difficult.

The families, who moved back onto the Nicholson from the mission in Doomadgee, in Queensland, and other places where they felt corralled, tried to make a living, but with little financial capital, degraded lands and little infrastructure, it was tough. Supported by the Australian Government Community Development Employment Program (CDEP), they were running small herds of cattle for domestic consumption, keeping gardens, hunting and fishing. The CDEP scheme provided the equivalent of participants' unemployment benefits as a block grant to community-controlled organisations, which applied these funds according to local aspirations to community development and employment. At first, they were receiving health, education and housing services through the Burramana Resource Centre based in Tennant Creek, some 600 kilometres to the west. For a number of reasons,

service delivery started to break down in the mid-1990s. Without support, families were again forced to move off their country (Green & Morrison, 2012).

With the move off their ancestral lands back to regional townships, and into overcrowded housing, the region began to experience a pattern of destructive late dry-season wildfires, some extending over 16,000 square kilometres in size, which were further degrading habitats, emitting carbon and placing increased pressure on native species. The wildfires were also burning out feed on neighbouring pastoral properties, making their marginal existence even more difficult. Non-Indigenous pastoralists blamed Indigenous people for the fires, increasing the tension between non-Indigenous and Indigenous residents of the south-west Gulf.

In 2004, the region was declared a fire natural disaster area by the Australian Government, and senior landowners saw an opportunity to use this major environmental threat to their benefit. In 2005, working with the Northern Land Council – the peak Aboriginal organisation for the region administering the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act – landowners began a series of community-based planning meetings, which are still occurring across the region as projects progress and in-depth consultation continues. These meetings involve dozens of families and are almost always held on country, away from the stress of township life and in places where people could see the changes occurring to their country from environmental threats, or associated absence of customary practices. These types of meetings are important, as many Garawa and Waanyi families have been dispersed across a vast region. They provide opportunities for wider kin groups to reconnect and make decisions about managing their common property, and work out ways of protecting their country and its biodiversity, and in the process, accrue benefits to themselves. Meetings help affirm customary decision-making processes and build consensus between families and across groups.

They provide an important opportunity for people to take control of their future development. Importantly, they also introduce children to country and facilitate the passing of cultural knowledge between generations.

Community-based planning, in addition to helping landowners take ownership and set the direction of their own projects, introduces people to new knowledge and information systems that can play an important role in managing vast areas of land with high biodiversity and cultural values. In using these new knowledge and information systems, in combination with their own knowledge systems, landowners were able to make some decisions about how they would go about replacing this destructive pattern of wildfire with their own customary early dry-season mosaic-burn fire regime.

Important collaborative partnerships were also developed at these meetings with organisations such as Bushfires Northern Territory and the Tropical Savannas Cooperative Research Centre, which, working with landowners, placed over 50 fuel load monitoring sites on Aboriginal lands to measure greenhouse gas emissions. These fuel load monitoring sites provide valuable baseline data to the Garawa and Waanyi, which will allow them, through their fire abatement, to participate in future carbon trading initiatives.

Through winning competitive Australian Government natural resource management funding, first through the Natural Heritage Trust and then the Caring for our Country programme, Garawa and Waanyi people were at last able to access financial resources to implement their management plans to change the destructive fire regime and to create meaningful employment for some of their people in a very remote region with few mainstream employment opportunities.

What they have managed to do in the last five years is to dramatically alter the destructive fire regime of the south-west Gulf, something that government agencies had failed to do for over a decade. In its place, they have implemented an early dry-season mosaic-burn fire regime, which

is significantly more beneficial to flora and fauna fecundity and, importantly, emits far less greenhouse gases (methane, nitrous oxide) into the atmosphere. This is a significant breakthrough and has opened up economic opportunities for carbon trading and income generation.

Building on this success, Garawa and Waanyi peoples are developing an Indigenous Protected Area plan of management for Nicholson River, which will see some of their land included within Australia's National Reserve System, further generating income and employment opportunities. This plan is beginning to detail aspirations for small-scale enterprises, such as feral animal management and tourism, along with environmental monitoring projects. Discussions have also recently begun between neighbouring language groups in the south-west Gulf to develop a land management company to facilitate regional decision making for sound environmental governance, to employ people, to hold funds and, importantly, to invest income from land management back into community development projects.

It is through community-based projects, which recognise and build on cultural knowledge, reinforce kin relationships and customary law, create employment and introduce new knowledge and skills, while also protecting the environment, that the Garawa and Waanyi see themselves moving from being marginalised to taking control of their own futures and, in the process, closing the disparities between themselves and non-Indigenous Australians in a manner they define and control.

Conclusion

Top-down policy initiatives, such as the Closing the Gap framework, fail to recognise an alternate development approach, which, while small and locally oriented, has been highly successful in recent history. The success of this approach is particularly noteworthy as it follows a series of state development projects in the southwest Gulf that, since colonisation have brought few, if any, benefits to the Indigenous peoples of the region. The failure of the government to support Indigenous aspirations to remain on country through appropriate provision of basic services, which constitute a citizenship right yet are often not available on country, and the associated efforts to move people off their ancestral lands threaten the development and conservation gains of the Garawa and Waanyi. The Australian Government needs to begin developing policies in consultation with its Indigenous peoples, recognising and nurturing cultural diversity, as well as the fundamental logic that the land was returned via Western legal processes, to allow Aboriginal people to live and work on their ancestral lands. Indigenous Australians are undertaking work that is of national importance and in the environmental interest of the Australian state. Investment in, or compensation to, these important community-based Indigenous initiatives must be made so that an economically and culturally diverse society can flourish.

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THE WIRLOMIN PROJECT, ARCHIVES AND NOONGAR KNOWLEDGE

Clint Bracknell*

Abstract

Aboriginal people and language are primary to informing a rich sense of place in Australia. I will examine the Wirlomin Noongar Language and Stories Project as an example of how Noongar people in the south west are claiming, consolidating and enhancing their cultural heritage and sharing ancestral material with ever-widening, concentric circles. Instigators of the Wirlomin Project wanted to consolidate and enhance archival notes on Noongar language in a home community and began a series of workshops in which key descendants oversaw the development of a few stories and the eventual publication of two bilingual, illustrated books. Elders and descendants discussed pronunciation, semantics, cultural references, memories of "informants" and other stories that came to mind, adding much more information than was in the archives. With key elders at the centre, this process has been extended into schools and prisons. Members of the home community have developed new cultural works inspired by the archives, including songs, visual art, dances, electronic media and literature. These new works are extensions of the authors' Noongar heritage and share a distinct Aboriginal sense and spirit of place. The Wirlomin Project is an example of a successful model of combining archival data, Aboriginal knowledge and community development.

Keywords

*   Assistant Professor, School of Indigenous Studies, The University of Western Australia, Crawley, WA, Australia.
    Email: clint.bracknell@uwa.edu.au

Introduction

This paper examines a specific Noongar language regeneration project in the south west of Western Australia (WA) occurring in a broader context of Australian Aboriginal language endangerment and maintenance. The Wirlomin Noongar Language and Stories Project was instigated by members of a "home community" (Scott & Brown, 2005, p. 231) descended from some of the first speakers of particular southern Noongar language dialects. Despite the fact that Noongar people are one of the largest language groups in Australia, the Noongar language is considered "critically endangered" (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2005, p. 188), as are the traditional Indigenous song idioms of the region. In *Preserving Language Diversity*, Bernard (1992) explains that "any reduction of language diversity diminishes the adaptational strength of our species because it lowers the pool of knowledge from which we can draw" (p. 82). Aboriginal songs and language are imbued with valuable localised knowledge and Aboriginal performance traditions form the "foundation of social and personal wellbeing" (National Recording Project for Indigenous Performance in Australia, 2011). Therefore, Aboriginal language maintenance at a local level is vitally important.

The Noongar language

Aboriginal people of the south west of WA use the term Noongar to describe themselves, their language and "as an adjective describing their country, their way of life and other features of their culture" (Douglas, 1976, p. 5). The Noongar language belongs to an area that extends from the town of Moora, which is situated approximately 190 km north of Perth, the capital city of WA, and arcs across to the Esperance region on the south coast of the state. More than 12 different Noongar language dialects have been acknowledged (Tindale, 1974), although the increased mobility of Noongar people in recent decades is considered to have resulted in a gradual reduction of dialectic difference (Dench, 1995).

I am descended from Noongar, the first people of WA's south coast, between the Fitzgerald National Park and Cape Arid, and also from European immigrants. My cultural elders refer to their specific clan as Wirlomin Noongar (Scott & Brown, 2005). The term Wirlomin is connected to ancestral stories and a specific location in the Fitzgerald National Park. In Noongar language, Wirlomin literally means "curlew-like". The wirlo, or bush stone curlew (*Burhinus grallarius*), is a wiry, skinny bird adept at camouflage. Some Aboriginal people associate the wirlo with death or bad luck, perhaps because of its haunting nocturnal call and apparent ability to suddenly appear and disappear. Conversely, Scott and Brown (2005) contend that the wirlo speaks to the Wirlomin people, reminding us to be proud of who we are and where we are from. Stories centring on the wirlo have weathered a lot of dislocation to survive in the family clan to which I belong. Consequently, such stories provide important links to country and extended kin along the south coast.

Noongar is an endangered language in a historical context of dispossession, and a sense of ownership of Noongar language is extremely important to the collective and individual identities of Noongar people. The endangered state of Noongar language is largely due to the legacy of colonisation and institutional oppression in WA. After the establishment of the Swan River colony in 1929, the first 50 years of colonisation in WA coincided with a drastic reduction in the Noongar population in the state's south west (Aboriginal Legal Service of Western Australia, 1995, Appendix A). In the ensuing period until the mid-1970s, Noongar people endured a range of discriminatory government legislation that entrenched intergenerational disadvantage and facilitated

a process of cultural denigration, functioning to actively discourage pride in Noongar identity and cultural heritage, including language (Haebich, 2000). Given this historical context, many Noongar people, including myself, did not grow up with abundant opportunities to acquire and maintain their ancestral tongue.

Despite this, the Noongar language continues to manifest itself as an integral part of everyday life in the south west of WA. With reference to geographical and botanical nomenclature, examples include the Noongar names for implements (for example, the gidgee or fishing spear) and native animals (for example, the quokka or *Setonix brachyurus*). While such vocabulary has been co-opted into the common WA English vernacular, it has been more difficult to sustain Noongar as a spoken language. Notwithstanding this fact, many Noongar people continue to feel a strong sense of ownership of their endangered ancestral language and are only too aware of the difficulties they face in order to maintain the intergenerational transmission of such traditional languages. In *Reversing Language Shift*, Fishman (1991) reveals that intergenerational transmission of language is essential to language vitality. Noongar elder Hazel Brown clearly articulates the effectiveness of intergenerational transmission within families and clans in maintaining language vitality and regional dialectic diversity:

> Everything was explained to us; we didn't have to go and read about it in someone else's book. What we knew, we learned it from our old people. You picked up language easily because all of our people spoke their own dialect … We learned to speak our own lingo from when we very small. (Scott & Brown, 2005, p. 125)

Intimate connections between ancestral languages and people means that language loss cannot be treated simply as an intellectual puzzle to be solved (Rhydwen, 1998). Furthermore,

Jeanie Bell (2002) deems her own Aboriginal language "important, because it is a critical marker of identity … in relation to connection to our land and our ancestors" (p. 49). Bell suggests that sensitive consideration is required within communities about how and why to cope with the issue of language loss.

Language revival

While the devastating effects of colonisation have functioned to decimate Aboriginal languages, many Aboriginal people are "working with what remains in determined efforts to rebuild ourselves and our families and communities back to a point where we are no longer just victims of a system that set out to destroy us" (Bell, 2002, p. 47). A possible process of language loss, consolidation and further revitalisation may help to create an affirming narrative of colonial dispossession, Aboriginal persistence and a positive, self-determined Aboriginal future. In light of this idea, Scott (2008) argues that Noongar language and heritage needs to be returned to and consolidated in home communities before being shared with the broader public. Not only could such a process serve to provide empowering opportunities for members of the home community to reclaim, enhance and share their ancestral knowledge in an "ever-widening, concentric circle" (Scott & Roberts, 2011, p. 34), but it may also allow for time and space to recover from colonial disempowerment and dislocation.

Most of the literature describing efforts to preserve and sustain Aboriginal languages is characterised by "doom and gloom" (Bowern & James, 2010, p. 369). In casting a dim light on the "unrealistic expectations" (McConvell & McKay, 1994, p. 11) often placed on language revitalisation programmes, Schmidt (1990/1993) states

> If successful language revival is taken to mean the full restoration of the language to a state of

strong vitality (by re-establishing the broken language transmission link; regaining full conversational language knowledge and fluency; and active use of the language by all generations in wide range of social contexts), the chances of success for threatened Aboriginal languages are, in all probability, fairly remote. To my knowledge, there are no instances in Aboriginal Australia … of language revival efforts achieving such goals. (p. 106)

However, while it may be difficult for communities to re-establish and sustain fluency in their endangered languages, it may be possible to work with Indigenous languages as a means of bringing communities together to achieve broad and more attainable goals. One such goal may simply be for Aboriginal people to engage with the perspectives their ancestral languages may offer. Aboriginal languages carry with them inherent understandings and ways to articulate connection to country. Reflecting on the dominant use of English in Australia, Arthur (2003) explains that the imported language "does not fit the landscape; the words are describing somewhere else" (p. 21). In English, for example, a river is a source of water flowing constantly to the sea. In Noongar, the word biyal describes an impermanent trail of water, which sometimes dries up, travels underground and may not even reach the ocean, as often is the case on the south coast of WA. However, biyal also means navel, perhaps signifying a deeper relationship and connection between people and land. The victory of reclaiming a language could thus be sustained with opportunities to enhance the awareness and inherent knowledge that ancestral languages offer.

The Wirlomin Noongar Language and Stories Project

Last decade, Wirlomin Noongar elders initiated the Wirlomin Noongar Language and Stories Project. The project has involved important

Wirlomin clan members including elders Hazel Brown, Audrey Brown, Lomas Roberts, Gerald Williams, Helen Nelly-Hall and Russel Nelly, with assistance within the family from people such as Kim Scott, Iris Woods, Roma Winmar and Ezzard Flowers. This project sought to work with archival notes in the home community to consolidate and enhance understanding and awareness of southern Noongar language dialects. Instigators began a series of workshops in which key descendants of archival informants oversaw the development of a few stories and the eventual publication of two bilingual, illustrated books titled *Mamang* (Scott & Woods, 2011) and *Noongar Mambara Bakitj* (Scott & Roberts, 2011). Elders and descendants discussed pronunciation, semantics, cultural references, their childhood memories of the archival informants and other stories that came to mind. This value-adding process culminated to provide much more information than what was in the archival notes alone. With key elders at the centre of continuing developments, the process has extended into schools and prisons. As a result, members of the home community have developed new cultural works inspired by the archives. These include songs written in Noongar language, visual art and dances created to accompany ancestral stories, a website (www.wirlomin.com.au) and literature. These works are all extensions of the authors' heritage and share a distinct Noongar sense and spirit of place.

I became heavily involved in the Wirlomin Project in 2010 and have since joined a school incursion tour that visited towns in the southern region of WA, including Katanning, Tambellup and Albany, in May 2012. Nine schools were visited in five days and one community meeting was held. A total of 954 children and 128 adults attended. The tour aimed to promote Noongar arts and culture through language, storytelling, illustration, music, song and dance while fostering and encouraging Aboriginal authors and illustrators. It provided an opportunity for people to participate in cross-cultural shared

activities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people while learning about Noongar culture and also functioned to test audience responses to Wirlomin Noongar stories being developed for future publication. Capacity building was a key element of the tour, with elders and more experienced presenters providing opportunities for less experienced presenters to observe and gradually take on greater responsibilities.

Each school session was 45 to 60 minutes in length and began by informing the audience about the process of consolidating and enhancing archival notes in the home community to develop the existing Wirlomin publications. Wirlomin elders were present to share their experiences and memories in connection to the stories. The stories were read in Noongar language and in English with illustrations projected as a backdrop to the sessions. The presentations included interactive activities, dancing and singing in Noongar language. Some comments from schoolteachers included:

> Thanks for this excellent "local" cultural experience. Very rare – lucky us!

> It is lovely to be so authentic and show real passion.

> A very exciting and engaging way to learn about Noongar culture.

> [It is v]aluable to hear Noongar stories and see books being produced. (Wirlomin Noongar Language and Stories Project, 2012, p. 3)

Feedback from those in attendance was very positive, with most asking us to return to the school as soon as we could. The presentations were very well received by students, teachers and wider community. Over 15 members of the Wirlomin Project were proudly involved in the delivery of the school incursion tour and collectively found it a valuable and moving experience.

Conclusion

Despite the inherent difficulties associated with the broader context of Aboriginal language revitalisation, the Wirlomin Project successfully combines archival data, Aboriginal knowledge and community development. Its success is largely due to three factors: its gradual development over a long timeframe, the sense of community ownership over the project and, finally, the passionate voluntary work of a range of talented individuals. Speaking about the future of the Wirlomin Project, Wirlomin Noongar elder Russell Nelly concludes:

> It is imperative that we take our stand and go forward with our vision. The Wirlomin, it's just not a name. We've got something tangible. What we've lost, we are resurrecting it. So my people, we go with our head up high, proudly. (Wirlomin Noongar Language and Stories Project, 2012, p. 6)

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LEGAL PROTECTION OF TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND CULTURAL EXPRESSION IN EASTERN EUROPE

Michael Newcity*

Abstract

The nations of the former Soviet Union – especially Russia – are home to dozens of aboriginal peoples. Included among them are the peoples of the Far North, central and southern Siberia, the Far East and the North Caucasus. Little has been written about the legal status and rights of these peoples; while some scholarly analysis of their land rights has appeared, not much has yet been written about the legal protection of their traditional knowledge and the literary, artistic and cultural works they produce. Such an analysis is timely now because the relevant legislation in these countries has been adopted or revised since the fall of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe. This paper will provide a brief overview of the legal regime applicable to indigenous people in the former Soviet Union, and analyse the extent to which existing intellectual property laws cover works produced by these peoples.

Keywords

Russia, former Soviet Union, traditional knowledge, traditional cultural expression, intellectual property

* Adjunct Associate Professor, Center for Slavic, Eurasian, and East European Studies, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, USA.
Email: mnewcity@duke.edu

The indigenous peoples of the former Soviet Union

The huge Eurasian land mass that is home to the 15 independent former Soviet republics is inhabited by a vast number of nationalities. Included among the hundreds of different nationalities living in this region are scores of peoples who consider themselves indigenous to the region. The Russian word коренной means native, as well as indigenous, and is used when referring to dominant nationalities who are native to a particular region (Russians living in Russia) as well as when referring to aboriginal tribal groups. While the use of the English "indigenous" in this context is used primarily to refer to aboriginal inhabitants, there is no such automatic connotation in Russian.

But who are the indigenous peoples (used here and throughout this paper to refer to aboriginal inhabitants) of the former Soviet Union? Defining the indigenous peoples of any territory is often a contentious and fluid issue. International treaties have employed a variety of factors to define this concept and some include no definition of indigenous peoples.

The legislation of the Russian Federation applies a unique standard – inherited from the USSR – for determining who the indigenous people of Russia are. Russian law extends special status and protections only to those groups that are defined as коренные малочисленные народы, which translates as "numerically small indigenous peoples". Under Russian legislation, numerically small indigenous peoples are

> Peoples living in the territories traditionally inhabited by their ancestors, retaining traditional ways of life, occupations and trades, numbering fewer than fifty thousand individuals in the Russian Federation, and maintaining their own independent ethnic communities (Russian Federation, 1999, art. 1(1), p. 4183).

While three of the four criteria included in the Russian statutory definition are consistent with general international practice, this numerical criterion is a radical departure from international practice. But, if Russia were to drop this numerical test from the statutory definition, dozens of other nationalities currently excluded by the numerical criterion might then qualify as indigenous peoples (Shapovalov, 2005). Under Russian law, the government is charged with the responsibility to issue a unified list of Russia's numerically small indigenous peoples based on information provided by the governments of the regions in which the indigenous peoples live. The most recent list, issued in 2006, includes 40 nationalities.

Since the collapse of the USSR, the governments of the other former Soviet republics have done little or nothing to define the concept of indigenous peoples or to offer such groups special legislative benefits and protection. The Soviet concept of numerically small peoples has occasionally appeared in legislation or other official documents in these nations, though. For example, in September 1992, the president of Azerbaijan issued a decree calling for governmental action to protect the rights, languages and cultures or national minorities, including the numerically small peoples in Azerbaijan. This decree, however, made no attempt to define or clarify who was included amongst the numerically small peoples, and in the intervening two decades little appears to have been done to carry out these directives.

Existing legal protections for traditional knowledge and cultural expression

Legal protection for traditional knowledge and cultural expression may arise under several different categories of law. The most obvious of these is intellectual property law: principally, copyright law, trademark law, laws protecting geographical indicators, patent law, and laws protecting plant and animal varietals. Intellectual property law has been substantially

overhauled in all of the former Soviet republics since the collapse of the Soviet Union; in most cases, new or amended laws have been adopted since 2000. But in the former Soviet republics, as in many nations, conventional intellectual property legislation is often ill equipped to protect either traditional knowledge or traditional cultural expression.

Protection of folklore under copyright legislation

It might be assumed that copyright legislation, designed to protect creative works of science, literature and art, might be well suited to protect traditional cultural expression. Copyright obviously extends to literature, songs, dances and graphic art. However, the copyright legislation in effect in the former Soviet republics offers little protection for traditional cultural expression. In most of these countries, works of folklore are expressly excluded from copyright protection. Kazakhstan's copyright legislation is typical in this respect. Article 2(39) of the 1996 Law on Copyright and Neighbouring Rights includes the following definition of "work of folk art" (in Russian, произведение народного творчества):

> A work containing characteristic elements of traditional artistic heritage (folk tales, folk poetry, folk songs, instrumental folk music, folk dances and plays, artistic forms of folk rituals, etc.)

This definition is followed by a provision in Article 8 that specifies works of folk art as one of the categories of works that is not an object of copyright.

The treatment of works of folk art in Kazakhstani copyright legislation is very similar to the provisions of the counterpart laws in effect in the other former Soviet republics. While Georgia's copyright statute is silent on the question of folklore and folk art, the copyright statutes in the remaining former Soviet republics (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan)[1] all expressly exclude works of folk art or folklore from copyright protection.

Though copyright legislation in the former Soviet republics does not protect works of folklore and folk art, in most of these countries individuals who perform works of folklore are entitled to legal protection for their performances. The Russian Civil Code provisions on neighbouring rights grant to performers the exclusive rights in their performances. However, only performances that are expressed in a form allowing their reproduction and distribution are considered eligible for protection. Only the performer (or performers of a joint performance) can grant permission to broadcast or record a performance, or to reproduce, distribute, publicly perform or rent a recording of a performance. The rights of the performer extend for the performer's lifetime, but in no case for less than 50 years.

Performers of works of folklore are expressly included among those performers who enjoy legal rights in their performances under the copyright legislation in effect in 10 of the former Soviet republics. Azerbaijan does not protect folklore or performers of folklore under its copyright legislation, but has adopted a special law "On the Legal Protection of Expressions of Azerbaijani Folklore" on the subject. Kyrgyzstan also does not protect folklore or the performers of folklore under its copyright legislation, but has not adopted any specific legislation on this subject.

The rights granted to performers are limited: what is protected is the performance rather than the underlying work, and only if

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1   The former Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, by virtue of their membership in the European Union, are subject to a very different legal regime with respect to the rights of ethnic minorities. Consequently, I will not include them in the analysis that follows.

the performance has been recorded in some tangible medium. However, these neighbouring rights do provide limited protection for some of the traditional cultural expressions of Russia's indigenous peoples.

An identifiable author

The justification for the exclusion of folklore from the list of works eligible for copyright protection is that, though these works would satisfy other criteria, they are not created by a single identifiable author or group of identifiable co-authors, but are created by unidentified individuals. This insistence on an identifiable author as one of the bedrock features of contemporary intellectual property regimes is often criticised as incompatible with the protection of traditional knowledge and cultural expression because, by definition, traditional works can be attributed to no identifiable author or group of co-authors. These works were typically created long ago by people now long dead.

The pattern that is repeated throughout the provisions of the Russian Civil Code relating to copyright, patent, trademark, and plant and animal varietals is to stipulate that legal protection originates with the author, who is uniformly defined as the citizen whose creative effort produced the work. Furthermore, the Civil Code specifies that citizens who have not made a personal creative contribution to the creation of the work will not be considered authors of that work. The same pattern is repeated in the intellectual property legislation of the other former Soviet republics.

Duration of protection

Another related feature of copyright legislation that precludes protection of traditional knowledge is the method by which the duration of protection is calculated. Under the laws in effect in the former Soviet republics (just as in most conventional copyright laws), the length of time that a work is protected is a discrete

period dating from the death of the author. In some instances, the duration of copyright may also be a function of when it was published. But in either case, such an approach is incompatible with works created long ago for which there are no identifiable authors.

A more significant problem, however, is that most intellectual property protection is subject to a finite duration. Because of the centrality of traditional knowledge to indigenous peoples' identity and culture, permitting legal protection of this traditional knowledge to lapse and enter the public domain might do serious damage to these cultures.

Novelty as a condition of patentability

The conditions of patentability under the laws of each of the former Soviet republics (as virtually everywhere) are that an invention must be novel, inventive and have industrial applicability. In some countries, these criteria for patentability have proved to be a double-edged sword. On one hand, these criteria make it very difficult for traditional medical and other knowledge to receive patent protection. A study of the application of these criteria for patentability in the Chinese patent system to traditional medicine, for example, concluded that the inventiveness and industrial applicability standards constituted a substantial barrier to protecting traditional medical knowledge because of difficulties proving that these criteria have been met (Li & Li, 2007, p. 145). Many scholars, commenting on the inapplicability of patent laws and concepts to traditional knowledge, have called for the adoption of sui generis legislation designed specifically to protect traditional knowledge.

On the other hand, there are aspects of patent law that make it difficult for indigenous peoples to protect their traditional knowledge from appropriation by outsiders. One way for indigenous peoples to prevent outsiders from patenting inventions derived from their traditional knowledge is to challenge any such

patent applications on the grounds that the inventions are not novel. In evaluating a patent application and any challenges to it, the patent agencies would search the prior art to determine whether the invention was already known to the public at the time the patent application was submitted. If such information was available, then, by definition, the invention could not be considered novel and would not be patentable.

However, some patent law systems define prior art so as to exclude traditional knowledge that has not been published in conventional formats; for example, information available to the public only through oral traditions. While some patent systems exclude unpublished or oral information from prior art, Russia has followed the pattern of the European Patent Convention and includes oral information as prior art. However, according to a leading Russian scholar, oral information will only be regarded as prior art under Russian patent law if it is fixed, either by recording or publication of a stenographic transcript (Sergeev, 2001, p. 417). This would exclude information transmitted from generation to generation by a purely oral tradition, never recorded or published in print, from being considered as prior art. Thus, it remains doubtful whether patent law in the former Soviet republics could be used for defensive protection of traditional knowledge.

Trademarks

One area of intellectual property law that has the potential to offer some legal protection for traditional knowledge or traditional cultural expression is trademark law, specifically the provisions for collective marks and geographic indicators. One of the concerns often expressed by indigenous peoples around the world is that their traditional arts and crafts are counterfeited. A related concern is that unlicensed copies of indigenous arts and crafts will result in poorly made, inauthentic artifacts that confuse the purchasers and show little

respect for the borrowed traditional cultural expressions (Fowler, 2004). In some countries, indigenous peoples have registered trademarks to ensure the authenticity and quality of arts and crafts sold using their names and designs. In Australia, the National Indigenous Arts Advocacy Association has registered certification marks on behalf of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders, and in New Zealand, the Māori Arts Board has registered toi iho™ to certify the authenticity and quality of Māori arts and crafts.

Russian trademark law provides two devices that could be used by indigenous peoples in a similar manner to protect their arts and crafts from counterfeiting and that could also be used defensively to protect their traditional signs and symbols from unauthorised use by outsiders. The first of these devices is a collective mark, which may be registered by individuals as well as associations. Applying for a collective mark on behalf of a Russian indigenous group is made somewhat cumbersome by the requirement that the application for registration include a list of names of the individuals who are authorised to use the collective mark; the collective mark cannot be registered simply in the name of the group itself without specification of the individuals. However, there is a process for changing or updating the list of persons who have the right to use the mark.

Russian trademark law also provides for the registration of indicators of geographic origin, which can be useful to indigenous groups seeking to protect their traditional arts, crafts and other traditional cultural expressions. In order to be protected, a geographic indicator can be registered by one or more individuals or juridical persons. Upon registration, the persons who have registered the geographical indicator are entitled to the exclusive use of this geographic indication for goods that meet the specified criteria. They may also grant the right to use the indicator to any person who produces such goods within the specified geographic locale (Russian Federation 2006, art. 1518(2)).

Indigenous peoples in various countries have sought both "positive" and "negative" protection from trademark law. Positive protection refers to using collective marks, geographic indicators and other similar devices to protect the identity and quality of arts and crafts and other goods. Negative protection refers to the use of trademark law to deny registration of a trademark that is considered culturally offensive to an indigenous group. The New Zealand Trade Marks Act 2002, for example, provides that registration will be denied to trademarks "the use or registration of which would … be likely to offend a significant section of the community, including Māori".

Russian trademark law does not specifically prohibit the registration of marks that are culturally offensive or disparaging of individuals or groups of people. However, the registration of marks that contradict "public interests, or principles of humanity or morality", which commentators have interpreted to include insulting, abusive or racist slogans, is prohibited (Dmitriev & Molchanov, 2008, p. 683). One commentator has suggested that the public interests referred to in this provision include the interests of society as a whole, as well as "individual sections or groups", but that the primary purpose of this provision is to prevent the registration of anti-state, anti-religious, anti-democratic, and nationalistic symbols and slogans (Zenin, 2008, pp. 474–475).

While this provision is less explicit than the New Zealand legislation referred to above, it could provide a legal basis for challenging the registration of trademarks that are offensive to Russia's indigenous peoples. Similar provisions are included in the trademark legislation of the other former Soviet republics.

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TE RONGOĀ

A framework for management on Te Pūtahi farm

*Marion Johnson**

Abstract

"Te Rongoā" project is a first step in applying Māori traditional knowledge of health to a sustainable land management programme. Māori traditional medicine is far more than simply plants for healing; the philosophy of rongoā Māori encompasses the associations between mind, spirit, body and the land. These connections that are vital for human health are equally vital for sustainable land management. Te Pūtahi farm was gifted to the Wairewa community in 2006. The rūnanga are determined to farm for future generations and seek a management system that will achieve this. Te Rongoā project draws upon indigenous knowledge of health and healing in a human context and seeks to apply that knowledge to Te Pūtahi. Selective plantings will encourage livestock to access a range of species that will either act as tonics, improving general health and possibly boosting immunity, or specifics in response to a dietary need. Not only rongoā species will be planted; other plants that encourage native fauna will be included in the mix. A farm plan identifies areas of land at risk and provides a visual framework for community discussion of potential future developments.

* Centre for Sustainability, Agriculture, Food Energy, Environment (CSAFE), University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.
Email: marion.johnson@otago.ac.nz

Introduction

Aotearoa New Zealand today faces many problems, not least of which is the sustainability of our agricultural industry. There are currently about 1.47 million hectares of Māori land, and holdings are growing under Treaty of Waitangi settlements. Māori traditional knowledge can inform a new paradigm for management of this land, and all land in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Te Rongoā

Traditionally, Māori had an excellent knowledge of the plants and their properties (Riley, 1994) and used them extensively. Traditional healing, or rongoā, utilises the properties of many plants but, unlike medicine as practised by many today, rongoā is holistic and focuses on maintaining health rather than curing a problem after health has broken down. Several authors have developed models to conceptualise and illustrate the connectedness of rongoā Māori. All emphasise the interconnectedness of mind, body and spirit, and the importance of human connections, particularly family and genealogy – the sense of knowing one's roots; for example, Te Whare Tapa Wha (four sided house) (Durie, 2001), Te Wheke (octopus) (Pere, 1995), and Te Whetū (star) (Mark & Lyons, 2010). Land plays an important role in each model: tangata whenua, where one belongs.

It is not only land that is important; so too is the health of the land. Mark and Lyons (2010) quote from healers who "discussed land as a reason clients required healing, but commented that the land itself also sometimes needed healing (not necessarily separately from the client's healing)" (p. 1760). Māori identity is closely linked to the land. We all share a common ancestor with the trees and the plants (McGowan, 2009). Applying the principles of rongoā to the land and stock therefore flows on to the people who walk the land and consume the produce.

Mātauranga Māori (traditional knowledge) informs the practice of rongoā but, without the plants to harvest and the places to learn, that knowledge is in danger of being lost. McGowan (2009) quotes the words spoken to him as he began his journey:

> E Pa, why do you keep asking us about the plants. We don't have to tell you anything at all; all you have to do is get to know the forest and all the trees in the forest, and they will tell you everything you need to know. (p. 37)

Ecological and cultural links

Ecological principles underpin all life systems on earth, so why should the management of land for farming be any different? The current models have denuded many of our landscapes and threaten both the integrity of our land and the viability of many populations of our flora and fauna. Applying the principles of rongoā to land management invokes kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and encourages holistic management. Drawing on rongoā and planting to create an on-farm pharmacy allows people to harvest and rediscover cultural knowledge, to interact with the plants and to heal. Therefore, hand in hand with revival of rongoā should go changes in agricultural practices so that diversity is encouraged and the value of species and the associated ecosystem services they provide is recognised. It would be a sad mistake to duplicate current intensive practice and produce rongoā akin to modern lettuce.

Te Pūtahi

Te Pūtahi farm is located in the Southern Bays of Banks Peninsula in Te Waipounamu (South Island, New Zealand). The 450 ha sheep and beef farm was gifted to the Wairewa rūnanga in 2006 by Jim Wright. Jim loved the land deeply and applauded the Wairewa ki uta ki

tai (from the mountains to the sea) philosophy and supported their vision of a mahinga kai (place where subsistence resources can be gathered) cultural park. The farm has not had any pesticides or fertilisers applied for 20 years and should be certified organic by 2015. It is the first farm to be accredited under the Ngāi Tahu mahinga kai system. The farm, to quote the chairman of the Wairewa rūnanga, Robin Wybrow, "is to be the living embodiment of the Wairewa Rūnanga expression of its integrated whole ecosystem Mahinga Kai Cultural Park that protects the whenua (land), koiora kanorau (biodiversity), wai māori (freshwater) and wai moana (sea) of Papatūānuku ki uta ki tai (from the mountains to the sea)."

Principles to practice – Framework

Aotearoa New Zealand has a large natural pharmacopoeia, its diverse flora comprising 2,418 indigenous species of vascular plants (New Zealand Plant Conservation Network, n.d.). Many of these species are used for rongoā, the particular species used depending upon the locality. It is a basic tenet of rongoā that the plants are part of the landscape and that their medicinal properties relate to the environment in which they are growing. Research into the chemistry of mānuka (*Leptospermum scoparium*) across New Zealand bears this out (Maddocks-Jennings, Wilkinson, Shillington, & Cavanagh, 2005; Perry et al., 1997; Porter & Wilkins, 1998). In order to adhere to a principle of rongoā and to maintain a good conservation ethic, planning for plantings on Te Pūtahi was restricted to species that might have been found growing naturally on the Banks Peninsula.

There are many diseases affecting farm animals in New Zealand. An informal local survey of area veterinary practices, the Christchurch veterinary pathology laboratory and farmers suggested internal parasites were the greatest problem they faced. The next most common problems were scour and trace element deficiencies.

In order to reduce the task of selecting rongoā species to manageable proportions, parameters were developed as a guide. Three broad and three specific categories of rongoā plants were identified.

All farmers wish their animals would grow faster to achieve good marketable weights in the shortest space of time. In order to do this they must be healthy – rongoā focuses on maintaining and enhancing health rather than stepping in after the problem has occurred. Therefore, plants that might act as tonics would be useful species to have available to stock at all times. For young animals to grow well in the early stages of life, a good milk supply is vital. Plants with a reputation for supporting lactation should be provided for pregnant and newly calved or lambed stock.

Stock are often in the yards for routine management tasks and not infrequently an injury occurs. Plants – in particular, trees – that have a reputation for wound healing would be useful around yards and raceways. If a trauma should occur as animals pass through the yards, a treatment is immediately on hand.

As parasites and scour are the two most common animal health problems identified on farms in the area, beneficial anti-parasitic species and plants with a reputation for the treatment of diarrhoea were identified, as well as species that might provide relief for chest complaints.

All plants selected must withstand browsing by stock and regenerate within a reasonable time frame. They should be non-toxic, although consideration might be given to some species with a reputation for toxicity if they are beneficial when lightly browsed and access can be controlled. A selection of species is given in Table 1 as an example of the range of species that could be used to create a living pharmacy on Te Pūtahi farm.

By planting native species, habitat is provided for native flora and fauna to regenerate and repopulate the area. As rongoā is holistic, our approach to the planting of land should also

TABLE 1. Examples of native species that could be used as part of an on-farm pharmacy at Te Pūtahi.

Species	Māori name	Common name	Ailment
Myrsine australis	Māpou, Māpau, Matipou, Tīpau	Red matipo	Parasites
Hebe stricta	Koromiko	Hebe	Scour
Gaultheria antipoda	Pāpapa, Korupuka, Tāwiniwini, Tūmingi	Snowberry	Lactation
Gnaphalium luteo-album	Pukatea	Cudweed	Wounds
Corynocarpus laevigatus	Karaka	New Zealand laurel	Wounds
Macropiper excelsum	Kawakawa	Pepper tree	Tonic
Pseudowintera colorata	Horopito	Pepper tree	Tonic
Sonchus sp.	Puha Pūwhā pūhā pororua, rauriki	Sow thistle	Tonic

TABLE 2. The native species that Wairewa would like to encourage on Te Pūtahi farm.

Species	Māori name	Common name
Hemiphaga novaeseelandiae	Kererū	New Zealand pigeon
Prosthemadera novaeseelandiae	Tūī	Tui
Rhipidura fuliginosa	Pīwakawaka	Fantail
Ninox novaeseelandiae	Ruru	Morepork
Chrysococcyx lucidus	Pīpīwharauroa	Shining cuckoo
Gallirallus australis	Weka	Weka
Paranephrops zelandicus	Kōura	Freshwater crayfish
Galaxius spp.	Kōkopu	
Naultinus gemmeus		Jewelled gecko
Hemideina sp.	Wētā	

be so, providing not only for the farmed stock but also for other species. Discussions were held with the chairman of the rūnanga and suggestions made as to which species the community would wish to see encouraged on the farm (see Table 2), thus reconnecting treasured species to the land.

To ensure the success of any populations of native fauna that might be attracted to Te Pūtahi, a list of habitat requirements and food sources for each species was developed. To provide for sustainable populations, food sources and habitat must be available year round. Some examples of species providing food and habitat are given in Table 3. It may be that gaps in food supply will need to be filled with introduced species. For example, on Te Pūtahi, the current population of kererū feed on a large lime (*Tilia* sp.) tree. Tree lucerne (*Chamaecytsis palmensis*) is a useful, multipurpose introduced species that
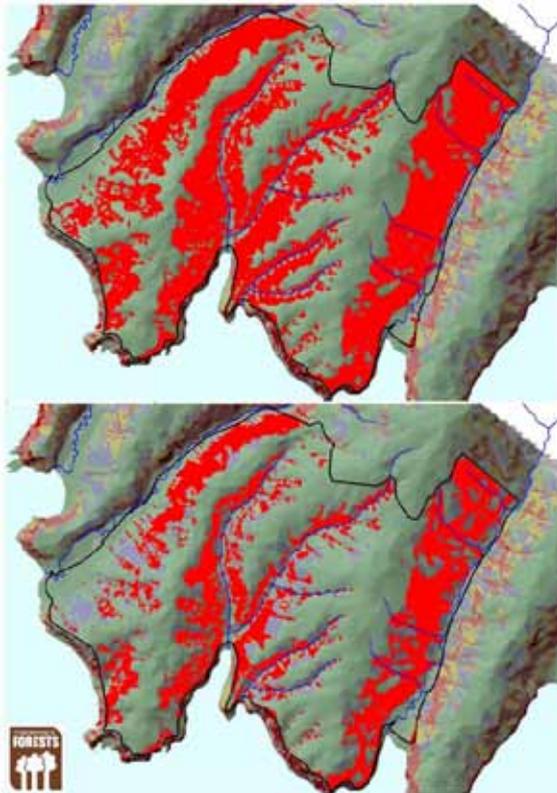
FIGURE 1. Predicted land stability of Te Pūtahi farm. The upper map shows the unstable and moderately unstable land removed from production (302 ha). The lower map shows just the unstable land (238ha). (Map reproduced with permission from Tomorrow's Forests.)
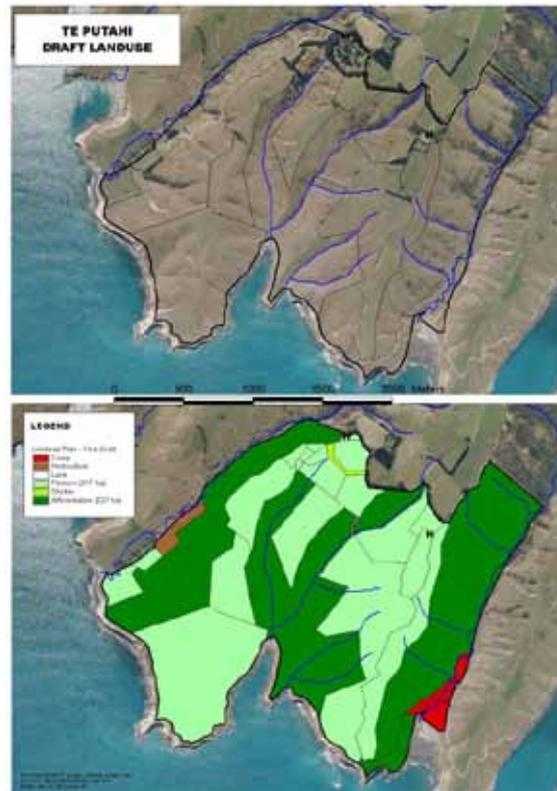
FIGURE 2. First draft land use plan, Te Pūtahi farm. The dark areas are those suggested to be taken out of intensive agriculture and planted. (Map reproduced with permission from Tomorrow's Forests.)

will provide food not only for native fauna but also for stock (Borens & Poppi, 1990; Douglas, Bulloch, & Foote, 1996; Norton & Miller, 2000), and can act as a nurse crop for native species.

Once the plant species required for the successful establishment of the desired native fauna were identified, they were cross-referenced with the lists of medicinal plants so that full planting lists could be developed. For example, snowberry is also excellent for wounds and a favourite food of weka. Hebe is good for wounds and a tonic, matipo is a tonic and good for wounds and both provide favoured habitat. Cabbage tree is iconic (Simpson, 2000), with many uses from food and weaving to medicine. Tōtara previously clothed Banks Peninsula (Norton & Fuller, 1994) and, on Te Pūtahi,

there are many old tōtara fence posts to be found. Māori had multiple uses for the wood and bark; the berries are good to eat and the tree has medicinal properties. Kawakawa has an important role in Māori culture (Riley, 1994): as well as being an excellent tonic, it is anti-parasitic, and good for wounds and toothache (Porritt, 1967).

In theory, the whole of Te Pūtahi could be planted, but the farm is a viable sheep and beef production unit. Decisions must therefore be made as to where and how to plant the selected species. Young trees and shrubs require some protection while they become established, and many of the rongoā species are very palatable. To form a permanent resource, plantings need to be fenced and stock access controlled, either by simply allowing browsing over the fence or

TABLE 3. Examples of native plant species that are important providers of food and habitat to encourage the fauna the community wish to see.

Species	Māori name	Common name	Function
Cordyline australis	Tī kōuka, Tī Kāuka, Tī whanake	Cabbage tree	Food source
Melicytus ramiflorus	Māhoe, Hinahina, Inihina	Whiteywood	Habitat, food source
Podocarpus totara	Tōtara	Totara	Habitat

by very controlled access.

Mapping the farm and creating geographic information system (GIS) layers allowed visualisation of the land and gave a palette upon which to draw. The farm was surveyed and contour maps produced. Using the contour maps and an orthophotograph, digital terrain maps were developed. By then allowing for slope, aspect and soil moisture, capacity maps predicting the likely stability of the farm were produced (see Figure 1). The stability of the land was defined as unstable (likely to move), moderately stable (requires care to maintain its stability) or stable. If we are to apply the philosophy of rongoā to our land management, we need to heal the land and take areas that are eroded or damaged out of production. Stream banks and cliff faces also need to be protected. By mapping, we can visualise those areas and also calculate the number of hectares that might be removed from intensive production.

As can be seen from the predicted land stability maps, if these areas were removed, steep slopes and watercourses would automatically be protected. However, there might not be enough land left to make the farm economically viable.

Rongoā encourages healing and connection with the land – it implies sustainability and a holistic view. The next stage in the process of developing a planting plan was to walk the farm and connect to the land, to see where the grass grew well, where the eroded areas were, where bush still survives, and where the stock chose to be. All the information was then placed on a map (see Figure 2) and discussed. How might stock be provided for in times of storm or feed shortage?

How might they be moved? Which paddocks had to stay? The surprising outcome was that the picture produced by walking the land was remarkably similar to the one produced when the unstable land was taken out of the farm equation.

Although it would appear that only 217 ha remain in production, this land is the land that produces well and is likely to continue to do so. The other areas are not lost. They will provide rongoā not only for the farm but also for the community. They will provide shade and shelter and browse for stock, providing a more varied diet and diverse environment. In times of stress such as storm or drought, the plantings provide dense shelter and feed banks. The performance of the surrounding pasture is likely to improve with the shelter, and biological activity will be encouraged in the soil. In time, some of the species can be carefully harvested and, all the while, carbon is being sequestered.

Conclusion

The framework outlined suggests that it is possible to include rongoā species in a farm management system. The incorporation of traditional knowledge into a contemporary system, using modern technology to assist in the planning and implementation, demonstrates clearly the value of mātauranga Māori. Further research is required to assess the performance of both stock and pastures under a new management regime. But it is unarguable that by farming with the philosophies of te rongoā and kaitiakitanga the land will benefit and the

farm will be producing for many generations. Rongoā Māori is taonga (treasure), to be valued, and applying the principles to farmland may provide a mechanism to perpetuate the knowledge.

Acknowledgements

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KAPA HAKA AND ITS EDUCATIONAL MEANINGS IN TODAY'S AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Basic findings and professionalisation

Hiromi Sakamoto*

Abstract

Kapa Haka is a form of Māori performing arts and cultural practice in Aotearoa New Zealand. After learning Kapa Haka for two and half years, I decided to pursue research on the educational meanings of Kapa Haka in today's Aotearoa New Zealand. In this article I introduce why and how I came to conduct this research, and the basic research findings. Because of its thematic connection to the Indigenous Development Research Conference 2012, I include a summary of discussions I had with Kapa Haka teachers on possible professionalisation of Kapa Haka in the context of a performing arts industry.

Keywords

Kapa Haka, Māori performing arts, indigenous cultural practice, arts education, democratic education, qualitative research

*   PhD Candidate, School of Critical Studies in Education, Faculty of Education, The University of Auckland, New Zealand.
      Email: h.sakamoto@auckland.ac.nz

Introduction

Kapa Haka is a form of Māori performing arts and cultural practice in Aotearoa New Zealand. After working as a theatrical producer and director for over two decades in Japan and New York, I came to Aotearoa New Zealand in 2008 to be a PhD candidate at the University of Auckland. Upon arriving, I started learning Kapa Haka as a practitioner under Dr Ngapo Wehi, a respected Kapa Haka exponent, at the Department of Māori Studies. From the early stage of learning Kapa Haka, I became fascinated by its artistic quality, its ability to evoke emotions, its popularity and the depth of knowledge it could offer. I decided to look into educational meanings of Kapa Haka in public spaces. I met with more than 20 kaiako Kapa Haka (teachers of Kapa Haka) who taught in diverse social contexts, between 2010 and 2011, and exchanged thoughts with them. In some places teachers shared similar meanings of teaching Kapa Haka, while in other places there existed unique and site-specific reasons. This paper introduces a basic summary of my research and findings.

Furthermore, I include diverse discussions held with kaiako Kapa Haka on how Kapa Haka might be developed into a professional activity in the context of the performing arts industry in mainstream cultural New Zealand. Should Kapa Haka be defined as a national cultural treasure and artistic expression of Aotearoa New Zealand? Should the public support Kapa Haka exponents as they support exceptional ballet and opera artists? What would this possible professionalisation mean, educationally, to the general public of Aotearoa New Zealand?

On Kapa Haka

Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) write in their article:

> Māori performance genre Kapa Haka developed amid culturally hostile conditions and

amalgamated Māori and European cultural influences into a music genre that has become popular locally and globally. Māori have displayed ingenuity, resourcefulness and creativity by conserving their unique cultural identity in spite of, as well as reflecting, the homogenising effects of colonisation and globalisation. (p. 139)

Today Kapa Haka exists in Māoridom as significantly meaningful educational activity to retain, sustain, revitalise and proliferate te reo Māori (Māori language) and tikanga Māori (Māori cultural protocols), amalgamating tradition, other cultural elements and creativity (e.g., Karetu, 1993). In mainstream schools, Kapa Haka provides Māori students with cultural identity, confidence and significantly positive educational experiences (Whitinui, 2008).

Methodology

The research methodologies consist of constructivism (Crotty, 1998), critical theory (Freire, 2009; Greene, 1995) and Kaupapa Māori approach (Bishop, 2005; Smith, 1999). I started as a manuhiri (guest, visitor) when I first arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand. Yet in the process of learning Kapa Haka practically, I gradually gained an understanding of the culture of tangata whenua (people of the land), and acquired some inkling of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge). Throughout Kapa Haka research, I also started seeing the socio-political conditions of Māori people and Māoridom in wider New Zealand social contexts, sharing critical views with kaiako Kapa Haka, and started developing an "agentic positioning and behavior" for the people in Kapa Haka communities (Bishop, 2005, p.115).

The methodologies also indicated that my perspectives on Kapa Haka could be unique and different from the mainstream culture of Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent/settler), and even from Māori people. As a producer

and director who has worked internationally in the industry of performing arts, it was difficult for me to comprehend why professional opportunities for exceptional Kapa Haka artists mainly existed only in a tourism or trade industry. Also, as someone who has promoted the arts of minority people in public spaces as an educational vehicle to enhance democracy (Greene, 1995), I see more meaning for the majority to watch and learn Kapa Haka. In addition, as someone from Japan, a nation that was not colonised by European countries, I would imagine how an indigenous cultural form might be respected, if Aotearoa had not been colonised (Sakamoto, 2011).

Data collection method

With the approval of the ethics committee, I visited more than 10 sites where Kapa Haka was taught, and observed the teaching process and interviewed more than 20 kaiako. The five visited categories are: Māori educational institutions (Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori), mainstream educational institutions (primary and intermediate schools, colleges), community and tribe-based groups (Taikura, urban competitive group, tribal festival), national or public organisations (Navy, Māori Television) and tourism industry (Rotorua-based Māori village).

The research participants, kaiako Kapa Haka, ranged from people in their 20s to those in their late 70s, mostly Māori. In this research, my definitions of "teachers" are broad. Participants included classroom teachers in schools, a television producer, festival organisers and an organiser of dinner shows for tourists, who views their shows as a means to educate the visitors. Some teachers teach in multiple locations.

The questions to the teachers included: (a) What kind of performing items do you choose to teach and why? (b) What do you expect your students to learn and achieve? (c) Why do you teach Kapa Haka? (d) How do you see the future of Aotearoa New Zealand; by teaching Kapa Haka do you foresee any difference? (e) What do you think about professionalisation of Kapa Haka?

Basic findings

Almost throughout the research, Kapa Haka teachers mentioned that Kapa Haka is a vehicle to teach students Māori culture. When they say Māori culture, their primary concerns are retention and revitalisation of te reo and tikanga. Tikanga includes learning rituals such as pōwhiri (welcome ceremony), karakia (prayer) and whaikōrero (speechmaking). Kapa Haka can teach how one behaves on a marae (gathering house); for example, knowing which waiata (song) to sing when a particular group of manuhiri arrives. The performing skills taught in Kapa Haka, such as taiaha (weaponry) and poi, are often supported by traditional Māori concepts and philosophy. Kapa Haka can also teach other tikanga such as Māori social values and manners, which are considered important in developing decent human relationship skills in the community. Those include whanaungatanga (sense of family connection), manaakitanga (hospitality) and aroha (love, feel compassionate).

Whakapapa (genealogy) is another important cultural concept taught in Kapa Haka: knowing who you are, where you are from and who you belong to. Many teachers emphasised this aspect of Kapa Haka. In an urban context, learning pepeha or mihi (self-introduction in Māori) teaches students a concept of whakapapa, which is often beneficial for young Māori students whose family migrated to urban areas to gain their identity. Interestingly, it is also beneficial to non-Māori students who immigrated from abroad, who may not be too familiar with their own cultural heritage.

Site-specific meanings and reasons to teach Kapa Haka include: (a) to obtain life skills and

achievement skills (commitment, discipline); (b) to obtain specific skills (ambidexterity, weaponry skills, fighting spirit); (c) to enhance writing and composing ability in te reo Māori; (d) to achieve artistic excellence; (e) to preserve waiata, to strengthen memory retention and to socialise; and (f) to retain tribal reo and waiata, tribal tikanga and identity.

Kapa Haka beyond Māoridom

In culturally diverse mainstream schools, there are teachers who teach Kapa Haka to mostly non-Māori students. A Māori teacher who teaches Kapa Haka as an extracurricular activity in a mainstream intermediate school shared his vision:

> We try to incorporate some Māori influence, ideas within our units. One term we would do sustainability … I have come on board and said, "Let's talk about sustaining cultures. Keeping that alive." And not just Māori culture, [but] any culture. You get these Asian kids who come from these Asian countries here and also South Africans and English and wherever, and they come over here and because they were born here, they think their own cultures are not important anymore. So I am trying to instil in them, find out about your culture, where you are from, why it is important, your language and your customs and all that. Then once they appreciate that, then you can introduce Māori culture and say now that you are in New Zealand, now you can see how your culture is important … now you see, why it is important that you should support Māori culture.

One Pākehā teacher in a mainstream school said, "We [New Zealanders] embrace all cultures. And through one special culture, we can bring people together … Kapa Haka and Māori culture can bring people together." In Rotorua, at a tourist site, where they have a dinner and a cultural show, another participant shares a similar vision: "We would like to promote understanding of Māori culture, so we can find commonality [with the visitors]". Such efforts, he thinks, can "bind" people from different cultural backgrounds. In these situations, Kapa Haka functions as an educational vehicle to promote dialogue and understandings in a pluralistic public space.

In the Royal New Zealand Navy, a "bicultural policy" has been established. It is part of the training for new recruits to learn the Navy haka. It is often recognised that people who practise Kapa Haka are doing part of their Navy duty. Participants mentioned that in the history of the Navy, "visitors educated commanders", because manuhiri (guests, visitors) from overseas frequently appreciated Kapa Haka performances, and marvelled at pōwhiri when they were welcomed onto the ship or to the Navy's marae. Today many aspects of their duties reflect Māori cultural elements. The high-ranking officers must go through classes on Māori culture to be promoted. Kapa Haka groups in the Navy are often invited to international cultural exchange ceremonies as representatives of New Zealand, together with their brass band. Arguably, the Navy is one of the most progressive national institutions in which Māori culture is given respect and important status, almost equal to Pākehā cultural status.

Professionalisation of Kapa Haka

When I saw the regional Kapa Haka competition in Auckland for the first time, in 2008, I was highly impressed by the artistic quality of top Kapa Haka groups. I asked Dr Pita Sharples, a well-known politician and a Kapa Haka exponent, "Why is there no national Kapa Haka company in New Zealand, equivalent to the Royal New Zealand Ballet?" I was simply curious then, because I thought New Zealand had a bicultural tradition. His answer

was that "Māori are tribal peoples and it would be difficult to have one national company". My Kapa Haka teacher, Dr Ngapo Wehi, on the other hand, said, "It's do-able". After learning much about Māori society, I still wanted to keep discussing the idea of professionalisation of Kapa Haka with my research participants. If having one national company is not culturally proper, is there any other way to recognise and reward this artistically excellent and educationally meaningful performing art in public spaces? Besides, unlike Kapa Haka, there are so few ballets and operas shown here that have thematic connections to today's New Zealand society.

Most Kapa Haka teachers have been supportive of the idea of having a professional environment for Kapa Haka. Many argued that excellent Māori performing arts deserve respect and more funding, stating "It's about time" and "That would be a dream come true". Yet many agreed that serious discussions are required on how to create a national (or public) entity, or a company or companies equivalent to nonprofit Pākehā performing arts groups such as the Royal New Zealand Ballet. Some people expressed their concerns: "That's a Pākehā concept", "We may lose something if we get paid to do this" and "Pākehās won't let us". The teachers who were against such a concept of having a united Māori company, understandably, tended to be the teachers who teach Kapa Haka to preserve cultural heritage based on their own hapū (subtribe) or iwi (tribe). This issue clearly reflects existential meanings of Kapa Haka: whether it is for preservation of tradition or an opportunity for artistic and creative expressions; whether it is for nurturing tribal identity or to be a place to represent diverse social voices of Aotearoa. One person suggested, "What if every hapū had a professional group?"

There are legal arguments as well. The Crown has to protect and recognise the importance of te reo Māori, and hence Māori Television (national indigenous broadcaster) was created as part of the Waitangi Tribunal Settlement.

Similarly, if we read Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840) and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008) carefully, we could argue that the New Zealand Government has good enough reasons to more generously support Kapa Haka groups, academies, festivals and community activities. Creative New Zealand's annual report (2011) states that Māori Performing Arts received (only) 1% of their total funding.

Some teachers who have been developing the diploma programmes of "Māori Performing Arts" through the New Zealand Qualifications Authority talked about the need for professional job opportunities for their students. With skilful performers and composers graduating every year, and with an educated audience increasing in number, there seems to be a need for a professional infrastructure of some kind. In fact, Te Matatini (National Kapa Haka festival and competition organiser) committee has started exploring professional possibilities using talented artists from competitive Kapa Haka. One such example is a production entitled *Te Aroha Nui* ("The Greatest Love"), which took place during the Rugby World Cup in 2011. Competitive Kapa Haka exponents and theatre professionals collaborated to transform Kapa Haka into a two-hour semi-musical with a plot to suit a mainstream theatrical audience. Some people called it a "haka theatre".

Other teachers argued that Te Matatini has its own history and characteristics, and that it should be possible to use its structure to create a professional environment. Such ideas include having the top three Te Matatini winning rōpū (teams) touring New Zealand as well as overseas, or having Te Matatini committee select a creative team who become paid professionals for 2 years. They would be given opportunities and budget to produce a production at a metropolitan theatre. Performers would be chosen and hired by auditions accordingly.

How to professionalise Kapa Haka should be debated by Māori peoples first, and then the

blueprint should be suggested to the general public of New Zealand. At least ideologically, Kapa Haka has provided a public space for Māori peoples to be united. On Te Matatini's website, the section "What Is Kapa Haka" says:

> Kapa Haka celebrates Maori contribution to New Zealand's uniqueness in this modern world …. Kapa Haka while recognising the many differences within Maoridom, between iwi, between hapu … it still allows for Maori to come together and celebrate its oneness. (Te Matatini, n.d.)

Can this "oneness" be extended to all, Māori and non-Māori, living in Aotearoa New Zealand, and even beyond? Would Māori be fine with sharing their taonga (treasure) with others out of aroha as they have done for decades? Can the New Zealand public embrace Kapa Haka as their own national taonga, by recognising the talents of Kapa Haka artists and rewarding them on an equal basis with ballet dancers and opera singers? Will the Crown allocate sufficient funding to Kapa Haka exponents? (Currently, the Royal New Zealand Ballet receives $4.3 million annually from the Government, yet Te Matatini, with 40 groups, receives only $1.2 million.) Professionalisation of Kapa Haka seems to possess extraordinary opportunities for the descendants of the two partners who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and new immigrants, to start engaging in positive, creative and deep dialoguing of sociocultural construction of a truly post-colonial Aotearoa New Zealand.

public spaces, both in schools and in performing arts industries, would be educationally meaningful in transforming a culturally divided, pluralistic Aotearoa New Zealand into a more harmonious, just and unique nation. Kaiako Kapa Haka are constantly dealing with the issues of cultural identity: the difference and the sameness among tribes, uniqueness and commonality between Māori and non-Māori, and who New Zealanders are, culturally, in domestic and international spaces.

Despite seemingly divided social values between Māori and Pākehā, Māori values are quite in line with an idealistic version of "a democratic community", suggested by distinguished educational philosophers worldwide (e.g., Greene, 1995). In the "social imagination" (Greene, 1995) of kaiako Kapa Haka, I see their desire to create a more beautiful Aotearoa New Zealand than what is offered by the current educational policies based on globalisation and neo-liberalism. I am not alone in expecting New Zealand to be a place where people care about each other like a family member (whanaungatanga), people treat others as important guests (manaakitanga) and people care about each other with love and compassion (aroha).

If the educational mission of performing arts in public spaces lies in beautification and materialisation of our idealistic visions of a democratic community, then teaching of Kapa Haka and professionalisation of Kapa Haka have much to offer today, and in the future, to Aotearoa New Zealand, and even beyond.

Conclusion

Through this research, it may be possible to conclude that the presence of Kapa Haka in

Glossary

Aotearoa	the Māori name for New Zealand
aroha	love, compassion
haka	to dance, dance
hapū	subtribe
iwi	tribe
kaiako	teacher, instructor
kapa	group, to stand in a row
Kapa Haka	a form of Māori performing arts
karakia	ritual chant
Kohanga Reo	Māori language preschool
Kura Kaupapa Māori	primary school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction
manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness
manuhiri	guest, visitor
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge, Māori ways of knowing
marae	gathering house
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent/ settler descent
pepeha/mihi	self-introduction in Māori that includes one's tribal affiliations
pōwhiri	ritual of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae
taiaha	weaponry
tangata whenua	people of the land
taonga	treasure
Te Matatini	"the many faces", national Kapa Haka festival and competition organisation
te reo Māori	Māori language
tikanga Māori	Māori cultural protocols
waiata	song
whaikōrero	oratory, formal speechmaking
whakapapa	genealogy
whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship, sense of family connection

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AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW OF MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

Learning with and from indigenous ways of knowing

Jon Austin*

John Williams-Mozley†

Abstract

One of the signature issues of this current punctuation point in the development of qualitative research and method (Toms, 2007) is that of the veracity, honesty and feasibility of mixed methods (see, for example, Archibald, 2008). Many of the commentators on mixed methods research presume the ingredients of the mixture are to be drawn from "standard" qualitative and quantitative approaches. A more interesting question attaches to moving the tiles of the methodological kaleidoscope a fraction and considering what the debates might become were the addends of a mixed methods approach to research imagined differently, namely, as indigenous and non-indigenous research paradigms or methods.

This paper looks to explore the contribution such a "mixed methods" approach might make to the research capacities, repertoires and confidence of both indigenous and non-indigenous researchers. It reports on the design and conduct of a research development programme that drew together Australian Aboriginal and white researchers with the aim of sharing and mutually developing approaches to research. A specific example of the potential enhancement of spoken data gathering, through interview and yarning, as a research method is explored.

*   Associate Professor, Centre for Australian Indigenous Knowledges, University
    of Southern Queensland, Toowoomba, Queensland, Australia.
    Email: austin@usq.edu.au
†   Associate Professor and Director, Centre for Australian Indigenous Knowledges,
    University of Southern Queensland, Toowoomba, Queensland, Australia.

Introduction

The de-centring of white Western ways in research is a significant contemporary political project in which indigenous and non-indigenous methodologists, activists and critical pedagogues have formed alliances aimed at legitimising epistemological, ontological and methodological perspectives previously seen as the province of the Other. Rooted within a primitivising discourse, dominant responses to claims to legitimacy of non-Western ways of knowing have been, until recently, effectively quarantined outside the academy. Questions of what constitutes data or evidentiary sources, the trustworthiness and veracity of such evidence, and issues of confidentiality and ownership of this evidence emerge as crucial points of intellectual and methodological concern for the qualitative researcher in this ninth moment (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

This paper reports on attempts to initiate a move to legitimise and embrace indigenous methodologies. Examples drawn from two recent projects provide windows onto the problematic terrain of new research "acceptabilities", and Kincheloe and Steinberg's (2008) notion of multilogicality is used to suggest ways in which qualitative researchers might come to incorporate indigenous methodologies into their work. Interview and conversation, as common Western qualitative data or evidence gathering techniques, are juxtaposed with yarning to encourage researchers to reconstitute their methodological repertoire through engagement with new and old ways of knowing.

One of the signature issues of this current punctuation point in the development of qualitative research and method (Toms, 2007) is that of the veracity, honesty and feasibility of mixed methods (see, for example, Archibald, 2008).

Many of the commentators on mixed methods research assume (presume?) the ingredients of the mixture are to be drawn from qualitative and quantitative approaches (see, with justifiable concerns to determine whether matters of epistemology, axiology and ontology emanating from the two paradigms or frames might possibly find a sense of fit, Finley, 2011). We are not intending to engage this discussion here, but prefer to move the tiles of the kaleidoscope a touch and wonder what the image might become were the addends of a mixed methods approach to research imagined differently, namely, as indigenous, non-indigenous and new, hybrid research paradigms or methods. We acknowledge the impression of flattening and simplifying conjured up by forcing a seeming homogeneity upon each of these widely varying, complex and, in their own way, mysterious ways of knowing, but wish to invite the indulgence of the reader in this for the purposes of making our case a little clearer.

The unspoken centring on the West's way of legitimising knowledge and of the ways in which knowledge might be discerned and confirmed have been the subject of considerable discussion, particularly over the past decade or so. The effect of such dominance has been to entrench Western frames "as the sole legitimate yardstick to gauge the intellectual validity of scholarly knowledge" (Nakata, 2007, p. 22). However, the question of what counts as evidentiary in the interpretive construction of realities is a central one. Larner summarised the whole matter in a much-quoted passage:

> There is on-going controversy about the political economy of evidence, how it is defined and who defines it. *This is not a question of evidence or no evidence but who controls the definition of evidence and which kind*

is acceptable to whom [emphasis added].
(Margolis & Pauwels, 2011, p. 20)

It is around this core epistemological question that our recent work has developed.

Broadening the inquiry process

Various takes on the history of and developments within Western paradigms of inquiry identify the present era as one of considerable uncertainty, turmoil, adaptation and methodological and representational contestation (see Beck, Belliveau, Lea, & Wager, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 1124; Knowles, 2008; Pink, 2009).

Within such disrupted environs, opportunities arise for more genuinely anti-oppressive, decolonial and globally oriented research methodologies to emerge. A very clear emphasis within this field of thought has been the growing interest in indigenous research frameworks by the qualitative research community (Visweswaran, 1994). Kovach (2009) argues that "on the methodological buffet table, Indigenous methodologies ought to be a choice" (p. 13), despite the various forms of violence done to such methodologies and those who would espouse and utilise them – "the misinterpretations, appropriations and dismissals that often accompany Indigenous ways of knowing within the Academy" (p. 12).

While much of Western-recognised thinking and promulgation of such ideas has come from the (geographic and political) North, several pieces inspirational to us and rooted locally in the South have emerged. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* stands as a classic in the field of research and decolonial activist literature. Martin Nakata's (2007) *Disciplining the Savages, Savaging the Disciplines* and Raewyn Connell's (2007) *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Theory* both dissect the means and effects of

universalising imperatives of a culturally specific epistemology, and collected works such as *Research as Resistance* (Brown & Strega, 2005), *Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008), *New World of Indigenous Resistance* (Schipper et al., 2010) and *Indigenous Philosophies and Critical Education* (Dei, 2011) capture the growing presence of non-Western ways of knowing and acting for social and global justice.

Our two projects

Throughout 2011, we designed and conducted a research development programme (RDP) conducted through the Centre for Australian Indigenous Knowledges at the University of Southern Queensland. The aim of the programme was to develop research skills and orientations in a two-way direction: non-indigenous researchers would demonstrate how they conduct their research and Australian Aboriginal researchers would reciprocate. The participant group was almost exclusively made up of Australian Aboriginal academics (typically, 6 to 7 would attend each of the 9 sessions) with two non-indigenous academics regularly participating. While considerable time was spent on the non-indigenous forms of and approaches to research, considerable reluctance to share Australian Aboriginal ways of knowing was apparent. While this paper is not the place to engage in any deeper analysis of this programme, it is reasonable to consider that, at least in part, such reluctance was due to an uncertainty on the part of the Australian Aboriginal participants as to whether more culturally specific and familiar (to them) ways of knowing should or could appropriately be considered ways of researching or inquiring (for more on this, see Austin, 2012).

Our experience and disappointment with the failure of the two-way flow of research expertise and insight in the RDP led us to design and develop a research skills package to again draw

upon both Western and Australian Aboriginal ways of knowing and inquiring. This project, "Indigenising the Research Process" (IRP), has been funded for development over 2012. Here, we look to present the rationale and structure of the IRP materials, and to draw on oral research as one specific mode of data or evidence gathering to demonstrate our ideas of what a different form of "mixed methods" research might look like.

The need to provide specialist training for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander researchers and to include indigenous researchers and perspectives in research work generally has been highlighted in a number of recent submissions to government (see, e.g., the Indigenous Higher Education Advisory Council's submission to the Australian Government's *Meeting Australia's Research Workforce Needs*, 2010). Aspects of "conventional" research can be seen as inimical to indigenous ways of knowing and inquiring, with the resultant alienation of indigenous researchers from the process. The IRP project aims to connect indigenous ways of knowing to two common conventional Western research approaches (interviewing and observation) in order to make the research process culturally more familiar and welcoming to indigenous researchers.

One of the consistent and persistent criticisms from indigenous communities worldwide regarding their relationship with mainstream education systems is the clear lack of representation or presence of their cultures in the curriculum and educational environment broadly. Attempts to decolonise education have included moves to include non-Western epistemologies and associated techniques of inquiring and knowing in formal curriculum and pedagogies. The current project is an attempt to contribute to the legitimising of currently subaltern knowledge systems, and to provide those students from whose cultures such alternatives have been derived with a sense of belonging and pride in the cultural contributions made to research methods generally. To recognise

aspects of self and culture in ways the academy considers legitimate typically makes for a more determined commitment to succeed. Our hope is that indigenous researchers will see the material in this learning package as a recognition of the importance of their home cultures.

The project is generating learning materials that extend and enhance understanding of the two main forms of qualitative research data gathering (observation and interview) through the addition of indigenous perspectives on visual and oral inquiry or ways of knowing to more "conventional" repertoires of research methods, primarily through the direct involvement of local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the construction of the indigenous components. This involvement has been shored up by soliciting the support of the Centre for Australian Indigenous Knowledges (USQ) Elders Advisory Group and through the project's cultural advisory committee. The brokering of formal contact with relevant sources of knowledge is the province of the local Australian Aboriginal project worker, who also assists in the solicitation of input from the knowledge bearers where necessary. Intellectual property in local knowledge resides with the participants.

Our intention is to contribute to two-way learning and understanding and, at the same time, to try to work within what Nakata (2007, pp. 195–212) has called the cultural interface and, hopefully, see synergistic relationships between indigenous and Western ways of knowing that lead to new ways of working. While space constraints limit our capacity to engage in greater detail here, we have attempted to represent this work diagrammatically (see Figure 1), using oral research as an example.

To date, Australian Aboriginal participants have been reluctant to draw upon the culturally familiar ways of knowing that we understand they are not only aware of but, in some cases, use in their research work, albeit almost surreptitiously. What has emerged has been a move towards considering how the aims
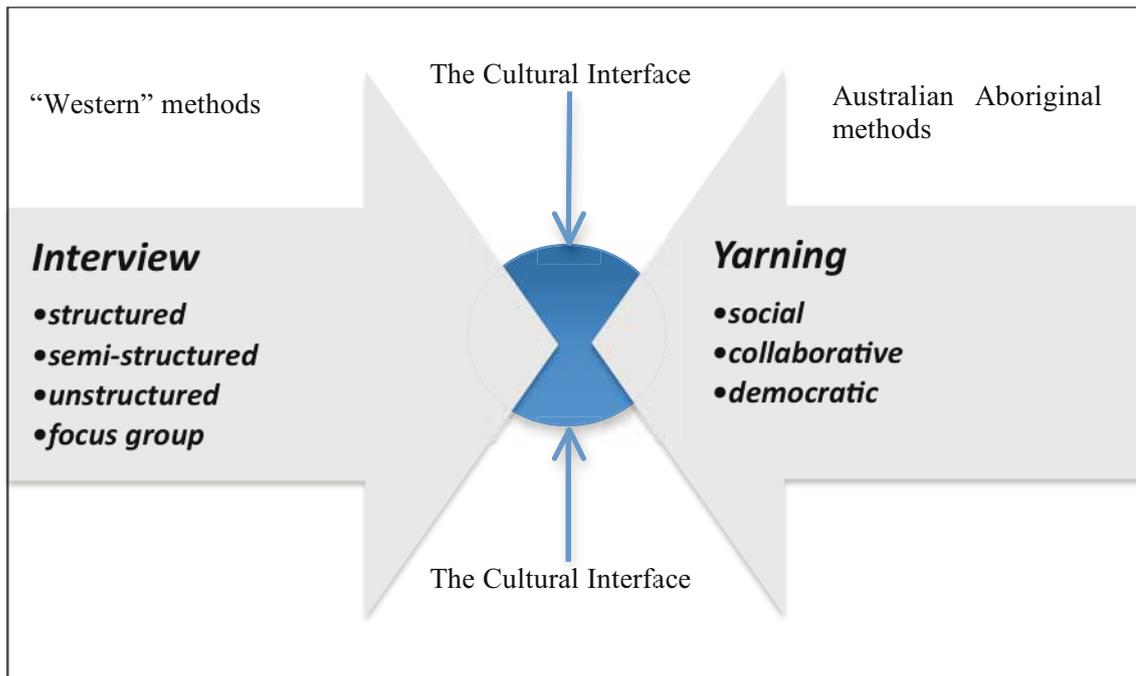
FIGURE 1.   Oral research approaches.

and structures of more formal (collaborative) yarning processes might infuse the more conventional Western deployment of the interview with a more genuine concern for arriving at consensual agreement and understanding, rather than the solicitation of individual opinion. Certainly, it would seem that knowledge is far more highly valued in Australian Aboriginal cultures than in Western ones, at least in the research process.

While the flow of information and research skill development has been largely from the Western side of things, we are hopeful that continued activity between the two groups and sets of approaches will lead to the emergence of significantly strengthened approaches to research from both groups of researchers; that is, that the engagement in the space of the interface will yield the sort of synergies that Nakata envisages are to be found there:

> The Cultural Interface is constituted by points of intersecting trajectories … it is a space of many shifting and complex intersections between different people with different histories, experiences, languages, agendas, aspirations, and responses … All

these elements cohere together at the Interface in the everyday to inform, constrain, or enable what can be seen or not seen, what can be brought to the surface or sutured over, what can be said or not said, heard or not heard, understood or misunderstood, what knowledge can be accepted, rejected, legitimised, or marginalised, or what actions can be taken or not taken on both individual or collective levels. (Nakata, 2007, p. 199)

Conclusion

One of the reasons Kincheloe and Steinberg (2008) argue for educators to assume positions of multilogicality is to be able to consider social conditions and problems from multiple perspectives and to be able to draw upon "the transformative power of indigenous knowledge, the ways that such knowledge can be used to foster empowerment and justice in a variety of cultural context" (p. 136). From a narrower research practice perspective, we share those hopes. By having white and indigenous researchers assume positions of different systems of logic – of being able to move comfortably

among multiple epistemological locations – the outcomes of research will be enhanced and far more culturally respectful and socially beneficial. It is our belief that, by understanding the epistemic roots of different ways of knowing, researchers – indigenous and non-indigenous – will be better able to contribute to both parts of the project Smith called Indigenising: cutting ties with the hegemonic practices of metropolitan coloniser culture and engaging in indigenist research (1999, pp. 146–147).

We share Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) confidence that the infusion into the academy of "non-Western, indigenous and 'colored' epistemologies" will contribute to the creation of "a vital mix of new paradigmatic perspectives, new methods and strategies for research, contested means for establishing validity in texts, new criteria for judging research and scholarship, and competing cosmologies from which knowledge and understanding might grow" (p. 1122). This is where we see the importance of taking seriously a quite different idea of mixed methods research.

We would hope to continue to contribute to this decolonial project and to find our work joining with that of those also "travelling the margins, searching for new and innovative forms through which to express non-Western modes of knowing and being in the world" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 1122).

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KNOWING THE STATE WE'RE IN

Indigenous motherhood as a human right

*Frances Wyld**

Abstract

The removal of Indigenous children from families and subsequent placement in homes and residential schools gave the State parental rights. It gave the State a position to be physical and psychological caregivers to thousands of children and the generations to follow. This removal was detrimental to Indigenous mothering, yet the stories depicting archetypes of the Great Mother are celebrated in many cultures, signifying the importance of motherhood. In Australia, Indigenous motherhood has been threatened by decades of child removal. It may not be possible to restore the pre-colonial state of Indigenous parenthood (Martin, 2005) but, by recognising Indigenous motherhood as a human right and societal need, we have a position of strength from which we can work towards strong Indigenous families. The importance of mothering is seen in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008), which speaks to the rights of women, children and Indigenous families. This paper looks at the role of the State and stories of the Great Mother and the need to reclaim motherhood to contribute to positive Indigenous development.

Keywords

Indigenous, human rights, children, mothers, storytelling, myth

*   Program Director, David Unaipon College of Indigenous Education and Research, University of South Australia, City West, North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia, Australia. Email: frances.wyld@unisa.edu.au

Prologue

I start this paper with a prologue. Indigenous scholar Margaret Kovach – influenced by Māori scholar Graham Smith – also makes use of prologues, stating that:

> A prologue is a function of narrative writing that signifies a prelude. It encompasses essential information for the reader to make sense of the story to follow. While not every written narrative needs a prologue, it can be a useful device. Within Indigenous writing, a prologue structures space for introductions while serving a bridging function for non-Indigenous readers. (Kovach, 2010, p. 3)

For me it acts as a device to centre the self, to understand what story will be told. I am a storyteller using stories within my own life entwined with theory, history and myth. It is auto-ethnography that firmly places itself in the cultures of humanity. This is my prologue.

At the end of the last busy academic year, when family was the glue holding me together, I came to realise that I had three sets of grandparents. My white paternal grandmother was someone I knew and loved well, and my Indigenous maternal grandmother was someone I never met, but came to know through stories. Both have passed on now, and their partners died long ago. But I had grandparents who were still alive and flourishing; they were involved in just about every aspect of my life, at times caring and at other times an intrusion. These grandparents were the State, or government. As a child, my mother was taken from her family and placed in a residential home. The State was put in charge of her well-being; it became her parent.

I had been trying to write a paper about Indigenous motherhood using stories and myths that speak of the importance of mothering, stories of the archetype of the Great Mother. But I couldn't resolve it, another story wanted to be told in parallel so that I could peel back the myths, not necessarily to find a truth, but to find a knowing.

Introduction

This paper connects the need to reclaim the laws of mothers to stories told about the Great Mother. It speaks to the disruption of this lifehood stage brought about by colonisation and child removal. The State played a role in the development of generations of Indigenous children. The State could not nurture our children; it could not prepare children for the role of nurturer. The colonisers had forgotten that they too once had myths and stories of the Great Mother who brought balance and wisdom. In fulfilling the promise of the United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008), we have a document that speaks to the role of parenting, of the rights of children to be nurtured within their own culture by their own family. This paper is an examination of lifehood stages, the natural progression from childhood to motherhood and beyond. It is a call to understand the state we are in as Indigenous peoples affected by the disruption to these stages and disconnection from our stories.

Stories of the Great Mother

In stories of the Great Mother, or mother archetype, we see the idealised and sometimes Westernised form of mothering. Jung (2003) notes that stories of the mother can be seen in many cultures and includes this description: "mother-love which is one of the most moving and unforgettable memories of our lives, the mysterious root of all growth and change; the love that means homecoming, shelter, and the long silence from which everything begins and which everything ends" (p. 138). Stories of the Great Mother are universal, often representing or signifying Mother Earth. Included in this is the example used by Jung of the myth of the

goddess Demeter. The name Demeter shares an etymology with the word mother. Demeter in its translation would break down into "de" as "earth", "me" or "ma" signifying baby talk and "ter" as the kinship suffix ("Demeter", n.d.). Demeter therefore translates as earth mother.

But long before Jung used the archetype as a tool for mythopoesis, Indigenous peoples celebrated the Great Mother or the Mother of Life. Oodgeroo Noonuccal, also known as Kath Walker (1972), told a story about the Rainbow Serpent, the Mother of Life, who woke the animals from slumber and made the laws by which to live. Indigenous scholar Irene Watson (1997) speaks of her connection to the land and its laws using the title "The Land is My Nurturer, She is My Mother" (p. 49) to speak of the familial and spiritual connections Indigenous people use within their custodial obligations. Watson quotes Dennis Walker – who is the son of the previously mentioned Kath Walker – and what it was that his mother taught him about honouring that which nurtures him. And this is a good time to speak of the dual nature of the place of mother in my argument. Both relationships were taken from Indigenous people, the relationship with the biological mother through child removal and the connection to Mother Earth. Karen Martin (2005), who also belongs to the same ancestral line as Walker, comments on lifehood and child removal from family and Mother Earth: "And yet perhaps the deepest source of damage to relatedness and the one most pertinent to this discussion was the 'parenting' role enacted by various state and territory government and religious organisations towards Aboriginal people" (p. 32).

The form of parenting that had been practised by Indigenous people for millennia (Atkinson, 2002; Martin, 2005) was deemed unacceptable by the colonisers. Colonisation took the connections and the stories that had social and educational value (Archibald, 2008). The colonising world forgot that they too had stories of Earth Mothers, of women with power, stories such as Demeter's.

Demeter was named as Earth Goddess. Sámi scholar Jorunn Eikjok (2007) questions the ethnographic literature by non-Sámi people that term mother mythologies as goddesses because it implies a connection to religion:

> My contention is that the traditional and pre-Christian notion of "the Mothers" in Indigenous society deals with the realization of "mother's power". In Sámi and other Indigenous societies, this is connected to the relatively strong position women had until a few decades ago. Where is the Mother Earth ideology in all of this? (p. 118)

As we saw in the examples by Walker (1972) and Watson (1997), Mother Earth didn't just nurture, she had power, and she made and enforced the laws. Eikjok's critique speaks to the narrowing of the term "The Mothers" of Indigenous world views that is taken out of context and seen through the Westernised lens, fixing the position to one of just nurturing, of a romanticised notion of Mother Earth. And I ask myself, if as mother you create new life, why is it that as Indigenous women we cannot take responsibility of the laws on how to live that life?

Lakota scholar and elder Russell Means was instrumental in the drafting of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008) and, in 2011, he published an article titled "Patriarchy: The Ultimate Conspiracy; Matriarchy: The Ultimate Solution". I had the great honour to see this paper presented at a symposium. I say honour because I felt honoured that a well-respected Indigenous man was acknowledging the place women should have in law-making and life. I will admit that he also felt sorry for the likes of me who have a mixed heritage, those who of us who are part primitive, part coloniser. Means embraces his own primitive status, one given to Indigenous peoples in literature by the likes of structural anthropologist Lévi Strauss (1979), or as "archaic man", a term used by Jung (2003), because he embraces its etymology, and he knows he came first and

doesn't want to be civilised. But perhaps I can follow his advice and not forget that

> all of our relatives that are born from our grandmother the earth … understand the natural course of life. She's speaking loud and clear and I have found out again why I have become a born-again primitive. It is because I've learned to communicate with natural law. Natural law is what we Indigenous people live by. (Means, 2011, p. 522)

Disconnection from the Great Mother, Mother Earth, through Indigenous children's removal from their Indigenous parents broke the connection not just to biological mothers but also to the natural course of life. Reconnection is not just through the nurturing offered by stories of the Great Mother but also through an understanding of natural law, the law given to us by Mother Earth as opposed to the laws of the State.

Myths of the State

Holmes, Hughes and Julian (2007) describe the state as "an apparatus of domination through administration, law and force; the body that facilitates the freedom of individuals to pursue their own interests; or an idealistic entity in whose name groups seek power and regions may seek nationhood" (p. 562). There is a myth promulgated by the State that Indigenous people are doomed to die out and are not capable of caring for their own children. These myths served the actions of the coloniser. Atkinson (2002) names child removal as an act of cultural and spiritual genocide that results in transgenerational trauma; it is a "violence that brings the loss of spirit, the destruction of self, of the soul" (p. 69). Children were removed to institutions and, as Martin (2005) notes, "the various state and territory governments became legal guardians of Aboriginal people" (p. 32). The State took on the parent role.

In 2008, Australia signed the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (2008). Article 7(2) declares the right of Indigenous peoples to live in freedom, peace and security, free from genocide and other acts of violence, including the removal of children by force. It is now time to undo the damage of the State as parent, the State who over-regulated the lives of Indigenous people, removed the children, told them they were second best and did not culturally and spiritually prepare them for lifehood through nurturing and knowing their stories.

Rights of motherhood

I speak about motherhood as a stage within lifehood. Within this stage, a person reaches the sense of self that allows for a nurturing of another, when their own nurturing needs have been met during the childhood stage. I think of it also as an adjective: to be motherly. This embraces others who act in a motherly way, those amongst us who have acted in a nurturing way to children such as grandparents, stepparents, foster parents, teachers, health care providers, to name a few. They put the child first, imbuing them with the confidence to find their own self. And my question is, did the State have the ability to do this? Did the State ever ask the children in their care if they wanted to be a doctor, lawyer or actor (as examples) or did they just send them out to labour?

There is an intersection in literature between Jung and the stories of motherhood, of being a good mother. Mexican mestiza writer and Jungian scholar Clarissa Pinkola Estes (1993) moves in the contested space between storytelling and analysis. She uses the story of the "Ugly Duckling" to describe the state of mothering, using Jung's theory on the mother complex. The mother complex, Estes states, "is one of the core aspects of a woman's psyche, and it is important to recognise its condition, strengthening certain aspects, arighting some, dismantling

others, and beginning over again if necessary" (p. 174). Estes describes four kinds of mothers: the ambivalent mother, the collapsed mother, the child mother or the unmothered mother, and the strong mother. In these examples are descriptions that could account for the state of Indigenous motherhood: mothers who had to step outside the dominant culture to nurture well, mothers who have forgotten their own worth and sense of self, and mothers who were not nurtured as children and therefore have not successfully experienced the stages of lifehood. The loss of connection to older women, to godmothers and grandmothers is also described. A child-centric, nurturing environment, connected to spirit and culture is needed through the strengthening of Indigenous parenthood.

Both Martin (2005) and Means (2011) speak of putting the child first and, in doing so, the child grows into a parent who knows how to do the same. The State can never fill the role as parent because it must always facilitate, dominate. But above the State in a globalised world is another body that cares for human rights: the UN. With the help of Article 7(2) of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008), we name those rights:

> Indigenous peoples have the collective right to live in freedom, peace and security as distinct peoples and shall not be subjected to any act of genocide or any other act of violence, including forcibly removing children of the group to another group.

The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008) tells us through its articles that we have the right and the State has the responsibility, Article 21(2) being an example of this:

> States shall take effective measure and, where appropriate, special measures to ensure continuing improvement of their economical and social conditions. Particular attention shall be paid to the rights and special needs of indigenous elders, women, youth, children and persons with disabilities.

The State does not recognise the role that stories of the Great Mother tell us, that its laws are ones of nurturing.

Conclusion

To conclude this paper I want to say why, for me, it was important to use story alongside history, theory and mythology. In doing my work this way, I was able to story myself, to find my self, in a way that connected an Indigenous world view with the inclusion of Jung and stories of the Mother Archetype. This story is shared by Indigenous women throughout the world. I am a mother, and through this auto-ethnographic process I now describe my lifehood stage as a being in a mothering renaissance. It is a place where joy can be found in being motherly. I hope one day to be a grandmother, but before that happens I take joy in nurturing my son, in nurturing and laying down the law for the many students I teach. I have three sets of grandparents, a confusing state to be in. But I also have the myths and stories of the Great Mother: Mother Earth. I do not have her in the sense that Jung speaks of as the idealised mother, nor do I yearn for the now lost, idealised state of Indigenous motherhood that Martin (2005) laments. What I have is a sense of self that allows me to be motherly with confidence, and with selflessness, knowing that neither are in jeopardy. What I am asking for, as does the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (2008), is to put the family first, allow the mothers to feel confident, to become wise and then to pass on their wisdom, their nurturing, to the next generation. Allow the law of the mothers to surface again, bring back the balance. Allow what was lost to be found, listen to Mother Earth.

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CULTURAL COMPETENCE IN INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIAN SOCIAL WORK

What's needed in preparing human service practitioners to work effectively with Indigenous Australian people?

Amy Cleland*

Bronwyn Fredericks†

Irene Watson‡

Abstract

Social work as a profession has a negative history related to working with Indigenous peoples in Australia. The history of child removals based on race is a practice sorely acknowledged by the discipline that contributed to these removals. It did this through enacting government policies of colonisation, including segregation, protection and assimilation. However, it appears not much has changed in Australia, with Indigenous child removal rates at levels much higher than for non-Indigenous children, along with higher rates of out-of-home care. In considering the impact of child removals on the continuation of Indigenous kinship, cultures and community values, this paper examines research into the educational experiences of practitioners, in preparing for work in Indigenous social work contexts. It discusses the impacts of colonialism on Indigenous peoples, contemporary approaches to the education of practitioners in the human services, and the current focus on developing cultural competencies for effective practice in Indigenous contexts. The findings presented are based on a qualitative master's research project at the University of

*   Lecturer/Master's Candidate, David Unaipon College of Indigenous Education and
    Research, University of South Australia, Adelaide, South Australia, Australia.
    Email: amy.cleland@unisa.edu.au
†   Pro-Vice Chancellor (Indigenous Engagement), CQUniversity Australia, Rockhampton, Queensland, Australia.
‡   Associate Professor in Aboriginal Studies, David Unaipon College of Indigenous Education
    and Research, University of South Australia, Adelaide, South Australia, Australia.

South Australia, conducted and led by Indigenous researchers. The findings will inform future directions for educating human service professionals with recommendations for curriculum design, pedagogy and delivery.

Keywords

cultural competence, Indigenous, social work, Australia

Introduction

The knowledge that Indigenous Australians are negatively over-represented in all social service statistics is now evidenced and reflected in numerous government research and statistical reports (Australian Government Productivity Commission, 2009; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples make up approximately 2.5% of the Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008), yet continue to experience adverse poverty, ill health, and other social and cultural disadvantages in a country considered First World. Responding to the needs of Indigenous Australian peoples is, therefore, inherently part of the roles in social work practice, and practitioners need to adequately prepare for effective work in culturally diverse contexts.

Social work as a discipline in Australia is governed by the professional body the Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW). The AASW has recognised its involvement in the colonial project of this country, contributing to the implementation of government policies for mass removals of Indigenous Australian children from their families (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997) and inappropriate service provision, and has also acknowledged racism inherent in the social engineering of Australia's population (AASW, 2004). The professional body visibly reports a commitment to repairing relationships between Indigenous people and the predominantly non-Indigenous profession of social work, and to

ensure that practitioners are aware of their ethical obligations and expectations in learning and practice, to enable this process to happen. The rhetorical idea is for practitioners to become culturally competent, but what does that mean?

This paper is based on Indigenist research (Rigney, 1999) undertaken as part of a master's study at the David Unaipon College of Indigenous Education and Research at the University of South Australia (UniSA). The study attempted to ascertain what is needed to prepare human service practitioners to work effectively with Indigenous Australian peoples in metropolitan Adelaide, South Australia.

Some of the findings presented here relate specifically to the educational experiences of practitioners engaged in this research. These findings demonstrate the continuing disparity in levels of Western-based educational attainment between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australian people and, in this context, the discipline of social work. This does not, however, imply a reduced capacity of Indigenous Australian practitioners to succeed in social work roles. Instead, the findings of this project report the opposite. Indigenous Australian practitioners reported similar and, in most cases, higher levels of confidence than non-Indigenous participants for working in this context, and more easily reported about the successes they experienced in practice situations.

The findings also suggest that formal, Western-based education options are helpful but are not adequately meeting the needs of practitioners, either Indigenous or non-Indigenous, and that informal opportunities provide

much more guidance in the development of cultural competencies in practice. As a result, the questions of what education should be provided and to whom, where and when are posed.

Cultural competency

Cleland (2010) has written about the experience of teaching Indigenous studies in the social work and human service courses at UniSA, and the conceptual frameworks of cultural competency development that inform professions such as social work and psychology in Australia. In the last two decades, there has been a significant shift in the discourse of cultural awareness towards cultural competency pertaining to these and a number of other professions in Australia, including nursing and medicine (Andersen, 2009; Chenoweth, Jeon, Goff, & Burke, 2006; Fredericks, 2008). While social work as a profession in Australia has followed suit, it has done so predominantly outside of Indigenous contexts.

Although the literature covers a wide variety of definitions of cultural competence and contextual frameworks, for the purposes of this paper, the most cited definition will be used. Cultural competency in this context can be defined as "a set of congruent behaviours, attitudes and policies that come together in a system, agency or among professionals and enable that system, agency or those professionals to work effectively in cross-cultural situations" (Cross, Bazron, Dennis, & Isaacs, 1989, p. 5). The term competence implies having a capacity to function effectively, and to practically demonstrate the necessary knowledge, values and skills in practice situations (Cleland, 2010), thereby moving beyond awareness towards demonstrating competence.

In the context of social work in Australia, the AASW has revised its *Code of Ethics* (2010a) to include language of cultural competence and to outline practitioners' ethical obligations to ensure their practice is culturally competent. The shift is now also reflected in the accreditation standards

for educational institutions in Australia with responsibilities for preparing social workers for life in the profession (AASW, 2010b). Being culturally competent is highly contextual, and as a result of these developments, what it means to be culturally competent in specific contexts needs to be determined. This will enable practitioners and educational institutions to work towards meeting the standards outlined for practice, ethical conduct and accreditation.

The developed and increasing reference to the term cultural competency in Australian social work requires Indigenous Australian input into translating the definition, and its articulation of what it means for a practitioner to be culturally competent. This research aims to contribute to this process.

The study

This project considered the education, training and other informal opportunities that social work and human service professionals receive and their adequacy, or otherwise, in preparing the practitioner for working appropriately with Indigenous Australian peoples in metropolitan Adelaide, South Australia. The perspectives and experiences of Indigenous and non-Indigenous practitioners were examined.

Method

This qualitative research project consisted of a semi-structured interview recorded with each participant that posed a range of questions pertaining to their educational and training experience, qualifications, current employment roles and practice experience, and their perspectives of what is important to know and do in order to prepare for effective practice working with Indigenous Australian clients. These perspectives derived from participants' reflections on education and training they had received, including content and delivery, and, with the

benefit of hindsight and some practice experience, what they think should have been covered in their experiences to adequately prepare them for the work they now do.

The participants

Twenty-four interviews were conducted consisting of 12 Indigenous Australian participants (self-identified) and 12 non-Indigenous Australian participants, who met the projects' definitions of social worker and human service practitioner according to the roles they undertook in their current employment.

Australian social work and the human services: Screening participation

Participants were invited to be interviewed after an informal screening process to determine if their current employment role would meet the definitions used for this study. The project needed to broaden the definition of social work to include human service practitioners to ensure adequate Indigenous representation in the study. The findings have reinforced the need to do this; the national figures for the number of Indigenous Australian social workers in South Australia are unknown, and anecdotally we are aware that the numbers are few. The terms social work and human service practitioner are therefore used interchangeably to encapsulate both Indigenous and non-Indigenous experience in South Australian social work, whether qualified according to mainstream, Western definitions or otherwise.

Demographics of interest: Age and gender

Participant ages ranged from 18 to 65 years with more female participants (19) than male participants (5). All male participants identified as Indigenous Australian.

As reflected in Table 1, it is worth noting that the majority of Indigenous participants were in the younger age range of 18 to 45 years, in contrast to non-Indigenous participants, who were predominantly in the age range of 36 to 65 years. None of the non-Indigenous participants were in the age range of 18 to 25 years compared to 3 Indigenous participants in that category.

Indigenous identity

Prior to colonisation, there were over 250 distinct Indigenous nations in Australia, with further diversity amongst those nations through language or clan groupings. Within this study, 10 distinct Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander nation groups were identified amongst the 12 Indigenous Australian participants. It gives immense pleasure to report that all Indigenous Australian interviewees were able and willing to provide information that speaks to the diversity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander identities.

TABLE 1.   Participant age groups.

	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Total
18–25 years	3	0	3
26–35 years	3	2	5
36–45 years	3	2	5
46–55 years	2	5	7
56–65 years	1	3	4

Membership with professional body

At the request of the AASW National Research Committee, the interview questions were designed to draw a distinction between participants who were members of the AASW, or were eligible for membership at the time of interview, and those who were not. In South Australia, a social worker does not have a legal requirement to register with the professional body for the discipline in order to practice as a social worker. Instead, the profession has a limited suite of university degree level programmes that determine eligibility for both employment as a social worker, and membership with the association. This proves rather exclusionary for the Indigenous practitioners reflected in this study.

The AASW currently does not collect or publish data on the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander members in the association, yet the figures in Table 2 support anecdotal suggestions that a majority of Indigenous Australian practitioners would be ineligible.

To qualify for membership, practitioners must be a graduate of one of two universities in South Australia: Flinders University of South Australia or the University of South Australia. Members must have undertaken the Bachelor of Social Work, Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Social Work, or the Master of Social Work programme – a rather exclusive set of degree programmes required for membership of the AASW. The reality is, however, that the participation of Indigenous Australian peoples in universities is relatively new. This is due, for the most part, to the short length of time in Australia's history that Indigenous peoples have

been granted access to university studies or been permitted to enter any educational institution in Australia (Bin-Sallik, 1990). Therefore, the number of Indigenous Australian graduates across diverse discipline areas is disproportionate to non-Indigenous graduates, and this appears to be the situation also for Australian social work.

Most of the Indigenous participants of this study reflected an interest in undertaking university social work education, and reported encouragement by their colleagues and employing organisation towards these ends. However, due to full-time work, lack of time and funds for study, balanced with family and community obligations, Indigenous participants reported structural inabilities to engage in university studies. The factors affecting such opportunities should be examined.

Due to holding qualifications, the majority of non-Indigenous participants of this study are members of the AASW, or are eligible, and make a personal choice whether to take up membership with the professional body. This data correlates with findings in the following section on education and training.

Education and training

The examination of the educational experiences of the interviewees was done so against existing frameworks of cultural competency development and, in particular, the three areas of development identified by Weaver (1999): knowledge, values and skills. In order to discuss these components, the interview questions were designed to record

TABLE 2.   Membership with professional body – Australian Association of Social Workers.

	Member	Eligible but not member	Not eligible not member
Indigenous	0	2	10
Non-Indigenous	6	4	2
Total	6	6	12

the educational experiences and level of educational attainment of the participants.

The majority (11) of the non-Indigenous participants had completed one or several bachelor degree level programmes at universities, predominantly in social work. Only one non-Indigenous participant had not completed bachelor level education.

The majority of the Indigenous participants had completed one or several vocational level training programmes. These were undertaken through other higher education providers and institutions, including, for example, technical and further education institutions and a range of government and non-government vocational training centres. A broad range of vocations were reported and were contextually specific. These included, but were not limited to, certificate and diploma level qualifications in youth work, child protection, community services, Aboriginal primary health care, workplace assessment and training, media, leadership, mental health, business studies, and aged care. This suggests a broad range of vocationally specific knowledge areas of Indigenous staff.

One Indigenous participant had completed both bachelor and master's level education. Three non-Indigenous participants had also completed postgraduate education. Further analysis and discussion of this data feature in the study.

Confidence self-rating levels and reports of successful case outcomes

As mentioned in the introduction, the low rate of Western-based, bachelor level qualifications in social work, reflected in the Indigenous Australian profile of participants of this study, does not imply a reduced capacity for cultural competency in practice. Indigenous participants more easily reported the successes they had experienced in casework associated with their employment, and felt more confident in approaching the work required in the human services.

Participants were asked to self-rate their levels of confidence working with Indigenous Australian peoples during the course of their employment on a scale of 1 to 10; 1 being "not very confident" through to 10 being "very confident". Indigenous participant confidence levels ranged from 6 to 10 (with one respondent even citing level 12). Non-Indigenous participant confidence levels ranged from 2 to 10, with the majority of respondent self-ratings being conditional on a broader range of factors than those identified for Indigenous participants. These factors included the setting in which the intervention was taking place, the resources available and, most importantly, whether or not they had Indigenous colleagues or community members working alongside them. This indicates that both the presence and availability of Indigenous Australian peoples in social work practice are vital components in building the capacity and confidence of non-Indigenous social workers to work effectively in Indigenous contexts. Currently, this crucial role of capacity building is not formally recognised anywhere, appears to happen on an ad hoc basis and occurs rather opportunistically. These factors represent key findings of this study.

Conclusion

This discussion has presented just some of the preliminary findings of this research situated in Indigenous contexts of Australian social work and human services. The findings reinforce anecdotal knowledge about Indigenous participation in university social work studies, and provide an insight into the experiences of practitioners working with Indigenous Australian peoples. The wisdom of practice can greatly assist in designing future opportunities for education and training – opportunities that will reach all practitioners of social work in Australia, through an understanding of what is needed, where and when.

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MĀORI LANGUAGE MODELLING

*Katharina Ruckstuhl**

Janine Wright†

Abstract

A recent review in Aotearoa New Zealand has proposed a national language target of 80% of Māori speaking Māori language by 2050. Taking our lead from a developing international trend, we propose an initial statistical model to examine how micro and macro variables affect language usage over successive generations. Our aim is to show whether such a language target is achievable and how it might be measured. We hope that a model such as the one we propose will assist policy makers to consider the potential effects of their current choices on future Māori-language speakers.

Keywords

Māori language, statistical language modelling, language planning, language policy, indigenous language, population modelling

* Senior Research Analyst, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.
Email: katharina.ruckstuhl@otago.ac.nz

† Lecturer, Department of Mathematics and Statistics, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Introduction

Indigenous languages around the world are in decline (Crystal, 2000). The indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori, has become a minority language due to a policy that dictated English as the language of instruction and government (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999). Currently, only 4% (157,000) of the total population of slightly over 4 million speaks Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Of that 4%, three-quarters are of Māori descent. However, three-quarters of the Māori population of 565,000 speak no Māori at all.

There have been predictions of the demise of the Māori language, and yet it persists (Benton, 1997). Given the most recent numerical data, we pose two questions: (a) Are the 157,000 speakers sufficient to maintain a self-perpetuating minority of Māori language speakers? (b) How many speakers need to speak Māori every year for a minority to be self-perpetuating?

We seek to develop a numerical basis for a minority language's ability to maintain a "non-zero steady-state frequency" (Fernando, Valijärvi, & Goldstein, 2010, p. 55), either with or without intervention. Rather than solely using data retrospectively, we aim to use data prospectively to examine how various interventions connect with the micro or macro world of the language speaker. This might then enable language planners to consider whether they are getting closer to or further away from any local or national targets. For example, a recent review has suggested a possible target of 80% of Māori speaking Māori language by 2050 (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011). Extrapolated from 2006 Census data, this might equate to almost 900,000 speakers. Might such a target be achieved? A model, such as the one we are proposing, will provide a testable basis for determining this.

It should be noted that this paper makes no comment on language proficiency, although it too might be modelled at a later date. The authors have set themselves an initial task of identifying relevant language inputs that will model the trajectory of a Māori language over several generations.

The rest of this paper is divided into two parts. The first briefly discusses statistical approaches used to model minority languages. The second part is the authors' initial proposal for a model suitable to Aotearoa New Zealand's language situation.

Language modelling

Statistical language modelling has gained popularity internationally over the last 10 years, given particular impetus by Abrams and Strogatz's (2003) "language competition" model, although more intermittent examples can be found earlier (Baggs & Freedman, 1993; Grin, 1992; Grin & Vaillancourt, 1998). Models by and large fit into two categories: whole population behaviour (macro models) and individual behaviour (micro models). Within these two generic patterns, theorists examine why and how one language dominates another, the role of bilingualism and under what circumstances a minority language remains viable or steady.

Baggs and Freedman (1993) and Abrams and Strogatz (2003) model the interaction of language variables in a "closed" world where two distinct language groups "compete" for speakers. Abrams and Strogatz show how as one language increases its numbers it doubles its "status", which accelerates its proportion of speakers, thus eventually gathering all the speakers while the other language becomes "extinct". The Abrams and Strogatz model ignores bilinguals ("HL") who use both the dominant language ("H" or high number of speakers) in the public domain and the minority language ("L" or low number of speakers) in the home or community domain, a practice known as diglossia (Hudson, 2002).

Modellers take into account a number of variables when modelling whether speakers are

going to remain bilingual. For example, modellers consider how language preferences are generated. Minett and Wang (2008) examine both "vertical" and "horizontal" transmission; that is, intergenerational transmission compared to language learned in spheres outside the home such as education settings. Who gets to be the transmitters of language inside the home is also often modelled, with Fernando et al. (2010) modelling speakers of the same language preferring to "mate" with each other.

In most models such as those of Baggs and Freedman (1993) and Fernando et al. (2010), the children of HLs have three potential language pathways: to be monolingual in H, to be monolingual in L or to be bilingual (HL). The task then is to calculate the likelihood of a language being maintained in relation to other variables such as: (a) individual motivation to speak a language; that is, the internal drivers of language choice; (b) family commitment to a language, that is, strength of cultural or social connection, which might also be seen as an internal driver; (c) community exposure, social advantage and promotion, that is, the range of opportunities to hear and speak a language (education, media, work), often determined by a local or state government's policies; and d) physical location.

Patriarca and Leppänen (2004) model the last variable to show that geographic separation ensures that both H and L languages are diffused and maintained within their population zone. This research provides a counter-argument to one New Zealand language planner's conclusion that focusing on specific geographically located language speakers would not ensure Māori language maintenance (Chrisp, 2005). However, it supports Bauer's contention (2008) that targeting spatially distinct Māori language users would be sensible policy.

Individual motivation is often taken to be a function of the status or prestige of a language, although agent-based modelling provides alternate possibilities for examining this. Iriberri and Uriarte (2011) examine how bilingual "agents"

make strategic decisions about language use. They model a language situation where the L community has the opportunity and desire to speak the L language. Iriberri and Uriarte's "game" approach examines the strategies a player might use and that might reinforce the use of language L. They conclude that, even though both players may want or be able to converse in the L language, because they do not know which language the other prefers, they are driven to a "polite strategy" where both choose the H language so as to be "non-imposing to monoglots" (p. 19). They conclude that improving imperfect language knowledge would improve the use of minority language among bilinguals in situations where there is potential for language choice.

Wickstrom (2005) models motivational factors in bilingual parents, looking at the statistical role of the family in determining individual linguistic choices. Language choice is seen as a "trade-off" between internal, emotional motives and external realities (such as a language's prestige, utility in the economy or numbers of speakers). Unlike Fernando et al., Wickstrom assumes that there is no "mating" preference amongst potential parents. The model shows that a second language can survive without a critical mass at the start if half of the children are raised in families with a bilingual parent. This can only happen if the cultural and emotional attachment of the bilingual parent to the second language is strong enough, if the language's status is high enough, or if the birth rate in the bilingual family is high enough in comparison to the H family. If these conditions are not met, then the L language's "death is preprogrammed" (Wickstrom, 2005, p. 102).

While Wickstrom and, particularly, Irriberi and Uriarte are interested in the dynamic between individual motivation and language use, Kandler, Unger and Steele (2010) look at the dynamics of language competition. Using 100 years of census data, they examine fluctuations in language use as subpopulations in

the Scottish Highlands and Wales change over time. They examine the stability of bilingualism in "segregated" populations and "complementary sociolinguistic domains" (p. 3858) where both the H and L languages are preferred as the medium of communication. They model language shift against an additional demand for the L language that might come from quite a small base of speakers. This allows them to identify that 860 monolingual Scottish Highlands households would be required to shift to Gaelic, every year, for it to be stabilised. An even quicker approach would be to have 340 children raised bilingually, thus reducing the number of monolinguals needed.

In the next section, we propose our initial model, which draws from the above literature and in particular Fernando et al. (2010), who developed a set of qualitative parameters that are linguistically justified as well as having the potential to be fitted to empirical evidence. While some modellers do retrospectively fit their models to available census data, Fernando et al. propose data that may be prospectively gathered and then used to confirm whether a model is robust.

A proposed Aotearoa New Zealand model

The following are our initial thoughts on modelling choices specific to the Aotearoa New Zealand language situation. These assumptions can be modified in line with further observational or other data. Parameters used in our model are summarised in Table 1.

Due to the constraints of a predominantly monolingual English-speaking environment, we assume that all speakers of the minority language (Māori, M) are bilingual. Hence, there are two types of speakers: monolingual speakers of the majority language English (E) and bilingual speakers (M). The proportions of speakers of each language type are denoted p_E and p_M. Note that p_M and p_E are complementary; that is, $p_M = 1 - p_E$.

Family types

For the purpose of creating families to model language dissemination, adult couples are formed from the population. The proportions of each couple type (MM, ME or EE) can be

TABLE 1. Model parameters.

Parameter	Interpretation	Range	Current or Potential Data
p_M	Initial proportion of bilingual speakers	0–1	Census
p_E	Initial proportion of English speakers	0–1	Census
φ	Proportion of conversations held in Māori in MM families	0–1	Observational data
ε	Ratio of the effect of family and community exposure	0–1	Observational data
α_M	Status of target (Māori) language	1–3	Health of the Māori Language Survey data
γ	Birth/death rate	0–1	Census
m_{ME}	Conversion rate of children from English to Māori speakers	0–1	Census – cohort analysis by age group matched to % of schools teaching Māori (Ministry of Education data)

expressed as a function of the proportions of speakers of each language type in the population p_M and p_E.

The type of partner selection is a particular modelling choice and can be modified. Like Wickstrom (2005), we choose to assume no mate preference, although assortative mating (for example, bilingual speakers prefer to partner other bilingual speakers) can be introduced by the incorporation of a mate preference parameter. Using the assumption of no mate preference $P(MM) = p_M^2$, $P(ME) = 2p_M(1-p_M)$ and $P(EE) = (1-p_M)^2$.

Amount of Māori language heard

The amount of Māori language heard by a child (C_M) is affected by two factors: the amount of Māori used by the family, $C_{family}(M)$, and the amount of Māori that the child is exposed to in the general community, $C_{community}(M)$.

$C_{family}(M)$ depends on family type. Families where one or both parents are monolingual English speakers (EE or ME families) are assumed to only speak English at home as we assume that both parents are able to easily converse with each other; in this situation $C_{family}(M) = 0$. Families where both parents are bilingual (MM type) may speak either language at home. The proportion of conversations held in Māori in these families is assumed to be 50%, and $C_{family}(M) = 0.5$. The effect of different proportions can be easily modified by changing this percentage.

For a particular family type X_iX_j (where X_i and X_j can be either M or E), the amount of Māori heard by a child given the family type, denoted $C(M| X_iX_j)$, can be expressed as

$C(M| X_iX_j) = \varepsilon \ C_{family}(M| X_iX_j) + (1- \varepsilon) C_{community}(M)$, where ε represents the relative effect of the family component versus the community component. Note that only the family component depends on the family type. For simplicity, we assume that the family and the community have an equal effect on the amount of a particular language heard by a child ($\varepsilon = 0.5$) giving

$C(M| X_iX_j) = 0.5 \ C_{family}(M| X_iX_j) + 0.5 \ C_{community}(M)$.

Family contribution

A child in a bilingual (MM) family may hear either language spoken at home. Introducing a language preference parameter (φ) describing the amount of Māori spoken in bilingual homes gives $C_{family}(M|MM) = \varphi$. We do not presume that is necessary for children to be able to converse in both languages if only one parent speaks Māori. A child in an ME type family will hear some Māori spoken at home and, assuming that the proportion of Māori spoken in these families is half that spoken in bilingual (MM) homes, we have $C_{family}(M|ME) = 0.5\varphi$. Again, this proportion can be modified.

Community contribution

As per Fernando et al. (2010), the probabilities of a conversation between two people being conducted in a particular language are proportional to the proportion of such pairings in the community; that is,

$$C_{community}(M) = 0.5 \ P(MM) = 0.5 \ p_M^2$$

as bilingual pairings have two languages in which they can choose to converse and only half of their conversations will be likely to be held in Māori. In addition to such one-on-one conversations, we allow for community contribution to exposure in the form of government interventions (for example, media, place names, signage). The community contribution to exposure is calculated as the average of these forms of exposure (conversations and government intervention).

Change in bilingual frequency

A status parameter α_M is introduced to incorporate an amplification effect of the value of hearing Māori spoken on the learning of Māori.

Incorporating the status parameter enables us to write expressions for the probability of speaking Māori or English given the family type X_iX_j. These expressions are written as

$$P\left(M \mid X_iX_j\right) = \frac{\alpha_M\, C\left(M \mid X_iX_j\right)}{1+(\alpha_M - 1)C\left(M \mid X_iX_j\right)}$$

and

$$P\left(E \mid X_iX_j\right) = \frac{1-C\left(M \mid X_iX_j\right)}{1+(\alpha_M - 1)C\left(M \mid X_iX_j\right)}.$$

For modelling the change in bilingual frequency over time, we could use birth and death rates from census data, and make these rates language-type specific if required. For simplicity, we assume that birth and death rates are equal and that they are independent of family type (although this may be too general).

English-speaking children can be converted to bilingual children via education. To include this conversion, we add the parameter m_{ME}, which describes the proportion of English-speaking children that are educated to speak Māori. We then incorporate a $\gamma\, m_{ME}\, p_E$ term:

Once the change in bilingual frequency after one generation has been calculated, the proportion of bilingual speakers can be calculated as $p_M(\text{new}) = p_M(\text{previous}) + p_M{}'$. This iterative process is repeated over many generations to investigate the long-term change in bilingual frequency.

Conclusion

This paper has briefly examined current knowledge in relation to minority language modelling. It has found that such approaches may be applied to the Aotearoa New Zealand language situation. The authors have asked

$$p_M{}' = \gamma\left[P(MM)P(M\mid MM)+P(ME)P(M\mid ME)+P(EE)P(M\mid EE)\right] - \gamma\, p_M.$$

Under this simplifying assumption, the change in bilingual frequency per generation ($p_M{}'$) is expressed as the difference between "births" of Māori speakers (those added to the language population) from the three family types and "deaths" of Māori speakers (subtracted from the language population):

themselves two questions and, to answer these, have developed an initial model based particularly on that of Fernando et al. (2010). This model will allow us to plot changing bilingual frequency over time, say 500 years, to give an indication of the inter-relationship amongst these or alternate parameters. The next phase

$$p_M{}' = \gamma\left[P(MM)P(M\mid MM)+P(ME)P(M\mid ME)+P(EE)P(M\mid EE)+m_{ME}\, p_E\right] - \gamma\, p_M.$$

of the research will be to refine the model with a view to (a) fitting it to New Zealand specific data and (b) providing numerical targets that might guide local or national policy planners in the same way that Kandler et al. (2010) have suggested for the Scottish Highlands.

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COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS AS RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Jonathan T. Kilgour*

Lisa Jamieson†

Jaime Cidro‡

Herenia P. Lawrence§

John R. Broughton¶

Sarah-Jane T. Tiakiwai**

Kate C. Morgaine††

Marie Person‡‡

Kay Berryman§§

Rangi Cooper-Te Koi¶¶

Angeline Smith-Wilkinson***

*   Research Manager, Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development, Ngaaruawaahia, New Zealand. Email: JonathanK@waikatotainui.ac.nz

†   Associate Professor, Australian Research Centre for Population Oral Health, School of Dentistry, The University of Adelaide, Australia.

‡   Assistant Professor, NEAHR New Investigator, Aboriginal Health Department of Anthropology, University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

§   Associate Professor, Discipline of Dental Public Health, Faculty of Dentistry, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

¶   Professor, Department of Oral Diagnostic and Surgical Sciences, Faculty of Dentistry and Department of Preventive and Social Medicine, Dunedin School of Medicine, Dunedin, New Zealand.

**   Academic Director, Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development, Ngaaruawaahia, New Zealand.

††   Lecturer in Public Health, Dental Epidemiology and Public Health Group, Faculty of Dentistry, Te Kaupeka Puniho, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

‡‡   Funding Manager, Raukura Hauora o Tainui Trust, Auckland, New Zealand.

§§   Researcher, Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development, Ngaaruawaahia, New Zealand.

¶¶   Te Pouarahi Kaupapa Rangahau (Research Project Manager), Raukura Hauora o Tainui, Auckland, New Zealand.

***   Raukura Hauora o Tainui, Auckland, New Zealand.

Abstract

This article focuses on the experiences of Australian, Canadian and New Zealand indigenous community researchers investigating culturally based preventive oral health interventions with a specific focus on indigenous babies and their mothers. It discusses the challenges of being a community worker or researcher working in and being from the indigenous communities that are participating in the research. It presents some of the strategies and tools developed and shared across the international collaboration that are unique to each cultural context but share common goals of advancing indigenous health outcomes.

Keywords

Introduction

This paper presents the experiences of indigenous community researchers in a dental health project located in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. It discusses the challenges of being a community worker or researcher working in and being from the indigenous communities that are participating in the research. It explores some of the strategies and tools developed and shared across the international collaboration that are unique to each cultural context but share common goals of advancing indigenous health outcomes.

Research overview

The University of Adelaide, Australia, University of Otago, New Zealand, and University of Toronto, Canada, are lead investigators in a 5-year International Collaborative Indigenous Health Research Project using an early childhood caries (ECC) intervention to focus on reducing the disease burden and health inequalities arising from chronic dental disease among indigenous children.

ECC causes suffering amongst children, with evidence showing that there is disproportionate representation between indigenous and non-indigenous children in New Zealand, Australia and Canada (Lawrence et al., 2009; Parker et al., 2010; Thomson, Ayers, & Broughton, 2003; Williams, Parker, & Jamieson, 2010; World Health Organization, 2003). ECC is the strongest predictor of poor oral health in adulthood and is associated with other chronic childhood conditions such as otitis media and nutritional disorders (Casamassimo, Thikkurissy, Edelstein, & Maiorini, 2009). However, ECC is an entirely preventable disease.

If the burden of ECC and associated oral health inequalities experienced by indigenous children in these nations are to be reduced, more appropriate preventive interventions and support are required to maintain optimal oral health and dental fitness of both children and carers during early life stages.

The project tests a combination of four interventions over 2 years: (a) dental care to mothers in pregnancy, (b) fluoride varnish to teeth of children at 6, 12 and 18 months, (c) motivational interviewing (MI) and (d) anticipatory guidance.

The three project teams actively sought community involvement in the project. While the approaches and strategies differed slightly in each country, common experiences emerged, particularly in relation to how to engage and work with indigenous communities.

Australia – Baby teeth talk

The project has as its focus a desire to make a difference for Aboriginal children. Thus, research sites within South Australia were selected based on their Aboriginal population. These included Adelaide, Port Augusta, Whyalla, Mount Gambier, the Riverland (Murray Bridge, Renmark, Berri), Port Lincoln and Ceduna.

An Indigenous Reference Group (IRG) was established to raise the profile of the study through professional and personal links. The seven members of the IRG were selected based on their prominence in the community, their interest in the study and geographical representation.

The ongoing involvement of the IRG led to overwhelming positive feedback from the community about the research:

> This is a good study because the mums get free dental care and hopefully the kids are going to end up with no holes in their teeth. It is a real problem, this tooth problem with the young kids. Then we can show the people making the policies what works. Everybody needs to know about this study, because it's not going to last forever. (Community member)

A conscious effort was made to recruit Aboriginal staff to the research team. It was hoped that all study staff would be Aboriginal. However, the staff employment strategies only yielded two suitable Aboriginal candidates. Three non-Aboriginal staff were selected based on their cultural awareness, passion for Aboriginal health and having passed a 2-day MI training course to ensure the appropriate MI skills would be implemented as part of the study.

In our experience, the Aboriginal staff have made an enormous difference in regard to community acceptance of the project and recruitment success. The cultural awareness of the non-Aboriginal staff may have also made a difference, with one non-Aboriginal staff member having 100% follow-up rate with her participants – something that would not have been possible had participants felt uncomfortable or unsafe working with her.

The IRG believe that participant recruitment and retention are the most challenging aspects of the research. Recruitment was greatly facilitated by the IRG, who suggested a wide range of recruitment strategies. The most successful of these included: (a) establishing a referral system from each of the three teaching hospitals in Adelaide and the regional hospitals; (b) presentations given to 17 key stakeholder groups throughout the state, including Aboriginal-controlled health services, Nanna's groups and early years parenting centres; (c) placing posters on community noticeboards and other areas frequented by our target group; (d) dropping flyers in letterboxes of Aboriginal-dense neighbourhoods; and (e) encouraging those already partaking in the study to engage with others they may know that met the eligibility criteria.

Without question, project implementation could not be achieved without the buy-in of key Aboriginal community members, including those in the IRG. Implementation requires flexibility on the part of study staff, who frequently have to rearrange appointments, often at the last minute.

MI is seen by community researchers as a complementary fit to Aboriginal values:

> To me, I love the work because it gets me inside the homes of these great women who I don't think I would meet normally. And using MI means that they start to trust me more, open up more … sometimes I have to work to keep them on track because we end up talking about the footy, her other kids, her partner going to the gym … anything and everything. (Community researcher)

Dogged perseverance is also necessary, as many study participants lead busy lives and often prove difficult to follow up because contact information may be inaccurate or participants may move during the course of the study. One researcher said:

Lucky for me I know the family … I went to school with her brother. And then I saw her down at the beach in the weekend. I didn't say anything … because I didn't want to talk about work … but she knows that I am trying to talk to her about following up … so I'll get her.

Canada – Baby teeth talk

The Canadian component of the research is known locally as the Baby Teeth Talk Study. It is conducted at several on- and off-reserve sites within the provinces of Ontario and Manitoba – the two provinces with the highest numbers of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The investigators have formed research partnerships with Aboriginal communities and organisations, through research agreements and contracts, to assist with participant recruitment, the implementation of the interventions and the sharing of the study findings. Some of the partnerships were already forged through previous research studies, while others were newly established for this project.

A Project Advisory Committee (PAC) was formed at the outset of the study, comprising Aboriginal community leaders, researchers and policy makers, all with strong interests in oral health care issues. The committee's role is to ensure that the project is conducted in a culturally acceptable manner, and that results are appropriately disseminated. The Aboriginal population in Canada has generally noted that they have experienced culturally insensitive health research. In order for the research to be "culturally safe", it has been a goal of our study, agreed to by the PAC, to build research capacity by hiring community-based, Aboriginal research assistants (CRAs).

The CRAs in the Canadian sites comprise mainly Aboriginal people (11 out of 13). Because many are from the communities in which they are conducting research, there are opportunities for enhancing the commitment of the communities to the project, tapping into kinship networks and local expertise, and developing strong relationships between the CRA and the research participants.

Aboriginal CRAs provide important sets of skills and expertise in the needs of their own community and culturally appropriate ways to communicate. As one of our CRAs indicated:

It is very important to me to continue using my knowledge, experience and qualifications in Aboriginal health research that may contribute to improved [oral] health status of Aboriginal communities. As a visible data collector for health research that is approved by our local health authority, it is also important for our community members to see a community member physically involved.

Another CRA indicated that her interactions with the research participants were guided by her traditional teachings: "I deal with them with respect and dignity. I use the seven grandfather teachings: honesty, humility, truth, wisdom, love, respect and bravery." This cultural foundation to the CRA-participant interface is an important tool for successful community research.

The Canadian CRAs identified their background as Aboriginal people as a positive attribute in the success of the project. Moreover, they felt that they had a responsibility for making tangible changes in health behaviours in their communities and saw that the research project provided them with a unique opportunity to do so: "Working in an Aboriginal community is very important to me because I feel like I am trying to make a change for my people" (CRA).

The Canadian sites are typically rural and small urban communities (except for Toronto and Winnipeg). "Indian country" is relatively small and subsequently "everyone knows everyone". One Aboriginal CRA indicated that "the other challenge is that everyone knows you in the community and that if someone doesn't like

you, it goes around like 'wild-fire'".

Some of these trust issues are personality related, but in other cases, there are long-standing familial rivalries that can act as a barrier to recruiting participants. In some instances, there may be more of a perceived benefit to having a non-Aboriginal person, or perhaps someone not directly from the First Nation community working as the researcher. Due to the nature of the interventions, namely the MI technique, very personal information is shared between the participant and the researcher. If there is a perception of untrustworthiness, a researcher from outside of the community may face lesser challenges. This was expressed by one CRA respondent: "Community members may feel more comfortable with an outsider who is non-Aboriginal or another Aboriginal from another First Nation community". Another respondent indicated that "some of the challenges I have faced working in my Aboriginal community is that they do not have trust in me. They feel that I am not wise enough because they have seen me growing up in the same community."

While trust is an issue for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal researchers, having a positive reputation can go a long way to alleviating some of these barriers. Aboriginal researchers face more opportunities to build relationships based on common experiences as Aboriginal people. One researcher indicated that she is able to talk easily with participants because her story is similar to their story. Overcoming her own personal challenges and working as a young community researcher puts her on equal footing with many of the study participants. This CRA stated that "by giving examples of my life to the client they reassured themselves that I was in their shoes at one time and it helped them talk more". As one respondent indicated, "we are in the same boat, we share the same stories."

Many of the CRAs currently work as health professionals in their communities as dental hygienists, nurses or health care aids. Having a professional health care background can act as a way to legitimise themselves when carrying

out health-based research, but can also create a trust barrier. The importance of relationship building is therefore key for all of our CRAs, not only in the recruitment of participants, but also in their retention over the study period. One CRA advised that it is important to "be prepared to take off your uniform and talk real with these people. They don't need all the professional fluff, just some advice and support from a fellow First Nations person."

New Zealand – Te mana o te whānau

The University of Otago, as lead investigator, has collaborated with two Māori community organisations: Raukura Hauora o Tainui Trust (Raukura) and Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development (the College). This is an assertion of the principle of rangatiratanga (self-determination), in which the leadership, responsibility and ownership of the research project rests with the two respective Māori organisations within their own rohe (region). Raukura is a health provider based in Waikato and South Auckland and is responsible for recruiting research participants through its networks and registered whānau (family) and delivery of dental interventions included in the methodology. The College is responsible for providing research support and advice to Raukura as well as conducting MI with mothers.

This strategy also gave the communities involved an implicit brief to recruit staff appropriate to the community. The two recruiters (Raukura staff) are from the local communities where the research is based. The motivational interviewer has a background in public health, kaupapa Māori health research and is also from the local community.

A further element of the research design was focusing on kaupapa Māori (Māori methodology) elements of research such as kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) interviews as a way of adapting the MI process so that it would be received by Māori women in a

culturally appropriate way. An important element of MI is building trust with participants and it therefore emphasises face-to-face contact. While MI can be done over the telephone, face-to-face contact is seen by the project team as being integral to the authenticity of the research and the buy-in of participants. Whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building) and manaakitanga (compassion) play an important part in initial and ongoing engagement with Māori women and their whānau.

Koha (gifting) has been an essential part in the recruitment and MI process. Māori have an historical distrust of researchers and are also an "over-researched" population. Koha played an important role in giving back and demonstrating that the relationship is reciprocal. One of the recruiters reported that participants are appreciative of koha, despite reluctance to accept it: "I visited a family of twelve … the tamariki [children] don't have much so they don't ask for much" (recruiter).

The New Zealand study is focused within an area that has high proportions of Māori. Raukura deliberately focused on strictly defined areas to make travel manageable. In particular, Raukura targeted known whānau within the region as well as community, cultural and sporting events where Māori were known to congregate.

Recruitment started as word-of-mouth promotion through Raukura and whānau networks, which led to initial success in recruitment numbers. As the recruitment drive slowed, Raukura and the College collaborated with networks in the Māori health sector and recruited further participants through the Waikato District Health Board. Raukura has also employed a direct approach, where a recruiter will engage potential participants who "walk through the door" of the South Auckland clinic. These approaches and the renewed success of recruitment can be attributed to the presence of Raukura as a local health provider and the existing Māori health sector networks of the motivational interviewer.

Persistence is a necessary trait as initial contact to arrange MI has shown that contact details are often incorrect or people have moved on. While some details are updated through the Raukura database, the team has found the need to be innovative in sourcing the right contact details, including using whānau networks and Facebook.

Discussion

Dunbar and Scrimgeour (2006) note that there is an increasing awareness of the need to change the historical approaches to research that positioned indigenous peoples as subjects, and move toward a shared approach to research, where indigenous communities are engaged in all stages of the research process, from design to dissemination of findings. Smith (1999) has posited that such an approach is what indigenous peoples have long argued for and, in the case of Māori, provided the impetus from which kaupapa Māori was founded.

Indigenous-centred research theory and practice is seen as a counter-narrative to the historical positioning described by Dunbar and Scrimgeour (2006). In this way, the relationship between researcher and researched becomes much more connected, ensuring that the research activity more actively considers the outcomes for and impacts on the communities engaged in the research. This positioning has resonated with indigenous researchers and communities, who have become more active in asserting their right to engage in projects that affect their communities (cf. Porsanger, 2004).

The project described in this paper has identified the importance of community-based researchers – both as health practitioners and as researchers – in enabling access to communities, establishing and maintaining trust of the participants involved, and engaging them positively in the project itself.

Engagement, however, is not without its challenges. For example, how does one build

trust in a research setting through using personal connections without compromising other connections or, in some cases, community obligations that exist beyond the scope of a research project? Is the appointment of indigenous community-based researchers sufficient for empowering indigenous research agendas or could this merely be seen as lip service? These and many other questions have and will continue to be discussed by the project teams as the project continues.

Conclusion

Indigenous scholars have identified the importance of working closely with indigenous communities to develop research projects that are relevant to the needs of the community and that produce tangible benefits that improve local conditions. The experiences of the indigenous community researchers have been important to the success of the project to date because they understand the social realities and context of participants and communities and can apply culturally appropriate tools. Specific local contexts provide a guide for appropriate methods in engaging with local communities. Establishing advisory committees in Australia and Canada has guided how the Australia and Canada teams have implemented indigenous-centred methodologies that have resulted in better recruitment and greater local buy-in. In the Canadian context, some communities require extensive collaboration and agreements in place in regard to ownership and control of the data as a part of their locally controlled research ethics process. While not all indigenous communities in Canada have these formalised research institutions in place, the trend towards community-controlled research is on the horizon. This is also the case in Australia, where projects involving Aboriginal health need to be viewed and approved by specific state-level indigenous ethics committees, as well as regular university or health institution ethics committees. In New Zealand, a geographically concentrated context has suited an approach where the community owns and drives the research using a kaupapa Māori approach. Consequently, not only is this project approach aiming to improve our understanding of the oral health problems facing indigenous communities, but it also aims to encourage indigenous health care workers to take charge of their own research agendas as appropriate for their local contexts.

Acknowledgements

Glossary

kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
kaupapa Māori	Māori methodology
koha	gifting
manaakitanga	compassion
rangatiratanga	self-determination
rohe	region
tamariki	children
whakawhanaungatanga	relationship building

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UNDERSTANDING DUAL RELATIONSHIPS IN FIRST NATION COMMUNITIES

*Raymond Neckoway**

*Keith Brownlee**

Glenn Halverson†

Abstract

Dual relationships are situations in which, in addition to the professional relationship between worker and client, another meaningful relationship exists. These relationships have been viewed as situations in which workers could coerce, exploit or misuse their power. Most professional ethical guidelines recommend avoiding these relationships whenever possible. One practice setting where avoidance is not always possible, or is not always in the best interests of the client, is in remote First Nations communities, where workers are often required to manage dual relationships as part of their everyday practice. To date, little attention has been paid to how indigenous practitioners view dual relationships and their lived experiences with this phenomenon. To provide a better understanding of how indigenous practitioners in these communities view and manage these relationships, a study using qualitative inquiry and descriptive phenomenological methodology was undertaken in Northern Ontario and Northern Manitoba, Canada. The respondents confirmed the inevitability of dual relationships and described both benefits and challenges of dual relationships. The influence of community expectations and the importance of trust and respect in dual relationship decision making were also reported.

Keywords

*   Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Canada.
†   University of Calgary, Canada.
    Email: rneckowa@lakeheadu.ca

Introduction

"Non-sexual dual relationships" refers to circumstances in which the social worker has a professional relationship as well as another meaningful relationship with a client. This mixing of roles and boundaries is of ethical concern to most international social work regulatory bodies. The basis of the concern is that it leads to circumstances in which coercion, exploitation and other misuses of power might take place. Ethical guidelines recommend that dual relationships be avoided whenever possible, and many professionals argue that dual relationships are fundamentally unethical. Craig (1991) has stated that "no matter how thoroughly rationalized or well intended, dual relationships cloud the counsellor's clinical judgement and lead to client abuse" (p. 49), while Kagle and Giebelhausen (1994) stated that "practitioners found to have engaged in any dual relationships should have their licences revoked and their memberships in professional associations terminated" (p. 218). The strong position taken by such professionals indicates the seriousness of this ethical issue for practice. But in small remote communities it has been argued that avoiding dual relationships is not always feasible and that they can possibly even be beneficial. It is a topic that has led to an active debate within the profession. However, much of the discussion and debate about dual relationships has been grounded on anecdotal evidence, and the information on circumstances and realities in remote First Nations is particularly sparse. Given the seriousness of dual relationships being regarded as a violation of standards of professional practice by regulatory bodies, the implications for social workers and their clients in remote First Nations communities are profound.

Dreschler (1996) highlights the challenge of dual relationship situations in traditional northern contexts. He describes a scenario regarding community members working as social workers in their home community:

On arriving in the Yukon I was amazed at the general acceptance of social service staff providing services to their relatives. These social services include not only counselling for relatives, but mandated services like investigating their child sexual abuse, determining their social assistance benefits, and preparing their predisposition reports for Court …. In small isolated communities it is inevitable that local staff have many relatives in the community. Even those who are not relatives have been friends, or the contrary, for years. (p. 3)

Many papers have appeared in the professional literature about dual relationships, which is not surprising given that it is one of the most frequently occurring violations of ethical standards by social workers (Strom-Gottfried, 2003). However, the literature has been mostly concerned with a debate over whether dual relationships result in harm (Halverson, Brownlee, & Delaney, 2009; Kagle & Giebelhausen, 1994; Younggren & Gottlieb, 2004) or what form of decision-making models could be applied to the issue in clinical practice (Brownlee, 1996; Gripton & Valentich, 2004; Reamer, 2003). Despite the considerable attention to the issue of non-sexual dual relationships, there is very sparse literature available (cf. Graham, Brownlee, Shier, & Doucette, 2008; Halverson & Brownlee, 2010) that specifically addresses dual relationships as they manifest in small remote settings from a research perspective and almost none concerning dual relationships relating to clinical practice conducted in remote First Nations communities.

A significant issue that further contributes to the challenge of dual relationships in remote First Nations communities is that professional training in social work has increasingly become extended to people in their home community through distance education (cf. Bodor & Zapf, 2002; Ives & Aitken, 2008). This movement towards training social workers in their home community finds strong community support for accessible and culturally relevant services

as well as a preference in the north for seeking services from someone known and trusted. This is clearly stated by Dreschler (1996):

> Hiring local community residents is a popular policy. People would rather see their relatives, friends, and neighbours get jobs in their communities than outsiders. Sometimes a local person's intimacy with the community is viewed more positively than an outsider's expertise. (p. 3)

This means that more and more workers will face dual relationships in small northern communities and even the possibility of requests to provide service to friends, and extended family. When the preference for hiring a local is combined with the presence of individuals trained as social workers or social service workers from the community, dual relationships will pose a significant problem.

This is a serious policy issue for First Nations communities. Clearly, further research is needed on this topic. The perspective taken in the current research is that what is required to function effectively in the northern Canadian setting goes beyond the views and relationships developed by individual practitioners and likely requires a reconsideration of established policies to address the different realities of northern First Nations communities.

Methodology

Participants

This study of dual relationships in First Nation communities was part of a broader programme of research exploring how ethical considerations regarding dual relationships are managed in small rural and remote communities in Canada. The participants for this study were living and practising in or had lived and practised in remote First Nation communities in Northwestern Ontario or Northern Manitoba,

Canada, for a period of 5 or more years. In all, 14 participants (female $n = 12$, male $n = 2$) practising in areas such as addictions ($n = 3$), child welfare ($n = 5$), and mental health and related counselling ($n = 6$) were included. These participants ranged in age from their 20s to their 50s. Of the 14 participants, 12 worked in frontline service delivery and 2 worked in a supervisory role. Nine of the participants had more than 10 years of practice experience, and 5 were currently working in their home community.

Interviews and analysis

Through the use of qualitative inquiry, descriptive phenomenological methods and open-ended questions, the lived professional experience of these 14 First Nation participants was explored as it related to dual relationships. All interviews were conducted in person, and recorded for transcription and analysis. Data analysis was completed using NVivo 8 and followed accepted phenomenological methods.

Discussion and findings

Several themes emerged that related to how dual relationships are understood, and managed, in day-to-day practice in First Nation communities. These included: (a) confirmation of the prevalence of, and the inevitability of, dual relationships in rural and remote First Nation communities; (b) the benefits and challenges of dual relationships in a worker's home community; (c) the influence of community expectations on dual relationship decision making; and (d) the role of trust and respect.

Prevalence and inevitability of dual relationships

First Nations communities can be described as interdependent and having a web of interconnected relationships. With members having multiple and intersecting community roles in the

functioning of daily life, such as parent, school board member, volunteer firefighter, hockey coach and member of Council. Individuals with several roles in the community cross paths or roles with other members throughout the day. The skills and ability to navigate these multiple roles is a community reality and not considered abnormal.

Interconnectedness with family, extended family and community remains an important aspect of daily life in most First Nations communities. The rural, remote or isolated settings of many First Nations communities means a reliance on others that is concentrated on a limited number of people compared with what is usually found in urban centres. Not unexpectedly, First Nation workers confirmed that dual relationships were both prevalent and inevitable:

> I don't think they can be avoided in most circumstances especially if we are going to enhance capacity building in communities …. You know if you're going to do capacity building in a community then you know that in a small community, not even necessarily a native community, everybody knows everybody.

This was especially the case when those workers were practising in their home community or community of origin:

> I mean in small community it's a little different in that you might not be related to everybody but you know everybody. The difference in a First Nation community, it's your auntie or your uncle or your cousin or your brother-in-law.

> I think on a small reserve it is pretty hard to avoid having these kinds of relationships, especially if you are related through blood or marriage.

Dual relationships in a worker's home community

While participants confirmed that dual relationships were prevalent and inevitable, regardless of whether the worker was an immigrant to the community or the community was the worker's home community or community of origin, the latter described some unique challenges, especially around working with family. Some workers expressed the view that dual relationships with family provided an opportunity for a more beneficial therapeutic relationship:

> Working in my family of origin community, I'd go back and it was like a homecoming all the time. Everybody was glad to see me and I'd explain my role and they trusted my role. They trusted me and that's where it was really good for the agency.

> I knew them. It was easy to work with them because I knew them. I knew their history, I knew their background, I knew them personally, so I could work with them professionally.

However, others found the practice more difficult:

> In a small community where everybody knows everybody you kind of cross the line with "are you a friend" or "are you their worker". And I know a lot of staff over the years have had trouble with that issue; the stress level impacting on your private life when you're connected through family.

> How are you going to be very good with somebody in your community that you are trying to work with that has been raped by your brother? How are you going to help this person who has come to you, and the band is paying to counsel, and the expectation is that you will counsel … I mean I just find this horrendous some of the situations that you can get into working in these very small

communities with relationships by blood or marriage or professional.

It was difficult because one of the fellows I was working with was one of my cousins and he was murdered. We were [now] working with the wife, the one that murdered him.

The benefits, difficulties or challenges of working with family varied with each participant based on the intersections of the nature of pre-existing relationships, severity of offence or trauma, and the level of personal and professional maturity.

Community expectations

Workers working in the same community in which they were born and raised mentioned that community members held an assortment of memories of participants' lives that ranged from life's embarrassing moments to behaviours that were exemplary. As community members, participants were ambivalent about whether their primary obligation was to the community or their employing agency. Participants also felt pressure from the community to overlook eligibility criteria for services or benefits, or to interpret agency policies that were favourable to community members or the community.

Or she thinks because I'm her aunt that I will let her or make exceptions for her but I don't.

How would this relationship have worked, it would have been my stepsister's son called me when he was in jail and that's one of those kind of last attempts where you know most people are thinking okay he wants to get out of jail and he's calling, he knows he's got an in.

As a community member from [named community] I'll have family support workers actually call me because they know who I am and say "you're there, can you get this person in, can you do this, can you do that".

I know when I have talked to a lot of the workers from the reserve, and I have met many over the years, they all bring up the same concerns. How do they expect me to do this with my own sister? How do they expect me to do this with my niece? But they've been told they have to do it.

You live in the community and of course if a child's life is at risk like of course you would report it but you know for certain things like "oh, so and so drank" and things like that, things that are going to come out in the end anyway, like you're not just going to always be reporting it. For one thing, like you would just get BCR'd [ordered by a band council resolution] off the community, like you can't be that intrusive into families especially when you're living there. It just doesn't work.

Trust and respect

Participants were cognisant of the unique challenges and benefits of working with family members and within their community of origin. Perhaps the condition that outweighed context and dual relationships in participants' minds was the foundational nature of having the trust and respect of clients or the community. Trust and respect manifested differently for each participant and in each community. For some participants this meant participating in cultural activities or having them as part of therapeutic practice, for others it meant maintaining confidentiality:

That kind of stuff happens when some people, let's say for example who work in the band office, there is a lot of, I mean it's really condensed with band members so things can be heard and maybe not intentionally and so, yeah, most people struggle with trusting to go there for help because of that reason.

I have worked with communities in the north that I didn't have any prior connection to

but at the same time, in doing training and policy work with them, let them know my background and my history so that they would build the trust and relationship that way.

I can't just go in there and automatically build the trust but they have little tidbits of information on me so they know my family history. But I have to do a really good job or else the trust is gone.

I think there is a lot of trust issues there because people haven't been professional in the past or haven't followed confidentiality, ethics and stuff.

I try and be very conservative – don't wear flashy clothes and drive a fancy car into the community because you are not really going to get their respect or they will think that you won't have an understanding of what their lives are like.

There is respect with the guys I grew up with. When I talk to them it is all about mutual respect.

Conclusion

The respondents confirmed the inevitability of dual relationships and described both benefits and challenges of dual relationships. The influence of community expectations, and the importance of trust and respect in dual relationship decision making were all reported as important aspects of practising in a First Nations community. The subtle and not so subtle pressures of community expectations were seen as important influences in leading to many dual relationships. The participants showed a profound awareness of the challenges and benefits of working with family members and within their community of origin. Having and building community trust was seen as a significant factor in this situation and as necessary in being able to practise effective social work.

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TE KŌHANGA REO AND TE ATAARANGI

Preliminary findings into the community value of the Māori language

*Vini Olsen-Reeder**

Rawinia Higgins†

Abstract

Te Kura Roa: Whaihua, a triennial investigation into the Māori language, encapsulates the success of two language revitalisation initiatives, Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi, in promoting Māori language use. Although Māori language research (and research on Māori people) can often mirror deficit approaches, this study captures how these initiatives act as successful language communities in which Māori is valued and English is marked. This article highlights some preliminary findings of a survey currently under way within the initiatives, which indicates their community-centred learning environments motivate active language behaviour. Furthermore, this behaviour is modelled to other family members, drawing them into language learning within these communities. It is hoped these findings will contribute to the ongoing development of Māori language revitalisation.

Keywords

Māori language, Kōhanga Reo, Ataarangi, language immersion, language community

*   Research Assistant, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.
    Email: Vini.Olsen-Reeder@vuw.ac.nz
†   Associate Professor, Te Kawa a Māui, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.
    Email: Rawinia.Higgins@vuw.ac.nz

Introduction

Māori language research lacks conclusive evidence of improving Māori language health (Bauer, 2008, p. 34). Such research can also mirror deficit approaches by measuring Māori speakers against non-Māori speakers. Consequently, two Māori-initiated revitalisation movements, Te Kōhanga Reo (language nests) and Te Ataarangi (adult language immersion programmes), have acquired little opportunity to have their success revealed through research. Whaihua[1] investigates how these communities motivate individuals and their whānau (families) to develop into committed Māori language speakers. This article presents some preliminary findings of an ongoing survey into how the language communities of Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi motivate participants and their whānau to value and use Māori. It is hoped these findings will help us understand how these initiatives inspire participants across language learning and mastery stages as well as the future development of the Māori language.

Methodology

Esteemed tohunga (one adept in Māori lore, ritual and language), intellectual and educationalist Koro Dewes (as cited in Cram, 2001) (from the Ngāti Porou tribe) once lamented how Māori were "blamed for their educational and social shortcomings, their limitations highlighted and their obvious strengths of being privileged New Zealanders in being bilingual and bicultural ignored" (p. 36). Hingangaroa

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1   Whaihua is one of two research projects under Te Kura Roa, a venture co-led by Associate Professor Poia Rewi, University of Otago, and Associate Professor Rawinia Higgins, Victoria University. Te Kura Roa maintains a partnership with Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, Te Ataarangi and Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, and is funded by a Pae Tawhiti Research Grant from Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga.

Smith (2000) notes that "deficit explanations of the Māori condition usually highlight problems such as poor language skills, low incomes [and] poor health" (p. 221). Yet rather than provide solutions, "a deficit model assumes that Māori are problematic" (Durie, 2006, p. 16). Māori researchers must seek alternative and more constructive research pathways. Whaihua aims to do this, unequivocally asserting that Māori can competently resolve Māori language decline. It is premised on this that Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi form the very heart of this language study and its methodology.

Numerous methodological paradigms exist in Māori research, including "Māori research" in sciences, "kaupapa Māori" in education and "iwi research" in Waitangi Tribunal inquiries (Tuhiwai Smith, as cited in Bevan-Brown, 1998, p. 231). Irwin (1994), in her seminal kaupapa Māori research, implies "kaupapa Māori forms the epistemological base" and the "research design and process" (p. 25). Whaihua, which adopts some Western data collection and analysis methods, may contrast this standpoint. Furthermore, this study navigates through varying disciplines, including education, sociolinguistics, social sciences and Māori studies. Since the project's lead investigators work within Māori studies and are steered by Māori epistemologies, an interdisciplinary Māori studies approach has been adopted here as it offers the investigators ample flexibility for this type of research. Research outputs are accountable to Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi because they were instrumental in developing the design of the project, and a key objective of the study is to acknowledge that the "flax-roots" language communities they embody are pivotal to their success. The project thus legitimises Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi where their value is frequently diluted (Higgins, 2008, in the case of the former). That Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust recently lodged an urgent claim to the Waitangi Tribunal declaring deliberate undermining by the Crown is exemplary of this dilution (see

Tāwhiwhirangi, 2011). Te Kura Roa aided initial research stages by reviewing literature and delivering evidence for the Trust's claim, based on the research project Whaihua. Such values and partnerships necessitate a Māori studies stance in order to produce a multifaceted approach to Māori language research.

Method

Written and online surveys consist of 91 single-choice, multi-choice and short answer questions. Data collection opened at the Kōhanga Reo 30th Anniversary Celebration Meeting, Tūrangawaewae Marae, Ngaruawāhia, in November 2011. Researchers maintained a participant stall complete with tables, chairs and internet-capable laptops. Although only an English survey was available at this meeting, participants could respond in Māori, English or both. A subsequent Māori translation (quality assured) means online bilingual surveys are now the primary medium of collection. Sourcing participants continues, utilising various techniques, including face-to-face approaches and email address collection for subsequent online contact. Sourcing continues through Te Ataarangi and Kōhanga Reo administrative structures and by the "friend-of-a-friend" technique (Milroy, 1987, p. 66). Written responses are recorded verbatim in online survey software, allowing aggregation of all responses. When drawn from the survey software, these preliminary results consisted of 119 completed responses (44 written, 75 online), giving a response rate of approximately 77%. Data sets are both quantitative and qualitative, conveying information about language use, behaviour, objectives and the communities that Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi embody. No obligations fell on participants to answer every question and some questions allowed multiple answers. Findings are thus presented, not by the total number of survey completions, but by the total responses given for each question.

Preliminary findings

Participants share some interesting characteristics: 106 female and 13 male participants (totalling 119) give a ratio of 8 women to every man. Such marked difference illustrates the extensive roles women fulfil within each movement. The question about age was answered by 117 people, 34% falling between 16 and 34, 47.9% between 35 and 54, and 17.9% over the age of 55. Qualification status was declared by 72 participants, 45.8% holding a tertiary certificate or diploma and 26.3% having a higher tertiary degree.

In querying proficiency, our scale distinguishes native speakers from highly proficient second language learners. Table 1 shows these two most proficient tiers represent almost half of all respondents (47.7%), with native speakers alone comprising 22.5% of this. The largest

TABLE 1. Māori proficiency.

Proficiency	(n)	%
Native speaker of te reo Māori	25	22.5
Highly proficient second language learner	28	25.2
Have a good comprehension of the language but have limited productive skills	40	36.0
Can sometimes get the gist and know some basic sentences	14	12.6
Beginning to learn the language	4	3.6
Total responses	**111**	**99.9**

Percentages do not equal to 100 due to rounding.

TABLE 2. Interactions in Māori (weekly).

	From whom do you *hear* the most Māori language during any given week?	To whom do you *speak* the most Māori language to during any given week?	Combined weekly interaction (*n*)	Combined weekly interaction (%)
Grandparents/ parents	8	9	17	13.6
Children/ grandchildren	7	19	26	20.8
Spouse/partner	3	3	6	4.8
Teacher	21	16	37	29.6
Work colleagues	20	19	39	31.2
Total	59	66	125	100

tier, 36% of our participants, had good language comprehension but lacked productive skills. The second largest tier, the highly proficient second language learners, constituted 25.2% of our participants.

Participants partake in numerous language programmes. Of 119 responses, 92 were involved in Kōhanga Reo and 55 in Te Ataarangi, the discrepancy of 28 here indicating that many were part of both communities (92 + 55 – 119 = 28). Other initiatives include kura kaupapa and wharekura (Māori-medium schooling), wānanga (Māori tertiary institutions), Kura Reo (week-long language schools funded by the Māori Language Commission) and Te Matatini (the national Māori performing arts festival). Participants thus partake in a variety of initiatives, some partaking in multiple initiatives simultaneously.

When questioned about weekly Māori language interaction with others, initial findings show most participants hear the most Māori from their teachers and colleagues (see Table 2). They speak the most Māori to their work colleagues, teachers and children or grandchildren. Participants may work or learn within language initiatives, thus adding to their language interaction. Participants speak the least with their spouses and partners.

As one must (presumably) speak Māori with someone, they must also speak somewhere.

Table 3 shows places of learning encourage the most language activity: Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Ataarangi, kura kaupapa and wānanga. This further highlights the success of these initiatives in establishing language communities that motivate the use of Māori. Another prominent location is at work, possibly indicating participants are employed within their respective initiatives.

Interestingly, a strong emphasis is placed on the marae as a serious language domain in the 2003 Māori Language Strategy, which states that "by 2028 Māori language use will be increased at marae, within Māori households, and other targeted domains" (Te Puni Kōkiri & Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, 2003, p. 21). The home and marae are thus acknowledged by some as the most appropriate spaces for language revival (Keegan, 2005, p. 135). Table 3 shows little Māori is spoken or heard in the homes and on the marae of our participants. Table 2 confirms children and grandchildren speak little Māori, although the participants do initiate conversation in Māori. Seemingly, then, although Māori language transactions are abundant within the language communities of Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi, little conversation occurs outside these contexts.

We queried participants about situations where speaking Māori was a comfortable or uncomfortable experience. Exactly half (*n* =

TABLE 3. Māori language environments (weekly).

	Where do you *hear* the most Māori language in any given week?	Where do you *speak* the most Māori language during any given week?	Total weekly interaction (*n*)	Total weekly interaction (%)
Marae/hui	1	2	3	2.4
Kōhanga/Te Ataarangi/kura/ wānanga	45	43	88	70.9
Work	10	14	24	19.4
Home	1	7	8	6.5
Community initiative	1	0	1	0.8
Total	58	66	124	100

TABLE 4. Ideal conversation partners.

Response	(*n*)	%
Comfortable with anyone	22	20.4
More at ease with:		
Whānau, kuia, koroua	25	23.1
Kōhanga, Ataarangi	21	19.4
Co-workers/classmates/friends	15	13.9
Other Māori/Māori speakers of any capacity	9	8.3
People of similar language capacity	7	6.5
Own iwi/hapū	4	3.7
Did not indicate	3	2.8
Fluent people	2	1.9
Total	108*	100

*Actual responses = 103. Some participants indicated more than one category.

TABLE 5. Language aspirations.

Aspiration type:	(*n*)	%
Improve language ability & confidence	60	56.6
Gain qualifications/teach	18	17.0
Reinstate intergenerational transmission	11	10.4
Cultural (genealogy, history, tikanga)	11	10.4
Family	4	3.8
Other employment opportunities	1	0.9
Other	1	0.9
Total	106	100

49) of the 98 respondents reported no such situations, which is not surprising given almost half of our participants identified themselves as being in the top two proficiency tiers (see Table 1). For the remainder, two key catalysts created anxiety: not knowing enough of the language (24.5%) and feeling inadequate in using what they do know (17.4%). Other anxieties made up the remaining 8.1%. Furthermore, participants have ideal and preferred people with whom to speak. Table 4 shows 20% of respondents will converse with anyone, while a higher percentage (23%) prefers to talk to other whānau members. Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi members fall just between these two categories (19.4%) as ideal conversation partners. This suggests high confidence among many participants to speak Māori anywhere, but also signals strong partnerships and commitment to whānau learning.

We asked participants about their objectives for enhancing their own language ability. Of 111 responses, 108 (97.3%) held such goals. The number of participants who elaborated on their goals is 106 (see Table 5) and, for approximately half (56.6%), improving language ability and confidence are strong desires. A desire to gain some sort of Kōhanga Reo, Te Ataarangi or other qualification to teach the language was indicated by 17%. Reinstating intergenerational transmission and gaining more cultural knowledge also feature (10.4% in each case).

How do participants view their language communities? The learning environment they capture is heralded by most responses as contributing the most to their language learning and participation (see Table 6). Some (15.7%) highlight the Māori-immersion and English-exclusion ethos as contributing to success. Others note cultural knowledge (such as gene-alogies and histories) taught within initiatives and their commitment to language revival as key successes.

Success factors not only affect individuals but also have a "snowball" effect on their whānau.

Table 7 shows that 35.4% of responses noted whānau interactions in Māori grew as a result of their participant involvement in these initiatives. Many (16.7%) also viewed the initiatives as key sources of language and tikanga (cultural customs, manners, conventions) as valuable home benefits. Learning in these spaces also encourages other whānau members to take up the language themselves.

Discussion

Initial findings show many participants are confident, able Māori speakers who share a common aspiration: to become better Māori speakers. Others also wish to attain teaching qualifications. That many should want to do so inside Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi suggests long-term commitment and dedication by participants to the community of which they are a part. These preliminary results also suggest Te Ataarangi and Te Kōhanga Reo succeed in providing supportive language learning communities where Māori is normalised. Consequently, these environments encourage the most Māori language interaction (see Tables 2 and 3). Two particular responses exemplify what participants view as the most beneficial features of the initiatives:

> The use of te reo in everyday situations, normalisation of te reo,[2] this is the key.

> The caring and supportive way my colleagues encourage me when I do use te reo. The Te Ataarangi ture[3] and in particular the concept of ngākau māhaki.[4]

Additionally, participants feel nurtured within these initiatives through culturally sound venues for language engagement. Responses thus

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2   The Māori language
3   Rules, principles
4   Maintaining humility, a principle of Te Ataarangi

TABLE 6.   Kōhanga/Ataarangi success factors.

Success factor	(*n*)	%
Learning environment	55	61.8
Immersion environment	14	15.7
Other	7	7.9
Cultural knowledge	4	4.5
Language revival	3	3.4
None identified	6	6.7
Total	**89**	**100**

TABLE 7.   Success factor impact on whānau.

Success factor	(*n*)	%
Interacting more in te reo	34	35.4
Language, tikanga	16	16.7
Encouraged other whānau to learn	13	13.5
Language revival	6	6.3
Proud identity	3	3.1
Learning local stories, whaka-papa, waiata	2	2.1
Other/invalid response	19	19.8
No impact on whānau	3	3.1
Total	**96**	**100**

show these learning environments (alongside workplaces) are places in which Māori is used most. Most importantly, these environments are exemplary Māori language communities, where Māori is valued as the normal and expected medium of communication. Furthermore, the successes that are seen within the whānau context extend to more Māori interaction at home than before involvement in either initiative. Passing on language, culture and tikanga to whānau as well as encouraging other whānau members to learn Māori suggests the initiatives successfully support varying stages of learning and encourage a whānau learning process by drawing others into the language community.

The little Māori used in the home and marae contexts suggests intergenerational transmission is not yet a reality for our participants.

A healthier scenario might have shown higher instances of language heard from children or grandchildren more equal to the amount participants speak Māori to them (see Table 2). The little Māori heard at home and on marae (see Table 3) and from grandparents and parents (see Table 2) confirms this. Frustratingly, however, participants would also prefer to speak Māori with their families (see Table 4). Perhaps they are the only Māori speaker in their household, and their grandparents, parents and spouses are non-speakers. Perhaps their whānau members choose not to speak Māori. Whatever the reason, the data suggest that, upon exiting their chosen language community, the language is no longer normalised and it becomes difficult to maintain spoken interaction in Māori.

Conclusion

This article presents only a snapshot of survey data collected so far. For the sake of brevity, a plethora of data on Māori literacy has not been commented on here, including the use of teleprompts, banking services and media, and participant stances on the language's value personally, nationally and internationally. Future research outputs will discuss these data more fully, building on attitudes, bilingualism and acknowledging the project's limitations (especially around self-reported data on which this survey is reliant). Clear, however, are the emerging patterns of success that can be attributed to Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Ataarangi communities, and this offers exciting and inspiring insight into future language revival facilitation.

Glossary

kura kaupapa	a form of Māori-medium schooling
Kura Reo	Week-long Māori language schools
ngākau māhaki	Te Ataarangi principle of maintaining humility
Te Ataarangi	adult language immersion programmes
Te Kōhanga Reo	language nests
Te Matatini	National Māori Performing Arts Festival
te reo	literally, the language; the Māori language
tikanga	cultural customs, manners, conventions
tohunga	one adept in Māori lore, ritual and language
ture	rules, principles
wānanga	Māori tertiary institutions
whānau	family, families
wharekura	a form of Māori-medium schooling

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HE KĀHUI RUAHINE

My doctoral sisterhood

Marama McDonald[*]

Mere Kēpa[†]

Abstract

In the university, supervision of Māori doctoral candidates has been left largely unchallenged. Pākehā have often accepted the supervisor and the student, the master and the apprentice models of education for submission as adequate measures of support for Māori doctoral candidates in the university. In this paper, the authors will present an example of intellectual, cultural and peaceful support established in the Life and Living in Advanced Age: A Cohort Study in New Zealand (LiLACS NZ) that realises the potential of the Māori PhD candidate in the project. We will discuss how a collective of Māori scholars and one non-Māori academic from the disciplines of education, anthropology, chemistry, medicine, psychiatry, public health, Māori studies and psychology support the candidate in a consistent and authentic relationship. At the time of writing, the members of He Kāhui Ruahine were from the University of Auckland, Te Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and the private sector in Brisbane, Australia. Many of the relations and the advice applied by the group are embedded in a distinctly Māori approach to counsel. The subjective approach encompasses Māori principles in research and practice in order to understand the prevailing culture of supervision in the university. As a group of senior and emerging researchers, we are involved through hui (a gathering of the group), kanohi ki te kanohi (consultation) in which Māori customs of tuākana–teina (supervisor/advisor–candidate) practice principles of

* Doctoral Candidate, Te Kūpenga Hauora, School of Population Health, General Practice and Primary Health Care, The University of Auckland, New Zealand; Research Associate on the Life and Living in Advanced Age: A Cohort Study in New Zealand (LiLACSNZ). Email: marzstu@hotmail.com

† Project Manager and Research Fellow on the Life and Living in Advanced Age: A Cohort Study in New Zealand (LiLACSNZ); School of Population Health, General Practice and Primary Health Care, The University of Auckland, New Zealand. Email: m.kepa@auckland.ac.nz

aroha (love) and manaakitanga (kindness, generosity and sincerity) through critical dialogue. Thus, we offer a small contribution to terminating the disappearance and loss of Māori doctoral candidates in the university.

At this point in the paper, the writers become the writer as the candidate critiques her experience of doctoral study so far. In the critical tradition of mātauranga whakaaro (Māori philosophy) and Kaupapa Māori (Māori theory) the candidate will (a) centre ideals of love, kindness, generosity and sincerity in research; (b) relate the individual to the collective and vice versa through valuing interdisciplinary advice; (c) value lived experience that centres the knowledges of indigenous Māori people; (d) centre marginalised peoples in research; and (e) commit to application that is transformative.

Keywords

education, submission, criticism, ageing, gerontology, depression, happiness

He Kāhui Ruahine

Good, meaningful critical supervision is central to the successful completion of doctoral study (Lovitts & Nelson, 2000; Smith, Maroney, Nelson, Abel, & Abel, 2006). Previous research has indicated that Māori are not a homogeneous student population; rather, as a group of students in the university, Māori share diverse experiences of formal education, and different tribal, linguistic, cultural, social and financial backgrounds that should be considered within the supervisor–candidate relationship. Kidman (2007) has articulated that:

> Given the diversity of the Māori student population and the variety of their educational needs and aspirations, it may be tempting for supervisors to simply treat Māori as culture-free individuals and be done with it. And yet this does not suffice either; rather, it frequently leads to a simmering resentment among Māori who feel they must leave their culture at the door (rather like a wet umbrella) when they arrive for supervision meetings. (p. 165)

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence hosted by the University of Auckland, must be acknowledged for the effort to develop opportunities and to organise space for Māori doctoral students to collaborate and support each other with their research in an academic environment that validates indigenous theoretical ideas and methodologies of research and critical education. However, this does not remove the responsibility from the university to develop, as has been done in the Life and Living in Advanced Age: A Cohort Study in New Zealand (LiLACS NZ), for instance, more useful and successful doctoral supervision by Māori with Māori – supervision that will become more urgent as the number of Māori enrolling in doctoral study in health increases. In the last 10 years, there has been a significant increase in the number of Māori people enrolling in doctoral study, from 211 in 2000 to 450 in 2010 (Ministry of Education, 2011). However, while the enrolments have increased, doctoral completion rates for the Māori candidates are still significantly lower than for non-Māori, with Māori 8-year completion rate at 42% and non-Maori at 63% (Wensvoort, 2011; see also Mayeda, Keil, & Mills, 2012) In my experience of doctoral research in the area of ageing and gerontology – specifically, Māori ageing and happiness – a collective form of supervision, or better still, advice is a successful relationship

and practice. The effort, vitality, authority and power of the group are truly invested in my intellectual development and success, as well as my overall development as a mother, a wife and a Māori woman closely connected to whānau (extended Māori family) and hapū. The enthusiastic collaboration to ensure that I am awarded a doctoral degree of distinction should not be underestimated as inspiration to all of us to persevere in an environment that is often uncaring and contributes still to failure by Māori to earn the doctoral qualification.

I completed my previous academic qualifications at other universities; then, I enrolled in the University of Auckland as a doctoral candidate. Simultaneously, I am a 33-year-old Māori woman with a family living in Tauranga, an interviewer in Wave 1 of LiLACS NZ, and studying at a distance from the University of Auckland. In light of the aforementioned facts, the non-Māori and Māori supervisors of my research on Māori ageing and happiness established the group consisting of seven Māori scholars and one non-Māori academic from several disciplines. The academics recognised that a collective and critical pool of people's knowledge and expertise, particularly in relation to Kaupapa Māori theory, would ensure that I was secure and empowered in my intellectual development and research practice; the relationship would, also, mitigate barriers of being a Māori doctoral candidate studying in the university while residing, living and raising a family in Tauranga. The academics recruited to the collective agreed to take part in the group in a spirit of manaakitanga and aroha (love); they were willing to provide any support they could without consideration of being paid or as a requirement in their own roles. Although sharing in critique about the medicine and health sciences, ageing, depression and happiness may be a practice that is becoming extinct in the objective university, among the group, beauty, glory and dialogue are the worthy companions of an education for criticism. Our first meeting took place on 26 August 2011. To include as

many of the collective as possible in the intellectual meetings we have used the electronic communication apparatus SKYPE. For the most part, though, we engage in critical reflection and dialogue, face to face.

Power dynamics within the group

In doctoral study by Māori, one of the criticisms of the supervisor–candidate relationship is the unequal balance of power; that is, the power sits predominately with the supervisor as the "expert", who uses the position of power to work in autocratic ways. The supervisor's autocratic conduct offers little or no opportunity for the candidate to challenge the supervisor's monocultural approach to education and research, to consider different, yet valid, ways of theorising and learning that lie outside the intellectual domain of the supervisor. Kapupa Smith (2007) has described the pedagogical relationship as the supervisor's role being underpinned by institutional authority, while the role of the student, as a learner, experiences less power in the partnership.

Of course, the point is that, unless the candidate is capable, intellectually, of challenging the supervisor on any views and positions that are not compatible to the research approach that the candidate wishes to take, the supervisory process can be problematic. In speaking with other doctoral candidates, both Māori and non-Māori, I have found the power dynamic or supervisor–candidate relationship is often a negative feature of supervision in advanced study. In my own experience, though, the critical educative relationship is different and better: For instance, the main supervisor has acknowledged to me that her intellectual strengths are in the area of health, ageing and quantitative research; she has had limited experience in Kaupapa Māori theory and qualitative approaches to research. The supervisor's disclosure has not diminished my faith in her knowledge and expertise; rather, her admission has strengthened the intellectual

relationship. I feel more relaxed and I am able to communicate well with the supervisor.

Initially, I was concerned about how the relations of power would "play out" within an advisory group of a collective of scholars who, potentially, could hold differing opinions, be of diverse character and uphold various credentials; however, the concern was unrealised. Through talking through issues and problems critically, it was clear to me that the academics shared a common goal – my successful completion of the doctoral degree – and all of them were vested entirely in my success as a Māori. The tautohetohe (debates) that did emerge were always with the intention of enlightening and enhancing my "voice" and my positive progress in the research. As a doctoral candidate, expressing my own knowledge and expertise was not always easy in the beginning. However, the process of tuākana–teina and whanaungatanga (kin relations) that were developed within the learning eased my transition from a shy, insecure, young Māori woman within the group to a confident Māori woman doctoral candidate. The tuākana–teina (senior–junior) relationship developed naturally within our group; as the candidate, I was literally the younger woman among a group of Māori women who were older and more experienced, and who acted in both a supportive and guiding manner. The tuākana–teina relationship manifested through the demonstration of ako (learning and teaching and vice versa). In a relationship of tuākana–teina, educational development takes place through the ever-changing roles and responsibilities of the partners; the senior partner brings intellectual ideas and inspiration and the junior partner innocence, wit, glamour and hope.

In the group, as the teina (novice), I am often in the position of learning and drawing from the collective pool of expertise, but the tuākana (advisors) of the group also openly acknowledge the moments when they are learning from my kōrero and experiences, and from their peers. From the first hui of the group, the Māori tradition of whanaungatanga occurred

when the advisory group was completely supportive of my tāne (husband) being included in the dialogue, validating his presence and contribution as the cultural advisor and translator of the participant interviews in te reo Māori (Māori language), and to my overall wellbeing. My father, who drives me from Tauranga to Auckland for the hui, is always acknowledged by the group, accorded respect, made to feel included and recognised as an important member of my support network.

Māori student profile

A further factor to consider in supervising Māori students is their profile. Kāpua Smith (2007) has clarified that Māori doctoral students are often older than their non-Māori counterparts, which may lead to different needs and a different approach to doctoral study and the supervisory relationship. For example, issues related to technology, world view, inspiration to study, family support and financial situation are likely to be related to the age and life experience of the candidate. Smith continues that, even within a Māori cultural context, Māori have many roles refined by age and experience, such as kaumātua (older people), pākeke (adult) and rangatahi (young people). Each of the roles influences Māori people's world view and shapes ways that we might engage with others and the world around us.

Prior to enrolling in the doctoral study, I had been out of the academic university system for over 5 years since completing a master's degree at Massey University, Palmerston North. My primary focus has been my whānau, my husband, my three children and my community. Both my husband and I are fiercely committed to and involved in the education of our tamariki (children) through te kohanga reo (total immersion early childhood education) wherein I am the chairperson. We are committed to kura kaupapa Māori; I am a representative on the board of trustees of the local kura Māori

(Māori language school). As well, my husband and I have established a business that creates ta moko (the art of Māori tattoo), Māori cultural training, mentoring and development of Māori youth, and artworks. This was my profile and, like many that return to study later in life, I had a number of competing demands on my time and my mind. I was isolated from the university both by location and by human connection.

As a candidate, this was my first time at the University of Auckland; I was not familiar with the place, the systems or the people. The introduction and establishment of an advisory collective remedied the issues to an extent. First, the meetings encouraged me to travel and spend time at the university. Slowly, I am becoming more comfortable in the academic environment. In the organisation of the meetings, I have established personal contact with various administrators in the Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences. Finally, I have forged meaningful relationships with the members of the group, who are all connected in some way to the University of Auckland, as staff, researchers or successful Māori doctoral candidates now raising families, as well as undertaking research in and outside the university.

Relations of support

The group provides two distinctive relations of support for me: communicative relations through kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face dialogue), email and SKYPE. Our meetings, kanohi ki te kanohi, take place twice monthly. They offer (a) emotional and spiritual support to overcome the challenges that emerge as the competing demands of my home life and major life events inevitably coincide with the pressures and demands of academic life and (b) intellectual and cultural support to navigate the critical challenges of Kaupapa Māori research and the demands of doctoral study. Here, I provide two examples that illustrate the support.

Emotional and spiritual support

During one of my advisory group hui at the university, I carried with me a heavy emotional burden that was affecting my wellbeing and my focus on study. At the hui, emotions of aroha and manaakitanga, the feeling of being supported and secure culturally within the group, encouraged me to discuss my emotional state and to examine the situation that was affecting my wellbeing, and my commitment to my research. All those present responded in the true essence of manaakitanga and aroha, listening, offering advice where possible, and reinforcing the value that it was acceptable for my whānau to be my priority of care at this time. I admit that it is not possible to judge how an individual supervisor may have responded in a similar situation – whether other Māori doctoral candidates who encounter similar challenges are received by their supervisors in a way that validates and acknowledges the impact of challenges to wellbeing, and their ability to meet the requirements of study in harsh times. The approach that the advisory group created made me feel supported in prioritising and resolving whānau issues as well as my thesis. My ability to critically reflect and to dialogue among the group, receiving valuable support and advice, meant that I was able to return to the research very quickly.

Intellectual and cultural support

At the time I began my doctoral study, I was employed with LiLACS NZ as a research interviewer in Tauranga. The role was the impetus for my decision to apply to engage in doctoral study at the University of Auckland. More particularly, I had been conducting quantitative interviews with older Māori people in Tauranga and I had noticed three significant features of the participants: (a) many of them liked to tell me stories about their lives in preference to a rating on a scale; (b) in the study, there were many people of advanced age (80 to 90 years

old) who identified as Māori but had little or no connection to Māoritanga (language and culture); and (c) most of them appeared mentally astute, quite happy and content, and incredibly resilient. As a result of the role, I decided that I wanted to know what and how experiences in their long lives contributed to the salience of those features. After discussion and debate with my non-Māori supervisor, Māori supervisor, and He Kāhui Ruahine, I understood that the central question was to be: How do Māori elders conceptualise happiness? I decided, too, that the most appropriate methodology would be Kaupapa Māori (Māori methodology and methods of research). I was a little disillusioned about conducting Kaupapa Māori research, despite having utilised the methodology and method in my master's study and living daily within many Kaupapa Māori issues. From the outside looking in on the academic research world, my impression was that, often, Māori researchers could be very critical of those conducting Kaupapa Māori research; in particular, challenging the integrity and ethics of any research involving Māori. So, from the outset, I drew support from a number of people to assist me to overcome my doubt. Constantly, I discussed ethical issues and tikanga (proper conduct) with my tāne. His credentials for providing such support were based on whakapapa (relationship to the earth) and his experience conducting research alongside kuia and koroua (elders). His guiding response based on whakapapa was:

> Tauranga Moana, Tauranga tangata tūturu ia, he uri no Ruaumoko ia, he kairangahau Māori hoki ia, ā, nā ngā kuia o Tauranga Moana no te whānau rangahau o Poutama Pounamu i whakaako i a ia ki te rangahau kei raro i ngā tikanga o koro mā kui mā!

I spoke, too, with my tāne's kuia (husband's grandmother), he tino matatau ia i roto i te ao mātauranga me te ao Māori (a very knowledgeable Māori grandmother). I was in constant communication with my supervisors and the advisory group. Significantly, the Māori participants that I had interviewed provided support that I had not anticipated; their awhi (advice), manaaki (generosity) and aroha, and their acceptance and appreciation of my conduct with them served to create positive and respectful relationships, reminiscent of the tipuna–mokopuna (grandparents–grandchildren) relationship. Since all of my grandparents had died a number of years ago, and my only Māori grandparent had died before I was born, the relationship was deeply meaningful to me.

Despite the positive experience of conducting Kaupapa Māori research, there was an ethical issue that arose indirectly associated to LiLACS NZ that, for a brief moment, reinforced my initial reluctance to employ a Kaupapa Māori research approach, and shook my experience as an emerging Māori researcher in Tauranga. Importantly, the response and process followed by the LiLACS NZ team to the unethical conduct has taught me ways in which to respond to critiques of ethical and moral conduct in Māori research, as well as the value of an advisory group, the support of whānau, and the support of kaumātua (grandparents, leaders) in decision making and tikanga. The most significant piece of advice given to me, which has constantly permeated my kōrero with the old people, is that te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (Māori language and culture are very important in becoming Māori); just as important is conduct that reflects aroha and manaakitanga, mutual respect and reciprocity. Respectful and kind conduct enhances the intent of the researcher's actions and the integrity of your wairua (spirit). While I cannot argue, yet, that the supervisory and advisory relationship in LiLACS NZ has contributed to the successful completion of my doctorate, I can say that without the experience, knowledge, understanding and flexibility of my supervisors and the cultural, intellectual and emotional tautoko (support) from He Kāhui Ruahine, I may very well have been one of the Māori doctoral attrition statistics, withdrawing from doctoral

study within the first year. To end where we started in this paper, the authors have presented an example of intellectual support developed in LiLACS NZ that has contributed significantly to realising the intellectual potential of the Māori candidate in the project.

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TE PUĀWAITANGA O NGĀ TAPUWAE KIA ORA TONU

Cultures and ageing

Mere Kēpa*

Ngaire Kerse†

Lorna Dyall‡

Abstract

Colonisation in New Zealand has impacted on Māori in various ways (Smith, 1999). For instance, longevity for Māori is currently 74.6 years for men and 77.8 years for women (Statistics New Zealand, 2004), lagging behind the longevity for non-Māori, 81.2 and 84.4 years for non-Māori men and women respectively, by over 6 years. While differences in health-related risk factors throughout life will contribute to this disparity (Jatrana & Blakely, 2008), there appears to be an unexplained amount of variance in longevity not related to measurable health and social variables (Hill et al., 2010).

Keywords

indigenous, ageing, gerontology, culture, function, social status

*   Project Manager and Research Fellow on the Life and Living in Advanced Age: A Cohort Study in New Zealand (LiLACS NZ); School of Population Health, General Practice and Primary Health Care, The University of Auckland, New Zealand. Email: m.kepa@auckland.ac.nz

†   Professor, School of Population Health, Department of General Practice and Primary Health Care, The University of Auckland, New Zealand.

‡   Senior Lecturer at Te Kupenga Hauora Māori, The University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Older Māori are key to the wellbeing of Māori society, and aspects related to ageing for Māori have been examined as part of a PhD thesis by Will Edwards (2010) in Taranaki, New Zealand, which emphasised the importance of contributions to Māori protocols and cultural activities by older Māori (see also Kēpa, Reynolds, & Kēpa, 2006). Focus group discussions with older Māori as part of the feasibility study for Te Puāwaitanga o Ngā Tapuwae Kia Ora Tonu, Life and Living in Advanced Age: A Cohort Study in New Zealand (LiLACS NZ) also emphasised language and cultural practices as essential to wellbeing (Dyall, Kerse, Hayman, & Keeling, 2011; Hayman et al., 2012). Themes from these focus groups were formulated into questions and included in the interviews in the main study that commenced in 2009.

Longitudinal studies have provided insights into epidemiological factors contributing to longevity or "successful" ageing internationally (Andrews, 2001; Marmot, 2003; Schaie & Hofer, 2001). LiLACS NZ aims to establish the predictors of advanced ageing and has been designed to complement other projects in progress in New Zealand: for example, the Enhancing Wellbeing in an Ageing Society study funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (Waldegrave, 2005). An important focus of LiLACS NZ has been the Māori participants' engagement in cultural practices, their use of te reo Māori, as well as their knowledge of whakapapa, caring for others, and moral and collective responsibility. This paper provides a context for LiLACS NZ and presents the attitudes to and the cultural activities engaged in by the Māori participants and the relationships of these practices to quality of life (QOL) and function.

Background

LiLACS NZ is a longitudinal cohort study examining the predictors of successful advanced ageing for Māori and non-Māori recruited in the inception cohort in the Bay of Plenty region of New Zealand in 2010. Details of the comprehensive interview and assessment are available (Hayman et al., 2012). Here, we present items from the interview with the Māori participants related to cultural practices, QOL and health aspects.

To contextualise Māori in the research, in the ancient tradition of whanaungatanga (kinship) and kaumātuatanga (respect for older people in Māori society), the RōpūKaitiaki o Ngā Tikanga Māori (Protectors of Principles of Conduct in Māori Research) has been created to ensure that Māori people, te reo Māori me ngā tikanga (Māori language and culture) and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) are not offended by impoliteness, ignorance and arrogance. The kanohi kitea (the Māori people) who are involved in hui and political and social organisations are Paea Smith, Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Kahungunu; Leianna Reynolds, Ngāti Rehia and Ngāti Tūwharetoa; Hone Kameta, Whakatōhea, Ngāi Tūhoe and Te Arawa; Florence Kameta, Ngāi Tai and Ngāti Pōrou; Betty McPherson, Te Rārawa; and Dr Waiora Port, Te Rārawa and Te Aupouri. The six well-known kaumātua from iwi (tribes) from across Aotearoa New Zealand govern the research team on (a) customs in approaching potential Māori participants, (b) taking into account the history of the tribes and tribal relations, and (c) the important families and leaders of mana, mystery and authority with whom to communicate.

Together, the RōpūKaitiaki brings a total of 200 years of knowledge and wisdom of Te Ao Māori and Christian culture to LiLACS NZ. Their wise advice has led to successful engagement with local contractors to undertake the longitudinal project. Thus, a trustworthy working relationship has begun between the investigators in the university and the managers, coordinators, interviewers and nurses in the contracted organisations: (a) Western Bay of Plenty Primary Health Organisation (WBoPPHO), Tauranga; (b) Ngā Matāpuna Oranga Kaupapa

Māori Primary Health Organisation (NMO), Tauranga; (c) Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Pikiao & Te Korowai Aroha Health Services (joint contractors), Rotorua; (c) Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, Whakatāne; (d) Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Irapuia, Ōpotiki; and (e) Te Kaha.

Since the relationship between the researchers and the participants is crucial to the success of the research, the important advisory acts of the RōpūKaitiaki are (a) to develop and enhance the significance of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga in the research; (b) to support the relationship between the university and Māori people, including the researchers' understanding of Māori community groups and vice versa, the researchers' understanding of the Māori researched subjects and vice versa, the Māori community groups' capacities to understand the research and the researched subjects' capacities to understand the research; and (c) to promote the Māori community groups' and the researched subjects' knowledge and skills, including professional skills, to enhance the possibilities of self-determination and to have more influence on the functioning and decision-making processes of research and the organisations and institutions from the context in which they act.

Thus, the action of advising the researchers in the university by the RōpūKaitiaki is an intricate, diverse and innovative relationship. All these complexities and innovative practices mean, in fact, that the RōpūKaitiaki has contributed to the research design and method of LiLACS NZ. Overall, the research team of Māori, non-Māori researchers and the RōpuKaitiaki in the university and the contractors, coordinators, nurses and interviewers in the researched sites have conducted themselves with increasing respect and courtesy, and a growing understanding of each other's languages and cultures. The Māori researchers and the RōpūKaitiaki have contributed ideas and innovations to the study, addressing issues of ethics, blood donations and wairua (spirit of life) in academic forums. In addition, the

Māori people on the research team have always participated in the project's training, review and dissemination hui.

Recruiting the Māori participants

The prospective participants were identified from the electoral roll and by the local Māori networks through whakawhanaungatanga (kin relations). The RōpuKaitiaki and the Māori researchers supported the local research teams' acts of community engagement, promoting the research on Iwi Radio, in newsletters, local and national press, and through myriad whānau (extended family) and community network forums. The participants were invited kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) to join the research; the project was explained to them, as well as to their family or their whānau when required. The people interested in the research were visited at home and their consent was obtained. The trained Māori interviewers completed the structured interviews with the participants in the home or in the office of the contracted partner, in te reo Māori or te reo Pākehā, or both languages.

The measures

The ethnicity of all the participants was established using the 2006 New Zealand Census question (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). The health-related quality of life (HRQOL) was estimated using the SF12 physical and mental health subscales (Brazier & Roberts, 2004; Fleishman, Selim, & Kazis, 2010). The Nottingham Extended Activities of Daily Living (NEADL) Scale (Essink-Bot, Krabbe, Bonsel, & Aaronson, 1997) was used to estimate the participants' functional status and to ask them about their ability to complete activities that are related to mobility, transport, shopping, cooking, managing money, communication and driving. The questions about their cultural

heritage and practices were developed from the discussions in the focus groups in the feasibility study (Dyall et al., 2011), a review of the literature, (Cunningham, 2000) and selected questions used in the New Zealand Longitudinal Study of Ageing (2010) questionnaires. The RōpuKaitiaki assisted with the translation of the questionnaire from English language to Māori language and culture.

The participants' cultural heritage was assessed by asking how many ancestors were born Māori and grew up as Māori. Also, the

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TABLE 1. Questions about cultural practices asked in the research.

Contact with Māori

"Have you ever been to a marae?" And if yes, "How often over the last year?" Responses spread across 4 levels.

"This question considers your contacts with people. In general would you say that your contacts are with: mainly Māori, some Māori, few Māori, no Māori?"

"Do you live in the same area as your hapū/extended family?" (Yes/No response)

"How important is your hapū to your wellbeing?"

"How important is your iwi to your wellbeing?"

"How well do you understand your tikanga?" Responses to these three questions were across a 5-level Likert scale, from "not at all" to "extremely".

Language, whānau, culture

"Could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things in Māori?" (Yes/No response)

"How important is your language and culture to your wellbeing?"

"How important are your values to your wellbeing?"

"How important is your family/whānau to your wellbeing?" Responses to these three questions were across a 5-level Likert scale, from "not at all" to "extremely".

Roles

"Do you have a specific role in local tribal/marae activities?" (Yes/No response)

"Do you have a specific role in other Māori organisations in wider society?" (Yes/No response)

After each of these, the question was asked: "How satisfied are you with this role?" Responses to this question were across a 5-level Likert scale, from "not at all" to "extremely".

Discrimination

"Have you ever been the victim of an ethnically motivated *verbal* attack in New Zealand within the last 12 months, or more than 12 months ago?"

"Have you ever been the victim of an ethnically motivated *physical* attack in New Zealand within the last 12 months, or more than 12 months ago?"

"Have you ever been treated unfairly by a health professional because of your ethnicity in the last 12 months, or more than 12 months ago?"

"Have you ever been treated unfairly by a service agency because of your ethnicity in the last 12 months, or more than 12 months ago?"

"Have you ever been treated unfairly when renting or buying property because of your ethnicity in the last 12 months, or more than 12 months ago?"

The section concluded with "How often are you spoken down to as Māori?" and "How much has colonisation affected the way you live your life today?"

questions included, "Was your birth mother born Māori?" and "For the most part did she live as Māori?" The questions were repeated for the birth father, the father's mother, the father's father, the mother's mother and the mother's father. Their responses were summarised as Māori ancestry, for the number of parents and grandparents that were born Māori, and Māori heritage, for the number of parents and grandparents that lived as Māori.

The participants' cultural practices were addressed through the questions outlined in Table 1. The questions covered attendance at the marae, contact with Māori people, use of te reo Māori, living in the area of the hapū, the importance of the hapū, iwi, family and whānau to wellbeing, understanding te reo Māori, understanding tikanga Māori, the participants' roles within Māori society, and discrimination on the basis of their Māori ethnicity, including questions about health professionals.

The controlling factors

A proxy for the health status was used with the question, "Does a health problem or a condition you have cause you difficulty with, or stop you doing everyday activities that people your age can usually do?" The participants' socioeconomic deprivation was estimated using the New Zealand Deprivation Index (Salmond & Crampton, 2001). The index is a measure of small-area socioeconomic status related to the participants' home address. This was obtained from the New Zealand Health Information Service (NZHIS) data or geocode matching. Their educational level was assessed as the highest level of education achieved over 5 levels: primary school or no schooling, secondary school with no qualification, secondary school with qualification, trade or occupational, and tertiary qualification. The Geriatric Depression Scale (GDS) was used to assess their depressive symptoms (Yesavage et al., 1983).

The analysis of the cross-sectional data

Descriptive statistics were used to report the participants' responses. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to examine the relationships between all the culture-related questions; the SF-12 subscale scores, the culture-related questions and the NEADL were analysed as outcomes. Due to the potential for endogeneity of relationships between the cultural practices and the outcomes (that is, any true relationship could be confounded by multiple unmeasured or poorly measured other factors), the level of significance used to identify variables for multiple variable analysis was lessened to 0.2. In order to allow an identification of the significant independent associations related to the cultural practices that may have been otherwise obscured, the multiple linear regression multivariable analysis controlled for several factors known to explain the outcomes. The factors considered were gender, age, the proxy for health status, deprivation, educational level for physical HRQOL (Rajeski & Mihalko, 2001) and function (NEADL) (Reuben, Siu, & Kimpau, 1992). Due to the strong association between the GDS and the mental HRQOL (beta -1.6, p 0.000), the GDS score was added to all analyses for mental HRQOL.

Additionally, from 27 September to 30 September 2011, six hui were held in each of the researched sites to disseminate the preliminary findings. The data analysed were presented by the principal investigator and discussed in groups with the participants. The notes recorded in the group discussions, especially in Tauranga, have deepened and enriched the research team's data analysis.

The results

Of the 766 potential Māori participants, 421 Māori aged 80 to 90 years in 2010 completed at least some part of the study (56%). Full

TABLE 2. Cultural activities and values independently and significantly related to physical health-related quality of life (HRQOL), controlled for age, gender, health problem, deprivation, and education.

HRQOL physical	n (%)	Mean SF-12 score	SE	Lower CI	Upper CI	p
How often over the last 12 months have you been to a marae?						0.153*
< yearly	36 (17)	40.0	1.7	36.6	43.4	0.048
Once	28 (14)	40.5	1.9	36.8	44.2	0.096
A few times	33 (15)	43.9	1.7	40.5	47.2	0.855
Several times	76 (34)	41.1	1.2	38.7	43.5	0.071
> monthly	46 (21)	44.3	1.5	41.3	47.2	ref
How well do you understand your tikanga?						0.035*
Not at all	23 (11)	39.7	2.1	35.7	43.8	0.502
A little	29 (14)	39.3	1.8	35.7	42.9	0.382
Moderately	57 (25)	41.5	1.4	38.8	44.1	0.943
Very	65 (29)	44.8	1.3	42.2	47.4	0.058
Extremely	50 (22)	41.3	1.5	38.4	44.2	Ref
Have you ever been the victim of an ethnically motivated verbal attack in New Zealand > 12 months ago?						
No	205 (90)	41.3	0.9	38.6	43.0	0.005
Yes	20 (10)	47.5	2.1	43.3	5.7	
How much has colonisation affected the way you live your life today?						0.015*
Not at all	151 (65)	43.2	1.0	41.3	45.2	0.003
A little	19 (10)	39.9	2.2	35.6	44.0	0.087
Moderately	28 (13)	45.6	1.9	38.9	46.3	0.011
Very	19 (8)	39.3	2.2	35.1	43.6	0.109
Extremely	8 (3)	33.1	3.3	26.7	39.6	ref

*Overall p for the variable.
Each question examined in a separate regression model. Covariates appearing in the model are fixed at the following values: mean age = 82.33, n = number of participants, SE = standard error, CI = confidence interval, p = level of significance, HRQOL = health related quality of life SF-12 score.

interviews were completed by 267 of the participants. Of the 267 participants, 172 (43%) were men, 108 (41%) lived alone and the mean age was 83 years (standard deviation [SD] 2.7). A health problem that caused difficulty with activities of daily living was reported by 166 (40%) and 32% of Māori had a New Zealand Deprivation Index < 7, 34% a score of 7, 8 or 9 and the remaining 32% had the highest deprivation score of 10. The participants were coded into high, medium or low deprivation tertiles.

The number of participants who had completed tertiary qualification was 25 (10%), 12 (5%) were qualified in a trade, 48 (18%) completed secondary school with a qualification, 36% (97) attended secondary school, and 74 (28%) had no schooling or attended primary school only. Only 4 Māori participants had never been to a marae. Over half of those who completed the full questionnaire (138, 52%) could have a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori, 125 (47%) had contact "mainly

with Māori", while 57 (20%) had contact with "few" or "no" Māori.

There was a strong correlation between the number of parents or grandparents born as Māori and the number raised as Māori (Pearson's correlation coefficient 0.886, $p < 0.001$) alongside corresponding HRQOL (SF-12 physical and mental health scores) and functional status scores (mean NEADL). There were no significant associations between the number of Māori parents and grandparents that were born or raised as Māori and HRQOL or functional status of the participants.

Discrimination was reported by 20 of the Māori participants and 4 reported an ethnically related verbal attack "in the last year" and "ever" respectively, while 3 and 10 reported an ethnically related physical attack "in the last year" and "ever" respectively. Three participants reported that they had been treated unfairly by health professionals because of their Māori ethnicity, and 6 participants reported that they had been treated unfairly by service agencies.

Examining factors related to HRQOL *physical health*, a generalised linear regression was used to examine cultural factors controlling for deprivation, health status, HRQOL, gender and age (see Table 2). A better understanding of tikanga was associated with higher HRQOL; having ever been the victim of an ethnically motivated verbal attack and being affected by colonisation were associated with lower HRQOL. The frequency of marae visits overall was close to a high level of significance, with more frequent visits being associated with higher HRQOL (see Table 2). Colonisation, as reported by the participants, did not affect the way they lived life and colonisation was not associated with functional status, according to their responses.

The limitations

This is a cross-sectional study and, as such, no causality can be assumed or proven. Those with high QOL may involve themselves in more cultural activities and those involved in activities may have higher QOL. Pragmatically, the direction of this relationship will be difficult to prove but will be assessed in subsequent prospective analyses examining these results over time in predicting outcomes of longevity, and maintenance of independence. An exact estimate of prevalence of cultural activities is limited due to the response rate to the long interview being less than 50% of those eligible. In the questionnaire, many questions were asked about cultural practices, and the few variables were found to be highly related to the outcome, raising the question of whether these observations may be due to chance alone (multiple comparisons). In the context of balancing false positive findings against creating false negatives by increasing the level of significance, there is debate about the usefulness of overcorrection (McDonald, 2009). The investigators observed a consistent trend towards benefit associated in other variables and the mechanism of a potential positive association is plausible. Further research is needed to repeat the findings in other groups of Māori in advanced age. The measures used here were not developed specifically for Māori, and it is likely mental health was particularly difficult to characterise using the variables examined. In short, Māori in advanced age who visit their marae more frequently and understand their customs well enjoy a higher QOL. The impact of discrimination and colonisation were negative. Moves to strengthen cultural ties and increase access to cultural activities may benefit Māori in advanced age.

The closing discussion

LiLACS NZ describes the culture-related activities and attitudes of Māori in advanced age in

New Zealand, as well as the relationship of those to the QOL as measured by the SF-12, and the functional status. The research attempted a population-based recruitment and achieved a 56% response rate. Māori in advanced age enjoyed a higher QOL when they visited marae more frequently and reported understanding their tikanga (culture) well. We are unable to find similar studies published. Arguably, cultural engagement by the Māori people benefits their wellbeing. Other aspects of life have previously been reported to benefit QOL, such as a sense of belonging, a strong faith in the divine and close social relationships. The associations will continue to be examined in the context of social, environmental and health factors, to understand the balance of influence on wellbeing in advanced age.

The research has engaged with a group of Māori who have high language proficiency; 52% of them converse about everyday things in te reo Māori. In 2006, 27% of Māori adults reported speaking te reo Māori with some degree of proficiency (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007). It is possible that te reo Māori usage is increasing, but it is more likely that the advanced age group are native speakers continuing to kōrero Māori (speak Māori) daily. The reports of discrimination are unacceptable at any level but were present. In the paper, we have reported an independent negative association with physical HRQOL. It is possible that Māori of advanced age with a disability are particularly susceptible to the negative impact of verbal abuse.

Overall, the research team has been successful in recruiting and surveying a large number of Māori in advanced age in the Bay of Plenty. One reason for the team's success may be the high levels of engagement by Māori people and Māori organisations in the research. For instance, the role of Māori people in research should involve not only their honourable contributions of knowledge to Te Ao Māori (Māori society) and New Zealand society, they should also be involved in the research design and method. Without their involvement, contributions and participation (not simply advice), there would be little to distinguish Māori and non-Māori people's lives other than Māori being needy. In the study, there has been a high level of contribution to the study design in terms of methods of engagement, ethical and moral conduct, and appropriate translation of questions. The construction of Māori as needy (deficit theory) is not new. What is new is older Māori women and men as researchers, and Māori people in advanced age as happy, healthy and wise citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand.

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DEVELOPING RESEARCH IN MĀTAURANGA TE MATE MĀORI

*Mere Kēpa**

Marama Muru-Lanning†

Abstract

This paper is an outline of the feasibility study, Te Māte Māori Mātauranga Knowledge of Māori Sickness in the 21st Century, funded by Te Whare Kura Research Grant and Capability Fund of the University of Auckland. The grant-in-aid enabled the researchers to meet as a team, to consult, to interview and to report in writing on the project to the funder on 30 March 2012. The research is located in qualitative methodology and uses the tradition of mātauranga whakaaro (Māori philosophy) to incorporate indigenous Māori principles in the non-deficit method of inquiry, Kaupapa Māori Theory.

The investigators engaged the research, kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) with (a) Māori scholars and Māori health providers, and tribal organisations; (b) the Life and Living in Advanced Age: A Cohort Study in New Zealand's (LiLACS NZ) RōpūKaitiaki o Ngā Tikanga Māori (Protectors of Principles of Conduct in Māori Research); (c) the people brought together by the Ōpōtiki Māori Women's Welfare League; and (d) kaumātua who affiliate to iwi and hapū in the Waikato.

A total of 35 Māori men and women aged 18 to 83 were consulted in Auckland, Rotorua, Tauranga and Ōpōtiki. Of these, 24 people participated in the focus group discussions in Ōpōtiki and the kaumātua retreat in Hamilton. The research findings were that mate Māori is not a mental illness and that mate Māori mātauranga is society's ills in the 21st century.

Keywords

*   Project Manager and Research Fellow on the Life and Living in Advanced Age: A Cohort Study in New Zealand (LiLACS NZ); School of Population Health, General Practice and Primary Health Care, The University of Auckland, New Zealand. Email: m.kepa@auckland.ac.nz

†   Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Anthropology, The University of Auckland, New Zealand. Email: m.murulanning@auckland.ac.nz

Setting the scene

Mātauranga whakaaro (Māori philosophy) accounts for Māori people as living long, healthy and happy lives in relationship with each other in a wholesome environment before contact with Western European society (Kēpa, Reynolds, & Walker, 2006). Mātauranga whakaaro is an extensive and rich tradition of Māori living in harmony with nature, but it discontinued flourishing as the British, including the Scots and Irish mercenaries, the French, the Portuguese, the American missionaries, whalers, sealers, and traders, among other groups of people, commenced colonising or settling the land, bodies and souls of indigenous Māori living in Aotearoa New Zealand.

So, what is happening in the 21st century? Māori people continue losing knowledge of the major traditions of Māori philosophical thinking, assimilating into Christian, capitalist and democratic culture with varied success. Meanwhile, Māori researchers are at work, from the university to the marae (tribal gathering place) and from the marae to parliament, revitalising Māori language and culture, mātauranga whakaaro and Kaupapa Māori to be able to pass on to Māori, together with love, principles of living purposeful, healthy and happy lives (Kēpa, 2011).

The qualitative research Mate Māori Mātauranga was conducted by a collaboration of Māori and Pākehā investigators from the disciplines of medicine, health, education, anthropology, chemistry, Māori studies and psychology, from 31 November 2011 to 30 March 2012, in Ōpōtiki and Hamilton (Kēpa, 2012). For the most part, electronic mail was the mode of communication among the researchers, as well as face-to-face meetings, as required. To initiate the research, members of the team prepared and submitted the application to the university's ethics committee for approval, in mid-December 2011. The researchers' ethical duty was frustrated, though, by the closure of the university for the academic year of 2011

being just around the corner; nonetheless, consent to conduct the research was approved by the committee on 21 December 2011.

The ethics approval endorsed the kanohi ki kanohi or consultation process with groups of older and younger Māori women and men (aged 18 to 80) in the Bay of Plenty on how best to conduct the research. Thus, in December 2011, members of the team consulted with the Māori scholars attending an international indigenous writing retreat and a group of Māori (and a Pākehā person) in Ōpōtiki. In rural communities, health and social services are important community networks for research; hence, the principal negotiator, of the Ōpōtiki Māori Women's Welfare League, invited a group of people to consult with the researchers. The authors should note that recruiting participants at a distance from the university into the research required the investigators to lay to rest all our desires to control the process, and to trust the community partner in the development of the project. The group in Ōpōtiki was revisited in late March 2012 to engage and discuss te mate Māori in depth. The participants were given the participation information form describing the research and the conditions involved in the interviews; the consent form was clarified and signed. In the focus group, important points were highlighted and the procedures for dealing with adverse events were discussed face to face before the discussion among the participants commenced.

Finally, a small group of kaumātua from Waikato-Tainui joined with the RōpuKaitiaki in a kaumātua retreat in Hamilton to share their knowledge and debate the concept of te mate Māori. At the gathering, Professor Ngaire Kerse gave a presentation to the kaumātua participants on the findings from Life and Living in Advanced Age: A Cohort Study in New Zealand (LiLACS NZ). The discussion amongst the group that te mate Māori (Māori knowledge of health and social wellbeing) differs from that of Western society and science was delivered with clarity. Philosophically, the participants in the

research (a) opposed the subservience of Māori knowledge to Western science, (b) opposed the suppression of te mate Māori as a mental illness and (c) advocated te mate Māori as a magnification of the soul and a clarification of the social ills overwhelming Māori in the present day.

In what follows, we will convey what happened at the kaumātua retreat that was held at the Novotel Tainui in Hamilton.

Approaching te mate Māori using an anthropological perspective

Kaumātua retreat Waikato

That word "te mate Māori", my thoughts are that this word means according to my parents, grandparents and the tribe and the leaders of the marae, are that when you are sick, what is the problem with this person? That's te mate Māori. This thing is very deep for me, because a person is made of the body, the mind and the spirit. We know when we are sick in the body, aye? You see when there is a problem with the mind. To me, te mate Māori is a sickness of the spirit. (Hukiterangi Muru Focus Group, April 2012)

My interest in discussion and debates about "te mate Māori" was initially driven by an awareness that many Māori living at marae settlements in the Waikato are living in circumstances of excess hardship. While much of the historical hardship experienced by Waikato Māori is a result of tribal land confiscations in the 1860s, recent poverty and suffering is due to high Māori unemployment in the Waikato region, inflation, the consequent effects of the global recession and the devolution of state responsibility to Māori whose tribes have settled Treaty claims.

In the last two decades, new methods of public management and Māori Treaty claims processes have brought about marked changes in the way Māori communities relate to one another (Ward, 1999, p. 141). Indeed, some Waikato Māori say that they have been forgotten by their tribal representatives and administrators, who are interested only in developing successful business identities and economic portfolios at the macro level of iwi (Masters, 2011; Muru-Lanning, 2010).

Thus, my contribution to this paper is an introductory piece, initiating an argument that te mate Māori practices and understandings are used by Māori who exercise personal and collective rangatiratanga (self-determination). In simple terms, te mate Māori is about being in control of your life and knowing that the people you care about are living strong and healthy lives.

At the outset of this pilot study, I propose that the aim of our research is to unravel the complex relationships that exist between people, things and metaphysical phenomenon. This comment from Betty McPherson illustrates the types of relationships that we are trying to make sense of:

I think mate Māori is my time growing up, [it] was when someone wasn't well and they couldn't be cured at the hospital and they sent them home and then they sent them to a tohunga to see if they were mate Māori. The tohunga would be the person that would say ae (yes) and usually my nanny used to do all that. She'll get down to the tohunga and the tohunga would say ae (yes). Mohio au ki te haere mai koe, I mohio au ki te mauiui to tamaiti. I mohio au kei. (I knew you were coming. I knew you were sick. I knew that). So we'd be there all night and then we'd have to go back again. Then early hours in the morning we'd wake up and go to the creek and use the creek water to heal. And that's how I look at mate Māori. I don't have to look at it as being the world of the Pākehā. Hauora didn't come into it at that time of my growing up. But mate Māori was there. (Betty McPherson, Focus Group, April 2012)

In the course of the research, I intend to elucidate these relationships using a variety of anthropological methods. This paper begins the process by elaborating on some basic anthropological methodology.

Off to the Waikato – He piko he taniwha, He piko he taniwha

According to Marcus (1986), an anthropologist must be able to answer two questions before embarking on research. Firstly, "Why study this group of people rather than another?" and secondly, "Why study this locale rather than another?" (p. 172). These questions focus the dialogue here. After much discussion amongst the University of Auckland mate Māori research team, it was agreed that we would set up a research site for the mate Māori project in the Waikato. With a nominal budget to progress the project, we agreed that the best value for money research option would be to hold a 3-day focus group wānanga at the Novotel Tainui Hotel in Hamilton, to which we would invite a number of Waikato kaumātua to discuss their views and experiences of mate Māori. Much planning and preparation was done to set up the 13–15 April wānanga.

At the Waikato focus group wānanga, 20 people came together to discuss, debate and define meanings for the term mate Māori. The focus group comprised 12 Māori kaumātua and 8 research support members. The kaumātua participants, whose ages spanned from 63 to 83, were selected not only because they affiliated to iwi, such as Te Aupouri, Te Rārawa, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Rehia, Ngāti Whātua, Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Ranginui, Te Whakatōhea, Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Kahungungu, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāi Tuhoe and Waikato, but also because all the kaumātua, by virtue of their whakapapa and life experience, shared a whanaungatanga connection with either Mere Kēpa or myself. Needless to say, the kaumātua for this research project were not randomly invited to participate in the focus group; rather, they were deliberately selected.

When working closely with participants over a 3-day period, it is necessary to include people with the right combination of personality and expertise. While 8 of our kaumātua participants had previously worked together as advisors on a University of Auckland research project, known as the LiLACS NZ project, the invited Waikato kaumātua added new voice to the group. In bringing the kaumātua together for our wānanga, we were obliged to provide a safe and comfortable work environment for them. Assembling participants from my tribal rohe of Waikato was fairly straightforward and achieved in all cases with a phone call by me requesting their participation in the project. I imagine, had I not had previous associations and, in many cases, kinship and Kīngitanga ties with the kaumātua, it may not have been so easy to get them to participate. The Waikato kaumātua invited were my Waikato academic mentor, Dr Ngāpare Hopa; longtime friend of my parents and resident of Tūrangawaewae Marae, Ngāhuia Dixon; my father's youngest sister and her husband, Tinirau and Malcolm Barlow; and my father, Hukiterangi Muru. While the group may have been light in numbers, they certainly exercised a lot of weight when it came time to getting down to work.

Tūrangawaewae hau kainga – Being local

In conducting this research with our kaumātua participants, there was an expectation that the University of Auckland research team would demonstrate a high degree of integrity and sensitivity. Indeed, my being a researcher from Tūrangawaewae Marae both complicated and restricted this process, as my whānau place an additional set of values and expectations on me. Smith (1999, p. 139) proposes that when Māori researchers carry out fieldwork in their own communities, or in communities where there are existing relationships, a researcher is not seen as an individual but rather as a representative of a whānau. Thus, the character and reputation of

a researcher's whānau often influences the community's opinion of a researcher and equally the actions and methods of a researcher reflect on the character of a whānau.

Having lived on the banks of the Waikato River at Tūrangawaeawae Marae until I was 16 years old, I thought I had a very good knowledge of marae life and the local Waikato River environment in which I lived. At Tūrangawaeawae Marae, most of the mate Māori knowledge to which I was exposed is connected to or encapsulated within knowledge of the Waikato River. Eric Hirsch (1990, p. 2) discusses the difficulty that many researchers have in recognising knowledge systems when they are not neatly packaged, and how the previous life experiences of a researcher can fetter their recognition and interpretation of new knowledge. Being an insider to a number of the Māori participants on the project, I had little difficulty making sense of the Waikato-specific stories and ideas being debated at the wānanga (Gellner & Hirsch, 2001, pp. 5–6, 10).

In addition, being Māori, I experience a land with two distinct cultural perspectives. As a scholar, this position is at times very difficult to manage. When James Clifford (1986) wrote about insiders studying their own culture, he observed that they can "offer new angles of vision and depths of understanding" and that "their accounts are empowered and restricted in unique ways" (pp. 9–10). Additionally, Herzfeld (2000) proposes that

> Someone who is located within a particular social group may be able to operate at a level of intimacy denied the outsider, not for reasons of cultural similarity but because that kind of insiderhood entails a freedom of access that might actually be denied a local outsider even more strenuously than it would be a total foreigner. (pp. 232–233)

Māori, however, are not a homogeneous group with an easily definable shared set of interests (Joseph, 2005, pp. 360–361). The reified notion of the "Māori community" hides the fact that the group in question is cut through with internal differences and that people are differentiated through their interests and connections.[1] As Bakhtin (2004/1981) explains, characters in novels as well as the people that anthropologists interview speak in different voices and have multiple layers of identity. It is the "utterances" in a person's monologue that illustrate the basic difference of world view that people from the same sociocultural group have (250–331). Also, recognising that contradictory opinions can exist between people who belong to the same sociocultural groups is expressed by Anthony Cohen (1993), who wrote that "differences of opinion and of information are not motivated by the mere fact of segmentary confrontation but are, rather, authentic expressions of cognitive diversity within the community" (p. 37).

In doing multi-sited fieldwork in Ōpōtiki and the Waikato, we are able to show the polyphony of Māori voices that exist around the topic of te mate Māori. According to Gellner and Hirsch (2001), good research always "conveys the sense of being there" and "reflects the multiple voices of the real world" (p. 9). One aim of this project will be to show the different opinions, understandings and perceptions of te mate Māori. At this early stage in the project, we have found that variations in understanding of the concept are influenced by such things as a person's age, gender, tribal affiliation, local geography and life experiences. A second aim of this study will be not only to compare the views of Māori groups from different iwi and hapū groups, but to also compare Māori views of mātauranga te mate Māori with Western scientific discourses of Māori health issues. By demonstrating that comparisons can be drawn between the groups, this study is in no way suggesting that the circumstances of the groups are the same. In fact, it would be remiss not to

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1 See Marcus's discussion "Problematizing the Spatial: A Break with the Trope of Community in Realist Ethnography" (1998, pp. 62–63).

acknowledge the different levels of complexity and scale that exist in the different Māori groups, as well as in Māori and Western science epistemologies. The main purpose of conducting the comparisons between the groups is to find out how people interact and deal with one another as they construct meaning for the concept of mātauranga mate Māori. Comparison reveals not only the similarities and differences between different groups but also, and perhaps more importantly, the factors that create those similarities and differences.

Glossary

kanohi ki kanohi	face-to-face communication
kaumātua	Māori women and men aged 57 plus, leaders
Kaupapa Māori	a method of inquiry conducted by Māori with Māori that is not embedded in deficit and needs based theory
marae	tribal gathering place
mātauranga whakaaro	Māori philosophy
mate Māori mātauranga	Māori knowledge of health and social wellbeing differing from those of Western science
rohe	tribal region
RōpūKaitiaki o Ngā Tikanga Māori	Protectors of Principles in the Conduct of Māori Research
te Ao Māori	Māori society
whānau	extended family

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DEVELOPING NEW STRATEGIES FOR MĀORI HOUSING

Fleur Palmer*

Abstract

This paper considers the historical legacy of colonial and post-colonial discrimination and social inequity associated with the Muriwhenua tribes. It considers how the loss of resources such as land and forests has affected access to affordable housing in the Far North. Through maps, I analyse the Treaty settlement for Te Rarawa in the township of Kaitaia. Maps demonstrate how the Treaty offer continues to maintain the status quo, by excluding Māori from the city centre, hindering access, not only to affordable housing in the area, but also to any equivalent and meaningful engagement in the local economy. In response to the prospect of continued spatial injustice, the paper develops a strategy to recolonise Kaitaia using decommissioned state-owned housing stock.

Introduction

Issues relating to Māori housing are situated in a legacy of a complex series of events influenced by early colonial patterns of settlement, strategies of alienation from land, dislocation and exclusion from development associated with urban settlement. Using maps, in this paper I consider the net benefit of proposed Treaty settlements to the Muriwhenua tribes

*   Senior Lecturer of Spatial Design, Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand.
    Email: fleur.palmer@aut.ac.nz

located in the Kaitaia region in relation to access to affordable housing.

Historically, Te Rarawa and Muriwhenua tribes, according to archaeological records and oral traditions, settled in

> coastal regions, around harbours and river valleys, and in particularly favourable inland areas, notably those with fertile volcanic soils and volcanic hills suitable for occupation and defence … Parts of Northland were densely settled and wealthy in the 18th century; some parts seem to have been densely settled and wealthy for most if not all of the prehistoric period. The evidence is still to be seen in the rich archaeological landscapes. (Davidson, 1982, pp. 16–17)

The area was well resourced and amply able to provide for large populations. As Stokes (1997) writes:

> The resources of land and sea were rich and varied, and easily supported several thousand people. The Muriwhenua Māori society encountered by European visitors in the late eighteenth century was wealthy, self sufficient in most resources, and maintained trade and social contact with tribes far beyond Muriwhenua. (p. 36)

With colonial settlement, the Muriwhenua tribes suffered extensive land loss right across Northland. The township of Kaitaia (literally meaning abundance of food), is one of many places in the region that has experienced ongoing ramifications for local iwi (tribes), in terms of access to affordable housing. During pre-European settlement, the area was renowned for its fertility and accessibility to abundant food sources. Six pah (fortified village) sites were located in the vicinity. But in 1834, Nopero Panakareao (a prominent Te Rarawa chieftain) made several transactions amounting to 22,000 acres of fertile land in the Kaitaia district with Church Missionary Society missionaries Joseph

Matthews, Gilbert Puckey and four other families connected to the missionary station (Stokes, 1997). In making extensive purchases in excess of what was required to support these families, the missionaries were strategically considering the benefits this land would have for their progeny for generations to come. Panakareao's motive in setting up the exchange was primarily to attract development into the region, based on the notion that shared trade would bring shared wealth to his people. But the anticipated settlement and industry never occurred in this region. When Panakareao made these transactions "tuku whenua" was the term used to translate the sale of land. Tuku whenua refers to a reciprocal relationship based around the gifting of land and its occupation. As Stokes (1997) writes

> The important elements of tuku whenua were, firstly, the "gift" (tuku) of land and the circumstances surrounding the offer of land. Secondly actual occupation, confirmed by marriage was expected, and required to maintain any rights in the land. Thirdly, the rights and mana were maintained, occupation was shared, and if for any reason occupation ceased, the rights reverted to the donor. (pp. 630–631)

With Treaty of Waitangi claim processes, there has been extensive debate to determine at what stage Māori understood the translation of tuku whenua to mean something else – as in permanent alienation (Mutu, 1992). Panakareao wrongly assumed when he agreed to tuku whenua land in Kaitaia for the missionaries that any land not used would be returned according to customary tradition. Instead, when early large claims such as this were reviewed through the Māori Land Court, rather than being returned, unused land was taken by the Crown as surplus (Stokes, 1997). According to Rima Edwards (1992), Panakareao always refuted any suggestions that the land had been sold outright, stating:

"Hore kau i hokoa e au tō whenua engari nāku i tuku i runga i te aroha, taku tuarā ki te Reinga". That is, "I did not sell the land but I gave it out of love, my back to Te Reinga". The land has a wairua, a mauri. In Tai Tokerau when speakers farewell the dead they say "haere, nga mate, kua huri tōu tuarā". "Farewell, you dead, you have turned your back and gone to Te Reinga, never to return". In saying "taku tuarā ki Te Reinga" Panakareao was saying he had not dispatched the wairua of the land as if it had died. The manu whenua was alive and active; he still held it, and he expected that the land would eventually be returned. (Edwards, 1992, pp. 10–11)

Although the term tuku whenua meant something different to Māori, its translation into permanent alienation has always been upheld, undermining indigenous perceptions.

The Warawara Forest

In 1875, the Crown purchased the Warawara, an amalgamation of different land blocks, comprising 18,270 acres of virgin kauri forest in Te Rarawa region. The purchase of this forest was one of several that occurred in regions across the country. In the purchase agreement, no consideration was given for the timber or kauri gum. In spite of initial verbal assurances that the iwi would retain ownership of the timber and other resources associated with the forest in support of the Treaty of Waitangi, by 1903, the Crown was refuting this agreement (Cooper et al., 2011, p. 34). Under assumed ownership of the trees in the forest, and managed by the New Zealand Forest Service, until the 1970s, over 8.5 million board feet of timber were extracted, stripping the forest of its trees and in the process permanently damaging indigenous ecosystems of flora and fauna. In 1979, no longer able to economically extract more lumber, the Crown turned the Warawara Forest

into a sanctuary, and in 1987, it was transferred to the Department of Conservation. During this period, no compensation or consideration was ever made to the local iwi in payment for the extraction of timber or loss of this resource (Cooper et al., 2011).

Initially, the timber extracted from the Warawara Forest was exported to build houses in Sydney and San Francisco (Orwin, 2009, p. 3). Later, it was used to supply timber for building housing projects in cities around New Zealand. Over this period, locals repeatedly requested permission to extract timber from the forest to build their own homes, schools and marae on the sites that had been left over from Crown land or other purchases. These requests were consistently denied. Those fortunate enough to be left with scraps of land on which to build had to make do with whatever materials were ready to hand, either building traditional houses (whare nīkau with earthen floors) or makeshift shacks.

In terms of housing, the consequence of the loss of forests such as the Warawara and retention of surplus land has been widespread. In some cases, Māori continued to occupy land taken by the Crown. But permanence was always in jeopardy. In the 1960s, Māori squatters' huts located on the Tangonge block region near Kaitaia were forcibly removed by the Crown. Earlier attempts had been made to remove them based on poor living conditions. The huts were described as "typical of contemporary Māori accommodation" whose families "could not afford to build better quality homes" (Stokes, 1997, p. 537). One of them, documented in a report, written in the 1930s by Taua of the Native Department, was as follows:

1 couple 5 children

1 couple 2 children

An iron hut about 12 [feet] x 15 [feet] [4 x 5 meters] with 2 doors. No windows, open fire and mud floor. The furniture consisted of two

beds and a small homemade table. There were no proper facilities for storage of food, these being left in a corner of the shack in boxes under the table. The water supply is a hole in the ground about 2 chains [50 meters] away from the shack and there is no lavatory. (Taua, as cited in Stokes, 1997, p. 538)

Although this account was made in the 1930s, living conditions for many Māori living in the Far North has not changed significantly in the intervening years. Houses built from Skyline garages, cowsheds, containers and buses are the housing typology most typically associated with housing on Māori land (see Figure 1).

State housing and policies of exclusion

At the same time that the investigation on squatters' huts on the Tangonge block was taking place, the government was initiating an extensive social housing programme to overcome housing shortages in the main city centres. From the 1930s to the 1970s, under different government regimes, the state built over 100,000 state houses in cities across New Zealand. Proudly promoted for the superb quality of their design and construction, state houses from the 1930s to the 1970s were constructed to a high standard,

FIGURE 1   This photograph of a family living in a Skyline garage and caravans without power at Rangi Point was taken in January 2012. (Palmer, 2012)

framed in good quality native timbers such as rimu, with suspended matāi or tawa floors and clad in heart rimu weatherboards or brick cladding (Schrader, 2000, pp. 134–135, 2005). "The materials specified in state houses were of a very high standard as these houses were expected to have a long life" (Ryan, Burgess, & Easton, 2008; Schrader, 2005).

The timbers used for constructing state houses were logged from forests managed by the New Zealand Forest Service. While tribes from different regions provided the materials (without payment) that built state housing in New Zealand from the 1930s to the 1970s, they were obstructed from accessing similar materials to build their own houses. Until the late 1940s, they were also prevented from occupying state houses "on the grounds that their presence would allegedly 'lower the tone' of State housing communities and because few could afford the rent" (New Zealand History online, n.d.). There was also an interest in keeping the races separate (Schrader, 2005, p. 57). This policy changed in 1948 with the introduction of a new practice that allowed for the integration of Māori into European settlements in a scheme known as "pepper potting".

In rural areas, unable to avoid the evidence of growing issues relating to the state of Māori housing, some state assistance was eventually offered to Māori housing on rural blocks in the form of rural land development loans, which were used in some cases to replace dilapidated housing. Although further discriminatory practices occurred by restricting the scale and quality of houses, Māori could build using these loans. For instance, although Māori tended to have big families, the loans to Māori for rural housing were limited to smaller houses than state-sponsored Pākehā housing, leading to overcrowding (New Zealand History online, n.d.).

The Treaty settlement supports inequitable spatial policies

With the development of towns and cities, and individualisation of title, and as immigrant numbers increased, Māori became excluded from owning land within or close to cities or places that would became centres of industrial and commercial development.

While Māori yearn (matemateāone) for a connection back to the whenua associated with their whakapapa, there is not enough land left to sustainably support the multiple shareholders associated with each block, and remote parcels of land still remaining in Māori ownership make this economically challenging. This, coupled with limited access to job opportunities in remote rural districts, has left Māori vulnerable to being trapped in a cycle of subsistence living and poverty. Because they still retain pockets of land in rural districts, strategies to improve Māori housing have focused on rural development, mainly because of the shortage of land retained by Māori in urban centres. But if Māori still owned land in our cities the scenario would be quite different. In "Seeking Spatial Justice", geographer Edward W. Soja (2011) writes about the consequences of inequitable distribution of resources and initiatives that have motivated change. He argues that justice, and the distribution of wealth and power, is geographically located. This is clearly evident if we consider the distribution of housing and land ownership in relation to how Māori occupy our cities and towns. According to the 2006 Census (New Zealand Statistics, n.d.), the township of Kaitaia has a population of 5202, of which 43.9% are Māori, and 43% of all dwellings in Kaitaia are rented. In the town centre, Māori own two small blocks (barely visible in left map in Figure 2). No commercial, industrial or residential land is in Māori ownership. The map to the right in Figure 2 shows the addition of land (in pink) that will be returned with the Treaty settlement (schools and reserves). None of the returned land will be located in the commercial, industrial or residential hub of the town.

The maps in Figure 2 demonstrate the invisible yet insidious division that occurs at the centre of Kaitaia. With the proposed Treaty
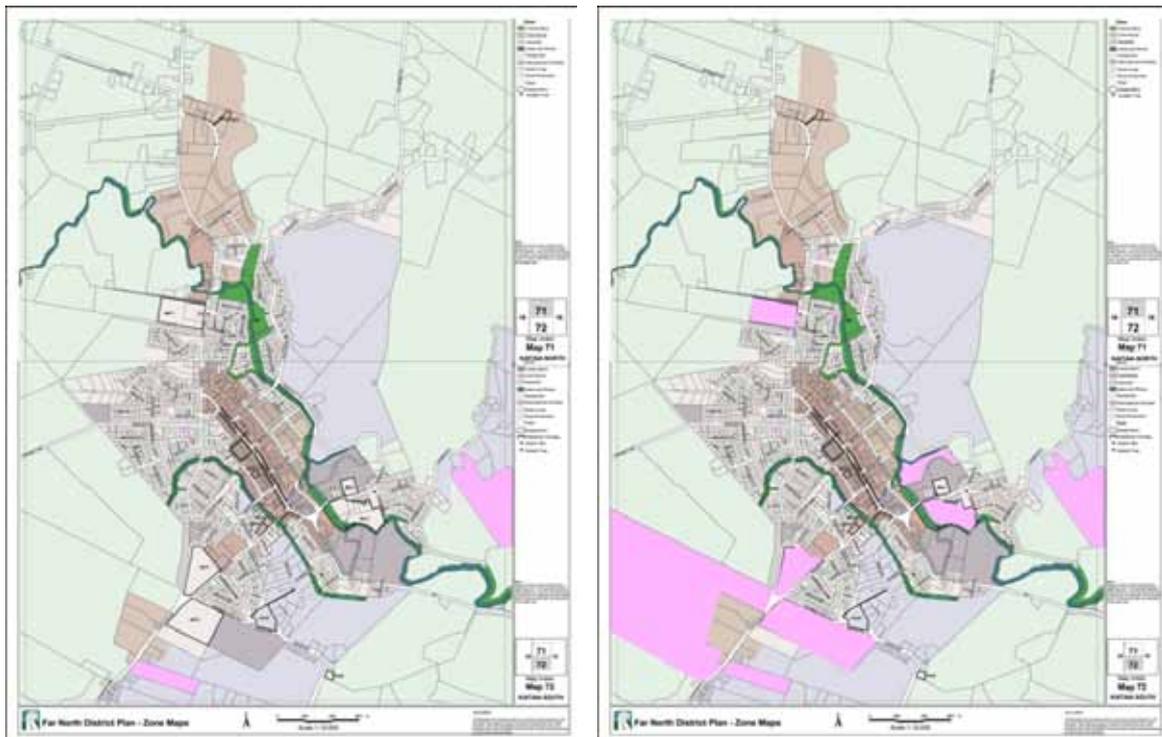

FIGURE 2.   Māori land and proposed Treaty settlement.

settlement, a status quo will always be maintained in terms of separation and exclusion. In her research into the colonial effect of exclusion and segregation on Aboriginal people, Penelope Edmonds (2010) has argued that the settler colonial city is a "crucial locus of unequal power relations" (p. 53) and "spatial commerce" (p. 57). She notes that important questions relating to "segregation practices that continue to shape people's lives" (pp. 52–53) are never asked. The exclusion that came with individualisation of title and aggressive land ownership schemes that supported the development of towns and cities have in turn prevented Māori from participating in the accumulated benefits that come with controlling commercial, industrial or residential land in our towns and cities. With the Treaty settlement, how can Māori inhabit towns and cities on equivalent terms with Pākehā, if they continue to be excluded from any control of the urban centres? How can settlements enable Māori to inhabit towns and cities as a people who have equal control of the resources – not just restricted to reserves and schools as given in the example above? Schools and reserves are easy for the government to return as they are amenities that belong to the whole community.

Recolonising urban sites

In 2011, the Social Housing Unit announced that the government was intending in future to focus state house development in the main cities. This means that existing housing stock in remote districts such as Kaitaia will be decommissioned. By withdrawing government support, this initiative threatens an already fragile Māori community that is heavily dependent on state housing, but it also could provide an opportunity for this community to take control of this resource and turn it into something more productive. While Muriwhenua Treaty claims focus on the return of rural land, school and reserves, no compensation will be given for

previous government misdemeanours, such as the ecological destruction and removal of timber from local forests, and only partial compensation will be given for retention of surplus land. No consideration will be given to assess the ongoing effect of the marginalisation from urban centres. In the proposed Muriwhenua settlement, the return of land located in Kaitaia will be minimal – restricted to river access ways, a meteorological station, a hospital, some schools and reserves and the return of the Tangonge block. These sites are all difficult to build houses on, or develop commercially. With no direct access to urban or commercial land in Kaitaia, the Treaty settlement hinders opportunities for local iwi to have homes and businesses close to urban centres and community-based infrastructures such as schools and medical facilities.

If we are to address inequity, the Muriwhenua tribes should have a right to occupy Kaitaia, not as tenants on what was once ancestral land, but on equivalent terms to the descendants of settlers who colonised the area, and who now have control of the majority of land in this region. If this is the case, how can this be achieved? The Housing New Zealand initiative to decommission state houses in Kaitaia could be a small step in addressing this history of social inequity and discrimination through providing the Muriwhenua tribes with the opportunity to reclaim land, which in many cases they already have been occupying as long-term tenants of the state. In terms of addressing social justice, this strategy has the follow advantages:

1. It supports economic development, with Māori being able to access a wider range of jobs and commercial and industrial development opportunities. Having a wider range of job options or the potential to develop businesses, especially if the sites in Kaitaia can be rezoned automatically, makes the servicing of mortgages more affordable.

2. It shifts Māori from being marginalised tenants in the Kaitaia township to being able to

accumulate wealth through increased equity over time.

3. It supports Māori in attaining stronger economic benefits associated with the Kaitaia district by repositioning them with control at its very centre.

4. It compensates Māori for the native timbers that were extracted from state-controlled forests to build state houses from the 1930s to the 1970s, through returning the timber along with interest in well-built Housing New Zealand housing stock, thereby acknowledging and repaying Māori for the injustices and inequitable practices that occurred when forests such as the Wararawa were destroyed.

5. While most of the surplus land that was retained by the Crown can never now be returned (it has passed into private ownership), the return of state housing land supports the reciprocal relationship of tuku whenua between the Crown and Māori. While not always traditionally linked to ancestral hapū occupation, state house sites in Kaitaia are linked to iwi, and in many cases people have occupied them for some time, creating a right to occupy grounded in the concept of ahi kā. This initiative provides the government with the opportunity to engage in social and territorial justice through a reciprocal relationship of tuku whenua, through gifting back state houses and land in Kaitaia to the Muriwhenua tribes in response to inequalities they have endured through government discriminatory practices.

6. In reclaiming state housing sites in Kaitaia, the Muriwhenua tribes get an opportunity to activate the manuwhenua of the land.

The maps in Figure 3 show the addition of council-owned land to the left and Housing New Zealand sites to the right. If owned and controlled by Māori, the Housing New Zealand sites would reflect a more equitable Māori ownership within the centre of Kaitaia.
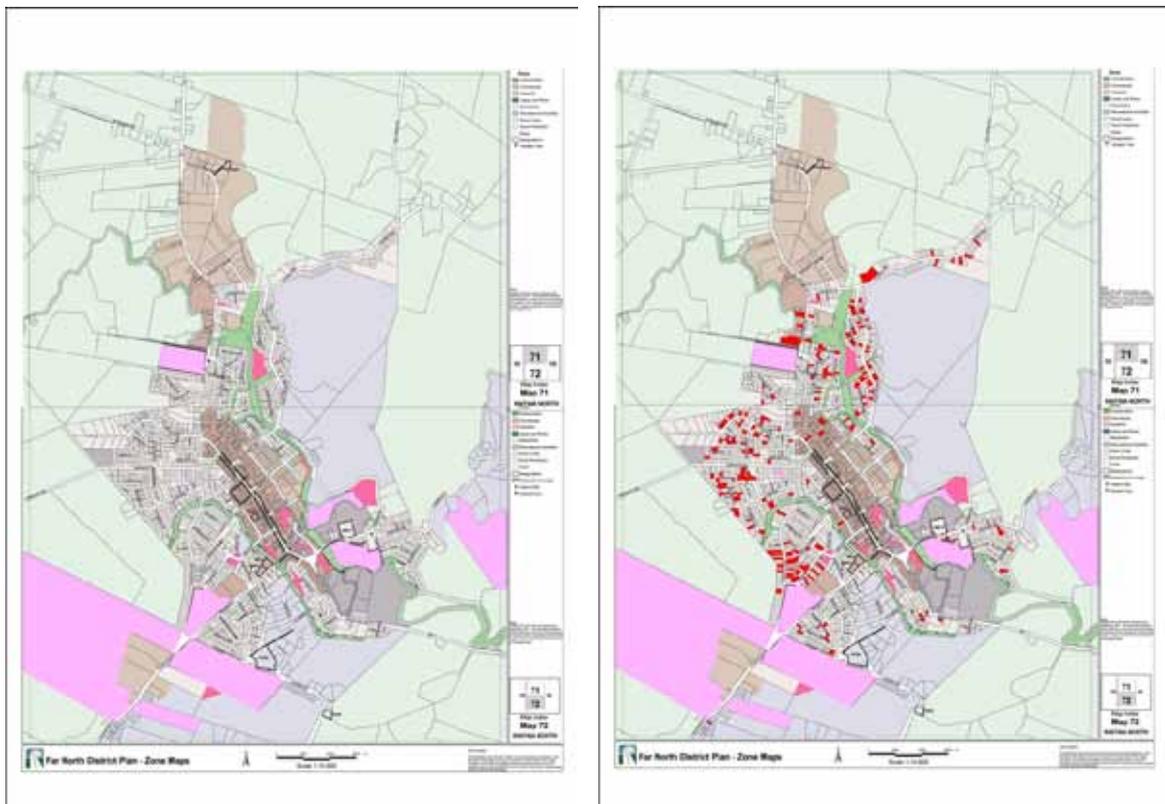

FIGURE 3.   Council land and Housing New Zealand land.

While government agencies have identified the disparities that exist for Māori in relation to housing, health, education and employment, they fail to consider or act on the spatial and geographical inequalities that exist in relation to how our towns or cites are occupied, or assess the impact of Māori exclusion and marginalisation from urban areas, not just in terms of housing, but also in terms of commercial and industrial development and full participation in urban economies. In failing to address these issues, they are ambivalent in fostering indigenous rights and self-determinism. The reappropriation of the Housing New Zealand sites in Kaitaia and rezoning of returned land to encourage mixed use development provide a testing ground for rethinking how Māori could singularly or communally live in this area on equivalent terms.

Glossary

iwi	tribe
mana whenua	the exercise of traditional authority over an area of land
pah	fortified village
taku taurā	my ties, link
tuku whenua	gifting of land and its occupation
wairua	spirit
whare nīkau	house made with nikau fronds

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THE NEED FOR DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES IN SCIENCE

Daniel Lipe*

Abstract

All science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) disciplines deal with complex and oftentimes multilevel issues. As human populations and technology continue to increase, so too does the complexity of issues that society faces. Global warming and climate changes, managing biodiversity and environmental issues, complex species interactions, effects of introduced exotic species and human impacts on ecosystems are just a few of the issues "science" has the task of solving today. A few questions that are being asked are: Who gets to define science and why? Is there more than one way to view and define science? How can different views of science work together today and in the future?

The purpose of this article is to provide readers with a unique and not often discussed perspective of Native American science, as told through a Native American lens. The article will define both Native American and Western sciences to show the importance of diverse perspectives and world views when dealing with science-based issues of today.

Keywords

indigenous knowledge, scientific diversity, bio-cultural diversity

*   University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
     Email: lipe@hawaii.edu

The built landscape

As a society, we are becoming more surrounded by the concrete built landscape (Berkes, 1999; Lichatowich, 1999). In turn, we have become less and less connected to the environments and ecosystems that sustain life on this planet. American society has become dependent upon Western science as the means to solve complex environmental issues. The term "Western science" has been frequently cited in literature and has foundations tracing back to early European thought.

Western science defined

There have been literally thousands of books written on Western science, and it has been defined in a variety of ways. According to Merriam-Webster's online dictionary, the definition of science is "something … that may be studied or learned like systemized knowledge", or "knowledge covering general truths or the operation of general laws especially as obtained and tested through scientific method [and] concerned with the physical world" ("Science", n.d.).

At the educational level, science was defined through the court system in the Arkansas trials by Judge Overton in 1982. Overton defined science through a set of criteria used to establish if curriculum could be categorised or taught as science. The criteria is listed as follows: (a) it is guided by natural law; (b) it is explanatory by reference to natural law; (c) it is testable against the empirical world; (d) it is falsifiable; and (e) its conclusions are tentative; that is, are not necessarily the final word. Judge Overton's definition set the precedent for separation of church and state in educational facilities. If the curricular information in question does not fulfill all of the five listed criteria, then it does not fit within the domain of science and therefore cannot be taught as science. In this definition of the "natural sciences", science is a specific way of acquiring knowledge that follows a specific predetermined set of rules and methods.

Western science as dominant

Since the arrival of Euro-American colonisers to North America, the Native American model of culture and science-based knowledge systems has been researched, described and disseminated through a strictly Western-based lens. By design, this model has forcefully removed all perspectives other than that of the Western viewpoint. Within the sciences, this model has been even more restrictive and can be described best through the title of Colin Scott's (1996) article "Science for the West, myth for the rest?" Western sciences, through a strict methodology, have tried to disprove, exclude and label knowledge and knowledge systems that do not follow these methods as "folk and anecdotal knowledge". According to Cobern and Loving (2001), "the record is fairly clear. Around the globe where science is taught, it is taught at the expense of indigenous knowledge and this precipitates charges of epistemological hegemony and cultural imperialism" (p. 52). When we exclude diversity and other ways of understanding, we are also limiting our understandings of the world itself.

Over the years, research has shown that groups working on complex, multifaceted questions and issues have benefited by having diversity (Adler, 1996; Hoffman & Maier, 1961). Page (2007) states, "Diverse groups of problem solvers – groups of people with diverse tools – consistently outperformed groups of the best and brightest … diversity trumped ability" (p. XX). Cultural diversity within sciences is likely to be as important as environmental and species diversity is to ecosystems.

Native American science

As the first inhabitors of North America, Native American peoples have lived with and been a part of their local homelands for thousands of years. Over time, Native Americans have created their own ontological understandings and knowledge bases, explaining their homelands and world views through oral traditions passed down from generation to generation (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Berkes, 1999; Cajete, 2000; Lake, 2007). According to Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005), "the depth of indigenous knowledge rooted in the long inhabitation of a particular place offers lessons that can benefit everyone, from the educator to scientist, as we search for a more satisfying and sustainable way to live on this planet" (p. 9). Native American stories are collective, building upon each generation and covering thousands of years of lived experiences. Stories have been one of the main pedagogical tools used for passing on life lessons and other Native American ontological beliefs for generations:

> In the long ago time, Creator gave many gifts to the People: light, food, water, shelter. But Creator saw there was no order. The People would just run around waving their arms, pointing, bumping into each other. And Creator was puzzled by this behavior, and spent much time thinking about how to get the People to understand. And then Creator realized how quiet it was, and so Creator gave them sound and voice and the People hummed and shouted, but it was unintelligible. So Creator gave them words, and the People shouted and sang, but their revelry made no sense, just words heaped on each other with no order. So Creator gave the People language, a structure for the sounds and words, and the People spoke and they told each other what to do and used their words to build and farm and sing and dance and offer blessings and thanks for all the great bounty Creator had bestowed upon them. And slowly, they

began to share with each other things that happened to them during the day and scary things they heard in the night. And slowly they began to pass on news to each other and use the gifts from Creator to tell each other how they came to be. And slowly the People passed on everything they knew to their children, so they could learn and grow and be strong and healthy. And the People called these tellings "Story." And Creator thought, this is good.

> *And so it was.* (Francis, 2010, p. ix).

Many of the foundational values and beliefs of Native American world views are centred on relationships and a holistic perspective (Berkes, 1999; Cajete, 2000; Wilson, 2008). In many cases, Western science has a lot to gain and learn from working with Native American and other indigenous peoples (Happynook, 2004). "Many of the core values, beliefs and practices associated with those [Native American] world-views have survived and are beginning to be recognized as [being just] as valid for today's generations as [they were] for generations past" (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, p. 9). It is not a matter of whether this knowledge is useful; it is more a matter of whether it is going to be used and through what perspective.

Cultural conflicts

Past educational research has focused on cross-cultural struggles between Euro-American and Native American beliefs and educational systems. One primary reason Euro-American educational systems have so profoundly failed Native American students is the vast cultural conflict between the dominant Euro-Western and the traditional Native American cultural world views (Cajete, 1994; Deloria, 1990; LaCounte, 1987). Historically, there has been a strong cultural bias in curricula within the Euro-American education system. Demmert (1994) indicated that many Native American

students have difficulties in learning due to a lack of connection with the material. The majority of educational programmes continue to teach assimilation through strong Western science values of resource domination and utilisation.

Personal story

I learned quickly in college that science was a one-way track of learning. I can remember the first time it ever happened as if it were yesterday. I was sitting in a natural resource course listening to a visiting researcher discussing his research on a stream study in a southern region of Alaska. During his discussion, he talked about a variety of topics including temporal river changes. I raised my hand to ask if he had looked into identifying any of the Native Alaskan people found within the region of his study who could have been used as a resource for temporal changes. He looked at me with a puzzled expression on his face and asked me why he would do something like that? I shared that most indigenous tribes utilised, and in many cases managed, riparian areas throughout their territories for many different reasons, including food, shelter, water, cultural tools and wood. I also pointed out that they could be useful for determining temporal changes since they would have found refuge within these areas for part if not all of the year. At this point in the conversation, he stopped me and, in a rather loud, upset voice, informed the class that there were no Native Americans living within his study. Besides, even if there were, the Native American populations found within North America were so small that they did not affect any ecosystems in which they lived. He continued by stating that most Native Americans were wandering nomads and spent most of their lives searching for food and shelter instead of creating it. I left that class a little frustrated.

Later that afternoon, I walked into another fisheries and wildlife course. In this course,

we were talking about biodiversity within the Willamette Valley in Oregon. Let me start by saying that it has been well documented that Native Americans burned most if not all of the Willamette Valley seasonally (Blackburn & Anderson, 1993; Boyd, 1999) and that, through seasonal burning, Native Americans created and maintained very diverse mixed-aged forest stands, along with a variety of different open and partially open grassland-like environments. I again raised my hand in this class and discussed the idea of Native American fire management and how it would have created diverse environments, which in turn could have increased or changed the species present in these areas. I was then told by the professor that he had also heard of Native Americans burning the Willamette Valley, but he wanted the entire class to understand that Native Americans were not the environmental angels that I was speaking of, and that the current Western science theory on early Native Americans was that they were the cause of mass extinctions of the early-era large Pleistocene mammals of North America. So, in a matter of 20 minutes' walk across campus from one room to another, we (Native Americans) went from not enough of us to change things to superpredators killing all of the large mammal populations of the Pleistocene era. How could Native Americans be both wandering nomads with not enough technology and numbers to affect environments to superpredators killing off all of the mega fauna of North America? The knowledge I was bringing to the classroom was never really discussed; rather, the Western-trained professors refuted it through different Western theories written by Western outside researchers as a means of discrediting Native Americans and their knowledge systems.

Different scientific perspectives

One of the fundamental differences between indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) and

Western science is the way environments are viewed. Western science is rooted in the need to control nature. Cajete (2000) highlights this point: "Western science is committed to increasing human mastery over nature, to go on conquering until everything natural is under absolute human control" (p. 16). Conversely, IKS are founded upon respectful, reciprocal relationships with the environment (Happynook, 2004).

Throughout my work and studies, I have studied how different indigenous science is

FIGURE 1. Foundational views of Native American and Western sciences.

Native American	*Western Euro-American*
Learning Styles and Goals	
High context: approach that includes multivariables that interact concurrently	**Low context:** approach that tries to isolate single variable away from outer influence
Holistic, multisensory and boundless in scope, grounded in thorough observation	**Fragmented** and restricted in scope through an intellectual and technical toolkit
Information that began with or before humankind itself and has continued to expand this knowledge base even today	**Information** beginning in 17th century European Christianity and natural philosophy – its foundational ideas trace back to early Greek philosophers
Goal to **comprehend knowledge in a practical manner**, knowledge for applicable sake	Goal to **comprehend the workings of the entire universe**, to explain through a finite set of natural laws, knowledge for knowledge sake
Physical World	
Viewed as **sensible qualities that are abstract**	Viewed as a **set of formal qualities that are concrete**
Nature as **holy, sacred, unity, familial**	Nature as **savage, wild, wasteland, disconnected**
Gift economy based upon reciprocal responsibilities	**Commodities** to be used and sold
Humans and Relationships to Nature	
Active participants in and part of as an equal working part of nature	**Separate from**, superior to, viewed as an inanimate other to nature
Humans have **reciprocal responsibilities** and **relationship** with nature, expression of gratitude for benefits provided	Humans seen as **dominion above** nature, to be used as seen fit, extraction of resources
Maintaining relationship with nature is **required** viewed as a **daily lifelong practice**	Relationships with nature viewed as **admirable** but **not required everyday**
Spiritual Component	
Spiritual energy or lifeline dispersed throughout **all living and non-living things**	Spiritual understanding comes only through one **supreme monolithic being**

from Western science. Both Western and Native American researchers have identified many of the fundamental differences between the sciences (Berkes, 1999; Cajete, 1994; Deloria, 1990; Grenier, 1998; Lake, 2007). In particular, Cajete argues "to understand the foundations of Native science one must become open to the roles of sensation, perception, imagination, emotion, symbols, and spirit as well as that of concept, logic, and rational empiricism" (p. 67). Over the years, the differences have been highlighted through research in order to separate the two into two unique ways of understanding the world. Figure 1 outlines some of the differences that have been identified between Western scientific and Native American foundational views of science.

Final thoughts

Having different perspectives should not limit the credibility of a culture's scientific knowledge; it should strengthen it. With research that has proven through time that having diverse perspectives helps to find solutions to complex issues, one would think that we would be embracing different perspectives rather than spending all of our time trying to discredit alternative ways of seeing and or doing science. As more of society's problems become issues at the global level, the more it is going to take diverse perspectives working together as a team to solve these issues. We must continue to work with these diverse ways of understanding our world and stop relying on a single process to come up with answers for the future. One way of accomplishing this task is through participatory action research, where indigenous communities are active participants in the planning, implementation and dissemination of research projects taking place in and around culturally important sites. There also needs to be an increase in the number of indigenous faculty members at higher educational academies that can teach scientific perspectives to students who want to better understand Western scientific and indigenous scientific ways of knowing. We must continue to push for cross-cultural courses that include indigenous knowledge taught by and for indigenous peoples. Indigenous science programmes and curricula must be further developed and taught within the science departments as alternative ways of knowing. These are just a few ways in which we can start to make a difference. The time has come to embrace the differences between knowledge systems and, more importantly, to make the effort to learn from one another rather than spending all of our time fighting over whose knowledge is worthy and whose knowledge is not.

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ENCOUNTERING INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

The journey of an Italian anthropologist researching Māori and rugby

Domenica Gisella Calabrò*

Abstract

How can researchers coming from non-Indigenous realities and disciplines engage with Indigenous research and researchers? How can these encounters benefit Indigenous communities and knowledges (and those of the non-Indigenous researchers)? These are the questions elicited by my experience as an Italian doctoral student in anthropology engaging with cultural and academic communities that were not my own and happened to be Indigenous – specifically, Māori.

I set out to investigate the relationship between Māori and rugby and located myself within Māori studies, trying to understand and integrate Kaupapa Māori research. Both the intricacy of the context and the multifacetedness of my own self-identifications and scientific background created a complex scenario. The historical connivance of anthropology with colonialism and the apparent non-urgency of the rugby topic further raised questions.

This paper will elaborate on this journey, observing the potentialities of Indigenous approaches from an "external" perspective while purporting the possibility of a cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary approach to Indigenous research.

Keywords

Māori, Indigenous, kaupapa, episteme, anthropology, rugby

*   Department of Studies in Modern Civilisation and Classical Tradition, Faculty of Humanities, University of Messina, Polo Universitario Annunziata, Messina, Italy. Email: dcalabro@unime.it

Introduction

In 2008, I went to New Zealand to do what anthropologists call fieldwork. The previous year I had embarked on a doctoral journey in an Italian institution, hoping to investigate the cultural, social and political dynamics of the relation between Māori and rugby. Aware of the complexities of a colonised landscape and the implications of being non-Māori, "Western" and an anthropologist, I believed it was essential to seek approval, support and hospitality within a Māori academic context. Accordingly, I proposed the project to the head of the School of Māori Studies in Wellington.

This institution was my intermediary to the Māori community and enabled me to connect with Māori researchers. It also exposed me to an Indigenous research methodology, known as Kaupapa Māori. Engaging with the community entailed acknowledging such an approach to research and negotiating a space within the Māori academic space. By positioning myself cross-culturally and cross-disciplinarily, I attempted to overcome the invisible and often subtle barriers that have resulted from the historical context of colonisation, and to contribute to the recognition, understanding and development of Indigenous knowledge. However, both the Māori world view and Māori studies as an interdisciplinary space contain the seed for the integration of different people, theories and disciplines.

Empowerment through knowledge and within knowledge

One of my earliest fieldwork memories is receiving a recommendation to read about the Māori epistemological approach theorised by Linda Smith (1999). As I grew familiar with the Māori academic microcosm, this research approach became more intelligible. In Māori studies, everyone viewed the academic community as a whānau conforming with the tikanga that

distinguish this social entity, such as reciprocity. As in a whānau, importance was given to collective decision making. People were valued in terms of mana. Everything revolved around the marae. The carvings in the meeting house epitomised the community's respect for their ancestors, who legitimated the existence of Māori studies. Emphasis was placed on hospitality and meetings were modelled on the hui. Everything pointed to a holistic world view. This landscape also suggested a relationship between researchers and informants based on reciprocity, collaboration and mutual respect of mana, which embedded the pursuit of knowledge for the benefit of the community peculiar to Kaupapa Māori research in the Māori world view. I deemed that trying to understand this reality and to incorporate aspects of it was paramount to engaging more effectively with the Māori community, and getting a deeper understanding of its sociocultural dynamics and needs.

As an anthropologist, I viewed Kaupapa Māori, first and foremost, as the epistemological expression of Māori cultural distinctiveness. While claiming that knowledge and culture are related might be a statement of the obvious, the term "epistemology" seems to convey the idea of a scientific approach and, eventually, a knowledge transcending cultural definitions and value systems. It is, in fact, more commonly used as a singular noun. The Sámi scholar Kuokkannen (2007) proposed replacing epistemology with the term "episteme" used by Foucault to refer to the cultural and historical situatedness of knowledge. She thus described episteme:

> A lens through which we perceive the world; we use it to structure the statements that count as knowledge in a particular period. In other words, it is a mode of social reality, a reality that is taken-for-granted ground whose unwritten rules are learned (or as Foucault would say, "written" in the social order) through the processes of socialization into a particular culture. (p. 53)

Accordingly, variations in the way academic relations are conceived and knowledge is used, achieved and valued can be detected in non-Indigenous and Indigenous spaces alike. As someone familiar with an academic space situated at the periphery of the "West", I had further reasons to be aware of epistemological plurality. Despite this background, I was not fully cognisant of it until I walked into Māori studies. My experience suggests the extent to which we fail to realise that the academic environment is itself culturally informed and that we take many of our scientific procedures and values for granted. Paradoxically, if we refer to Kuokkanen's definition of episteme, this phenomenon just confirms the cultural situatedness of our epistemological assumptions.

How, then, to explain the strong awareness Indigenous people have of their own episteme? We could state that these groups have been denied the right to take their episteme for granted. By silencing Indigenous knowledge and ostracising epistemological pluralism within research, colonisation has forced Indigenous communities to objectify and safeguard their episteme. From this point of view, the current development of Indigenous methodologies challenges the Western monopoly. The concept of episteme actually encompasses the influence of the historical and political momentum on the way knowledge is viewed and used. In this sense, the Indigenous reflection on their knowledge is testimony to the decolonising process, and the goal of using knowledge to benefit the community is also political – in addition to cultural. Empowerment of the Indigenous communities takes place through knowledge and within knowledge.

This context explains the engagement that distinguishes Māori scholars, but it also accounts for the Indigenous suspicion or opposition towards non-Indigenous research and disciplines, and the doors they close. Te Punga Sommerville (2011), Māori researcher in English literature, observed that the concepts of resistance and enfranchisement have been affecting research in such a way as to prevent Māori from investigating within fields and about topics that are not deemed relevant to Māori, are not associated with Māori "traditional" ways of being, or do not involve Māori. Consequently, I argue that the difficulty of encounters between non-Indigenous and Indigenous research does not really rest on cultural incommensurability, but rather on the political and historical context. Historicising the mistrust is a first step to bridging distance and avoiding all problematisation. From this point of view, acknowledging the existence and legitimacy of the research methodology adopted by Indigenous researchers also corresponds to an ethical positioning, insofar as it recognises and aims to redress a political and sociocultural unbalance.

How Western and how Indigenous are we?

The Māori scholar Linda Smith (1999) pinpointed the concept of authenticity as one of the main hindrances to the social and academic recognition of Indigenous people and their culture in contemporary society:

> At the heart of such a view of authenticity is a belief that indigenous cultures cannot change, cannot recreate themselves and still claim to be indigenous. Nor can they be complicated, internally diverse or contradictory. Only the West has that privilege. (p. 74)

Thus, the acknowledgement of a complex and multifarious Indigeneity is advocated. Nevertheless, caught up in the intricacies consubstantial to human relations and in political mechanisms, some Indigenous people tend to adopt the essentialist and monolithic criteria of definition they thwart. These impinge on the possibility for non-Indigenous people to research about Indigenous enunciations and with Indigenous people.

To me, Western is just a facade that I can accept or use in the first encounter, when people need to make sense of one another. In my case, I am also European, Mediterranean, Italian, Southern Italian, Calabrian and a woman. These identifications have implications in the way I approached anthropology, the Māori community and the Māori academy. While many people might assume that being Western, I would fit quite easily into the mainstream social and academic context from which many Māori felt estranged, that was not necessarily the case. Those contexts are primarily Anglo-Saxon, a dimension Māori might be more familiar with than I am. Additionally, as a Southern Italian – notably a woman whose sociocultural experience is rooted in the humble peasant milieu of the Mediterranean – I come from an area whose people have long been regarded by Europeans and parts of Italy as the local "primitives". I soon learnt that prejudice and discrimination would often be corollaries to cultural difference, and that cultural diversity could be manipulated to construct power and social unbalance. This background contributed to my interest in anthropology and developing my sensitivity towards Indigenous issues. I have never expected Māori to know about these aspects of European history and culture, but I have always hoped that they would be open to see what lies behind the facade. And I have found that many have the humbleness to listen, and some may express gratitude for being reminded that variety and discrimination can be found in the West as well.

Hence, against purist labels, I asserted my own person in the same way Māori did. Interestingly enough, the Māori context in which I had located myself called for such a process. In a Māori perspective, I was disclosing my whakapapa. That enabled Māori to identify who I was and relate to me. My being Italian actually presented many kinds of connections, from the 28th Māori Battalion that fought in Italy during World War II to the Italian migrants that married or worked with Māori. Subsequently, I could develop a form of relationship based on shared experiences and working together, according to the principle of whakawhanaungatanga.

What I have just considered dissolves the categories academia tends to adopt. Nobody is purely Western. Similarly, no one is purely Indigenous, which means admitting that the multifaceted Indigenous identities also include Western elements. The same fact of being an Indigenous researcher entails participation in something that is also Western. There seems to be a taboo about these aspects of Indigeneity, though, which I believe only sanctions the essentialism the Indigenous communities aspire to eradicate. Because all historical, cultural and personal background affects to different degrees the way we approach and use knowledge, and behave in the spaces where knowledge is pursued, no one is purely scientist either. In my opinion, the acknowledgment of these variants is a step towards understanding and collaboration. The diversity they encompass determines different types of collision, but also allows for multiple negotiations. That is the reason why we first have to relate to one another as individuals with our own sociocultural background rather than as scientists, or as scientists versus Indigenous researchers.

Approaching Indigenous knowledge from a "colonial" discipline

When relating to the Māori community, the term anthropology did not leave people wondering what I was doing, as is often the case in Europe. As a discipline whereby Western observers defined the Indigenous inhabitants of the colonies, anthropology became familiar, but it also came to be associated with colonial control and domination. As early as the 1920s, the first Māori anthropologist, Sir Peter Buck aka Te Rangi Hīroa, was quite critical towards the discipline, and tried to change it from within, adopting a different approach and using it to

fulfil the Māori community's interests. This stance, which fully emerges through his correspondence with the politician and lawyer Āpirana Ngata (Sorrenson, 1986), could be partly viewed as a primeval form of Māori studies. In 1978, the time was ripe for Māori studies to become a stand-alone department and to break away from anthropology. This controversial relationship between Māori and anthropology has translated into a lingering wariness of the subject within Indigenous contexts, where quite often it is, at best, considered outdated.

Obsolescence and observation of the Other are not qualities I associate with anthropology. I view it as a space to understand and analyse sociocultural facts, based on the implicit recognition and promotion of cultural diversity. I also argue that, as a discipline focusing on and celebrating cultural diversity, anthropology is ideally the non-Indigenous discipline that can more easily access, integrate, make intelligible and legitimate before the Western scientific world the distinctiveness of Indigenous research. On the other hand, Māori studies, as a multidisciplinary space – which seems to mirror the Māori holistic approach to knowledge – can potentially integrate the anthropological gaze.

When we referred to anthropology, many Māori and I talked past each other due to our distinct experiences. I first approached the discipline in an era when it was trying to renew its raison d'être and procedures. That occurred in a historical and academic space – the Italian one – that has developed at the fringes of colonialism. Not only did this experience make me appreciate anthropology, it even resulted in a form of naivety towards the impact of anthropology on Indigenous communities – which partly justifies my enthusiasm at venturing into Māori cultural contexts as a Western anthropologist – and its ability to integrate Indigenous knowledge. Nevertheless, my origins made the perverse effects of cultural observation tangible. Early ethnographies stigmatised the people with whom I identify and their discourse is still visible in the way we get to be seen or denominated within Italy or Europe. The contemporary face of cultural investigation revealed both the possible dangers and the potentialities of cultural analysis, suggesting that how one approaches anthropological research and uses its tools is what makes the difference.

Māori and rugby: A trivial topic?

There is a widespread feeling that rugby, being a sport, is devoid of relevant cultural and sociopolitical meanings. If we add this to the tendency of contemporary Māori research to focus on what are considered urgent issues, the topic is likely to be perceived as trivial. Likewise, by purporting to support the Indigenous striving for self-determination through knowledge, engaged anthropologists tend to unconsciously trace a line between what looks serious and impelling and what does not. Moreover, rugby is not associated with traditional ways of being. Finally, I was the one who had chosen this topic in the first place. This collided with the idea that Māori are supposed to know best what is significant to them, and that the research object should be agreed within a Māori community.

The research (Calabrò, 2011) found that rugby continues to be partly instrumental in the control of Māori cultural agency, representation and self-determination within the wider society. At the same time, rugby has been incorporated within the Māori sociocultural system, allowing Māori to transmit values that can safeguard and reinvigorate Indigenous social dynamics. In this sense, rugby has evolved itself into a tradition. Rugby has also emerged as an opportunity for upward social mobility, and a site where Māori are seen in a positive light. In a wider perspective, thanks to rugby, Māori also share their cultural uniqueness with the rest of the world. I argue that this kind of research could empower Māori in a twofold way. First, it discloses controversial sociocultural elements that bear upon Māori self-actualisation and

integration. Second, it highlights an example of Māori sociocultural resilience, which ultimately enhances their distinctiveness and vitality in contemporary society.

The reason why I individuated rugby as a fertile area of research is far from being related to the superiority of the external viewpoint. As a European, I have witnessed Māori and their culture gaining remarkable visibility and attractiveness in Europe via rugby. My first approach to Māori culture was actually filtered by the impressions conveyed by rugby. Prior to the research, I had already lived in New Zealand twice. When Europeans found out about these experiences, I would be overwhelmed with questions about the haka and Māori culture, and exposed to Europeans' assumptions. My personal journey thus urged me to reflect upon the relation between Māori and rugby. In sum, my intuition has never meant to compete with the Māori awareness and standpoint. It rather suggests that perspectives originating from distinct experiences can complement the Indigenous ones, enriching the spectrum of Indigenous-related knowledge and ultimately contributing to empower it.

Conclusions

My experience suggests that encounters of Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives, theories and disciplines are feasible. They are also desirable. While it is understandable and legitimate to be sceptical, an Indigenous research that shuns those encounters risks generating a monologue, and limiting its own development and ambitions. On the other hand, non-Indigenous realities benefit from them too, insofar as they are challenged in their epistemological assumptions and reminded of their historical responsibilities.

Glossary

haka	Māori posture dance, also performed prior to an important rugby match
hui	ceremonial gathering, the ritual of welcome and hospitality are its distinctive elements
kaupapa	topic, philosophy, agenda
mana	spiritual prestige, determined by the way one relates to the community and one's ancestral and territorial ties
marae	gathering centre, characterised by the ancestral meeting house
tikanga	practices and values
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	extended family, family group; nowadays, the term is often used metaphorically by groups based on common interests rather than descent or kin, but who comply with the practices and values and the kind of commitment that define the whānau
whakawhanaungatanga	relating with people using the whānau as model of social relation

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BUILDING EXCELLENT INDIGENOUS RESEARCH CAPACITY THROUGH THE USE OF A CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE EVALUATION METHOD

*Susan Manitowabi**

Abstract

The "Raising the Spirit" Mental Wellness Team (MWT) pilot project based in Sudbury, Ontario, Canada, is funded by the federal government under the Mental Wellness Advisory Committee (MWAC) Strategy. The pilot project partners with 10 First Nations communities from the Manitoulin Island, North Shore and Waabnoong Bemjiwang Tribal Council to improve access to specialised services; enhance knowledge, skills and capacities of community workers; provide support, consultation, clinical supervision, coaching and mentoring; and braid traditional and Western approaches to wellness. This pilot project required an evaluation to measure the engagement process and support of the participating First Nations communities; the collaboration within and across Aboriginal communities; and the integration of traditional and Western approaches; and to assess capacity building at the community level.

   The evaluation of this project drew on Anishinabe teachings and practices to create a culturally appropriate model. Self-reflective journals, Photovoice and storytelling interviews were chosen specifically because of their congruence with Anishinabe traditional ways of knowing and being. These evaluation methods have been an extremely powerful means of telling the story of the relationship between the MWT and the partnering First Nations and can suggest an alternative for other Indigenous programmes to demonstrate the effectiveness of their programmes.

*   Assistant Professor, School of Native Human Services, Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario, Canada.
    Email: smanitowabi@laurentian.ca

Keywords

Indigenous research methodology, mental health, storytelling

Introduction

Boozhoo, Aanii, Kia Ora
Susan Manitowabi zhinkaziit, Chitamo-kwe Dezhnikaz, Wigwaskinaga minwaa N'Swakamok doojiibaa, Mka dodem.

Hello, my name is Susan Manitowabi, I am squirrel woman. I come from Whitefish River First Nation. I am from the bear clan.

At the outset of this project, the "Raising the Spirit" Mental Wellness Team (MWT) was one of three pilot projects across Canada. Currently, there are eight pilot projects, each different in design. Some pilot projects comprise services that had previously been in existence, whereas the "Raising the Spirit" pilot is a new initiative. The MWT consists of a programme coordinator, a concurrent disorders specialist, a traditional coordinator and an administrative assistant. This pilot project connects communities, facilitates the sharing of information and resources, and provides support for capacity building and training of community frontline workers.

Early on, the MWT steering committee identified a need to evaluate this pilot project. They undertook this evaluation to (a) demonstrate that the MWT concept was a culturally appropriate method for working with First Nations communities, (b) document the development of the MWT model, (c) highlight its unique relationship with First Nations communities, (d) highlight the successes and challenges, (e) improve upon and strengthen the service, and
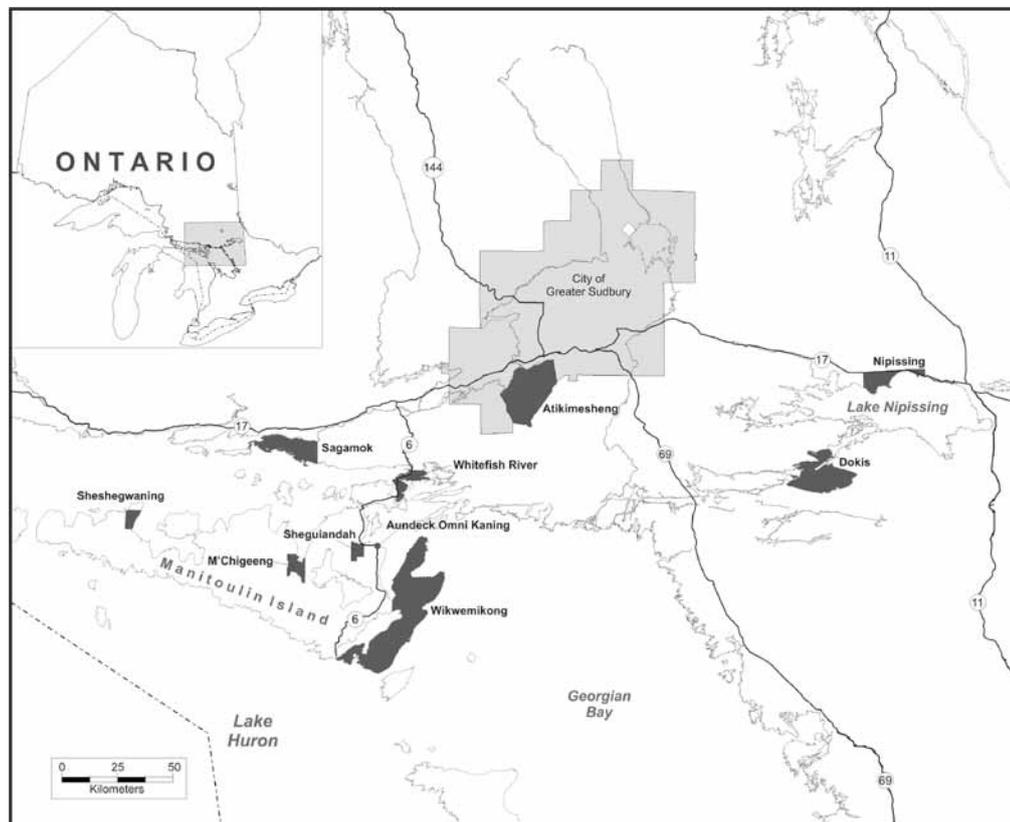

FIGURE 1.   Map of First Nations communities involved in the MWT pilot project.

(f) build a rationale for continued funding.

The results from the lessons learned from this pilot project can inform the development of other mental wellness teams within Canada and internationally.

While there is an overall evaluation of this pilot project, the main focus of my research is on the engagement process between the MWT and the 10 participating First Nations communities (see Figure 1) as well as the collaboration within and across communities and with key partners, the integration of Western and traditional approaches, and the impact on the capacity building and knowledge at the community level.

Rationale

The research was developed in conjunction with an evaluation advisory committee, the steering committee and elders connected with the pilot project. This research also received approval from two research ethics boards: the Laurentian University Research Ethics Board and the Manitoulin Anishinaabek Research Review Committee on Manitoulin Island.

Indigenous methodologies

The importance of locating oneself in the research

When I first began to consider engaging in PhD studies, I asked myself why I would want to do this. My mother, Violet McGregor-ba, has always been a great influence in my life. She had gone to residential school and managed to survive those years, but her experience there greatly influenced how she raised us. She came away from that experience with the resolve that none of us would experience what she endured there. She firmly believed that, if we were to get ahead in this world and survive, then we needed to be educated so that we could learn as much

as possible about the Shoganosh (white) ways. She stated that "no matter what you decide to do in this world promise me that you will get an education" (V. McGregor, personal communication, June, 1977).

Another great influence in my life was my father, Arthur McGregor-ba. He was the kind of person who was always in the background, supporting my mother in whatever endeavours she undertook. He was the family historian and story keeper. At the age of 84 he wrote his first book, *Wiigwasksinaga – Land of the Birches*, stories about Dreamers' Rock, Bell Rocks and the Little People. The stories were about our teachings, culture and heritage, our community and our history. He really taught and modelled for us the necessity of storytelling. Our childhoods were filled with stories – stories about our people, life lessons, funny stories, about the environment, about current life, past life, future life, the importance of life, being good to one another, and so on. My father indeed was the balance we needed in life. We needed to learn how to get along in this life – to survive – but we also needed to be grounded in our way of life. So this brings me to talking about Indigenous epistemology – ways of being and knowing.

The importance of situating an Indigenous epistemology

Indigenous ways of knowing involve knowing our identity, remembering where we come from and what we know so that we do not lose ourselves, honouring our ancestors and our knowledge, ensuring that our voice and the voices of others are heard, making the invisible visible and "lifting up" Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing (Absolon & Willett, 2005; Kovach, 2009).

The academy is often antagonistic and resistant towards attempts to Indigenise our research methodologies (Absolon & Willett, 2005). Those Aboriginal writers who speak from a traditional Aboriginal viewpoint are criticised because they do not make sense to

Western thinkers. Aboriginal and Indigenous voices are often dismissed as naive, contradictory and illogical (Smith, 1999). Although others (Archibald, 2008; Brown & Strega, 2005; Kovach, 2009) have begun to pave the way by advocating for the space for Indigenous research within the academy, Western academics have difficulty acknowledging Indigenous ways of knowing as equally valid and therefore do not fully accept that there are alternate ways of knowing (Stewart, 2009).

What is Indigenous methodology, why is it important and how is it different from other methodologies? Methodologies are premised on a belief that there is a knowledge belief system (ontology and epistemology) and the actual methods must both work in tandem (Kovach, 2009). Indigenous methodologies keep tribal epistemologies at the centre, rather than the typical academic expert-subject and objective models currently espoused by mainstream research, thus making them distinct from Western qualitative approaches. Aboriginal researchers see cultural protocols, values and behaviours as an integral part of the methodology (Baskin, 2005; Smith, 1999; Stewart, 2009). Indigenous methodologies also involve understanding the historical, political, social and economic contexts of Aboriginal peoples' lives as well as the intimate relationships that Aboriginal people have with all of creation and how these relationships are interrelated. It is about knowing one's place in creation and operating from that place. It requires one to think reflexively about that relationship and how it becomes the cornerstone for knowing, being and doing.

Locating Indigenous methodologies within the qualitative landscape

Situating Indigenous methodologies alongside the qualitative landscape is mutually comparative because they encompass characteristics congruent with other relational qualitative approaches, such as grounded theory, case

studies and participatory action research, to name a few. Qualitative research is increasingly being selected by Aboriginal and Indigenous scholars as a result of this congruence. Qualitative research allows for a range of interpretations to be analysed and understood; in this regard, it is interpretive. Therefore, for Indigenous scholars, there is a wider capacity to understand the stories and the meaning of these stories on behalf of their research participants in a much more holistic way, which gives more breadth and depth to Indigenous ways of knowing and being (Kovach, 2009). Through this, the researchers can give more power to Aboriginal and Indigenous populations to control their own agendas for wellness and well-being, thus leading to ongoing improvement in their lives for future generations.

The MWT pilot project methodology

A case study method was chosen for the pilot project because of the need to explore in depth the programme and because of the involvement of several individuals and First Nations communities' events, activities or processes or one or more individuals (Creswell, 2007). Case study
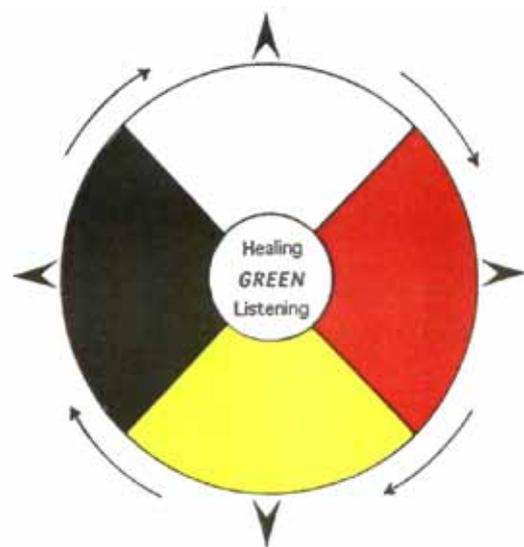

FIGURE 2.   The MWT pilot project methodology. Source: Odjig-White (1992)

research is bounded by time and activity, with the researcher using a variety of data collection procedures to collect detailed information (Creswell, 2007).

Storytelling interviews, self-reflective journals and Photovoice were chosen specifically because they are consistent with Aboriginal oral tradition, are respectful of Aboriginal protocols and world view (values, beliefs, traditions) and with traditional ways of knowing and being. Figure 2 shows the MWT pilot project methodology, depicted using the Medicine Wheel, an ancient symbol used by almost all Native people of North and South America (Lane, Bopp, Bopp, & Brown, 1984) to help people understand concepts that cannot be seen physically (Hart, 2002).

Four groups were included in this evaluation: service providers and agencies, MWT, steering committee and First Nation communities. All four groups were invited to participate in the storytelling interviews. The MWT members were also invited to participate in self-reflective journaling as well as a Photovoice activity. Each of these methods is described in more detail below.

Storytelling

Indigenous knowledge comprises a specific way of knowing based upon the oral tradition of sharing knowledge – akin to what different Indigenous researchers refer to as storytelling (Absolon &Willett, 2005; Bishop, 1999; Thomas, 2005). Storytelling can be viewed as a conversational method of gathering knowledge and a culturally preferred method of imparting knowledge (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Conversational knowledge gathering based on an oral storytelling tradition is compatible with an Indigenous world view. A storytelling methodology is relational at its core, a quality that has great meaning for Aboriginal peoples, and allows deep meaning and connections to be shared (Archibald, 2008).

The storytelling interviews allowed participants to describe their journey and relationship to the pilot project, highlighting successes and challenges, and offer recommendations for improving the services and suggestions for improving the relationship between the pilot project and its partners. Below are a few quotes taken from the feedback session to provide a glimpse of information that was shared.

Collaborative relationship:

> Looking at the whole time line of the project, certainly the initial priority was met, 10 participating First Nation communities, significant effort on the part of the chair and program coordinator, significant effort in the beginning to do community presentations in being able to launch the project, its intention and meeting … [it is] evident that there has been acceptance of the partnership.

Challenges:

> What was envisioned, mammoth idea, huge apple, one bite at a time, some of the goals, beyond, human and financial resources, trying to pare down.

Successes:

> That the team is moving forward, a committed group, even the staff are committed to the intention of the project, community wellness, and capacity building.

Reflective practice

Reflective practice can act as a catalyst for change. There are many forms and purposes of reflective practice. For example, reflective practice can create a world that more faithfully reflects the values and beliefs of the people in it (Argyris & Schon, 1974). Aboriginal peoples in North America use the Medicine Wheel to reflect their understanding of themselves (Hart,

2002; Nabigon, 2006). Reflecting on the Seven Grandfather teachings (Benton-Banai, 1988) and teachings around Mino-Pimatisiwin (Hart, 2002) provide guidelines for how to live in harmony with all of creation.

Engaging in reflective practice can create spiritual awareness and contributes to the development of self-discovery, self-awareness and empathy (Hart, 2002; Nabigon, 2006). The result is growth and discovery of oneself and one's knowledge in a positive direction, deepening and expanding one's practice.

Using Gibb's reflective cycle, participants were asked: (a) to describe what happened, (b) What were you thinking and feeling? (c) What was good or bad about the experience? (d) What sense can you make of the situation? (d) What else could have been done? (e) If it rose again, what would you do? (Gibbs, 1988). Self-reflective journals allowed the MWT staff to track their activities, critically reflect on their current practice and provide recommendations for change. Below is a case example taken from a self-reflective journal in response to a community suicide:

What was I thinking or feeling?

> It was difficult to mentally grasp the complexity of the event as many other teens were impacted in many communities.

Evaluation:

> I question the appropriateness of committing the total resources of the MWTP & of all the staff to one community in a crisis response.

Analysis:

> This was a political move on the part of our coordinator to commit the whole MWTP for the whole time in order to present a 'show of force', to appease a political leader in the community, & to strengthen the MWTP position in a relationship to XXXXXXX leadership.

FIGURE 3.   Communication in the midst of chaos.

This picture talks about the resourcefulness of the MWT to meeting the challenges in providing service to the 10 partner communities – the Internet and computer are essential resources as well as the connection to traditional teachings.

FIGURE 4.   The importance of culture.

I had a dream one night about the mental wellness team. I dreamt that we had a basket with the medicines in it. I told my co-workers about this dream and the next day there were 4 baskets with the medicines in it arranged on the quilt on the table. The Traditional Coordinator immediately went out after me telling him about my dream and brought these baskets in. This is really important for the work that we do because it helps to ground us and remind us of the important work we are doing and that we can't forget why we are here.

Photovoice

Photovoice is a non-threatening way to tell a story, to reveal real life issues. It is a form of storytelling that allows deep meaning to be shared with others. Photovoice promotes critical dialogue on a topic and is a vehicle for identifying important issues (Wang & Burris, 1997). For example, at the annual gathering of all the MWT pilot projects in Victoria, British Columbia, in October 2011, I presented on this Photovoice activity. During this presentation, there was not a sound in the room; everyone was fixated on the presentation and comments were received about the powerfulness of this technique. The next day, instead of just the 13 people who had signed up for the MWT presentation, the room was filled with participants wanting to hear more. The First Nation Inuit Health (FNIH) consultant was impressed with the presentation and indicated her support for our project to advocate for funds for dissemination (personal communication, October, 2011). The photographs in Figure 3 and 4 are examples from the participants.

Storytelling interview, self-reflective journals and Photovoice have been an extremely powerful means of telling the story of the relationship between the MWT and the First Nations communities involved in this project. The storytelling interviews allowed participants to tell their story of the engagement with the MWT and the contributions and benefits to their communities. The self-reflective journals contained information about the challenges and successes that the MWT has had in carrying out their mandate. Photovoice allowed the use of visuals to assist participants to convey their stories, sometimes containing sensitive issues, in a more befitting way. This was an added dimension to the evaluation that might not otherwise have been realised.

Conclusion

The evaluation of the MWT pilot project afforded the opportunity to use an Indigenous research methodology and research methods congruent with traditional practices. All techniques used in this project were relational and respectful of Anishinabe protocols. This project required the researcher to situate herself in a relationship with the community and with the MWT pilot project team. As has been shown here, the MTW pilot project took the time to be inclusive of meaningful relationships, which included reflective practice, choosing appropriate research methods, ensuring traditions were respected, honouring voices and having an open circle for ideas and opinions to ebb and flow.

Use of reflective practice provided the MWT with the opportunity to take a realistic look at where they were and where they could go from here. This component of the evaluation for the MWT adds to the overall evaluation of the project and builds a case for justification of the continuation of the project by demonstrating worthiness. Recommendations from this evaluation can provide information for other mental wellness team projects about how to engage with their First Nations communities.

This research project demonstrated that Indigenous ways of being and doing and choosing congruent research methods proves that there is an (in)credible way of employing appropriate research evaluations.

Acknowledgements

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CREE ONTOLOGY, EPISTEMOLOGY AND AXIOLOGY RESEARCH

Marilyn Shirt*

Kevin Lewis†

Wayne Jackson‡

Abstract

Blue Quills First Nations College Masters in Indigenous Language students believe that âci-mowina (stories) develop Cree epistemology and âtayôhkewina (sacred stories) embody our Cree ontology, and both inform our axiology. A result of the colonisation process is the devaluing of âcimowina and âtayôhkewina, which has directly contributed to our diminished lifestyle. Retelling these âcimowina and âtayôhkewina opens the door to remembering knowledge regarding our relationships to self, family, land and spirit. Today, this retelling is crucial as we find ourselves in a collective state of potential cultural and language loss, which is embedded in acimowina ekwa atayohkewina.

Examining the ontology contained within âtayôhkewina allows us to examine how existing cultural knowledge can be taught and applied to our present situations. For example, land-based learning is within the essence of traditional epistemology. Utilising this type of methodology creates confidence in our relationship to the land and renews our stewardship responsibilities, giving us a sense of strong pride to carry on retelling our atayohkewina.

Keywords

Cree education, Cree world view, nehiyawewin, Cree epistemology, Cree ontology, Cree axiology

*   Dean of Indigenous Languages, Blue Quills First Nations College, St Paul, Alberta, Canada.
     Email: theislander@me.com
†   Coordinator and Instructor, Centre of Aboriginal Languages and Culture,
     University College of the North, The Pas, Manitoba, Canada.
‡   Instructor, Saddle Lake Cree Nation Adult Literacy Program, Saddle Lake, Alberta, Canada.

Introduction

kise-manitow nîkân ninanâskomonân pîkisk-wewin e-sawîmikoyahk. (First, we would like to give acknowledgement to the Creator for gifting us with a language that has been carried forth from generation to generation from our Cree ancestors.) Blue Quills First Nations College Masters in Indigenous Language students believe that âcimowina (stories) develop an understanding of how we, as nehiyawak, came to exist. Furthermore, âtayôhkewina (sacred stories) embody our Cree cultural teachings. Both âcimowina and âtayôhkewina inform the natural laws that guide us to live the iyîniw (true, original human) way, enabling us to become ethically and morally correct within the life we live here on Mother Earth. This article will use Cree words written both in Cree syllabics and standard Roman orthography (SRO) and it will provide translations, which will be included in the glossary. Secondly, this article will discuss in detail the meanings of these Cree terms. Thirdly, and most importantly, the sharing of Indigenous research methodologies will be used, thus giving us insight into the natural laws of iyîniw ways.

Ontology, epistemology and axiology

âtayôhkewina (sacred stories) are the containers through which Cree ontology is transmitted from one generation to the next, providing continuity to each new generation – an avenue to connect to the past while indicating a path to the future. As Margaret Kovach writes, "stories … are the relational glue in a socially interdependent knowledge system" (Kovach, 2009, p. 108). One central Cree ontological perspective that **âtayôhkewina** carries is ᐋᐧᐦᑰᐦᑐᐃᐧᐣ wâhkôhtowin (act of having relatives). **âtayôhkewina** explain how we are connected to the world through kinship.

On one level, we have our biological parents and grandparents – our human relations – and we give them thanks for giving us life at this time on omâmawi-okâwîmâw askiy (our Mother Earth). On another level, we are also related to kimosôminaw kîsikaw-pîsim (our Grandfather Sun), along with kohkominaw tipiskaw-pîsim (our Grandmother Moon). Our other relatives include the Thunderbirds and Grandfather Wind, the Bears, Eagles and Horses. There are many more of our grandmothers and grandfathers that sit amongst us every day and night that we have not mentioned, but we acknowledge their roles and responsibilities, and give thanks and reciprocity.

Ceremonies remind us of all these relatives. The songs we sing are our reminders and our prayers of thanksgiving are for the fulfilment of their work. Ceremonies are in essence a re-enactment of **âtayôhkewina**: they transcend time and make tangible our spiritual relationships. Our research highlights the growing need to write down this information from the elders, the knowledge keepers, who have kept our protocols, wisdom and stories vibrant and alive. There was a time when they did not want anything written down, but this is changing and they are now allowing remnants of our culture to be photographed and their interviews to be recorded. The research also indicates we should use our syllabics, which were given to us by our ancestors.

In examining the ontology contained within specific âtayôhkewina, we begin to recognise how this cultural knowledge can be taught and applied to our present situations. For example, a week of cultural ceremonies was completed at the end of sâkipakâwi-pîsim (May, the budding moon). The translation for sâkipakâwi-pîsim is when all the plants start to bud with leaves. This represents renewal and a new year of life beginning anew. Certain ceremonies can be held in this month; ᐱᐦᐁᐃᐧᓯᒧᐃᐧᐣ pihewisimowin (Prairie Chicken Dance) is one. pihewisimowin is filled with prayers, feasts and songs, which follow a certain rhythm and order; there is a certain protocol that needs to be followed throughout. It is a ceremony that requires the

involvement of many people, led by elders knowledgeable about the necessary protocols. Gender roles are mandatory as both males and females are needed for this ceremony, and this is the same for most of our ceremonies. This particular ceremony cannot be done alone. The lodge is erected with a specific number of trees. The trees used are also of a specific breed, and the structure of the lodge is a story in itself.

Ceremonies are tied to the land and, in this sense, are examples of land-based learning and remembering. The âcimowina tied to the preparation of the ceremony create an epistimology that ties ontological knowledge with land-based learning, or the natural sciences. This traditional epistemology, which the Cree practised for millennia, creates confidence and respect in our relationship to the land and renews our stewardship responsibilities. omâmawi-okâwîmâw askiy (our Mother Earth) literally translates into the mother of all of us. She is female and we give thanks to her and all she gives to us in every single ceremony. This is how we address her, for nothing would be alive if it were not for her love and care to provide for all living things – something, it would seem, we have collectively forgotten.

ᑭᓀᔭᐦᑕᒧᐃᐧᐣ kiskeyihtamowin is the study of knowledge and, when we look at our ceremonies, they do tell us about where we came from and who we are: "they hold within them knowledge while simultaneously signifying relationships" (Kovach, 2004, p. 94). We attain knowledge through our spiritual relatives, such as wihkask or Sweetgrass (a prairie grass used as a spiritual cleansing). It is through these relationships that we are reminded of our creation story. According to other Cree researchers, this story was recited word for word and everyone knew it in the 1700s and told it in the month of May. It was the norm to know and recite this story. Religion and government policies of the 1800s made it difficult to practise ceremonies and transfer knowledge. Today, there are a few circles in which these stories are still being told and we continue to celebrate these ceremonies.

Cree research

The lodges we have are based on **âtayôhkewina** and "are designed to get the participants into a state of mind that will allow for the extraordinary to take place" (Wilson, 2008, p. 69). In addition, we can use ceremonies as protection and guides for the future: kanawisimowâkiwin (the act of protection). In this sense, they prepare us for academic research or personal query. One of the responsibilities is called nâcinihkewin (research through elders). It is spending time with the knowledge keepers and putting time with effort, which is a sacrifice not for oneself but for the family and community. Relationships of trust develop and roles start to become clearer as more time is spent with the elders. One learns the process of that cycle, and in turn is blessed with this knowledge, this epistemology.

The teachings encourage us to strive for a long life full of rich experiences lasting well into old age. A head of white hair tells our communities that a person is rich with grandchildren and that person lived a life well. wiyôtisowin (being rich) is not based on monetary gain; it is not about the biggest house or fastest cars but is based on being humble. Richness of life is about humility and grandchildren who bring hope for the future and the continuation of life.

This is hard to understand in contemporary society – in an age when the culture of capitalism has permeated most of society, even with the Cree people. kitimâkisiwin (the act of being poor), in the traditional Cree sense, refers to someone who is not necessarily materially poor. A materially rich person who is greedy or selfish could be called kitimâkisiw, because they have deviated from the Cree traditional teaching of sharing and generosity.

Ethics and natural law

ᐸᐢᒑᒐᐦᐅᐃᐧᐣ pâstâhowin and ᐅᒋᓀᐃᐧᐣ ocinewin are results of not living well and not following the instructions that were given to us through our ceremonies. A result of the colonisation process is the devaluing of âcimowina and âtayôhkewina, which has contributed to our diminished lifestyle. As a result, we have broken the rules – these laws that were given to us by the Creator to use and by which to live. Today, we are living these repercussions through violence, lateral violence, drug and alcohol abuses and the devaluing of our traditions.

Revisiting and retelling âcimowina and âtayôhkewina opens the door to remembering knowledge regarding our relationships to self, family, land and spirit. This is crucial today as we find ourselves collectively in a state of potential cultural and language loss:

> Indigenous axiology is built upon the concept of relational accountability, right wrong; validity; statistically significant; worthy or unworthy: value judgements lose their meaning. What is more important and meaningful is fulfilling a role and obligations in the research relationship – that is, being accountable to your relations. (Wilson, 2008, p. 77).

When our moral compass is corrupted, it points us in the wrong directions. Those who partake in the beauty and richness of ceremony and customs are blessed with the knowledge of our traditions.

The schools of old were seen as agents of the residential school, which were not of good intentions. The goal of those residential schools was genocide, a means to get the "Indian" out of the child. They were very successful in their agenda in some aspects but, through the power of syllabics and our prayers, we still have our language and cultures. Some communities are stronger than others but, with the use of technology and the research that is being done, we can reverse the effects. When we start including our own curricula, written by and for Cree people, our nations will start healing. Residential schools affected our communities negatively and we are now realising the extent of the generational effects of abuse. Daniel Quinn (as cited in Makokis, 2009) describes the boiling frog phenomena:

> The phenomenon is this. If you drop a frog in a pot of boiling water, it will of course frantically try to clamber out. But if you place it gently in a pot of tepid water and turn the heat on low, it will float there quite placidly. As the water gradually heats up, the frog will sink into a tranquil stupor, exactly like one of us in a hot bath, and before long with a smile on its face, it will unresistingly allow itself to be boiled to death (p. 7).

Dr. Makokis continues with:

> Like the boiled frog metaphor, gradually and consistently, the policies of colonization removed children from the influence of our culture with the intention to assimilate us into the mainstream society. Indeed, it successfully removed the Cree-ness, the very Indigenousness from them. Furthermore, the policy did not provide us with the education to help us adjust to the demands of the modern world. Our experience in residential schools transformed us into wounded, lost souls. Ashamed of [our] Cree identity, we were no longer connected to our life force, so we felt disconnected from our Cree world. Additionally, without the mainstream education that was designed to assimilate us, we were not accepted into the mainstream world. We were left floating, not fitting and not belonging. Our dependencies had become disordered. (p. 7)

Researching âcimowina and âtayôhkewina is the work of our masters programme. More importantly, applying the knowledge contained in these âtayôhkewina in a practical manner at all levels of our education system is imperative

and will legitimise Cree paradigms. We are finding opportunities to take our Cree ontology and epistemologies and apply them to our communities in work, such as developing curricula that is relevant to the Cree people and workshops for creating teaching methodologies that are more sensitive to our needs. Ultimately, this type of work will increase our students' abilities to be productive human beings and nation builders.

Cree literacy

The thriving richness of language maintains our identity and fosters a sense of pride in being Cree. We are redefining literacy; our lodges have been our form of literacy since time immemorial. Literacy has been with us for a long time, although in different forms. Today, we have a new type of literacy; fortunately, we were gifted by okîsikiwak (our grandfather spirits) with Cree syllabics.

> In the early 1700's … mistinahkowew (Big Saulteaux) received the syllabics from okîsikiwak while he was in a death like state … he was told in Spirit that the Cree … would require it in the future to assist them in retaining their language. (Blue Quills First Nations College, 2007, p. 7)

In her book, *Canada's First Nations*, Olive Dickason (1997) alludes to the original literacy of Cree people:

> The use of the syllabary spread with amazing rapidity throughout the Cree-speaking North, so that by the end of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth the Cree had one of the highest literacy rates in the world. (Bennett & Berry as cited in Dickason, 1997, p. 215)

Only the Cherokee, with the use of Sequoya's invented Cherokee script, rivalled the use of Cree syllabics during the 1800s. Today the Inuit of Canada and eastern Cree have adopted syllabics as a form of their own written language and have taken syllabic literacy to another level.

Since reclamation of our culture and language started to grow in the late 1960s, more of our communities have a revived interest in seeing our youth read and write in the language. Cree syllabic fonts are now more readily available to us in the modern world, thereby reclaiming the old with the new. Once only used in Christian hymnals, it can now be accessed in schools, universities and modern mediums such as the Internet and educational dissertations. We want to become, once again, a nation of proud, confident humans of all ages, and this is a definite possibility. Our time has come to take responsibility for our education, and utilising our ceremonies can make it come alive.

nâcinîkewin with our elders, who are now allowing us to record their stories and songs, is coming to pass in a different manner. The days when "grab and dash" researchers – outsiders, usually non-Cree – would come into our communities and take that knowledge for themselves, often misappropriating it, has dwindled rapidly as our own people are becoming the researchers and maintaining the protocols and procedures that will allow the knowledge gained to be used in a proper manner and for that knowledge to be retained within that community. Ideally, the knowledge gained must be written in syllabics to ensure we never forget the rules that we are to follow. We are uncovering more stories about the high literacy rates from our elders and need to create a communication strategy that promotes literacy, which we believe will lead to stronger communities.

Today there are a number of schools and immersion schools that are now utilising syllabics with success. The students become proud and confident. Parents shine with envy and share these feelings of pride. These schools become community schools. Using our own writing systems, trust starts to develop and school spirit rises. Students and teachers become excited about the school.

Summary

In conclusion, our leaders had a dream in the 1970s to give our children experiences that would enable them to become productive adults and be successful in adult society when they wrote and presented a paper titled "Indian Control over Indian Education". We do believe this is the direction our research is taking us, along with many other First Nations organisations and community colleges that are doing similar work. Our path needs to be travelled by many more because of the severity of our time and place. We are losing our knowledge keepers and, with the incursion of the hegemonic effects of the English language and globalisation, we need all we can recruit to keep our heritage, language, cultures and customs alive.

Recognising that our Cree ontologies are embedded in âtayôhkewina and that Cree epistemology is governed by âcimowina and that "there is a need for linking Indigenous epistemologies to story as Indigenous method" (Kovach, 2009, p. 101), we can begin to see the richness and that the stories allow each listener to gain from âcimowina and âtayôhkewina what they need for their life context.

Perhaps more importantly, âcimowina and âtayôhkewina remind us that:

we are related to life, not just in an environmental sense, but on a spiritual level. Through our relationship to life, to our spiritual relatives, to all our relations, we can open ourselves to experiencing the unitive nature of the Great Mystery. (Shirt, 1990, p. 26)

In reclaiming our ontologies, we can heal our relationships to our self, our families, our communities, and most importantly, to the land omâmawi-okâwîmâw askiy.

We leave you with a final story from which to take for yourself what you will.

âtayôhkewin for kimosôminaw kîsikaw-pîsim (our Grandfather Sun) is that he took on the responsibility of paddling across the sky every day to bring the day. He would rise from the east and paddle his course based on seasons, hence his name-kâ-tâpitaw kîsihtât opimiskâwin (the one who always finishes the paddle). His course grows shorter towards the colder months and then starts to grow longer towards the warmer months. He would end his journey in the west where the other Grandfather Thunderbird would hold him for a while longer till he disappears in the horizon closing the day and allowing for night and kohkominaw tipiskaw-pîsim (our Grandmother Moon) to start her work.

Glossary

âcimowina	teaching stories
âtayôhkewina	sacred stories, which are involved in ceremonies
e-sawîmikoyahk	we are gifted through love, blessed
kanawisimowâkiwin	the act of protection
kâ-tâpitaw kîsihtât opimiskâwin	the one that finishes the paddling trip, full name of the sun
kimosôminaw kîsikaw-pîsim	our Grandfather Sun
kise-manitow	the Creator
kîsikaw-pîsim	the Sun
ᑭᓂᐯᐦᑕᒧᐃᐧ kiskeyihtamowin	understanding knowledge
kitimâkisiwin	to be poor
kohkominaw tipiskaw pîsim	our Grandmother Moon
nâcinihkewin	the process of researching through elders
nîkân	forward or ahead
ninanâskomonân	We would like to thank
ᐅᓯᐁᐧᐃᐧ ocinewin	a sickness caused by evil medicine or a suffering caused by ridicule
omâmawi-okâwîmâw askiy	Mother Earth
okîsikiwak	the spirits, humans that used to live on earth, our ancestors
ᐸᐢᑕᐦᐅᐃᐧ pâstâhowin	transgression, breach of the natural order; use of bad medicine; sin, evil doings
ᐱᐦᐁᐃᐧᓯᒧᐃᐧ pihewisimowin	the Prairie Chicken Dance
pîkiskwewin	speech or language
sâkipakâwi-pîsim	the budding moon, May
tipiskaw-pîsim	the moon
�ᐦᑰᐦᑐᐃᐧ wâhkôhtowin	kinship and relations
wiyôtisowin	act of being rich

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EAGLE ON A LAMP POST

A bird's-eye view of Aboriginal peoples' health and well-being in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada

*Donna Lester-Smith**

Abstract

Approximately 28,000 Aboriginal people live in Vancouver, Canada, and 70% of them live in the Downtown Eastside. Aboriginal residents make up 40% of all people living in this core, and many struggle with numerous health determinants. Alcohol and drug addictions, HIV infection, poverty, homelessness and complex historical traumas are just some of the negative health impacts on Aboriginal peoples living on the Eastside. In this paper, I address two key matters of discernment that impact many urban Aboriginal peoples' health. First, I survey macro ways in which urbanity has so far been historically defined and therefore remains problematic for many Aboriginal peoples' positive living conditions. Second, I explore some of our inter-relational aspects of health defined within both Western notions of wellness and Indigenous worldviews of well-being. Programmes designed from within an Indigenous worldview that include contemporary balanced and harmonious health guidance are more likely to encompass perspectives and ideas from the Indigenous communities they serve, thus promoting programmes that are relevant to and effective for many urban Aboriginal peoples. I explore an elevated bird's-eye focus of contextualised urbanity, Western and Indigenous health perspectives, their significance for Aboriginal peoples' healthy living and meaningful recommendations.

Keywords

*   University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.
    Email: dlestersmith@gmail.com

Introduction

Approximately 28,000 Aboriginal people live in Vancouver, and 70% of them live in the Downtown Eastside, making up 40% of all people living in this core (Benoit, Carroll, & Chaudhry, 2003). Too many continue to be burdened with numerous barriers to positive health and well-being: poverty, homelessness, low education, alcohol and drug addictions, HIV and Hepatitis A and C infections, and historical traumas are just some of the negative health impacts many residents face. Pivotal awareness and considerations about these numerous challenges are vital to influencing health policy makers about necessary, culturally specific decisions beneficial to the health of urban Aboriginal peoples. As a Métis-Algonquin scholar, I am involved in Aboriginal health promotion programmes designed by and for Indigenous communities. Programmes designed from within an Indigenous worldview that include contemporary balanced and harmonious health guidance are more likely to encompass the perspectives and well-being of the Indigenous peoples and communities they serve. Within the limited scope of this paper, I present an elevated bird's-eye focus of contextualised urbanity, Western and Indigenous and Aboriginal health perspectives, their significance for Aboriginal peoples' healthy living and meaningful recommendations.

An overview of urbanity

Urbanity, or urbanness, is not a black and white matter. It is one of degrees. Historically, the characterisation of urbanity has mostly been geographical in nature; however, as demonstrated throughout my discussion, this normative definition has since become blurred. In the 1800s, North America began to develop into an urban nation. By the end of the 19th century, most of the population had migrated to densely developed industrial towns and cities. Vancouver's economically sound businesses, such as its port for import and export commodities, sawmill and original business or storefront entrepreneurs, first took shape in the Downtown Eastside neighbourhood. By the 1980s, the drug of choice had switched from injection-based heroin to cocaine, and more people with substance addictions moved into the community and resorted to theft to pay for their habit. This led to an increase in second-hand stores that bought stolen goods, thus making it very difficult for legitimate businesses to function. In the process of peoples' urban location and personal, social and financial pressures, more illicit use of drugs became the norm as a coping mechanism.

Western and Indigenous health perspectives

We must treat our patients the same way we would treat our own relatives. We must find what has been lost as we have become so enraptured with scientific advancements: working with communities, and creating bonds of trust and harmony.

(Alvord & Van Pelt, 1999, p. 16)

A worldview is typically more comprehensive than a lens through which to view a particular task; yet as a perceptive tool of insight, it is a significant starting point. Barnhardt and Kawagely (2005) speak about worldviews more globally in addressing some of the fluctuating tensions when defining the basic premises of an Indigenous worldview in terms of fluid colonialism:

Indigenous peoples throughout the world have sustained their unique worldviews and associated knowledge systems for millennia, even while undergoing major social upheavals as a result of transformative forces beyond their control. Many of the core values, beliefs and

practices associated with those worldviews have survived and are beginning to be recognized as having an adaptive integrity that is as valid for today's generations as it was for generations past. (p. 8)

The mainstream health care system in Canada is based on dominant Western approaches to science and health, and thus the history of colonial relationships between Western knowledge and Indigenous knowledge (IK) is manifest throughout the entire health care structure.

Indigenous knowledges or worldviews are a philosophical framework that encompasses the perspectives and ideas that promote ancestral and present-day Aboriginal knowledges as vital to Aboriginal peoples' health. In my own life, IK has shown itself throughout my dreams, mentorships, intuition, connectedness with other Aboriginal peoples, nature, spirituality, moral tensions, protocols and responsibilities, and writings, as is evidenced throughout this paper. The essence of worldviews is not only a commonality between diverse Indigenous peoples; it is also of timeless value. Indigenous worldviews include contemporary balanced and harmonious health and ancestral guidance towards our well-being. They have existed since time immemorial (Archibald, 2008; Cajete, 2000; Dodgson & Struthers, 2005). Ignoring worldviews and their wisdoms becomes further salient in the realisation that contemporary health care conditions have been shaped for over a century by internal colonial practices, policies and politics (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP], 1996; Waldram, Herring, & Young, 2006).

Situated urbanity: Challenges Aboriginal peoples face

Health and well-being implications for Aboriginal peoples living in urban centres abound. Besides being originally defined as a geographic locale, the concept of urbanity is also embedded with socio-personal health issues, socio-economic conditions and socio-political influences. In her book *"Real" Indians and Others: Mixed-Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood*, Lawrence (2004) extensively explores multigenerational notions of urbanity with men and women who have grown up in metropolitan cities and who have found new ways to express their Aboriginal identities. She reveals a number of urban-context themes, including loss of relationships with home communities, regulation of identities by the Canadian government's *Indian Act* and many other policies, restructuring of identities, contradictory identities, and family silencing, adaptation and resistance to one's Aboriginal heritage. Thus, living in an urban setting can mean living in a place of exclusion rather than inclusion as a result of community polarisation and attempts to "keep out undesirables" (Latham, 2003).

Many Aboriginal peoples who have left their remote home communities for reasons of employment, education, poverty, violence and hopes of a better future for their children take up residence in this neighbourhood because of low-cost housing. Where they now must live has become a place where the rest of Vancouver's population can avoid them. Although I am unable to provide a detailed discussion about poverty and homelessness within the confines of this conference paper, indeed, too many downtown residents have access to fewer opportunities outside of their neighbourhood, as Maté (2009) explains:

> For many of Vancouver's chronic, hard core addicts, it's as if an invisible barbed-wire barrier surrounds the area extending a few blocks from Main and Hastings in all directions. There is a world beyond, but to them it is largely inaccessible. It fears and rejects them and they, in turn, do not understand its rules and cannot survive in it. (p. 20)

Health research continues to be based more on

impersonal statistical figures than on firsthand personal knowledge and peoples' contextualised lived experiences.

Situated health care: Challenges Aboriginal peoples face

Health systems are shaped by a particular worldview. For example, IK can be understood as a paradigm from which to understand and relate to the world. Indigenous health specifically refers to a health system that is formed within the worldview of IK. When considering the broader characteristics of urban-living Aboriginal peoples, it is helpful to understand some of the conflating social health influences that continue to be disconcerting for many. Western health practices originated in Canada with settler Europeans, fur traders, clergy and newly trained doctors and nurses. Over the years, Aboriginal peoples began experiencing the Eurocentric health practices' negative impacts, such as poverty, crowded and inadequate housing, high rates of substance misuse, inefficient dietary needs, and increased homicide and suicide rates (National Aboriginal Health Organization, 2008). Such Western-driven impacts proved to be in opposition to Aboriginal peoples' traditional ways of healthy living. Presently, mainstream health care remains culturally insensitive and unsafe for many because many health care providers do not understand the vital health impacts that lack of Native healing practices present to many Aboriginal persons (Levin & Herbert, 2004; Polaschek, 1998). To name some of the health disparities between Euro-Western and First Nation peoples, Aboriginal people die sooner than non-Aboriginals and have a greater burden of physical and intellectual disease (RCAP, 1996; Dion Stout, Kipling, & Stout, 2001). Heart disease is 1.5 times higher for Aboriginal peoples, while type 2 diabetes remains 3 to 5 times higher (Health Canada, 2006). Health systems inclusive of their own philosophies and traditional practices are shaped by particular theoretical and methodological frameworks.

Significance: Urbanity without Indigeneity

Discrimination, racism and structural inequities within the dominant health care system impact Aboriginal peoples' experiences as recipients of health services. The health care system reveals contentious ideological relations between Aboriginal peoples and the dominant health services currently provided. The exclusion of IK from the current health care system in Canada, particularly within urban settings, can perpetuate historical oppressive colonial relationships. In addition, the push-pull towards evidence-based practice is problematic for Indigenous peoples. The "evidence" and subsequent health practices resulting from that evidence is based on Eurocentric notions of knowledge, and are not only problematic because of the incongruence between IK and Western medicinal philosophies (Lester-Smith, 2012), but also because of the structurally oppressive forces embedded throughout the health care system. Including IK in health programmes that aim to address the needs of Aboriginal people is critical in order to (a) reduce barriers to Aboriginal people accessing health services; (b) resist or provide an alternative to a dominant, oppressive and colonial health system; and (c) promote the inclusion of a diversity of Aboriginal people, including those who rely on traditional medicine. In response to this health crisis, reclamation of traditional healing methods can open the door to significant possibilities for improving health care services. Policies, therefore, can more effectively benefit Aboriginal peoples. Turton (1997) describes an Indigenous health worldview as "a cognitive orientation or overall way a culture looks at health and well-being, illness, and aspects of death. It is conceptualized as a subset of beliefs, images, assumptions, and ways of knowing of the broader cultural world"

(p. 30). Often health policies fail to recognise, or outwardly reject, IK and integral cultural dynamics as viable alternative knowledge systems (Coronado, 2005).

Recommendations

Our teachers are not books, we rely on local knowledge.

(Buffy Sainte-Marie, 2012)

Any social health determinants and ensuing policy recommendations must be culturally sensitive, relevant and useful to Aboriginal peoples and their communities. Capacity-building efforts between Aboriginal peoples and educational institutions must be continued and be recognised as a legitimate, viable and valuable partnership for the welfare of Aboriginal peoples: Aboriginal preferences for contextual, concrete, relational and tangible knowledges must be continuously centred as Eurocentric assumptions become decentred. By no means am I able to penetrate beneath the surface, in this brief paper, of the vastness of intersecting urbanity with some of its resulting impacts upon Aboriginal peoples here in Vancouver. Nevertheless, I offer four key proactive suggestions:

1. More culturally sensitive and respectful spaces (for example, both physical settings and ideologies) in Western paradigms should be continued, to create, to expand and to be made readily available for the health benefits of Aboriginal peoples.
2. Aboriginal peoples' decision-making roles should be encouraged in matters that relate to their families' and communities' lives. Theoretical and methodological approaches to Aboriginal research should therefore be predominantly built on Aboriginal worldviews in addition to Western ways.
3. In order to be most effective in addressing the diversity of urban-living Aboriginal

peoples' health needs, strategies should be developed at both the individual and the community levels. Theoretical and methodological approaches to Aboriginal health research predominantly must be built upon Aboriginal worldviews in addition to Western ways. A fusion of both would be helpful to many Indigenous and non-Indigenous health research practices.
4. Critical examination of Eurocentric dominant ideologies and practices should be continued by both Aboriginal community members and institutional research members. Aboriginal and Westernised non-Indigenous collaborative partners must be encouraged to continue learning about our interconnectedness and wholeness, with non-Indigenous research leaders maintaining appropriate conduct and protocol with Aboriginal cultural sensitivities.

Advocating for greater control and decision making by Aboriginal peoples is not only a viable option, but a worthy method of collaboration, equalising and capacity building. It is absolutely necessary. The consultation process inclusive of urban Aboriginal voices being heard is but one important step for gaining greater involvement. But it should not be the only step, as my culturally based considerations reflect.

Closing thoughts

In this paper, I roam the macro and micro landscapes of urbanity through both Western and Indigenous perspectives. It is crucial that we better understand and articulate the holistic, traditional theoretical and methodological practices of urban Aboriginal community members in the greater context of mainstream implicit and explicit structural impositions. Such considerations are vital to influencing health policy makers to collaboratively focus – with appropriate community members – on necessary decisions that benefit the health of urban

Aboriginal peoples. Only then can meaningful advocacy be developed into culturally sensitive health care policies for the present and future welfare of many urban-minded Indigenous peoples.

Some of the key implications for Aboriginal peoples living in an urban setting involve family instability, low income, high crime and victimisation (Newhouse & Peters, 2003; First Nations Information Governance Committee, 2007, p. 1). Many play a fundamental role in the lives, identities and health of urban Aboriginal peoples. There also exists a strong necessity for greater access to information, health care and treatment in larger urban centres (Lester-Smith, 2008). Once people relocate to cities, they often experience profound isolation and lack of social support. Many experience both implicit and explicit health implications, particularly within Vancouver's downtown core.

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TE PĀ O RĀKAIHAUTŪ

An innovative 21st century wānanga
(learning village)

*James Ataria**

Rangimarie Parata-Takurua†

Abstract

In the wake of the earthquakes in 2010 and 2011, Ōtautahi (Christchurch) has been given a unique opportunity to rebuild for a better future. Te Pā o Rākaihautū Establishment Committee (EC) comprises concerned parents who believe Māori education in Christchurch was in crisis before the earthquakes. Against a backdrop of poor Māori achievement persisting in mainstream education, and low levels of engagement in current Māori-medium options (6.5% in Christchurch and falling), there is an opportunity to challenge current paradigms and introduce a new indigenous model of education that will significantly shift the current educational landscape. The EC intends to establish a unique 21st century Pā Wānanga (learning village) to provide seamless education from early childhood to tertiary in a pā environment, drawing on traditional learning in the pā and contextualised for the 21st century by (a) restoring Māori teaching pedagogy, values, culture and identity; (b) reconnecting our whānau (families) with place, people and Papatūānuku (mother earth); (c) reigniting a passion for learning; and (d) normalising Māori success. This paper describes the journey to realise this vision for a new model of education delivery for Christchurch.

Keywords

Māori, education, Christchurch, Te Pā o Rākaihautū, earthquake

* Te Pā o Rākaihautū Establishment Committee, Rāpaki, Christchurch, New Zealand.
 Email: jamie.ataria@gmail.com
† Te Pā o Rākaihautū Establishment Committee, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Introduction

The destruction and chaos resulting from the September 2010 and February 2011 earthquakes is etched into the psyche of New Zealanders, and the social, cultural and environmental shock waves continue to reverberate out into the community long after the abatement of the seismic events. This is a reminder that Rūaumoko (deity of earthquakes) is ever present and that, despite the devastation and destruction, he has provided an unprecedented opportunity to make some "seismic" shifts in education.

> *Ka oi a Rūaumoko – Ka oi te ao mātauraka!*
>
> *When Rūaumoko shakes – The world of education shakes!*
>
> (Te Aika & Henderson, 2012)

For Māori in mainstream education, the damning education statistics around poor academic achievement have been a blight on the Christchurch landscape since long before the occurrence of the earthquakes. According to the Ministry of Education Enterprise Guide (2011), (a) a Māori student in Christchurch in 2009 is almost three times more likely to leave school with little or no qualification than non-Māori (13% v. 5%) and more likely to do so than Māori in other parts of the country (13% v. 10%); (b) only 24% of Māori left with University Entrance qualifications compared to 52% non-Māori; (c) Christchurch has the highest rate of Māori students at Year 11 who failed to achieve requirements for literacy and numeracy, at 13% compared to 5.2% non-Māori in Christchurch, and 12% Māori nationally; and (d) Māori students in Christchurch are two times more likely than non-Māori to be stood down. Post-earthquake, the situation is predicted to worsen as whānau (families) struggle with increased financial, logistical and emotional challenges.

Despite numerous national interventions such as Ka Hikitia (Ministry of Education, 2008) and well-intentioned pilots to "fix" the problem, the disparity between Māori and non-Māori educational achievement persists. Māori children continue to leave school at disturbing rates, earlier, and with fewer and lower qualifications than their cohorts (Ministry of Education, 2009). Coupled with a growing Māori student roll in Christchurch (50% over 10 years to 2010 compared to 5% growth for non-Māori), a grim picture emerges – and is set to worsen. Te Pā o Rākaihautū Establishment Committee (EC) is adamant that prescribing to the current system is not an option – nor is rearranging the deck chairs on a system that has been failing Māori for decades (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2009; Milne, 2009). Bold leadership is required to curb the current downward trajectory of Māori mainstream education achievement.

So, what are whānau seeking from an education system? Anecdotal evidence gathered by the EC[1] suggests multiple needs. The most prevalent is, quite simply, more education options for their children. One size does not fit all and today, more than ever, whānau want it all: quality education, quality reo and quality environments that validate them as Māori.

Currently, engagement in Māori-medium education in Christchurch is relatively low and in decline post-earthquake. In 2010, there were 7,485 Māori students in Christchurch. Of these, 490 students (6.5%) were enrolled in Māori-medium environments with at least 3 hours learning in Māori (Ministry of Education, 2010). In contrast, 93.5% are learning in English-medium early education childhood (ECE) services, schools and tertiary institutions, which the EC believe is more the result of default decision making than strategic choice. While improvements in Māori language

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1   Three community consultation hui that were carried out in 2010 as a part of the EC's designated character school application.

provision could be achieved by expanding bilingual programmes across the city and bettering delivery, the impact will be small compared to the potential effect if the 93.5% of Māori mainstream students are adequately catered for.

Whānau are also increasingly looking to strengthen their culture, identity and connection to place. The number of students identifying as Māori has increased significantly over the past decade. The Ministry of Education believes this in part reflects demographic movements but is more likely due to more students self-identifying as Māori. The underpinning reasons are likely complex, but the positive impacts of the Ngāi Tahu Treaty of Waitangi Settlement (1996) and a growing hunger for cultural knowledge and connection are likely contributors.

Transitional stress that occurs within the traditional education pipeline – early childhood to primary (Centre for Equity & Innovation in Early Childhood, 2008; Peters, 2010), intermediate to secondary (Elias, Gara, & Ubriaco, 1985), Year 10 to Year 11 and then into tertiary (Lenz, 2001; Madjar, McKinley, Deynzer, & van der Merwe, 2010) – is not surprising as students move from a child-centred environment in their early years to a teacher-centred environment in their high school to a more self-focused environment in their tertiary years. However, findings that demonstrate a direct correlation between well-being and overall happiness of young people and personal development suggest these are critical areas for improvement. Overall, school experience was rated as positive by 65% of primary schoolchildren, whereas this was the case for only 27% at secondary school, and a recent report on the state of te reo Māori in Te Waipounamu demonstrated a drastic decline in enrolments in Māori immersion or bilingual programmes as students transition from primary or intermediate to secondary schools – with almost no options for bilingual provision.

Alleviating these stress points along the education pipeline will require removing, or at least minimising, the artificial barriers between the learning ages, maintaining a consistent learning environment and making seamless learning a reality. The notion of seamless education, particularly in early childhood education and primary through to secondary, is still very much a myth for Māori-medium initiatives (Te Aika, Skerrett, & Fortune, 2009).

Fundamental drivers

The catalyst for Te Pā arose out of a conversation in 2009 amongst a group of parents and grandparents, most of whom had been involved in establishing a new form of Māori ECE almost a decade earlier, which was resumed as whānau again expressed discontent over the continued lack of options for Māori whānau in the primary and secondary schooling sectors.

After confirming a collective commitment to taking affirmative action, the EC was formed in 2009 to investigate the option of establishing a new "designated character school" under Section 156 of the Education Act 1989, a state school that has a character unique from mainstream state schools and kura kaupapa Māori.

Concept design

During the conceptual design phase and development of the key distinguishers, the EC challenged themselves in the following ways:

1. Reframing the problem: Rather than asking "How do we make a better school?" the focus became how to achieve better learning outcomes for whānau. This shifted discussion beyond the paradigm of learning only happens in "schools", opening up a range of other possibilities.

2. Reflecting on learning experiences both in and outside the classroom: Specifically, the debate turned to how, where and when maximum learning occurs, in recognition that learning also happens beyond the traditional frame of classrooms, normal school hours of

9 to 3, and curricula that compartmentalise subject areas or age groupings. From this arose two key findings: (a) learning about te ao Māori had been marginalised in the schooling system – relegated to extracurricular, weekend and school holiday wānanga activities; and (b) while Māori-medium provision has gone some way to address this, parents are still faced with the decision to choose between their children engaging in Māori-medium education, often at the expense of curriculum choice and access to specialist resources and facilities, or access to mainstream education at the expense of "being" Māori all day.

3. Research: A review of academic literature and education reports was undertaken along with an examination of a range of learning pedagogies and teaching models (Big Picture Learning schools, Discovery 1 and Unlimited Paenga Tawhiti, Rudolf Steiner, Montessori, Tai Wānanga Tū Toa, Ormiston Senior College (a 5 Star Green Star school), Kia Aroha College (a Māori and Pacifica designated character school), dual language schools in the USA and charter schools in the USA and UK). Despite the plethora of research and evidence supporting the concepts embodied in Te Pā o Rākaihautū, there are few examples where these concepts are consolidated into one institution.

4. Redesigning the learning environment: "Learn-scaping", coined by the EC, required an examination of all the environmental influences on learning, (physical, spiritual, emotional and family influences) to effect a model that not only addressed the shortcomings in our current schooling model but also capitalised on our inherent strengths.

The outcome that was the 21st century pā wānanga was surprising in its simplicity but powerful because its sphere of influence extends farther than a normal school, as encapsulated by the African proverb "It takes a village to raise a child".

Community consultation, a requirement of the special character application process, was carried out to test and refine the concept and gauge community support and enrolment interest. Public hui took place over 3 months prior to the 22 February 2011 earthquake, and the proposition received overwhelming support and encouragement. Similarly, letters and registrations of support were received from a wide cross-section of the community and across major political parties.

Establishing a unique Pā Wānanga that provides truly seamless education from early childhood to tertiary in a pā environment, drawing on traditional learning in the pā and contextualised for the 21st century, requires a model that (a) restores Māori teaching pedagogy, values, culture and identity as a foundation to educational success; (b) reconnects our whānau with place, people and Papatūānuku; and (c) reignites a passion for learning, discovery and achievement. Te Pā's point of difference is that, as in any village, the physical, mental, spiritual and emotional well-being of the whole whānau are of utmost importance – "Whānau Ora" in action.

Introducing Te Pā o Rākaihautū

Ko Rākaihautū te takata nānā i timata te ahi ki ruka ki tēnei motu ka nohoia tēnei motu e Waitaha.

Rākaihautū was the man who lit the fires of occupation in this island.

(nā Wi Pokuku, 1880)

Rākaihautū is the eponymous ancestor of the Waitaha people, who according to Ngāi Tahu traditions are the first tribal group to occupy Te Waipounamu, and through Rākaihautū and his descendants the land was named and therefore claimed. He was a leader (kaihautū), explorer and creator who shaped the island in

which we live – qualities and characteristics that the EC want to encourage in tamariki and their whānau to ultimately carve out new worlds for them.

Key distinguishers

Aro whakamuri, anga whakamua.

"Knew" knowledge, new tools to create a future modelled on the past.

We will draw on what we "knew" – our own rich traditional knowledge of how learning happened in the pā (Benton, Benton, Swindells, & Crisp, 1995) and contextualise it in the 21st century. Before the arrival of Europeans to New Zealand, a complex and functional education system operated; flexible and adaptable, it comprised a strong knowledge base and adaptive responsiveness to changing needs and challenges (Titus, 2001). Further, ensuring individual freedom was a key educational principle up to the age of adolescence (Openshaw, Lee, & Lee, 1993).

Seamless intergenerational learning in practice

Te Pā o Rākaihautū will encourage and embrace whole whānau and the wider community to become vital and active participants and partners in the education of pēpi (babies) to our poua and taua (grandparents) – everybody a learner, everybody an educator. This reflects the traditional concept of knowledge belonging to the whole, the significance placed on group learning and the benefits of positive learning outcomes for the collective well-being (Smith, 1997). Transitional education pipeline phases will be deliberately "blurred" via learning modules that simultaneously engage multiple ages and learning facilitators that deliver across traditional boundaries of early childhood, primary and secondary.

Reclaiming culture and identity

We will embed language, heritage values, experiences and ritual practices into the curriculum (Smith, 1997). Our culture and identity as Māori are central to the success of the pā and positive educational outcomes for whānau, both inside and outside the pā. Durie (2001) is an advocate for the important role of Māoritanga (being Māori) in preparing tauira (students) for a career and making a unique contribution to the wider society. Further, he articulates the disadvantages to students and global diversity if these teachings and experiences are passed over in favour of purely academic subjects and learning.

Restoring connection-to-place-based learning

The importance of place is reflected in the name of our pā. The unique and rich histories of Rākaihautū provide a curriculum foundation that will retrace his footsteps through Te Waipounamu, enabling learning beyond the classroom. In essence, Te Waipounamu will become the educational playground as whānau are encouraged to explore their surroundings while strengthening identity through belonging and understanding of place and environment, thereby honouring the successive peoples of the land in which the seed of Rākaihautū was planted – the people of Waitaha, Ngāti Mamoe and Ngāi Tahu.

Discovery learning

Reigniting the fire for learning is a key strategy for increasing achievement levels. Discovery learning is not a new concept. It puts the whānau at the centre of their own education experience, enabling them to direct their own learning and pursue their passions and aspirations, and it recognises that learning happens everywhere and in many different ways.

Te taiao – Our environment

Māori acknowledge that the environment has shaped their language, customs, history and stories. However, the significant historical associations and connections with environment have eroded over time to a point where the environment is forced to adapt to us with unheralded and devastating consequences. Reconnecting and deepening the physical and spiritual relationship of our whānau to Papatūānuku will be achieved through educational and cultural frameworks that reintroduce concepts such as sustainability and obligations as tāngata (people) to the whenua (land).

The journey continues

A comprehensive Section 156 designated character application was submitted to the Ministry of Education in April 2011 and received "support of concept" from the then minister of education, Hon. Anne Tolley, who also signalled that the ministry would have to remove legislative and policy barriers. However, in December 2011, the application was redirected into the Education Renewal Recovery Programme (a Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority strategy), requiring further consultation and lobbying through submission processes and working with the ministry in an effort to progress the application to full approval. To date, the concept of Te Pā has been explicitly incorporated in the Education Renewal Plans for Christchurch and support continues to grow. After more than 2 years, the EC has been reassured that this application is being fast tracked! However, our children remain in the mainstream education system; therefore, it is imperative that continued pressure be applied at every opportunity before the window is closed.

Acknowledgements

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THE RESOURCE MANAGEMENT FRAMEWORK

Engaging Māori in resource management processes

*James Ataria**

Morry Black†

Abstract

As New Zealand enters into a post-Treaty of Waitangi (ToW) settlement era of increasing ownership and co-management of natural resources, it is critical that the Māori contribution in the management space be effective. However, the reality for many Māori organisations is that people capability and capacity are significant barriers to effective participation. The Resource Management Framework (RMF) is a web-based tool being developed as a "proof of concept" model to provide a useful mechanism for Māori natural resource managers to enable more effective engagement with national legislation and regional and local policy and planning decisions, thus helping facilitate more constructive and beneficial interaction between Māori, environmental interest groups and local government. This research combines the knowledge and experience of Māori resource management practitioners, information technology specialists and scientists to create a distinctive tool that is both functional and relevant to making a positive change in our communities. A prototype tool has been released, and it is undergoing further review and development with a range of relevant end users. This paper discusses the prototype, its development pathway and its dissemination strategy.

Keywords

* Ecotoxicologist, Manaaki Whenua-Landcare Research Ltd, Lincoln, New Zealand.
  Email: jamie.ataria@gmail.com
† Hearings Commissioner and Resource Management Consultant,
  Mauri Protection Agency, Hastings, New Zealand.

Introduction

For many Māori, progressing tangata whenua (local people) environmental concerns and aspirations through the complex policy and regulatory landscape can be a daunting prospect (Mitcalfe, 2002). Māori resource managers have to deal with a constantly changing planning dynamic, with new amendments to key legislation resulting in a dilution of their ability to input into regulatory processes, and local councils focused on priorities other than those of tangata whenua (Forster, 2012; Nuttall & Ritchie, 1995). Addressing one environmental issue through a multilayered regime can also be an expensive exercise (Harmsworth, 2005). There is often frustration expressed amongst Māori that, despite engagement in resource management processes, their aspirations for the environment remain unfulfilled (Cheyne & Tawhai, 2007). As iwi and hapū transition into post-Treaty of Waitangi (ToW) settlements and the co-management of natural resources, they are demanding greater input (Memon, Painter, & Weber, 2009) as kaitiaki into resource management processes that is both timely and effective. The Resource Management Act sets statutory time constraints for responding to planning issues, and timely and informed responses to proposed plan changes or new environmental policy are required. Further, the management of resources is a multitiered system, with national, regional and local priorities each contributing to resource management, and Māori needing to respond appropriately to achieve our aspirational goals. In addition, there is often another layer of strategy documents drafted by councils as a precursor that drives amendments to local plans and policies.

The need for appropriate Māori engagement in natural resource management and in the decision-making processes of councils is recognised under the Local Government Act 2002: councils are required to develop and implement
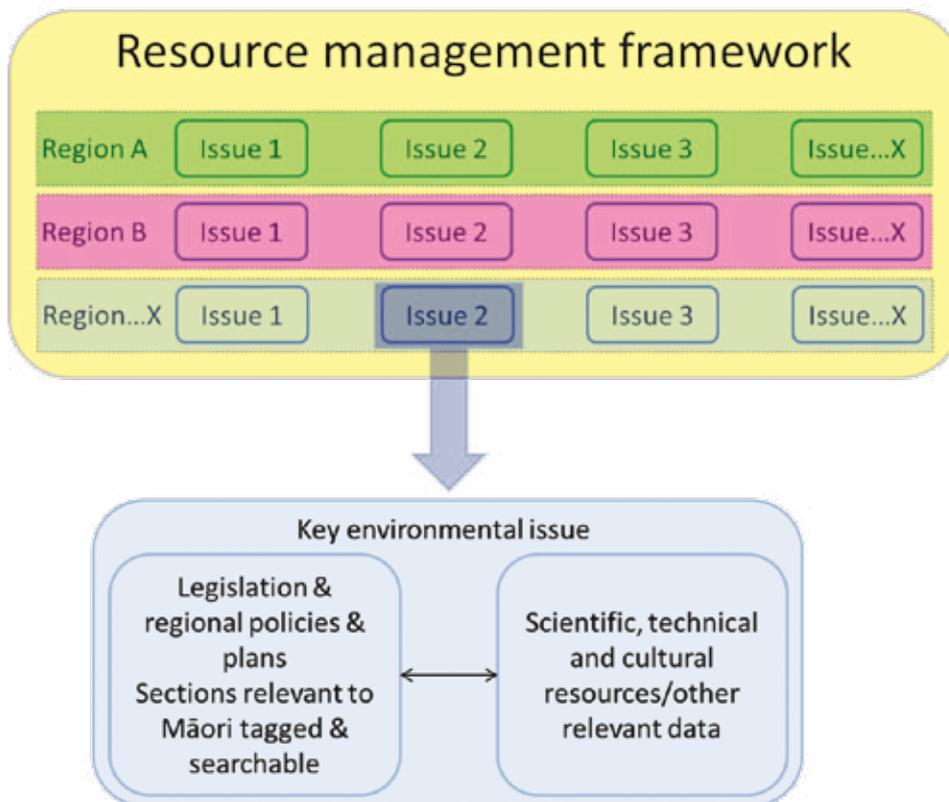
FIGURE 1.   The potential of the Resource Management Framework tool to be extended across issues and regions.

processes and opportunities that will strengthen Māori capacity to contribute to decision making (sections 4, 14(1)(d), 75(b), 77(1)(c) and 81(1) of the Local Government Act 2002). Unfortunately for some Māori organisations, the lack of appropriate resource management skills and knowledge capacity inhibits the attainment of their aspirations, despite the presence of legislative mechanisms designed to assist this process.

The Resource Management Framework (RMF) is the result of collaboration between multiple organisations for the purpose of providing assistance for Māori resource management practitioners to engage more effectively with environmental planning issues and information, and assist them to achieve environmental decision-making outcomes that more appropriately reflect their cultural and developmental aspirations (www.rmf.net.nz).

Important features of the RMF include accessing and displaying stormwater provisions from key regulatory documents, the hierarchical nature and weighting of planning provisions, a "frequently asked questions" section, and a repository for stormwater reports and outcomes from scientific research. Keyword and topic searches constitute other functions of the framework. Also provided are a range of annotated comments that are designed to guide the user, with advice on resource management issues drawn from extensive experience (see Figure 1). The RMF also contains a "Resources" section, which includes scientific, technical and cultural information relating to the specific environmental matter (see Figure 1). Incorporating this information alongside the legislative and regulatory functions further improves the usefulness of RMF by providing practical assistance to users who may need such information to build their own capability or to enable an informed response.

Development of the RMF

The concept and collaborating organisations

The RMF is part of a 4-year research project funded by the Ministry for Science Innovation (MSI) and is led by Manaaki Whenua – Landcare Research Limited (LCR) in collaboration with Mana Ahuriri Incorporated in Hawke's Bay, Te Ao Mārama Incorporated in Southland, and the Mauri Protection Agency (Māori resource management practitioner). The RMF is designed to leverage opportunities and facilitate better Māori engagement for positive resource management outcomes. The prototype was trialled in Hawke's Bay and Southland with the help of our collaborating organisations. Stormwater was chosen as the environmental issue to populate and demonstrate concept feasibility. However, the RMF is intended to be flexible to be populated with other environmental matters involving regulatory processes and legislation (see Figure 1). Further, two distinct regions were used to demonstrate the potential for regional flexibility of the RMF (see Figure 1) and provide a comparative context to reveal how different regional councils regulate for a specific environmental issue through comparing the differences between how consideration was given to Māori issues, and Māori organisations that are pre- and post-ToW.

The RMF is targeted to enthusiastic kaitiaki or laypeople; however, the search functionality that is built into the RMF will be of assistance to experienced practitioners who manually search hard copy legislative and regional planning documents (Kanawa, personal communication, 2012). There is growing awareness and desire to protect and enhance our environmental values, with many community members beginning to find their environmental voice, and the RMF is designed to assist people who want to make a difference.

Expertise required for RMF development

Several key competencies were necessary to develop the RMF prototype. These included:

1. Environmental planning: A sound knowledge of resource management plans and policies is required for classifying relevant planning documents and provisions, identifying the pertinent sections within these documents as they relate to the selected environmental issue and prioritising the documents for use in the RMF database. Having expertise in environmental legislation and decision-making processes enabled the insertion of annotations into the RMF – useful tips and guidance that have been amassed from extensive experience and are included in the RMF to assist those with less knowledge of the Resource Management Act and environmental planning.

2. Computer information technology (IT): Database builders, software and website designers were key to translating the conceptual design and implementing strategies to realise the collaborative vision while the RMF was being developed. Key aspects during the development were (a) selection of appropriate software for identifying, or "marking off", documents; (b) ensuring website functionality and the seamless interaction between the separate components of the RMF; (c) website appearance and content; (d) making the RMF user friendly; (e) RMF trials, review (checking functionality and correctness) and subsequent amendments; and (f) trialling and implementation of new ideas following RMF independent external review.

3. Scientific and technical expertise: A detailed working knowledge that is relevant to the environmental matter of focus facilitates the sourcing of information and helps to interpret what material is appropriate to include. This information can encompass pertinent scientific publications and technical documents through to research material and fact sheets suitable for the layperson, and span from explanatory information to solutions-based material for the specific environmental matter.

Throughout the project, kaumātua (elders) from the two participating regions provided authority and credibility to this research by guiding researchers on the historical associations local Māori have with natural resources and tikanga Māori processes. Their awareness of resource management process and experiences in this arena was also invaluable in providing peer review and ensuring that cultural matters were upheld during the design.

Interaction with Hawke's Bay and Southland regional councils was also beneficial to the research. Through this relationship, access to relevant planning documents and council personnel for peer review was made possible. The provision of regionally specific stormwater data was another contribution made possible through this association.

Key stages in the development of the RMF

Development of the RMF website evolved through several iterations as review feedback (internal and external) continued to inform content and functionality. From the outset, though, function was key – how the separate parts of the website interacted with each other, and whether results achieved intended purpose. In order, the key steps in the RMF's development were (a) determine the resource management issue of interest; (b) scope and secure legislation, national and regional policy, and local planning documents relevant to the issue of interest; (c) identify the key provisions, prioritise and mark up each document; (d) develop website appearance, content and functionality; (e) integrate marked-up documents for search facility; (f) collate relevant environmental, scientific and technical information on the key issue;

(g) order and store environmental information in "Resources" section of RMF; (h) draft questions and answers that provide general information on the issue and its regulation for Frequently Asked Questions section; and (i) release RMF on the Internet, review and refine.

Marking up of documents

The RMF has used extensible markup language (xml) to capture key provisions in local planning documents and make them accessible to the search facility in the RMF. The xml is a gratis and open source system employed for annotating or "marking up" a document in a way that is syntactically distinguishable from the body of text and encompasses rules for encoding documents in a format that is both human readable and machine readable (Bosak & Bray, 1999). In addition to being a flexible text format for creating structured computer documents that can be used easily over the Internet and within databases, the system employs relational elements or codes that can indicate hierarchy, or significance of documents to the target user group – in this case, Māori natural resource managers. The hierarchical nature of resource management was taken into account through priority ratings assigned to different provisions. Resource Management Act decision-making processes include consideration of provisions from several statutory documents with national, regional or local significance. Lower-tier regulation at the local level is required to "give effect to" higher-level national or regional policy directives, such as National or Regional Policy Statements, which are reflected by an xml schema guide that codifies and recognises relationships between pieces of marked-up information.

Of significance to this research is the ability to annotate and collate personal experiential information that can be incorporated into the tool to enhance the search and display functionality. Annotations are included in some documents to provide guidance, explain context or cross-reference related provisions that require consideration in decision making. These comments are intended to assist the RMF user towards a better understanding of the Resource Management Act and local government processes, and to augment what could be done within the scope of the overall research project.

The resources section

Populating this section are useful websites, pdf copies of the environmental planning documents lodged in the database (plans and policy documents from the two specific regions, national policy statements and legislation), scientific and layperson information, cultural resources and technical data. Each piece of information has been catalogued and organised according to a
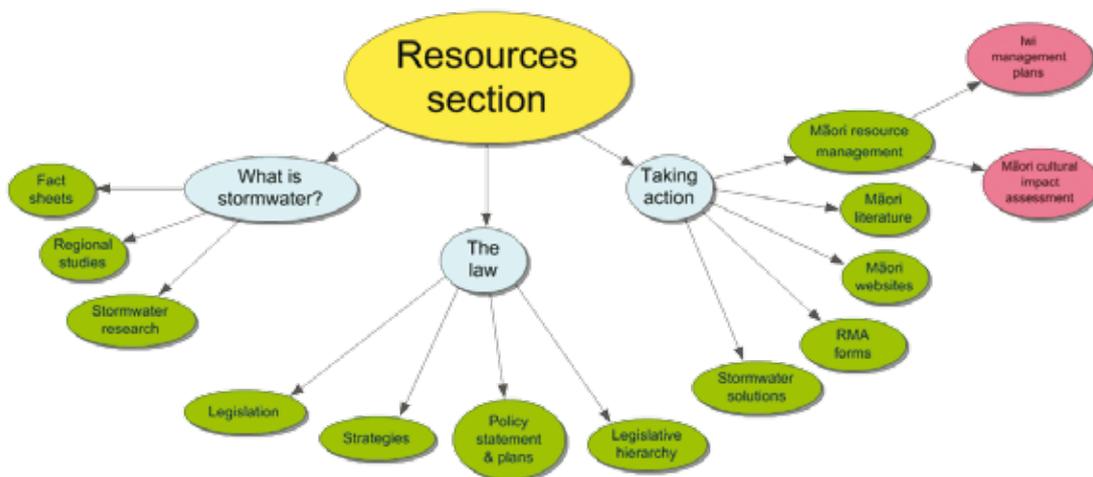

FIGURE 2.   How information is catalogued in the Resources section.

spatial layout recommended by Māori resource management practitioners during the review process (see Figure 2). All information, regardless of type and format – for example, website, pdf, reference or diagram – has been captured using Endnote® reference management software and assigned a unique identifier that is based on the category heading under which it will be located. Occasionally, information may receive multiple identifiers because it will appear in different categories.

Loading into the RMF website

After planning documents had been marked up, checked and annotations added, they were forwarded, along with components for the resources section, to IT personnel and then loaded into the website. Functionality, appearance and integration of the various components of the RMF were regularly tested during development, using JIRA bug-tracker software (Atlassian, USA), an online tool that enabled connectivity between project researchers who are spread geographically.

Results

Trial and review

In 2011, a limited live launch of the RMF website (see Figure 3) was carried out. A link to the website was circulated to a selection of external reviewers, including planners, consent processing staff and Māori resource management practitioners, with an invitation to provide feedback on the working model and ideas for potential improvement. Suggestions received covered a range of issues, including improvements in website appearance, further content such as the use of additional Māori content, and the addition of a "Feedback" section in which RMF users could express their views. The project team has also continued to develop improvements, particularly, ways to improve the update function and to streamline the document markup process, and the ability for the research partners to access selected website content to make corrections to plans or annotations as planning documents move from a proposed to an operative status. All feedback was then assessed and prioritised according to relevance

FIGURE 3.   Screen shot of the front page of the Resource Management Framework tool (www.rmf.net.nz).

to project, usefulness and budget limitations, and further work was then incorporated into the proof of concept RMF.

Key requirements for the RMF

Feedback during the review process has substantiated the view that the RMF concept could be a useful contribution to the range of tools available to enhance community and Māori participation in resource management. However, the success of the RMF is critically dependent on relevancy of information contained within the database. Plans and policies are being regularly updated as the government implements Stage 2 of the resource management reforms, triggering consequential planning responses by local government. Therefore, there is a resourcing commitment required to ensure that the RMF contains, and is working off, the latest version of any relevant documents. The research team are currently developing a backdoor access mechanism that will provide, and streamline, limited access to specific parts of the RMF website for key personnel who will be responsible for updating plans or uploading new information into the resources section as appropriate.

A key driver behind the research was to provide a tool that could be easily adapted to suit local situations. Although the use of xml worked well for the prototype, the IT personnel have been trialling an alternative method whereby selected passages can be extracted directly from pdf copies of legislation or plans, enabling a faster markup process, better connectivity with the search mechanism and no requirement for learning xml markup language.

The RMF moving forward

Once changes have been incorporated into the RMF, a systematic strategy will be undertaken for promoting the RMF as a viable tool for increasing Māori participation in resource management. A number of key organisations such as the Environmental Protection Authority, Surface Water Information Management Group (regional council network), the Māori National Network, New Zealand and Māori Planning Institutes and Ngā Aho Māori designers will be approached. Any uptake of the RMF must be accompanied by a commitment to maintain the content, which in turn requires a level of resourcing – specifically, engagement of Māori resource practitioner, IT and scientific expertise for the inclusion of new environmental issues or expansion into regions other than Southland and Hawke's Bay. Most of these skill sets are readily available within councils or Māori organisations in which ToW claims have been settled.

If increased interaction and support is forthcoming, then this tool has the potential to provide significant assistance for natural resource managers and a conduit through which mātauranga Māori and Western science information can be shared in a mutually supportive manner. This is increasingly important within the context of recent Resource Management Act amendments that are speeding up planning and consenting processes. This will require a greater level of focus and agility if people wish to leverage opportunities for input to environmental regulations. With many plans having effect for in excess of 10 years and resource consents increasingly being granted for 10 years or longer, it is important to make the most of the few chances for influence that we are being given.

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INDIGENOUS RESILIENCE THROUGH URBAN DISASTER

The Māori response to the 2010 and 2011 Christchurch Ōtautahi earthquakes

Simon Lambert*

Melanie Mark-Shadbolt†

Jamie Ataria‡

Amanda Black§

Abstract

The scale of damage from a series of earthquakes across Christchurch Ōtautahi in 2010 and 2011 challenged all networks in the city at a time when many individuals and communities were under severe economic pressure. Historically, Māori have drawn on traditional institutions such as whānau, marae, hapū and iwi in their endurance of past crises. This paper presents research in progress to describe how these Māori-centric networks supported both Māori and non-Māori through massive urban dislocation. Resilience to any disaster can be explained by configurations of economic, social and cultural factors. Knowing what has contributed to Māori resilience is fundamental to the strategic enhancement of future urban communities – Māori and non-Māori.

Keywords

resilience, disaster, emergency management, urban communities

*   Faculty of Environment, Society, and Design, Lincoln University, New Zealand.
    Email: Simon.Lambert@lincoln.ac.nz
†   Bioprotection Research Centre, Lincoln University, New Zealand.
‡   Faculty of Agriculture and Life Sciences, Lincoln University, New Zealand.
§   Bioprotection Research Centre, Lincoln University, New Zealand.

Background

The seismic activity affecting Christchurch Ōtautahi began on 4 September 2010 with a magnitude (M) 7.1 earthquake that resulted in no deaths but significant damage to many buildings. A smaller (M6.3) but more damaging event on 22 February 2011 killed 185 people and caused widespread destruction. An M6.3 earthquake on 13 June led to just one related death but brought further structural damage and considerable distress to many residents, as did the thousands of aftershocks, some over M5.0, that rumbled through the city.

Both Māori and Pākehā societies have firsthand experience of the hazards associated with settling such a geologically active land (Goff & McFadgen, 2003). Table 1 lists major earthquakes in Aotearoa New Zealand over the past 160 years. While these and other histories form an important backdrop to this research, they are just a starting point for a modern Māori perspective that has brought seismic change, not least among Māori whānau, kura, organisations and businesses that have established themselves in urban settings.

Risk, hazards, vulnerability and resilience

Although risk, vulnerability and resilience are imprecise terms, they nevertheless possess an "intuitive resonance" (Barnett, Lambert, & Fry, 2008), with evidence that the effects of hazards and disasters are not distributed evenly through society. Instead, we see the distribution of loss and damage, and the capacity to respond to and recover from loss and damage, varies according to social, political, economic and geographic factors (Cutter, 2010; Ellemor, 2005). The challenge for researchers is to broaden our catchment for both data and analytic approaches beyond merely aggregating and homogenising places and people for the purposes of comparison.

Risk

The word risk comes from the Greek rhiza, meaning the hazard of sailing along rocky coastlines, an etymology that lends itself nicely to the actuarial approach understood (from this perspective) as the sum of individual risks of all misfortunes:

TABLE 1.   Significant earthquakes in New Zealand.

Date	M	Location	Fatalities	Damage
3 Jan 1855	8.1	Wairarapa	4	
17 Jun 1929	7.8	Murchison	17	$133,000,000[1]
3 Feb 1931	7.8	Napier	256	$650,000,000[2]
24 June 1942	7.8	Wellington, Hutt Valley,		₤2,000,000[3]
2 Aug 1942	6.8	Wairarapa, Manawatū		
24 May 1968	7.1	Īnangahua	3	
22 Mar 1987	6.3	Edgecumbe	1	$300,000,000[4]
20 Dec 2007	6.8	Gisborne	1	$36,000,000[5]
15 Jul 2009	7.8	Dusky Sound		$6,100,000[6]
4 Sept 2010	7.1	Ōtautahi	0	
2 Feb 2011	6.3	Ōtautahi	185	> $30,000,000,000[7]
13 Jun 2011	6.3	Ōtautahi	1	

[1] 1998 NZ$ (Owens, 2001; Table 23.2). [2] 2010 NZ$. [3] http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/disasters-and-mishaps-earthquakes/3 [4] Estimate (http://christchurchcitylibraries.com/kids/nzdisasters/edgecumbe.asp). [5] EQC cost (over 6,000 claims) 2010 NZ$. [6] EQC cost (5,219 claims).[7] Estimate (Bennett, 2011).

Risk = ∑ f(probability of misfortune, expected loss from misfortune)

Despite some studies showing an increase in deaths, damage and costs over time (United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction [UNISDR], 2004), governments, local authorities, businesses and households tend to ignore those risks that are seen as highly unlikely, even though their effects may be devastating, and they do not sufficiently plan, engineer or insure for these risks. This is regrettably evident within planning authorities in the development of Christchurch (Canterbury Earthquakes Royal Commission, 2011; Heather, 2011a), highlighting the political-economic contexts influencing the vulnerability of individuals, households and communities.

Hazards

A hazard is a potentially damaging physical event, phenomenon or human activity that may cause death, injury, property damage, socio-economic disruption or environmental degradation (UNISDR, 2004). On the one hand, hazards can have geological, hydro-meteorological or biological origins; on the other, individuals and communities are increasingly affected by technological hazards – as in the cases of Three Mile Island and Bhopal – or particularly challenging combinations, such as the Japanese nuclear reactor emergency at Fukishima following an earthquake and tsunami in March 2011.

Vulnerability

At its most simple, vulnerability is the potential or susceptibility to damage or loss and is determined by physical, social, economic, environmental and cultural factors. Some communities are better able to absorb and recover from disasters simply because they have access to assets, credit and useful political networks (World Bank, 2010). Notwithstanding the value of indigenous ecological knowledge

– increasingly acknowledged and accepted in environmental management – the built environment exposes all its inhabitants to new and emerging hazards, with marginalised groups in urban areas being more vulnerable (Del Popolo, Oyarce, Ribotta, & Jorge, 2007).

Resilience

Resilience has been described as the ability of a system to absorb shocks before altering its structure in some way, or the speed of recovery of a system following disturbance (Adger, 2000). A resilient system, therefore, is one that accommodates change or absorbs shocks in such a way that the system is not fundamentally altered. This positions resilience as the inverse of vulnerability, notably in ecology (Holling, Berkes, & Folke, 1998), but also in studies of social systems (Barnett, 2001). Resilience can be built by shocks to a system provided there is "system memory" – in ecosystems, through the composition and functioning of species assemblages and, in society, through enduring communal understanding that captures the experience of past changes (Berkes, Colding, & Folke, 2003).

Response and recovery: Definitions and examples

The Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management (2008) categorises four mutually inclusive phases: reduction, readiness, response and recovery. The reduction phase seeks to identify and mitigate long-term risks to life and property, while the readiness phase focuses on the preparation of operational systems and capabilities. In many respects, these two phases ended with the 4 September quake, as the 22 February event framed the intervening period as contributing to "reduction and readiness" (Heather, 2011b). The response includes all actions taken immediately before, during or directly after an emergency event, essentially
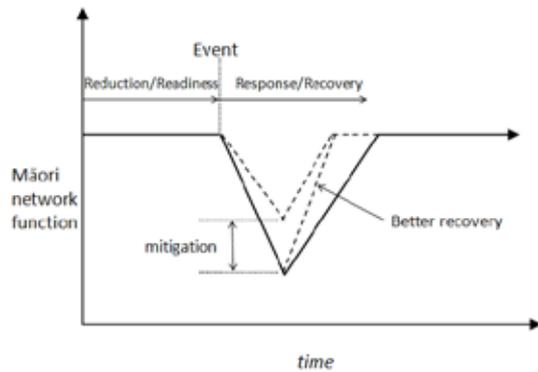
FIGURE 1. Māori network resilience model (after McDaniels, Chang, Cole, Mikawoz, & Longstaff, 2008).

seeking to save lives and protect property. The recovery period consists of the regeneration of communities. Figure 1 outlines how we model the resilience of Māori networks within this conceptual framework.

For the February earthquake, national and international aid was quick to arrive (Lambert & Mark-Shadbolt, 2012). Despite this rapid and professional response, the city's population was subject to considerable danger, discomfort and disruption, and significant movements of people and resources took place over the following months. Local unemployment was up 17% in the 4 months post-February (Wood & Chapman, 2011), school rolls dropped by up to 20%, and domestic violence, gambling, drinking, stress and insecurity increased (New Zealand Press Association, 2011; Stylianou, 2011). This paper reports on several broad and evolving areas in the response phase and makes some comments on the current and ongoing recovery phase. How do Māori – as individuals, communities and a society – respond and recover in such an environment?

Method

It should be clear that a broad approach is needed to account for how people are affected by hazards and disasters. This paper gives an overview of two projects that sit within a programme of three interlinked projects. We initially undertook 10 semi-structured interviews with selected Māori informants, beginning with emergency workers and several Māori managers caught in the central business district (CBD) on the day of the February quake. This was expanded in a second project for Te Puni Kōkiri that focused on whānau resilience (a third programme focusing on Māori mental health networks has just begun at the time of publishing). Transcripts were analysed for common themes, and follow-up contact – further interviews, phone calls, emails and personal meetings – were undertaken with some participants. Our approach integrates the response and recovery experiences of Māori within a context of historical and contemporary marginalisation, to bring about constructive attention to these networks so that Māori in the future might become more resilient.

The Māori response

The response to the 22 February event was the immediate mobilisation of emergency workers, hospital and medical staff, volunteers and many so-called ordinary citizens who found themselves in the midst of a damaged city and traumatised population and helped out or escaped as best they could. One of our informants had to amputate the legs of a man trapped in a building; another hurrying home to his own whānau stopped to carry an injured woman – her legs crushed – from a collapsed building. All over the city and beyond, Māori networks mobilised to contact and help whānau; many children were taken away to safe areas (often to the North Island) and mattresses were laid out in homes to accommodate the refugees.

Marae enacted their role as communal refuges, not just in the tribal area of Ngāi Tahu but across the South Island and including North Island marae such as Pipitea in Wellington (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011). Several iwi sent in teams of tradespeople and nurses; Māori wardens

came, first from elsewhere in the South Island, then from the North Island. Ngā Hau e Whā was quickly established as a recovery assistance centre (RAC) and fielded many enquiries (see Figure 2), primarily directed towards Work and Income (WINZ) and Red Cross but also including Housing New Zealand, Christchurch City Council, the Inland Revenue Department and Victim Support.

Four themes stood out in our interviews: neighbourhood, tamariki, whānau and community, with the last-mentioned connecting each of them and forming an important but also shifting concept. Social media technologies now mean people belong to a globally extensive community, and many of our participants of all ages have used Facebook to maintain links and seek reassurance and support. The safety of children was paramount for several of our respondents, and determined location and lifestyle decisions following February 2011. Many respondents were inspired by their children, who frame many whānau responses: "Everything is for our kids though so we knew if we showed panic that

would reflect on them and they'd also panic"; "My oldest girl, she really stepped up, fetching water and helping out".

A constant comment was that Māori are better at disasters than others. For some, this was because of a personal and whānau history of poverty and need for self-sufficiency; for others, it was our acceptance of upheaval: "Māori are used to the last minute evacuation when it comes to tangi, book a ticket, pack a bag, ring your boss, you can be gone anywhere up to a week".

Cultural practices were reiterated: for example, in answer to a question about why some systems and processes worked well through the disaster, several respondents noted kanohi-ki-te-kanohi or kanohi kitea approaches. Yet tikanga, particularly around manaakitanga and hosting incoming helpers, was also seen as making excessive demands on whānau and organisations severely disrupted by the earthquakes, which were struggling to look after themselves.

Although the focus of emergency services was in the CBD, considerable damage occurred
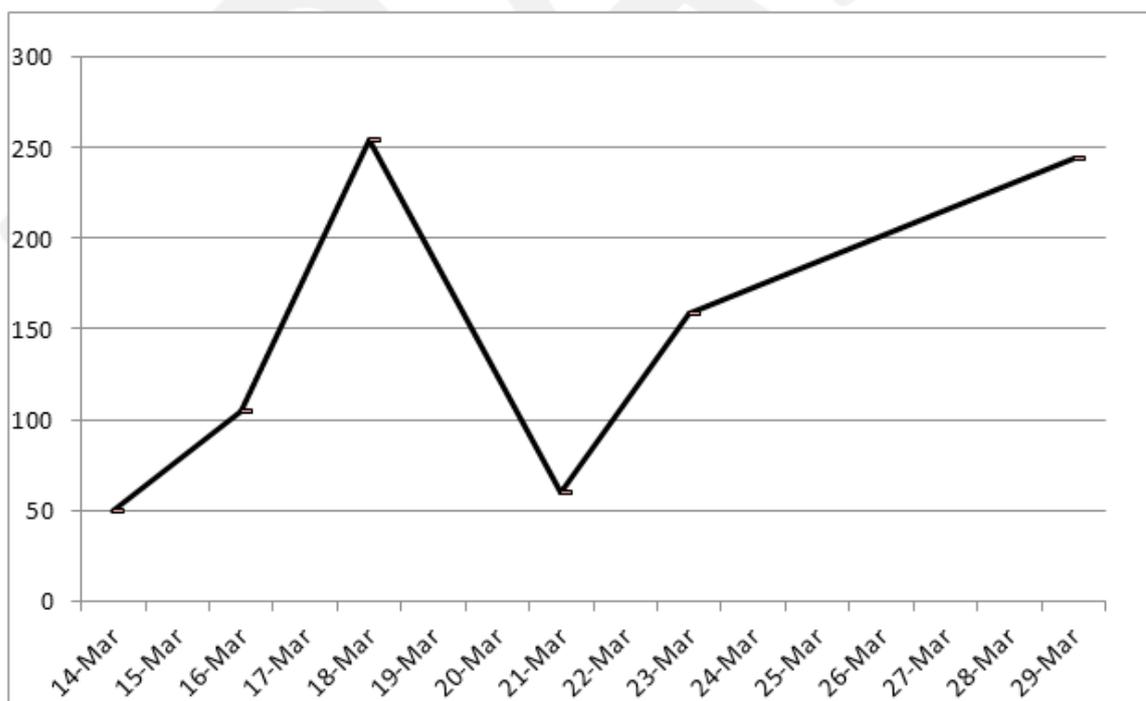

FIGURE 2.   Queries to Ngā Hau e Whā (Te Puni Kōkiri Earthquake Bulletin updates).

to residential properties, especially in the eastern suburbs. Abundant aid was supplied in the immediate aftermath: "People were happy. We were prosperous!"

However, one significant lack noted by residents of the eastern suburbs and other observers was the low number of Portaloos supplied in the east compared with other areas of the city (Potangaroa, Wilkinson, Zare, & Steinfort, 2011). This unfortunate lack draws attention to the economic marginalisation of the eastern suburbs. Māori unemployment nationwide had been poor for several quarters, and indeed had recently worsened (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.). After the February event, retail and hospitality (sectors with strong representation by Māori) were badly hit, affecting female workers more than male workers, and while Māori unemployment figures in Canterbury were lower than those nationwide through 2011 and the beginning of 2012, many of those without work appear to have left the region.

Environmental impacts have been sidelined by the serious social and economic impacts. In the immediate aftermath of the February shock, many of those affected expressed concerns over biohazards (primarily, water quality). While, internationally, environmental impact assessments are more likely to be requested or required (Kelly, 2011), there are concerns that the environment has yet to figure prominently in discussions about disaster recovery in Christchurch (see, e.g., Gorman, 2012, on asbestos dumping). Impacts on Ngāi Tahu wāhi tapu have been significant (Yates, Mark-Shadbolt, & Brown, 2011), as has been damage to cemeteries (Dunbar, 2011). Continuing ecotoxicological impacts are being experienced. Approximately 35,000 m³ of wastewater was being discharged daily into the Avon-Ōtākaro River in mid-March 2011, although this had declined to about 13,300 m³ per day by the end of April (Environment Canterbury, 2011, p. 2). New springs have been reported as a result of both the September 2010 and February 2011 events, and large numbers of birds died from avian botulism following the discharge from broken sewage pipes into treatment ponds (Martinez-Allier, 2000). Despite these events, preliminary research has indicated the urban waterway of the Heathcote River is probably recovering fairly rapidly Wells, 2012). Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the city's social and cultural systems.

Discussion

The response and recovery of Māori to the massive dislocation of the earthquakes in Ōtautahi displays the strength and resilience of Māori cultural values and skills as well as the distressing effects of ongoing Māori economic vulnerability. The institutions of whānau, marae and iwi provided immediate and much needed help to more than just "their own", and the values of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga were manifested in the actions of countless individuals and groups.

However, we make the comment that framing Māori resilience as somehow emanating from generations of poverty risks reifying the economic vulnerability of Māori and diluting attention from a key component of resilience to hazards and disasters, namely, asset wealth (Vatsa, 2004). By emphasising that Māori resilience is nuanced, place based and culturally attuned, we hope to expand the possibilities for better disaster preparation and improved post-disaster recoveries. Simply judging Māori response(s) and recovery(ies) according to assumptions of population stability or resistance to change denies the mobility and adaption Māori have incorporated in their collective and individual reactions to disruption. As for a stronger resilience to future disasters, we can only point out the fundamental aid to expanding options, namely, economic wealth and security. Engineering a wealthier Māori society remains vital to improving the resilience of Māori and poses a continuing challenge to efforts to reduce our collective vulnerability to what are recurring events.

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MĀORI EXPERIENCES AND EXPRESSIONS OF LEADERSHIP THROUGH THE CHRISTCHURCH ŌTAUTAHI EARTHQUAKES

Simon Lambert*

Melanie Mark-Shadbolt†

Abstract

The 2010 and 2011 earthquakes of Canterbury have had a serious and ongoing effect on Māori in the city (Lambert, Mark-Shadbolt, Ataria, & Black, 2012). Many people had to rely on themselves, their neighbours and their whānau for an extended period in 2011, and some are still required to organise and coordinate various activities such as schooling, health care, work and community activities such as church, sports and recreation in a city beset by ongoing disruption and distress. Throughout the phases of response and recovery, issues of leadership have been implicitly and explicitly woven through both formal and informal investigations and debates. This paper presents the results of a small sample of initial interviews of Māori undertaken in the response and early recovery period of the disaster and discusses some of the implications for Māori urban communities.

Keywords

Māori leadership, emergency management, disaster response, disaster recovery

*   Faculty of Environment, Society, and Design, Lincoln University, New Zealand.
    Email: Simon.Lambert@lincoln.ac.nz
†   Bio-Protection Research Centre, Lincoln University, New Zealand.

Introduction

The tragic events of 22 February 2011 have become a part of the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. In the seconds during, and minutes after, the shallow 6.3 magnitude shock, countless individuals acted across the city of Christchurch Ōtautahi with great courage wherever they found themselves, whether inside collapsed buildings or in the streets where many people were injured or killed by falling masonry. Emergency workers were quickly on the scene. Two companies of soldiers exercising near Christchurch joined two urban search and rescue (USAR) teams (from Auckland and New Plymouth), complementing the local USAR team, fire officers, paramedics, police officers and ambulance staff. Other emergency workers arrived from around the country, and triage and welfare centres were quickly established. A 73-strong search and rescue team arrived from New South Wales, Australia, on the day of the quake and were operating the next day; other international rescue crews arrived from Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, the United Kingdom and the United States. At the end of the first week, 330 Australian police had been sworn in, contributing to the 1,200 New Zealand police on patrol and active duty (New Zealand Police, 2011). Services and infrastructure were obviously badly affected, but the airport was operational for emergency flights within 4 hours and commercial flights within 24 hours.

In this context, leadership was fundamental to the survival and security of tens of thousands of people. However, leadership itself sits within, and interacts with, a number of other spheres, such as communication, situational awareness, teamwork, and stress and fatigue management (Vallance, 2012), and it operates at various scales. Further, the performance of a range of formal and informal leaders is an emotional topic and has elicited ongoing passionate debate, such as is revealed by the second internal review of the performance of regional commanders in the Fire Service,

accused of serious failings in their leadership (New Zealand Fire Service, 2012; Tobin, 2011). Leaders of the "Farmy Army" and Student Volunteer Army complained of a lack of cooperation from officials and have since identified the empowerment of volunteers as being an important lesson leaders should learn from the recovery process (Hartnell, 2012). For the people of Christchurch, there has been a lack of transparency and confusion over roles between the council and government leadership.

The recovery phase is recognised as vital in emergency management and civil defence operations that seek long-term community resilience (Beckett, Wilkinson, & Potangaroa, 2010). So-called soft leadership is combined with technical management to frame effective post-disaster recovery, targeted towards achieving the right actions with minimal delay. While accepting that a disaster is, by definition, characterised by the general and extensive breakdown of systems, what follows is a snapshot of the words and experiences of 10 Māori leaders and managers through an urban disaster.

Māori leadership

The immediate response

While the 4 September 2010 quake was larger than the 22 February 2011 event (magnitude 7.1 versus 6.3), it struck early in the morning (about 4:30 am) and, while there was considerable disruption to the city, there were no deaths. The February quake occurred at 12:51 pm and immediately placed thousands of people in life and death situations, as was the case, for example, for one of our respondents in the Central Business District (CBD):

> When I evacuated the office, my work colleague who was pregnant needed help … As I was walking past Joe's Garage, I could hear screaming in there. I helped this one lady out, I ended up carrying her. Both her legs were crushed.

Another interviewee was a team leader for USAR who spent many hours in the wreckage of a collapsed building, where one of his tasks was to help amputate a trapped man's legs, using a hacksaw and a Leatherman tool. A Māori policeman was naked in the showers in the police building and, after dressing, walked out into the CBD as a first responder, not knowing whether or not his only child was safe for 5 hours.

Many Māori managers found themselves in the terrible situation of fearing for their own lives and the lives of their staff: "Oh, I didn't have time to be affected by the EQ … on the day we were in the CBD, I was more worried about my entire team dying in front of my eyes actually."

All those who were parents experienced harrowing delays in getting to their children; one mother waited 11 hours until she knew her "baby" (actually an adult male but the emotional ties remain, of course) was alive and safe.

The first few days

Strong views were expressed on the actions of leaders in the days following the February event. Several interviewees were disparaging about Māori leadership. At an early hui called to discuss the Māori response, it was described by one wahine as a display of "peacocking" by some Māori men.

> A Kaūmatua, probably Ngāi Tahu, should have been [in charge] … it takes away all the power from the little power piggies you know this is Ngāi Tahu's responsibilities in terms of how we feel about our responsibilities towards manaakitanga this is what we're doing.

The style of leadership, and organisational structures, came in for sustained criticism from some:

> You never see a command post that's run by a consensual stylist. [It] doesn't work that way.

I mean they follow protocol and all the rest but you don't see somebody that's like look, should we have a bit of a, shall we have a, um, let's go outside and connect with nature and discuss the thing, you know, the blah blah, and then we'll go back and we'll dah dah dah. It's like *right* we're doing this, bang!

Interestingly, two of our interviewees returned to damaged buildings to collect laptops that contained databases and contact details necessary for their work. While this is counter to advice and even actual commands, it is an example of how many people acted in ways counter to "standard" procedures (which were reinforced by the first, non-fatal, earthquake of 4 September). When people could retrieve items considered necessary for their work, they did so. When they could not, or were prevented from doing so, considerable business disruption followed.

The role of tikanga was also an important theme, with some seeing aspects of Māori cultural practices adhered to beyond the point of utility:

> The practicality of tikanga goes like this: any kaūmatua will tell you if it's not working, if it's impractical, we're not doing it! They'll tell you where it's not the very best to be bloody hongi-ing people when there's a pandemic on and they'll say well actually we won't have big gatherings because actually everyone will get sick. The kaūmatua know.

Kaūmatua were seen as having important roles, sometimes in just reassuring others. One kaūmatua, whose house and neighbourhood were badly damaged, drew positive comparisons with his younger years of rural poverty, using humour, which was seen as being important:

> I think one of the things we do well is humour … there's a bit of resilience that comes with that. That approach, there's a bit of integrity there. Doesn't seem like leadership but it gave me strength at the time!

The following weeks and months

As aftershocks continued to rock the city, the stress and frustration increased for many people. Data on school enrolments show that Māori children moved schools, primarily out of Canterbury, at three to five times the rate of Pākehā (Lambert, Mark-Shadbolt, Ataria, & Black, 2012). As Māori providers and workers increased their presence and activities, various conflicts were evident, notably the need for official reports and data from head offices and government versus the demand for people on the ground who could doorknock and sit with frightened and disconnected people – Māori and non-Māori.

The recovery phase is now dominated by larger institutions – many of them offshore – that are injecting capital for the rebuild, a phase that is not the subject of this paper but is framed by serious difficulties in trying to secure and allocate financial capital. Capital flight is being recorded as developers receive insurance pay-outs and reinvest elsewhere in the country.

Future Māori leaders

Leadership studies has developed as an increasingly important topic and strategy focus for the New Zealand public and private sector (see, e.g., Curtin, 2008), and for Māori (Mead, Stevens, Third, Jackson, & Pfeifer, 2006; Katene, 2010). The development of Māori leaders – for current and future challenges – was seen as important by our respondents:

> I think we don't have enough skill in lots of areas … it's about work force development and also succession.

> I'm talking about people who can get things done, motivate people, give the whānau the sense of confidence that they need. [Someone] should have been up there and saying "now this is what we're doing, and we're going to do this and we're doing that" … that's what I mean about leadership.

> You need the emergence of strong leaders [who] can say "cut the crap, let's go!"

Broader organisational context

It is important to realise that much Māori leadership in the aftermath took place within a complex and often confused organisational context that was itself seriously impacted by the disaster: the Māori response could only be "nested" within a wider response. Several respondents noted the political landscape:

> It's like of course the CBD is to protect the CBD first and foremost, and that's the city I guess, that's what it looked like. But then there were areas where it's almost like the rich get richer the poor get poorer, it was the same scenario. "The poor, oh we can hold them off", it almost looked like it came down to money.

> I think this whole thing was a political thing. It's about who controls Christchurch.

Various initiatives are under way. Educational institutions in the city are required to investigate how they can work together; a strong initiative comes from Te Tapuae o Rehua, who are coordinating a trades training programme that aims to upskill 200 Māori trainees for the rebuilding of the city (Tarena, 2012).

Discussion

As noted, a disaster is characterised by the extensive breakdown of systems, including communications, which severely challenges leadership. Power cuts and damaged infrastructure meant contacting staff, colleagues and whānau was difficult and sometimes impossible.

Also, many nominated leaders were themselves in damaged homes and subject to sleepless nights as the city was regularly shaken by many thousands of aftershocks. That individual first responders turn up at all is not guaranteed: up to 20% have been found to be technically derelict in their duties in some disasters, while many of these were actually searching for their own family members and securing their safety first (Linsdell, 2012).

For Māori leadership, wider governmental and non-governmental organisational structures often trumped Māori aspirations. Local officials struggled to balance issues of safety, planning regulations, and the need to engage stakeholders in the recovery of the CBD to aid businesses and mitigate direct and indirect costs of a prolonged closure.

Of course, the debate over the role of local and national government has been a fundamental challenge in other emergencies and disasters. The Pike River mining disaster (which occurred 19 November 2010, i.e., between the first quake of 4 September 2010 and the major quake of 22 February 2011) saw controversy over the performance of the police, who assumed the main role in the ultimately unsuccessful and possibly futile rescue attempts. Who, exactly, should be in charge of disasters?

In Christchurch, new and additional authorities were established, such as the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA), and reinsurers add layers of complexity to the recovery period, causing considerable distress and anger. While additional agencies are probably needed, given the scale of the disaster, their role and relationship with local bodies must be clear and this is a role for the highest levels of government leadership. As the wider New Zealand economy has stalled, the social and financial pressures on Māori affected by the earthquakes look set to worsen.

Conclusions

Leadership needed during the disaster experienced by Christchurch Ōtautahi can be split into two phases, correlating with the phases of response and recovery. Each phase requires different skills, with courage, initiative, and personal training and skills dominating the first phase; and networking, collaboration and professional managerial skills framing needs in the second phase. Fitting Māori communities for future disasters needs to concentrate on clarifying how Māori response(s) coordinate among Māori, and work in within the wider and predominant non-Māori response. The vulnerability of Māori to future disasters through ongoing economic marginalisation cannot be overstated.

Although this paper did examine the existing recovery phase, it is clear this is not progressing well for the city in general: the effects on Māori can only be negative. Improving how top-down approaches (emanating from central government) hybridise with localised bottom-up efforts will enable Māori to benefit from and contribute to the recovery of the city of Ōtautahi.

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INNOVATION, MĀORI AND THE MĀORI ECONOMY

A flat or lumpy world?

*Simon Lambert**

Abstract

This paper outlines how innovation has been framed in contemporary Māori economic development using a simple dichotomy for landscape. On the one hand, the rapid diffusion of information communication technologies (ICTs) has "flattened" the world, reducing the costs of trade but making greater wealth, and presumably happiness and security, possible for those societies and nation-states that proactively engage with the processes of globalisation. On the other hand, others decry the obvious "lumpiness" of the world where poverty clearly constrains many individuals and communities from benefiting from any such engagement. This paper pulls together disparate ideas and examples of innovation with the aim of presenting some of the history and cultures of innovation relevant to Māori in navigating what is certainly a bigger world, flat or lumpy.

Keywords

innovation, Indigenous economies, science, development, Māori communities

* Te Whanake, Faculty of Environment, Society, and Design, Lincoln University, New Zealand.
Email: simon.lambert@lincoln.ac.nz

Introduction

By standard indicators, the New Zealand economy continues to underperform and its relative decline (especially to neighbouring Australia) has not abated (McCann, 2009). A significant source of future growth is seen to reside with Māori (especially iwi) ventures, particularly in the primary sector, in which Māori agribusinesses are framed as the "sleeping giant" of New Zealand (Lambert, 2011).

Innovation in this context is often glossed as advancing technology, the theoretical examination of which roughly begins at the time of Māori colonisation. James Stuart Mill (1848) articulated the role of technology in his *Principles of Political Economy* when he described four fundamental sources of national wealth (represented by "Y" in the following equations), namely, capital (K), labour (L), land (T) and what he labels "productiveness" (p). The relationships are:

$$Y = K + L + T + p$$

In plain language, a nation's wealth is how it combines capital, land and labour, and what has been variously called productiveness or productivity but which we now recognise as "innovation". But as Kiwi economist Brian Easton (1997) points out, this "arithmetic residual" has no explanatory ability; indeed, it has been described as "the coefficient of ignorance" (Balogh & Streetan, as cited in Easton, 1997, p. 204). For the early capitalists, this theoretical ignorance was of no importance as long as profits could be made. Science and technology were thus harnessed along with land, labour and capital to enable the supply of new or better products or services to the market, and improvements to the processes by which such things were made or supplied. In simple terms, innovation creates or alters demand or lowers costs, thereby increasing profits.

This coupling of innovation to profit is actually a much reduced conceptualisation of innovation, which is better understood as any new idea, object or activity, or even the rediscovery of an idea, object or activity, regardless of its commercial worth. But the term innovation as it is increasingly used in Māori economic discourse broadly follows current commercial usage as "the search for and development of new or improved production, management, sales or marketing processes that have the potential to add value to a firm's, an enterprise's, an industry's, or a sector's offering to end-users and/or consumers" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010, p. 36). The role of innovation in increasing profit was promoted by Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter who considered "technical change" central to modern economics and a fundamental feature of capitalist economies (Schumpeter, 1928). Such change was destructive in that it consigned existing inventories, techniques, implements and ideas to obsolescence (e.g., the closure of unproductive, old abattoirs across Aotearoa New Zealand) but also creative as it laid the foundations for change by forcing the reallocation of capital and resources (e.g., towards ecotourism or software development), hence Schumpeter's term "creative destruction".

In order to arrest the apparent decline of national economies, innovative or novel products are continually developed, particularly for consumers seeking "quality" attributes pertaining to environmental health, sustainability, ecological resilience issues and so on (Saunders, Allison, Wreford, & Emanuelson, 2005). Indigenous ventures, including Māori, now attempt to satisfy these relatively wealthy consumers and their values (Chapman-Smith, 2012) although the targeted "niche" markets can still be very large and difficult to supply.

But many so-called markets remain unfulfilled despite considerable demand, not least in health care and environmental management. This inability of market forces to recognise and remedy future threats to national or regional economies is seen to be the primary cause of unsustainability (Becker & Jahn, 1999), further

complicating the role of technological innovation, which is assumed as the means to *improve* productivity, as the *cause* of uncertainty in more broadly ascribed development goals, and as the *solution* to these concerns.

Is the world flat or lumpy?

So, ongoing innovation is increasingly seen as vital to questions of national comparative advantage, the competitiveness of firms, long-term economic growth, trade, finance, employment, manufacturing and services, and as integral to the sustainable development of Māori resources (Lambert, 2008). Importantly, the current context for economic development is global, with geographical and cultural "obstacles" interpreted as having diminishing effects through ongoing technological advances, particularly with modern ICTs. Thomas Friedman (2005) argues that cheap communication and travel have "flattened" the world, making greater wealth possible for those individuals and nation-states that proactively engage with the processes of globalisation. For Friedman, globalisation is broadly interpreted as increasingly interdependent participation in extensive chains of production that compete for cheap labour and raw materials from the developing world to "satisfy" demand in both the developing world (where there is a growing number of wealthy and self-consciously discerning elites) and the markets of the "West".

Others have decried the obvious "lumpiness" of the world, evident in both developing countries, where extreme poverty constrained many individuals and communities from

benefiting from the new global supply chains (Smith, 2005), and the developed world, where less dramatic but similar disparities persist.

Māori and innovation

Constraints to Māori participation in innovation are somewhat glaring. When innovation was theorised as residing within research, science and technology (RS&T) institutions, Māori lacked critical mass in shaping the processes of a period characterised by the "science push" concept (see Figure 1).

In this model, Māori participation has been minor and being part of any "value chain" has proven difficult (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). This model can be identified in the Primary Growth Partnership (PGP) strategy led by the Ministry of Primary Industries, which has invested in programmes on wool, red meat, dairy, aquaculture, mānuka honey and forestry. Government funding is to be matched by industry investment with the aim of "boosting economic growth through research and innovation … to transform great ideas into research, development, and ultimately products, jobs and growth" (Carter, 2011).

This linear science push model was challenged by the "market pull" concept in the 1970s as further empirical evidence showed the complexity of the relationship between science, technology and innovation (Martin & Nightingale, 2000). Through the 1980s and 1990s, international research revealed that the ability to innovate was deeply embedded within firms as collectives of people, capital and ideas. This included a realisation of the importance
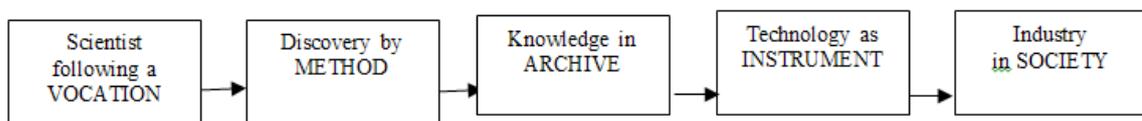

FIGURE 1. The profit-directed chain of scientific discovery (Ziman, 1984).

of networks, including education, localised knowledge and the role of tacit knowledge (Gibbons & Johnston, 1974).

As Fagerberg and Verspagen (2009, p. 218) point out, academia has now formalised "innovation studies", although this still amounts to a disparate collection of approaches. Some approaches have coalesced around the methodologies of geography and policy studies; others have been moulded by the discursive approaches into capitalism described by Schumpeter (1928). Beyond this, Smits (2002, p. 862) notes that innovation is now linked to the emergence of a "porous society" in which "knowledge intensive intermediaries" have a fundamental role combining the insights and abilities of both users and producers. Metcalfe (2007, p. 448) usefully distinguishes between innovation ecologies, comprising those people that are the "repositories and generators of new knowledge", and innovation systems or "connections between the components that ensure the flow of information necessary for innovation to take place". This holistic interpretation of innovation has several antecedents. Wulf (2007, p. 1253) referred to an "ecology" of innovation, comprising "interrelated institutions, laws, regulations, and policies providing an innovation infrastructure that entails education, research, tax policy, and intellectual property protection, among others". Dvir and Pasher (2004, p. 20) list a number of attributes to innovation ecology, including the time and space to muse, an organisational structure with weak boundaries and a low emphasis on hierarchy, tolerance of risk, clear strategies and attention to the future, recognition and incentives, financial capital, human diversity, and conversations – the "unifying principle".

While the term "ecosystem" has been applied to innovation in New Zealand (see, e.g., New Zealand Institute, 2009), the debate is poorly informed by the research literature, dominated by various statistical analyses (often framed or emanating from the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development,

e.g., Statistics New Zealand, 2009). Te Puni Kōkiri has released several interlinked reports that model scenarios of better implementation of science and innovation for developing the Māori economy (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). Funding remains small and insecure; just $5 million is allocated to the Vision Mātauranga Capability Ministry of Science and Innovation funding.

One approach to interpreting how Māori participate in the networks of innovation is through the active insertion of alternative cultural logics – Kaupapa Māori – to directly or indirectly influence research, science and technology. Consider the model in Figure 2, which explicitly builds the "cultural environment" into the innovation process by increasing the spectrum of creativity available for problem solving. Where identified, it could be argued there is an opportunity for an "Indigenous turn" in which localised communities and their cultures interrogate "outsiders" according to cultural traditions that may include, for example, holistic interpretations of the world and self-determined strategies in which there is no "bottom line" to cultural aspirations.

But what are the implications for Māori of this "innovate or die" mentality? Although the latest iteration of innovation strategies incorporates mātauranga Māori, is the landscape any smoother? It could be argued that, for Māori, fundamental insights come from our communities and their "non-certified" experts.
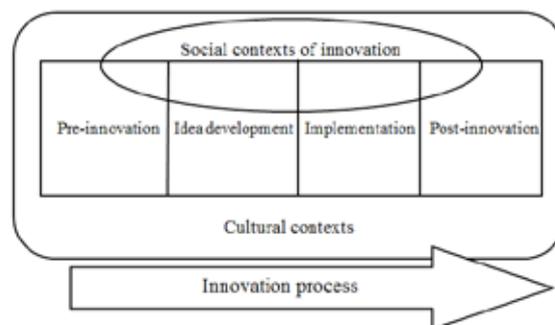

FIGURE 2.   Social networks and innovation (after Taatila, Suomala, Siltala, & Keskinen, 2006).
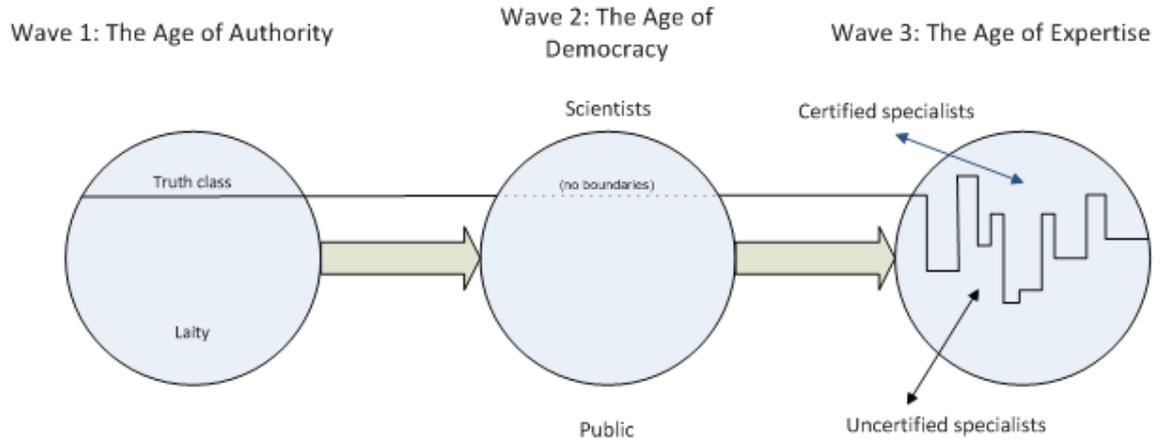
FIGURE 3. Evolution of science studies (Collins & Evans, 2002).

Assimilating or even simply *accessing* their knowledge is difficult, although the rise of non-certified expertise in many areas indicates how historical boundaries between scientific expertise and a wider citizenry have been eroded (see Figure 3).

Some critics have expressed either reservations or complete scepticism about the rigour or applicability of mātauranga Māori in contemporary settings. Wider ideological opponents describe Indigenous methodologies as "irrational" and "unscientific", standard insults against the contagion of native cultures threatening so-called rational European philosophy. However, such controversies merely emphasise the ethical, philosophical and practical challenges posed when multiple knowledge bases collide and collaborate.

The predominant context for contemporary Māori development is one of highly fluid capital and knowledge that moves through extensive transnational networks, a feature of the modern agribusiness supply chains with which Māori already engage. Participants in these networks continually reimagine and reorient their personal and collective involvement according to such decisions as the utilisation (or not) of natural resources, how such utilisation proceeds, and the intergenerational transfer of assets and liabilities. Much of the expansion of the Māori economy is in primary production through a number of agriculture, forestry, aquaculture and fisheries ventures, some of considerable size. Other ventures seek large-scale development of urban and peri-urban lands for residential and commercial uses in the face of growing ecological and social barriers (Wright, 2008).

The recently elevated "science and innovation" platform on which the country might "close the gap" with Australia is a dubious national goal for Māori, many of whom emigrate to Australia to close their own gaps! Again, this state strategy attempts to frame innovation for Māori without including all the people, processes or places we ourselves might bring to the table. Māori connect more dots, much like the current models of innovation that emphasise the interconnectedness or "ecology" of innovation. Connecting more dots seems to be what is needed for the country's – indeed, the planet's – sustainable development.

The personal abilities of the tactical players – often called "knowledge workers" – is thus at the heart of any strategy. Serious concerns have been raised about the retention of young researchers (Ihaka, 2009; Massaro, Yogeeswaran, & Black, 2012); postdoctoral research positions are reported to have declined by 25% since the current government first took office in 2008 (Hendry, 2012). Many knowledge workers are subject to increasingly vulnerable
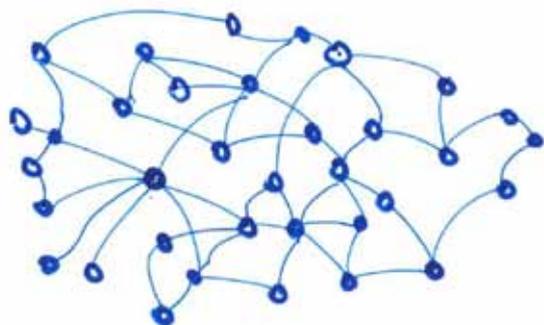
FIGURE 4.   An information network in which a Māori postgraduate student or junior researcher might operate.

and temporary employment conditions, and the lure of international research positions is a natural outcome of the economic model followed. Further, many Māori postgraduates are young wāhine who face additional risk factors in a work environment in which chauvinist and racist attitudes persist, despite the clearly negative effects on completion, outputs, rigour, professionalism and retention. Figure 4 represents a generic social network that an individual student might inhabit. This network would include whānau, friends, possibly one or more Māori communities as participants, mentors, and collaborators, as well as university or wānanga staff and colleagues, and possibly Crown Research Institute, corporate and industry participants. The array of issues and challenges is considerable.

This view of innovation emphasises what Māori educationalist Wally Penetito called the "sophistication of relationships", an acknowledgement of fundamental influences on the success or failure of so much of our social world (personal communication, 17 October 2011). It could be said that what Māori bring to innovation is the requirement that programmes and projects require occasionally intensive, possibly ongoing, intergenerational, international interaction. The challenges faced by Māori are not ours alone, although we bring our own history, culture and aspirations to the debate. Ultimately, any innovation strategy is implemented by individuals and groups with various agendas and abilities. Finding, engaging, trusting and supporting them will be as challenging as figuring out what they should do.

Smoothing out the lumps

Global extant forces now directly affect the location and practice of innovation in a way quite distinct from that of previous periods. The resulting economic spaces impact on the growth and influence of the Māori economy, challenging Māori as drivers, practitioners and purchasers of innovation. The assertion of Māori cultural logics within innovation ecosystems also challenges universities, funding bodies, ethics committees, corporations, voters and taxpayers. Lumpiness as far as the eye can see!

While accusation and controversies abound in collaborative projects involving non-Māori, by accepting and using mātauranga and Kaupapa Māori – even superficially – Pākehā exhibit an essential modern skill: the skill and pragmatism to assimilate "all forms or aspects of social activity without exception", to understand and apply, not only of one particular methodology but *any methodology or variation* (Feyerbend, 1975, p. 10).

Likewise, innovators must be able to pass from one approach to another "in the quickest and most unexpected manner" (Feyerbend, 1975, p. 10). Further, good innovation is supported from above and below, is networked both here and overseas, and the benefits will be disseminated to all who have contributed, and all who need those innovations for their collective health and security. At all levels, this requires understanding, vision, commitment, courage, cooperation and perseverance; in other words, leadership. Innovation will draw on iwi capital (economic, environmental, social and cultural) through education, training and mentoring programmes, and be reliant on the sophistication of their public and private, local

and global relationships. In this sense, it might be said some innovation (particularly in the environmental sciences, community sustainability programmes, biodiversity, etc.) is taking an Indigenous turn to navigate the lumps that exist on our innovation landscape. The challenge remains to improve the combination of land, labour and capital through *social* innovation to better contribute to the growth of the Aotearoa New Zealand economy and, by a still contested association, the development of Māori society.

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DEVELOPING A CULTURALLY BASED ENVIRONMENTAL MONITORING AND ASSESSMENT TOOL FOR NEW ZEALAND INDIGENOUS FORESTS

*Dean P. Walker**

Abstract

Aotearoa New Zealand is a signatory to the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Montréal Process, which includes requirements for indigenous people to be involved in the sustainable management of forests. New Zealand's national biodiversity policy and legislation also encourages Māori participation. Despite these initiatives, the Māori voice is struggling to be heard. Information needs to be presented by Māori groups in a way that is reflective of their world view, maximises cross-cultural communication and is coherent to decision makers. Currently, there is no approach that achieves these ends. The focus of this research is the development of a culturally based tool to assess the health of indigenous forests from an indigenous perspective. Relevant indicators are being derived by developing and populating a "ngā atua kaitiaki" framework with Māori cosmology and taxonomical ways of knowing, alongside scientific methods. This paper discusses the rationale of the research and outlines the development of the framework.

Keywords

kaitiaki, culturally based environmental monitoring, sustainable forest management

*   PhD candidate, Faculty of Environment, Society and Design, Lincoln University, New Zealand.
    Email: deanwalker@actrix.co.nz

Introduction and purpose of the research

Māori participation in environmental monitoring has increased since the late 1990s. This has been driven, in part, by changes in resource management policy. Tools have been developed by Māori to present cultural information that is coherent to government and other administrators. Boundaries are beginning to be crossed and linkages between scientific and indigenous approaches made (Harmsworth, Young, Walker, Clapcott, & James, 2011). Environmental monitoring by Māori using traditional means continues in some areas. However, its effectiveness in improving the environment and people's cultural and economic relationship with it has been limited. Now that new tools and methods have been developed and applied, acceptance by the mainstream of a different way of knowing is growing. Māori are increasingly in the position of being able to provide relevant information when they are asked for it or indeed need it for themselves.

I am a Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) working with Māori people and matauranga Māori (traditional ecological knowledge). There are extra precautions that I need to take with this research in order to uphold the integrity of the people and the knowledge involved. The formal means of this involves a memorandum of agreement with the iwi (tribal) groups with which I am working, namely, Ngāti Rarua, Te Atiawa and Ngāti Tama, who whakapapa (have ancestral connection) to the Motueka catchment. My supervisory team includes two Māori academics. Being Pākehā and working in a Māori world throws up a number of cultural dilemmas. This research is designed to be self-reflective and includes a critique of science through a cultural lens.

The research aim is to develop a culturally based environmental monitoring (CBEM) tool to help Māori participate in and influence the sustainable management of indigenous forests in New Zealand. It is based on the premise that, by embracing holistic philosophies and practices of Māori, the understanding of forest complexity, sustainable forest management outcomes and the ability of Māori to practice kaitiakitanga (guardianship of the environment) will be improved. This research is confined to indigenous forests but may also be able to be applied, with modifications, to exotic plantation forests and indigenous ecosystems outside of forests.

Culturally based environmental monitoring

The Māori cultural understanding of the natural world can provide an alternative approach to the management of natural resources. The inclusion of Māori in mainstream environmental management has grown since formal recognition of their kaitiaki role by the Resource Management Act 1991. The development of CBEM is a reflection of this growth.

Culturally based environmental monitoring is a contemporary and formal environmental monitoring regime carried out by Māori groups from a cultural perspective. It can be used to monitor the health of specific environmental domains, ecosystems, biological regions (usually catchments) or species. As well as monitoring, it covers frameworks, indicators, methods and assessments. Some of the models have strong linkages to Western science, others less so. Culturally based environmental monitoring can assist government bodies, the science community and the wider public in understanding Māori ways of knowing.

Culturally based environmental monitoring is carried out by iwi and hapū (subtribal) groups for a range of purposes, including to: (a) assess and monitor the sustainability of the environment; (b) enable Māori to express their cultural values in relation to biodiversity management in a way comprehensible to decision makers; and (c) assist Māori with the practice of

kaitiakitanga, asserting their mana and effecting the expression of their cultural values in natural resource management.

Because of the breadth of the concept, a variety of terms are used to describe CBEM. Table 1 lists some of the more popular terminology for the phenomena and their sources.

An all-encompassing term could be "iwi (or Māori) cultural environmental framework, method, indicators, monitoring and assessment". However, this is verbose and also has its shortcomings. A Māori term would probably be best. "Culturally based environmental monitoring" is used for the purposes of this research.

Culturally based environmental monitoring is growing in popularity with Māori. In a recent stocktake of Māori participation in environmental monitoring, 55 projects were identified (Chetham, Shortland, Nuttall, & Newell, 2010). To date, CBEM has primarily been in the realm of Tangaroa, such as streams and rivers (Harmsworth et al., 2011; Kaupapa Taiao, 2004; Passl & Walker, 2005; Tipa & Tierney, 2003), wetlands (Harmsworth, 1999), marine (Ministry for the Environment & Otaraua Hapu, 2003; Wakefield & Walker, 2005; Wakefield et al., 2007) and estuarine ecosystems (Pauling, Lenihan, Rupene, Tirikatene-Nash, & Couch, 2007; Walker, 2007). Others have developed tools to cover multiple realms (Jefferies & Kennedy, 2009; Morgan, 2007). A few examples of CBEM

within the domain of Tāne (forests and birds) were found during the literature review underpinning this research. Most projects focus on the health of a single species rather than forest ecosystems per se (Lyver, Taputu, Kutia, & Tahi, 2008; Pauling & Stevens, 2007). Most use science-based or, less usually, integrated tools. One instance of CBEM for indigenous forests identified involves the development of environmental indicators specific to kauri forest (Shortland, 2011). However, monitoring tools or a monitoring programme for kauri has yet to be developed. The development of CBEM tools has grown since the late 1990s; however, projects tend to be one-off and short term. Long-term monitoring programmes are rare. Chetham et al. (2010) describe this situation as worrying and of concern.

Development of the tool

Developing a CBEM tool for indigenous forests is an iterative process (see Figure 1). Initial steps included iwi engagement and the development of a framework. The framework developed acts as a cultural lens through which contemporary issues, traditional narratives and scientific methods are viewed and critiqued. From this process, a draft kete whaihua (basket) of indicators, a field guide, forms and a monitoring protocol was developed and tested in the field

TABLE 1. Popular terminology for culturally based environmental monitoring by Māori.

| Terminology	First used by	Reference
Māori environmental performance indicators	Landcare Research	(Harmsworth, 2002)
Cultural health index	Ngāi Tahu	(Tipa & Tierney, 2003)
Iwi environmental indicators	Tiakina te Taiao	(Passl, 2004)
Culturally based environmental monitoring	Ngāi Tahu	(Pauling & Mattingley, 2007)
Māori cultural environmental monitoring	Repo Consultancy	(Chetham et al., 2010).
Cultural indicators	Repo Consultancy	(Shortland, 2011)
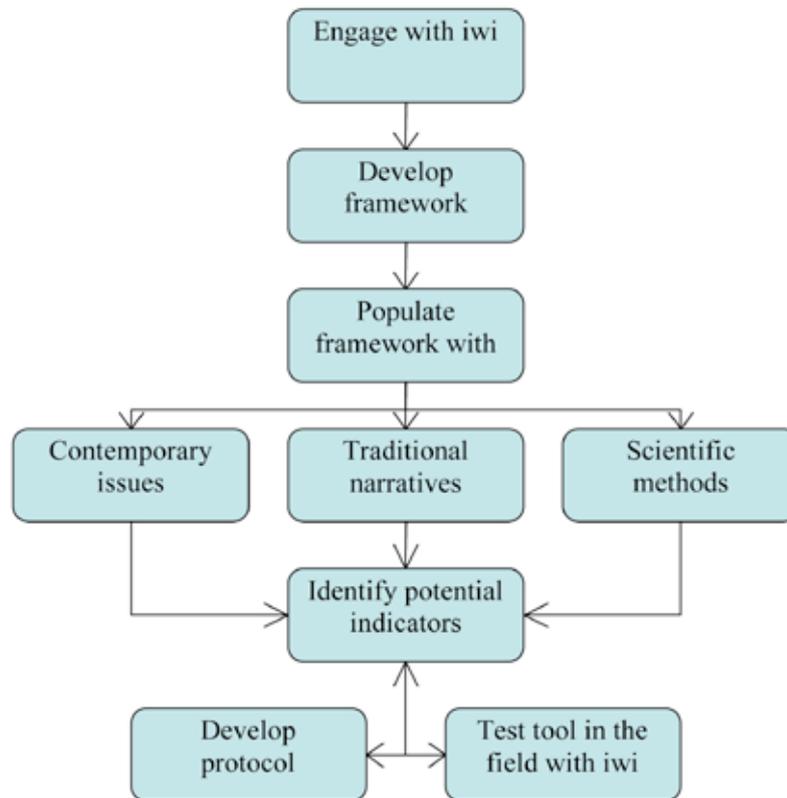
FIGURE 1.   A process for developing culturally based environmental indicators for indigenous forests.

with kaitiaki, initially in the Motueka catchment. A similar process could be followed by other Māori groups in modifying and adapting the tool to suit their own cultural reality.

Engagement with iwi

Engaging with iwi requires good faith and trust. The work includes the development of the proposal, a memorandum of agreement between parties, a communication protocol(s) and the consent of research participants.

Development of a ngā atua kaitiaki framework

A framework inspired by other contemporary ngā atua frameworks, including those of the Hauraki Māori Trust Board and Tiakina te Taiao (Hauraki Māori Trust Board, 2004;

Passl, 2004), has been developed for the purposes of this research (see Figure 2).

Ngā atua kaitiaki frameworks have their basis in "departmental" spiritual guardians who preside over and have whakapapa connections to specific environmental domains. They have been referred to as first-order gods (Marck, 1996). They include Ranginui (the sky father) and Papatūānuku (the earth mother) and their first born; Tāne (responsible for forests and birds), Tangaroa (oceans and inland waterways), Tūmatauenga (people and war), Tāwhirimātea (weather), Rongomātāne (peace and agriculture), Haumiatiketike (wild food) and Rūaumoko (geological phenomena).

This framework retains the strengths of existing cultural lenses but is configured as a hexagon. It includes a series of two- and three-way synapses between atua emphasising the importance of kōrero (narratives and discourse) and whakapapa connections. Tāne is placed in the centre of the framework. The focus of this
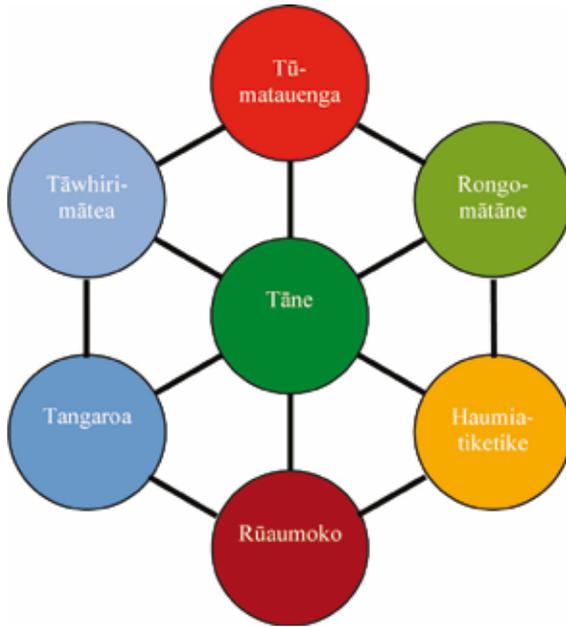
FIGURE 2. First-order ngā atua kaitiaki
framework.

FIGURE 3. Framework populated with examples
of second-order atua.

research is within his domain. Papatūānuku and Ranginui are acknowledged in the framework as holding tension and balance in the space surrounding the atua and their connections. The hexagon is an inherently strong shape. Snowflakes, honeycomb and basalt column formations all make use of this phenomenon. The triangle is a universal symbol of strength. The niho taniwha (a triangular shape) represents whakapapa and, for the purposes of this project, the triangle is also symbolic of the three-way kōrero. The ngā atua kaitiaki framework is populated with traditional narratives, contemporary issues and appropriate scientific indicators in order to derive cultural indicators of forest health. The process by which the various components are populated into the framework is iterative and the order is not set.

Populate with traditional narratives and values

Māori saw the mauri (life force) of the forest tied together in a vast whakapapa network linking everything living in the forest, including themselves, through mutual descent (Clarke, 2007). According to some traditions, the earth mother, Papatūānuku, and the sky father, Ranginui, gave rise to some 70 offspring including their children and grandchildren (Best, 1942). These atua and other offspring whakapapa to the animate and inanimate, including groups of animals, plants and minerals, and form the basis of Māori taxonomy. By way of example, Tāne is the atua kaitiaki of the forest, Punaweko is the atua of forest birds and Tumataika is the personified form of the kākā parrot (Best, 1924/1982, 1942) (see Figure 3).

Each atua occupies a space in the framework and is surrounded by traditional narratives, taxonomic and genealogical links, proverbs, prayer, poetry, and so on, which reflect the values and knowledge of current and past generations.
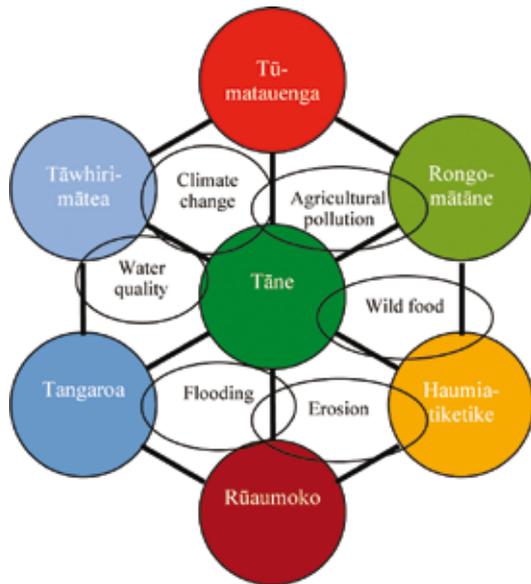
FIGURE 4. Contemporary environmental issues within the framework.
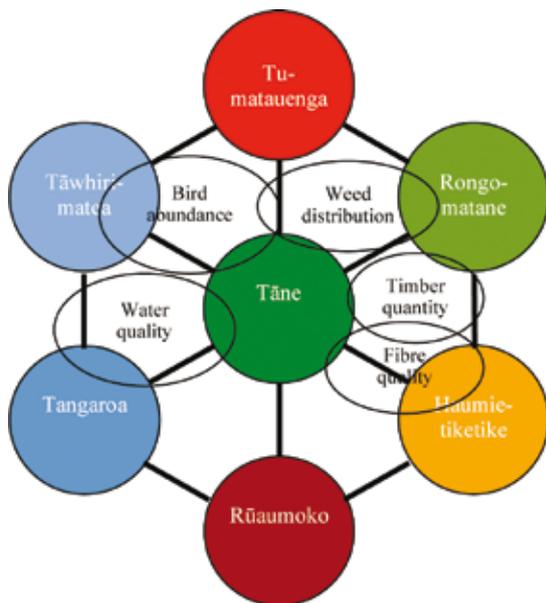
FIGURE 5. Framework populated with examples of integrated and scientific methods.

Populate with contemporary issues

Contemporary indigenous forest issues important to Māori are populated in the framework in spatially appropriate but fluid positions. Figure 4 has examples.

Issues are discussed from a cultural perspective. For instance, a discussion between Tāne, Tāwhirimātea and Tūmatauenga invariably includes climate change. Traditional narratives have Tāwhirimātea, god of the weather, waging war on his brothers, angry over the separation of his parents Ranginui and Papatūānuku. He subdued a number of them, but Tūmatauenga proved his equal. From that time on, there has been an ongoing battle between the weather and people. Tāne has the capacity for "solutions" as he can hold carbon, and indicator species that are sensitive to climate change dwell within his domain.

Populate with integrated and scientific indicators

Forests are complex ecosystems. Numerous indicators and methods have been developed to assess and monitor their health from a scientific perspective. *Native Forest Monitoring: A Guide for Forest Owners and Managers* (Handford, 2000) outlines New Zealand examples. Internationally, attempts have been made to determine culturally based criteria (values) and indicators (measures) for forests, particularly by First Nations peoples in Canada (Karjala, Sherry, & Dewhurst, 2003; Natcher & Hickey, 2002; Saint-Arnaud, Asselin, Dubé, Croteau, & Papatie, 2009). These have met with some success but there have been problems adapting national criteria to local situations. For another perspective, scientific and integrated monitoring methods of forest health and sustainability can be introduced into the framework and grouped according to Western values (see Figure 5).

Deriving indicators from the framework

Culturally based indicators for indigenous forests are derived primarily by populating the ngā atua kaitiaki framework with traditional narratives, contemporary "environmental" issues, and integrated and scientific methods. This is carried out in an iterative way framed within a three-way kōrero. Each conversation necessarily includes Tāne; for instance, Tāwhirimātea – Tāne – Tūmatauenga. There are six kōrero, one for each triangular segment to derive a set of potential indicators. There will be a minimum of six culturally based environmental indicators, at least one for each segment. Some segments will have more than one indicator. Both of Tiakina te Taiao's freshwater and estuarine indicators have 24 indicators, which appears to be a manageable number.

To further illustrate the Tāwhirimātea – Tāne – Tūmatauenga relationship, each atua declares his position on the issue; say, climate change. The relationship between the three is then explored with other relevant atua and their narratives are introduced to the conversation along with indicator "species" and their whakapapa. These potential indicators are discussed with a kaitiaki working group. As a collective, they confirm, reject or offer alternative indicators for consideration.

Each indicator will be able to deliver the following: (a) inform on the condition and trend of the well-being of indigenous forests and whether cultural values are being enhanced or diminished, (b) have relevance to international biodiversity agreements and national policy and legislation, and (c) have the flexibility to acknowledge and accommodate differences in iwi understanding and traditions.

Conclusion

The complexity and interconnectedness of forests is acknowledged by scientific disciplines; in particular, by the discipline of ecology. However, reductionist science struggles to understand these complexities and how to apply such knowledge to sustainable forest management. That there is a variety of monitoring methods available but a paucity of frameworks on which to hang environmental indicators is a symptom of this dilemma. Māori ways of knowing, their unique understanding of nature through ngā atua kaitiaki and whakapapa connections has relevance for the postmodern sustainability paradigm.

A CBEM and assessment tool for indigenous forests based on a sound but flexible framework will help provide an indigenous perspective on the sustainable management of indigenous forests. A tool that is consciously rooted in Māori cosmology and constructs the reality of the world through ngā atua kaitiaki will help support the role of Māori as kaitiaki. The use of such a tool will assist New Zealand in upholding its international biodiversity and indigenous people's agreements and national policy initiatives.

The next part of the research involves the application of the framework to derive a draft set of indicators. Te ao Māori concepts, in particular, whakapapa, mauri and kōrero, will be explored in relation to the framework along with Western scientific understanding in order to derive a draft set of indicators. From these indicators, a field guide and data collection form will be developed. The draft indicators, field guide and form will be tested in the field with kaitiaki in the Motueka catchment across a range of forest types and landholders.

Acknowledgements

Glossary of Māori Words

Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand
atua	deity, supernatural being, spirit, personification of a connection (of ideas)
Haumiatiketike	atua kaitiaki of wild foods
Hauraki Māori Trust Board	a collective of iwi centred around the Hauraki Gulf
iwi	Māori tribe
kaitiaki	"environmental" guardian, though the role is wider than "the environment"
kōrero	narratives, discourse
matauranga Māori	traditional ecological knowledge
mauri	life force in all things, animate and inanimate
ngā atua kaitiaki	the spiritual guardians
Ngāti Rarua, Te Atiawa, Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Kuia	iwi who have whakapapa connections to the Motueka catchment
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Papatūānuku	our earth mother
Ranginui	our sky father
Rongomātāne	atua kaitiaki of peace and agriculture
Rūaumoko	atua kaitiaki of geological phenomena
Tāne	atua kaitiaki of forests and birds
Tangaroa	atua kaitiaki of oceans and inland waterways
Tiakina te Taiao	an iwi resource management entity based in Nelson
Tūmatauenga	atua kaitiaki of people and war
Tāwhirimātea	atua kaitiaki of weather
whakapapa	synapse, genealogical connections, networks, nodes

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LIVING INTO ITS KULEANA

Transformation of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa into a Hawaiian place of learning

Kaiwipuni Lipe*

Abstract

This article seeks to respond to two guiding questions: 1) Why should the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, a predominantly non-Hawaiian university, honour and privilege Native Hawaiians and their ways of learning, knowing and being? 2) What is a Hawaiian model by which a Hawaiian place of learning can be constructed? The author responds with an analysis of key policies and documents as well as the Hawaiian model of 'ohana.

Keywords

university, family, indigenous, policy, Hawaiian

Introduction

Native Hawaiians have distinct and unique ontologies and epistemologies, grounded in 'ohana (interdependent family kinships), which have been passed down for 100 generations (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). These knowledge systems contain important information and ways of interacting with the world that are relevant and necessary in today's educational systems.

However, institutions of higher education in Hawai'i are predominantly Western in terms of access, curriculum, culture, climate and agency, thus silencing Hawaiian voices and ways of knowing (Loomer, 1974). This lack of voice is reflected in the low recruitment, retention and graduation rates for Native Hawaiian students (Balutski, Freitas, & Wright, 2010) and the minimal number of Native Hawaiians working at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UHM)

* Doctoral student, Education Administration, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
Email: kaiwipun@hawaii.edu

(Native Hawaiian Advancement Task Force, 2012).

Recently, there has been powerful international and local policy language adopted calling for the honouring of Native Hawaiian people and their knowledge systems (United Nations [UN], 2008; University of Hawai'i at Mānoa [UHM], 2011; University of Hawai'i [UH], 2012). Because of such policy language, as well as the need to acquire no-cost resources to improve education, Native Hawaiians are at a time of great momentum to justify transformation of UHM's campus culture into one that privileges a Hawaiian world.

Honouring Hawaiians and their culture

There are many reasons UHM should pay special attention to, and honour and privilege Native Hawaiians and their ways of learning, knowing and being. Perhaps the most important reason is found in the understanding of who Native Hawaiians are and their relationship to the land of Hawai'i.

Defining "Native Hawaiian"

It is first important to be clear on who Native Hawaiians are and their relationship to the University of Hawai'i and to the land on which the university sits. Native Hawaiians are the first people of Hawai'i, the indigenous people of the land (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Origin stories and genealogies record the ancient connections Hawaiians have to Hawai'i (Kamakau, 1992; Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). In these stories, Native Hawaiians are described as the first people of the land, the people who have a genealogical connection, and thus a familial relationship, to the lands of Hawai'i.

Familial connections to the land

Kame'eleihiwa (1992) summarises the familial relationship of Hawaiians to the land of Hawai'i through the story of Papa and Wākea. In Kame'eleihiwa's retelling, we learn that Hawaiians all descend from Hāloa, who is the son of Papa, the earth mother. Therefore, Papa, literally the earth, is the ancient grandmother of the Hawaiian people. We also learn that the kalo (taro) is an elder sibling and provider of food for the Hawaiian people, further strengthening the relationship between kanaka (human) and 'āina (land) in the Hawaiian world. With this said, not only are Hawaiians the indigenous people of Hawai'i, but they also have specific familial relationships with the natural elements that further connect them with the land of Hawai'i.

Hawaiians and the university

In a geographical sense, UHM is on Hawaiian land. Simply put, UHM is situated on O'ahu, one of the islands in the Hawaiian archipelago, homeland of the Hawaiian people. The university also sits on ceded lands. According to Dr Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa (personal communication, 19 February 2012) professor and Hawaiian land expert, "ceded lands are everything the State [of Hawai'i] controls except lands produced by Tutu Pele [the volcano] since 1959, and anything that they [State of Hawai'i] had condemned that was privately owned since 1959". Indeed, UHM is a state university on state lands and consequently is on ceded lands. Dr Kame'eleihiwa also explains that the ceded lands of the State of Hawai'i are originally the lands of the Hawaiian people's last sovereign government and their last sovereign queen. Therefore, Hawaiians also have a political relationship with UHM's land. In summary, UHM is on land with which the Hawaiian people are in relationship genealogically, geographically and politically.

Significant policies and other documents

In addition to arguments about Hawaiian connection to land, several policies and other

documents make clear why UHM should honour and privilege Hawaiians and their world. Documents include the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), United States Public Law 103-150, the University of Hawai'i Board of Regents (BOR) Policy, UHM Strategic Plan and a number of UH and UHM task force reports.

The UNDRIP

The UNDRIP is perhaps the most overarching document in terms of its recognition of the basic rights of all indigenous peoples throughout the world (UN, 2008). Articles 13, 14 and 15 of the UNDRIP specifically define the rights of indigenous peoples in terms of education. For example, Article 15 declares, "Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information" (p. 7). In summary, all of these articles point to the rights of indigenous peoples, including Native Hawaiians, to have educational experiences that are relevant and appropriate to indigenous ways of learning, knowing and being.

In 2010, President Obama endorsed the UNDRIP (International Forum on Globalization, n.d.). In terms of the rights of indigenous peoples in the United States (US), President Obama's endorsement is an important step towards implementation and actualisation of the Declaration. Although containing very important language, the UNDRIP is a document developed outside of the federalist system in which the legal system of the United States is situated (Heck, 2004). As such, the UNDRIP might be viewed as not having legal standing for indigenous peoples existing within the United States. However, according to the UN, "the implementation of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples should not be obscured by a discussion about whether or not it is a legally binding document and should be regarded as a 'political, moral and legal

imperative' without qualification" (2010, p. 1). Further, UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples James Anaya stated:

> The Declaration has a significant normative weight grounded in its high degree of legitimacy as a product of decades of struggle and advocacy by indigenous peoples … Further, that normative weight is augmented by the Declaration's grounding in the human rights principles of the United Nations Charter and other international treaties. (UN, 2010, p. 1)

Therefore, according to the UN and Anaya, the UNDRIP should be honoured and implemented as policy, regardless of its legal standing within countries. Furthermore, Wiessner (2008) noted that "maximum compliance is expected" (p. 1) with regard to the implementation of the UNDRIP. These arguments, therefore, suggest that universities, including UHM, need to move towards transformation of the institution into one that privileges Hawaiian ways.

United States Public Law 103-150

Known as the "Apology Law", United States Public Law 103-150 103d Congress Joint Resolution 19 is a formal resolution and apology made by the US government to the Hawaiian people for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i (US Congress, 1993). Initiated by the then president Clinton, the law admits to the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and recognises the Hawaiian Kingdom's political sovereignty at the time of the overthrow. Furthermore, the law acknowledges the responsibility that the US government has to the Hawaiian people. Specifically, the law "expresses its commitment to acknowledge the ramifications of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, in order to provide a proper foundation for reconciliation between the United States and the Native Hawaiian people" (p. 1).

Furthermore, this legal resolution demonstrates the political relationship between the

Native Hawaiian people and the US government. The political relationship is an important one, because in the similar case of Native Americans, Austin (2005) points out that Native American students are not merely another minority in higher education "clamoring for special attention" (p. 42). Instead, Native Americans are a group of peoples with distinct political relationships with the United States. Austin says, "awareness of this special relationship would help key college and university officials better understand their American Indian students, the students' tribes, and the responsibilities the universities have assumed by admitting American Indian students" (p. 42). Similarly, the Apology Law helps to demonstrate the political relationship Native Hawaiians have with the US government. Thus, government schools, such as UHM, have a distinct relationship and responsibilities to their Hawaiian constituents.

UH Board of Regents policy

In addition to international and national policy on the importance of honouring indigenous ways in the university, the UH BOR Policy advocates for honouring Hawai'i's indigenous people. Specifically, the UH BOR Policy (UH, 2012) states:

> As the only provider of public higher education in Hawai'i, the University embraces its unique responsibilities to the indigenous people of Hawai'i and to Hawai'i's indigenous language and culture. To fulfill this responsibility, the University ensures active support for the participation of Native Hawaiians at the University and supports vigorous programs of study and support for the Hawaiian language, history, and culture. (Section 4-2)

This language asserts the commitment UH has to Hawaiians and their knowledge systems, thus making it clear why UH, though a predominantly non-Hawaiian institution (UHM, 2012), should be committed to Hawaiians.

The UHM strategic plan

Aligning with the UH BOR Policy, the UHM 2011–2015 strategic plan (UHM, 2011) highlights its commitment to Hawaiians several times in the document. First, the mission states, "Taking as its historic trust the Native Hawaiian values embedded in the concepts of kuleana, 'ohana, and ahupua'a that serve to remind us of our responsibilities to family, community, and the environment" (p. 4). Second, illuminated in the values of UHM is its commitment to Mānoa as a place and space "grounded in Native Hawaiian knowledge" (p. 5). Third, the first strategic goal aims at promoting a "Hawaiian place of learning" (p. 6). In summary, the UHM strategic plan is highly committed in its policy language to creating a Hawaiian place of learning, grounded in core Hawaiian values, place and knowledge.

Native Hawaiian reports

Over the last two and a half decades, three task force reports have been authored by UH and UHM Hawaiian staff and faculty regarding Hawaiians in the academy. The reports include the Ka'ū Report (Hawaiian Studies Task Force, 1986), Hawai'i Papa o Ke Ao (Native Hawaiian Task Force, 2011) and Ke Au Hou (Native Hawaiian Advancement Task Force, 2012). All three of the reports overview current problems at either the system level or specifically at the Mānoa campus and provide detailed recommendations to remedy problematic situations. Though some of the obstacles Native Hawaiians face at the university have improved over the decades, the overall challenges addressed by the three task force reports are similar: Native Hawaiians are underrepresented in students, faculty and staff in 1986 and today. Furthermore, the overall environment of UHM does not reflect a Hawaiian place of learning. Similar reports and findings have also been authored by Kūali'i Council, the Native Hawaiian advisory council to the Chancellor of

UH Mānoa. In 1986, the Kaʻū Report recommended a Hawaiian Studies building to provide a Hawaiian place on campus. Since then, the building has been built. However, in the more recent reports, there is now a recommendation to build a Native Hawaiian centre in the middle of campus for Native Hawaiians of all disciplines. This is just one example of the continual work to be done to honour Hawaiians at the university.

One of the most important elements of all three reports is that they are products of Hawaiian voices uniting within and across campuses, calling for greater attention and action with regard to Native Hawaiian people and their ways of learning, knowing and being. Therefore, in our understanding of why it is important for UHM to honour Hawaiians, the supporting arguments come not only from the international and national arenas as well as from UH and UHM policy, but they also come from the voice of the indigenous people.

ʻOhana as the guiding model

Though it has been established that UHM needs to transform into a Hawaiian place of learning, foundational Hawaiian values and principles have yet to be fully explored and understood. Therefore, I offer ʻohana as a guiding model by which the university can re-centre itself as a Hawaiian place of learning.

ʻOhana is the foundation of Hawaiian culture and society (Handy & Pukui, 1998). According to Pukui and Elbert (1986), ʻohana translates to "family, relative, kin" (p. 276). In addition, Handy and Pukui (1998) explain the term ʻohana by breaking down the word: "ʻOha means to sprout … off-shoots of the taro plant … with the substantive suffix *na* added, ʻohana literally means 'off shoots,' or the 'off-shoots of a family stock'" (p. 4). Furthermore, Handy and Pukui (1998) explain Hawaiian kinship: it "extends far beyond the immediate biological family. The terminology of kinship

must be thought of against the background of the whole community" (p. 40). Therefore, it is important to note that ʻohana is an interconnected, interdependent system that goes beyond the ordinary concept of the immediate or nuclear family and is grounded in the story of Hāloa (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992). In summary, ʻohana is central to being Hawaiian and thus a necessary element when striving to become a Hawaiian place of learning.

Lessons learned

The first lesson learned from Kameʻeleihiwa's (1992) retelling of Hāloa's story is that, in the Hawaiian world, everything is connected through moʻokūʻauhau. In English, moʻokūʻauhau is loosely translated as family genealogy (Pukui & Elbert, 1986), but it is much more. Moʻokūʻauhau is the genealogical story; it is the thread that connects all the elements of the world through space and time. The Kumulipo, a Hawaiian cosmogonic genealogy, in which the story of Hāloa is embedded, carefully defines each generation of life, beginning with female darkness (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1999; Kanahele, 2011). Born from this darkness is every element of the Hawaiian world, including humans. Therefore, one important aspect of ʻohana is genealogical ties and familial relationships between every animate and inanimate element.

Because of genealogical connections, there is a relational order established, namely the kaikuaʻana and kaikaina relationship. (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992). In English, kaikuaʻana refers to the elder sibling or cousin of the same sex and kaikaina refers to the younger sibling or cousin of the same sex. The terms also refer to the senior and junior genealogical lines, respectively (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). The basic premise of kaikuaʻana and kaikaina, therefore, is that there is always a person or element that is interdependent on the next. Nothing is alone or without connection to the next; everything is intergenerational.

Defining the relationship between kaikua'ana and kaikaina is kuleana. The English terms most closely identified with kuleana are responsibility and privilege (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). Kuleana is captured well in the relationship between the land and the people (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). As the kaikua'ana of the Hawaiian people, the land and taro have the kuleana to provide for and feed the people. In return, the people, as the kaikaina, have the privilege to take care of the land and cultivate it well so the taro can grow. In other words, kuleana is about nurturing and sustaining the life of each interrelated entity.

The last aspect of this framework is the enacting of kuleana. Without action, kuleana is not fulfilled. In Hawaiian, the terms are hānai and mālama. In English, terms for hānai include feeding, fostering, raising as a child and providing for (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). This is what the elder sibling, such as the land or taro, does for the younger line. It feeds us. Mālama, in English, is to tend to, take care of and maintain (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). This is the job of the junior line: to take care of the elder line as a younger child would tend to his grandparent. When all of these aspects of 'ohana are fulfilled, there is pono or goodness, balance and order (Pukui & Elbert, 1986) in the family and society.

Conclusion

Several policies and guiding documents define the importance of regrounding UHM as a Hawaiian place of learning. Furthermore, 'ohana, a necessary element for any genuine Hawaiian place of learning, is a Hawaiian model that can guide the way individuals relate and act towards one another in a Hawaiian manner. Although the UHM population is predominantly non-Hawaiian, the principles of 'ohana can permeate the institution if facilitated by Hawaiians and adopted by non-Hawaiians.

Glossary

'āina	land
Hāloa	common ancestor of all Hawaiians
hānai	feeding, fostering, raising as a child and providing for
kaikaina	younger sibling or cousin of the same sex
kaikua'ana	elder sibling or cousin of the same sex
kalo	taro plant
kanaka	human
kuleana	responsibility and privilege
Kumulipo	Hawaiian cosmogonic genealogy
mālama	to tend to, take care of and maintain
mo'okū'auhau	genealogy
'ohana	interdependent family kinships
Papa	earth mother
Pono	goodness, balance and order
Wākea	sky father

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AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Reducing the impact of agricultural activities on our waterways

Mereana Barrett*

Monte Aranga†

Te Makarini Temara‡

Wiki Mooney§

Abstract

From an economic perspective, Māori from Aotearoa New Zealand continue to apply a unique and specific set of contemporaneous criteria in their attitudes towards land. Most Māori farmland is administered by trustees or management committees, unlike the broader agricultural sector, which is dominated by owner-operator farms. However, one concern is ensuring that the freshwater resources are managed wisely. Many Māori communities feel strongly that the decisions made around freshwater management are not based on a partnership with tangata whenua (people of the land) that adequately reflects the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori also believe that the values and importance of their role as kaitiaki (guardians) of freshwater have been diminished through local and central government decisions that have led to the degradation in the mauri (vitality) of the water. However, as with the rest of land-based industries, conventional agriculture now sees Māori struggling against the ecological constraints as well as a growing societal unease at the intensification of farming, particularly dairying, and the subsequent environmental cost.

Keywords

guardianship, collective responsibility, water status, sustainable resource

* Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi: *indigenous-university*, Whakatāne, New Zealand.
  Email: mereana.barrett@wananga.ac.nz
† Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi: *indigenous-university*, Whakatāne, New Zealand.
‡ Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi: *indigenous-university*, Whakatāne, New Zealand.
§ Bay of Plenty Regional Council, Whakatāne, New Zealand.

Karakia-Prayer – The significance of water to Māori

Ranginui	Heavenly Sky father
Rangiroa	Extensive sky
Rangipouri	Heavenly dark sky
Rangipōtango	Grasping dark sky
Rangiwhātuma	Heavenly defiant sky
Rangiwharo	Heavenly exonerated sky
Rangiwhākere	Indeed the darkened sky
Te Tāhunuioterangi	The great heavenly ridgepole of the sky
Tukutuku	The heavenly entertwining skie's
Hekeheke	The descending heavenly skie's
Te Uaua	The many heavenly obstacles
	The heavenly rain's
Te Maunga	The mountain
Ka moe i a Hinepūkohurangi	Co-habited with the mist maiden Hinepūkohurangi
Ki runga o Ōnini	At Ōnini
Ka puta ko ngā tamariki o te kohu	And hence begat, the children of the mist

(Tūhoe Wānanga, 1990; Best, 1972, Genealogical Table No. 6)

Introduction

The impact of pastoral agriculture on the waterways has been well documented. Concerns about the increasing degradation of soil and water quality and the long-term sustainability of dairy farming led to the New Zealand dairy industry initiating a study in 2001 entitled "Best Practice Catchments for Sustainable Dairying", in which four regionally representative catchments were chosen for long-term monitoring. In 2009, the Ministry for the Environment also completed a report using a set of national environmental indicators. The purpose and scope of the report was to draw together monitoring data from 14 dairy farming catchments. The aim was to characterise, in a standardised way, the water quality in these catchments using the latest information available from monitoring agencies. Monitoring results from the report indicated that water quality was generally degraded in the dairy catchments, particularly with respect to faecal and nutrient contamination (Ministry for the Environment, 2009). From an economic perspective, Māori continue to apply a unique and specific set of contemporaneous criteria in their attitudes to land. The land contributes to the tribal economic well-being in several ways – fiscally, physically and spiritually – thus contributing to the identity and security for future generations (Roskruge, 2010). Most of Māori farmland is administered by trustees or management committees, unlike the broader New Zealand agricultural sector, which is dominated by owner-operator farms (Kingi, 2011). One concern is ensuring that the freshwater resources are managed wisely. Māori feel strongly that the decisions being made around freshwater management are not based on a partnership with tangata whenua that adequately reflects the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori also believe that the values and importance of their role as kaitiaki of freshwater have been diminished through local and central government decisions, which has led to the degradation in the mauri of the water. As with the rest of New Zealand land-based industries, conventional agriculture now sees Māori farmers struggling against the "ecological constraints as well as a growing societal unease at the intensification of farming, particularly dairying, and the subsequent environmental costs" (Lambert, 2011, p. 13). Within the opening prayer (karakia), we learn that water is derived from the separation of the earth (Papatūānuku) and sky (Ranginui) and that the tears of the latter, designated as waiora or waters of health, fall upon us as rain. To this end, we discuss the necessity for collective

responsibility (Patterson, 1992, p. 136) as understood within a Māori paradigm or world view in maintaining waiora (rainwater), wai-māori (freshwater) and transforming wai-kino (polluted water). The taxonomic system of whakapapa (layer upon layer) utilised by Māori to order the universe positions humankind as teina or junior to the natural world of flora and fauna. As a consequence, there is an ethical imperative to respect the natural environment because it is tuakana or elder and, therefore, wanton exploitation and despoliation of natural resources is not sanctioned. Furthermore, it is the cultural value of utu, defined as equivalence and reciprocation (Patterson, 1992), that is necessary for the restoration of mana that has been lost through negligence or deliberate violation of the environment. With utu (reciprocity), there is a necessary obligation to restore balance and therefore mana.

Water status including the significance of water to Māori

The water cycle, otherwise known as the hydrologic cycle, describes the distribution and properties of water on, above and below the surface of the earth. Water moves from groundwater to surface water to ocean to the atmosphere by physical processes known as evaporation, condensation, precipitation, infiltration, run-off and subsurface flow. In undergoing this process, water goes through different phases of liquid, solid and gas, but the balance of water remains constant. Water transfer from one reservoir to another purifies water, replenishes the land with freshwater and transports minerals to different parts of the globe.

Māori, on the other hand, believe water originated through the separation of the earth (Papatūānuku) and sky (Ranginui) by their children. The greatest gift of love and sacrifice was shown by the earth (Papatūānuku) and sky (Ranginui) in that they allowed themselves to be parted. When they were parted, there was Te Wainui (the perspiration of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, referred to as all the waters within the humps and hollows of Papatūānuku). Both parents began to grieve for each other after the separation, says Williams (2006), with the rainfall being considered the tears of Ranginui. Morgan (2005) added that the evaporation and transpiration is the weeping of Papatūānuku, and this is supported by Buck (1949) and Grey (1988). The shedding of tears and the blowing of noses on our marae is in remembrance of this sacrifice made by them.

Thus, water is interwoven in the genealogy of creation. The following classifications, as stated by Royal (2009), are offered: (a) waiora (pure water, e.g., rain), water in its purest form suitable for ceremonial and healing processes; (b) wai-māori (freshwater), referred to as ordinary water (e.g., rivers, streams, waterfalls, creeks and groundwater) that has travelled through and over Papatūānuku and has become profane; (c) wai-kino (polluted), water whose mauri has been altered through unhealthy discharges such as pollution; (d) wai-tai (saltwater or water from the ocean), also refers to rough or angry water as in surf, waves or sea tides, and incubates all the living creatures of Tangaroa, all forms of fish life; (e) wai-ariki (hot springs or curative waters) – the term ariki means chief in English and they are referred to as the chiefs or patriarchs of all waters; and (f) wai-mate: (dead water), water that has lost its mauri and is therefore unable to sustain any form of life.

Other classifications given by Te Makarini Temara (personal communication, 20 April 2012) are

1. Wai-mātaotao (subterranean waters): These are the waters that are found at the deepest parts of the sea. References to wai-mātaotao were often made in traditional poroporoaki by Māori by saying to beloved ones "hāere, whakangaro atu ki ngā wai-mātaotao hei kawe atu i a koe ki hāwaikinui, hāwaiki roa, hāwaiki pāmamao". Tau atu ki ngā wai-anu-mātao. Go forth, farewell, be consumed

by the subterranean waters to take you on your spiritual journey to your final resting place.

2. Wai-puna-a-nukurangi (spring water): This is the water we use for drinking and cooking purposes.

3. Nā Wai-a-parawhenuamea (waste water of parawhenuamea): This is the water that resulted from the separation of Rangi and Papa. Whilst the rain drops of Rangi provide the water from above, Papatūānuku collects it through her rivers, estuaries, streams, swamps and mud-pools, which are referred to as ngā wāhi pōharuharu. Often para or waste water is also accumulated.

4. Hā-wai-ki-nui (Enormous Breadth of Waters): Hāwaiki is often referred to as our spiritual home, to which spirits return. Often, it is also referred to as the birthplace of all spirits. In this case, it is huge, it is enormous. It is also regarded as having a hā or breath. Imbued in this breath is the term mauri or life-force.

5. Hā-wai-ki-roa (Infinite Breath of Waters): Hāwaiki is also a place that is referred to as having no end. It is infinitely long. It would be difficult to find its beginning and its ending.

6. Hā-wai-ki-pāmamao (Distant Breath of Waters): Hāwaiki was also known to Māori as distant hāwaiki, hence the term pāmamao. Its distant correlation to its enormity, hugeness and its infinite nature meaning of having no end is important. This distant hāwaiki was known to Māori as a place of considerable warmth. The warmth of a whare tipuna filled with people was often referred to as synonymous to the warmth of Hāwaiki also filled with people. Hence the word ki within hāwaiki (T. Kruger, personal communication, 1997).

7. Wai-rua (spiritual meaning): Wai-rua means one's soul or spirit, which is implanted in the human embryo as soon as it assumes form, as well as one's attitude or demeanour. Wai-rua is also a perception often used in relation to water resources (Best, 1924).

Māori traditional knowledge and spirituality provides guidance on how we should view our waterways, and how we can protect and heal the waters and ourselves through the principle of kaitiakitanga. Kaitiakitanga was introduced to encapsulate different ideas, relationships and rights, and caring for the whole of nature with reverence for people and all of earth's resources as gifts from the Atua, to be treasured and safeguarded, ensuring the sustainability (long-term survival) of resources.

Māori values

Wai-māori, after travelling over Papatūānuku, is considered appropriate for human use, and Smith (1997) agreed that Māori perceived water as having a life essence (mauri). According to Durie (1998), mauri is the binding force between the spiritual and the physical aspects of water. The status of water is also reflected in its mauri, which is determined by its source and its use history. Mauri is defined as either an active life principle or a physical life principle by Best (1954), while Firth (1959), described it as a non-material core or life principle. The mauri of a place, river, forest, and so on, is always transferred to an object such as a stone so that it can be hidden and protected (McCan & McCan, 1990). Without a mauri, life is not possible. Wheen (1997) expressed the view that water resources had and have both metaphysical concepts, such as mauri, tapu, mana, rahui, utu and muru, and spiritual values, a view supported by McConchie (2000), who also added that these values were utilised to control its use.

Water as a renewable and sustainable resource in New Zealand

Streams, rivers, lakes, estuaries and harbours are seen, not only as sources of food and transportation, but also as living entities with their own intrinsic value (Smith, 1997). For example,

each body of water was, and is, a separate entity and was not mixed for fear of violating its mauri (Firth, 1959; McConchie, 2000). Natural disasters do not harm the mauri of a waterway, but since it is defenceless, it is unable to protect itself against the actions of man, and these can harm its mauri (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1999). For instance, contaminants entering a watercourse from farmland contribute to the degradation of the mauri of that watercourse.

Degradation of waterways by pollution

The Ministry for the Environment (2010) report states that agricultural land use has had a major impact on the quality and availability of freshwater in lowland areas of New Zealand. They are also of the view that pollution from urban stormwater, animal effluent and fertiliser run-off has increased over the last 20 years. The report goes on to say that the majority of the increase is a result of increased agricultural land, and the conversion of sheep farms and forestry to dairying. Agriculture dominates the land surrounding streams and is the main contributor of non-point sources. A decade ago, about 30% of New Zealand's pastoral land (more than 4 million hectares) was estimated to be adversely affecting water quality through run-off (Wilcock et al., 2009). The first rules for water use were developed by Māori communities to prevent spiritual and physical pollution of food-gathering areas. The rules were often elaborate and varied from place to place.

Ways forward

Protection of the mauri of wai-māori is an issue for the management of water, as Māori whose survival and cultural identity depend on it have, for a number of years, been very concerned with its integrity. Declining water quantity and quality has impacted on Māori cultural values and, more importantly, their cultural uses of the river, by putting at risk the mauri of water, which is unable to protect itself against changes to the environment (Tipa & Teirney, 2003). The New Zealand Waste Strategy (Ministry for the Environment, 2002) states that Māori have a remarkable view on minimising and managing wastewater and have been foremost in pushing for changes in its treatment and disposal. There are huge expectations for the involvement of Māori in planning for the management and prevention of waste. The government readily admits that, while a preference for such involvement has been stated in terms of national strategy, the difficulty has been its adoption at the level of local governance. Māori continue to advocate that the decisions made around freshwater management ought to be based on a partnership that adequately reflects the Treaty of Waitangi.

Glossary

Hā-wai-ki-nui	Enormous Breadth of Waters
Hā-wai-ki-roa	Infinite Breath of Waters
kaitiaki	guardian
kaitiakitanga	guardian, relationships and rights
karakia	prayer
mana	dignity, reciprocity
mauri	life-force
nā wai-a-parawhenuamea	wastewater of parawhenuamea
ngā wāhi pōharuharu	murky muddy waters
Papatūānuku	earth
poroporoaki	farewell
Ranginui	sky
Tangaroa	god of all forms of fish life
tangata whenua	people of the land
tuakana	elder
utu	equivalence, cost
wai-mate	dead water
wai-ariki	hot springs or curative waters
wai-kino	polluted water
wai-māori	freshwater
wai-mātaotao	subterranean waters
Wainui	god of all forms of water
waiora	waters of life
wai-puna-a-nukurangi	spring water
wai-rua	spiritual meaning
whakapapa	genealogy

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UNDERSTANDING INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIAN WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL WELLBEING AND WELLNESS THROUGH YARNING

The Indigenous Women's Wellness Program

Melissa Walker*

Bronwyn Fredericks†

Debra Anderson‡

Abstract

This paper explores Indigenous Australian women's understanding of wellness, through the lens of social and emotional wellbeing. The authors use a "yarning" approach to explore how wellness is important to Indigenous women who live in North Brisbane (Australia). They discuss the benefits of yarning and its strength as a methodology for conducting research and building activism within Indigenous Australian communities. They argue that, for Indigenous Australian women, wellness is linked to a sense of wholeness and strongly related to the feeling of connection that women get from meeting together and having time for women's business. They describe the way that their research project developed into a community summit focused on Indigenous women's wellness.

Keywords

Indigenous, social and emotional wellbeing, wellness, yarning

*   PhD Candidate, School of Nursing, Queensland University of Technology, Australia.
    Email: mg.walker@qut.edu.au
†   Pro Vice-Chancellor (Indigenous Engagement) and BMA Chair in
    Indigenous Engagement CQUniversity, Australia.
‡   Director of Research, School of Nursing, Queensland University of Technology, Australia.

Introduction

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are the Indigenous women of Australia. In this paper, we use the term Indigenous Australian women in reference to both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women. We will use the term Indigenous women throughout the paper except when referring to Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander women specifically or if using a quote that specifically refers to Indigenous women as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women.

Indigenous Australian women are the most socially and economically disadvantaged population group in Australia, and have the poorest health status. Most current information about Indigenous Australian women's health is based on statistics that describe and highlight the degree of their sicknesses and disadvantage (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare [AIHW], 2011). The statistics describe lower life expectancy, elevated mortality rate and increased risk of cardiovascular disease, cancer, diabetes, respiratory disease and kidney disease. The statistics (AIHW, 2011) show that (a) approximately 12% of the Indigenous population has diabetes, compared with 4% of the non-Indigenous population (p. 5); (b) Indigenous women are twice as likely to have cardiovascular disease, 11 times more likely to get coronary heart disease and 13 times more likely to get rheumatic fever (p. 49); (c) Indigenous children aged 0–14 years die at twice the rate of non-Indigenous children and infant mortality rates are almost twice that of non-Indigenous infants (p. 5); and (d) between 2004 and 2005, 66% of all Indigenous deaths were before 65 years of age, compared with 20% of non-Indigenous deaths (p. 5).

These statistics contribute to a life expectancy for Indigenous women that is 9.7 years less than that for all Australians (AIHW, 2011, p. ix). But the statistics fail to capture the essence of "wellness" – a notion that extends beyond illness and disease to include all aspects of an Indigenous person's lived being. Moreover, the statistics fail to portray Indigenous women's survival, strength and desire to bring about change. This research aims to move beyond sickness statistics, to explore what makes Indigenous women well. It builds on the work of Daylight and Johnstone (1986) and Fredericks, Adams, Angus and the Australian Women's Health Network Talking Circle (2010).

This research adopts the lens of "social and emotional wellbeing" – a concept that seeks to capture Indigenous holistic connections by moving away from conventional mental health terminology (Purdie, Dudgeon, & Walker, 2010). The concept of social and emotional wellbeing opposes the Western approach that often boxes mental health as a disease or illness that needs to be diagnosed, with origins outside of holistic existence. Instead, it returns the focus to Indigenous thinking and perceptions of both wellbeing and wellness (Purdie, Dudgeon, & Walker, 2010).

This research involved Indigenous women who have experienced or were at risk of experiencing problems with social and emotional wellness. We invited these women to come together and talk about the factors that underpin social and emotional wellness. We were interested in exploring with these women what social and emotional wellness means for them.

This research was community based. Elders advised the researchers throughout every stage of the work. The elders steered the research through a series of small group discussions and a large women's community gathering. Research data were collected through semi-structured focus groups that incorporated Indigenous yarning methods.

The data gathered through this work clearly identified that Indigenous women need to come together across the ages and utilise the connection that Indigenous Australian women hold. This connection (or women's business) underpins Indigenous wellness.

Starting to work with Indigenous women through yarning

In 2011, Professor Debra Anderson (Queensland University of Technology [QUT]), Professor Bronwyn Fredericks (CQUniversity & QUT), Ms Melissa Walker (QUT) and Ms Andrea Sanders (Diabetes Australia Queensland) began working together to encourage Indigenous women to focus on wellness. The work began in Brisbane, Queensland, a city with over one million people, including 50,000 Indigenous Australians (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011).

The research project – called the Indigenous Women's Wellness Program Project – began with a specific purpose of addressing wellness for Indigenous women in North Brisbane. Our aim was to work towards developing an effective wellness programme by exploring what Indigenous women recognise their wellness to be and what they want to have within a wellness programme.

The data gathering used a process of yarning – a conversational process involving the telling and sharing of stories that takes place naturally amongst Indigenous women and men (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010; Franks et al., 2001; Fredericks et al., 2011; Towney 2005). Yarning gathers information and creates conversations that are culturally ascribed and cooperative. Yarns follow language protocols and result in the acquisition of new meaning (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010). We drew upon the work of Bessarab and Ng'andu (2010). They describe all the different forms of yarning along with the different meaning and intentions behind each type of yarning. Bessarab and Ng'andu (2010) were the first scholars to do this in such depth. In the literature, there are lots of examples in which researchers state they are using yarning without explaining exactly what this means. Bessarab and Ng'andu characterise yarning as "an Indigenous cultural form of conversation" (p. 37). Whilst the terms "yarn" and "yarning" are used by Indigenous people daily, a yarn is more than simply pleasantries in casual conversation or a light correspondence between people (Fredericks et al., 2011).

We recognise that a yarn is both a process and an exchange; it relies upon cultural protocol, relationships and expected outcomes (Fredericks et al., 2011). In this context, it meant that women followed cultural protocol, and recognised existing relationships and expected outcomes. The yarning contributed to the ways in which the Indigenous women in this study related with each other and helped to determine accountability between them (Martin, 2008). Through the strength of their relationships, the women become both strong contributors to the research decision making and crucial donors of information to each other and to the project as a whole (Dean, 2010). Through the focused process of yarning, the women's values became centred in the research process, and this allowed them to become active voices for their community's needs and concerns.

Yarning provides an important dimension to research. Dean (2010) asserts that yarning is a formal research methodology that has the ability to centre Indigenous knowledge systems and permit partnerships with Indigenous communities. Yarning allows culturally safe research to develop. Yet much previous research with Indigenous communities has been conducted through Westernised paradigms, and has ignored the value of traditional approaches such as yarning.

An important strength of yarning as a data collection method is its familiarity as an everyday process of communication for Indigenous women. It is conducted within a culturally familiar setting and welcoming locations. In this study, we met with Indigenous women in a welcoming meeting room or a familiar hall where other Indigenous meetings were regularly held. The women's everyday yarning worked as a platform for what Bessarab and Ng'andu (2010) discuss as "research topic yarning", "social yarning", "therapeutic yarning" and "collaborative yarning" (pp. 40–41).

As the yarns progressed, we saw that honesty and openness could unfold through the relationships that were developed and renewed (Fredericks et al., 2011). The yarning enabled the Indigenous women to talk freely about their experiences, thoughts and ideas. It also enabled us, as researchers, to explore topics in more depth. We felt that the yarning method encouraged information to emerge that would be missed within more formal research processes (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010).

Yarning can work with, and contribute to, other research. As Chilisa (2012) highlights, data yielded from stories that emerge from yarning can enable the triangulation of postcolonial Indigenous values, belief systems and community histories. That is, the yarning can combine with other sources of knowledge. In this research, the yarning enabled us to facilitate how Indigenous women, both past and present, have focused on health and wellbeing within North Brisbane.

Developing big ideas

Indigenous Australian women have ancestral lineages to long lines of Indigenous women who have breathed, walked, run, loved, shared food together, birthed on, and held ceremony on Country. For Aboriginal women, these lineages extend some 60,000 years within and on the Australian continent – the places that are now called "remote" and places where cities now stand, including North Brisbane.

As this research developed, the women, led by the local elders, developed a vision for a large women's gathering. They talked about how local women in the past had done business together, had gatherings, been physically and socially connected together and reaffirmed spiritual connections through ceremony. Women talked about how their sense of self was, and still is, connected to a collective and connected to all aspects of life, kin, community, Country, culture and spirituality. They discussed the

way they missed being with other Indigenous women and had a longing for other Indigenous women – not in the sense that lovers long for their partners, but in the sense of longing for one's kin, community and Country. In these conversations, some women said that non-Indigenous women do not understand that Indigenous women need their own women's place or women's events. They defined it as part of cultural longing and cultural need, not about being racist or utilising separatist politics.

The women acknowledged that, in a city like Brisbane, it is hard for Indigenous women to gather because they live in different suburbs, some have jobs and many have large family responsibilities. They talked about issues associated with gaining government support for gatherings, and mobility problems such as public transport.

Their ideas for a large women's gathering developed into the "Indigenous Women's Wellness Summit" – a one-day event that was designed to celebrate wellness. To develop the wellness summit, several Indigenous women who were involved in this research worked with the Bunyabilla Indigenous Corporation Inc to apply for funding and support (through the Queensland Health Smoke Free Program, Diabetes Australia Queensland, QUT and CQUniversity). They achieved funding that allowed the summit to sit outside the ongoing university-based research project about Indigenous women's wellness. Although the summit grew out of the larger research project discussed in this paper, it was owned by the local community and developed in partnership.

The summit was organised by a small group of Indigenous women, including Melissa Walker, Bronwyn Fredericks and Kyly Mills. This group was entrusted to organise the event on behalf of the local Indigenous women. They agreed that the wellness summit should challenge the dominant Western focus on the extent of disease and illness amongst Indigenous women, and focus on how Indigenous women can work towards wellness as an everyday reality. The event was

designed to celebrate wellness by empowering Indigenous women and providing health information in an inviting and safe environment. Other Indigenous women, Natahlia Buitendyk, Synthia Hunt, Patrice Harald and Alyse Mills, helped in the final stages of the planning, and 15 Indigenous women volunteered to make the summit a success on the day.

The "North Brisbane Indigenous Women's Wellness Summit" was held on 9 March 2012 to coincide with International Women's Day. The event was promoted as women's business: it was a women-only event, with no men allowed. Creating a women-only space was in keeping with Indigenous cultural protocols and allowed for a sense of trust and the creation of a safe and relaxed place for Indigenous women to share with each other. Through the programme, we encouraged women to consider how they wanted to strive for wellness. The summit helped to embrace Indigenous women's wellness by demonstrating values that are conducive to their wellbeing – such as sharing, giving, reciprocity, respect and active engagement with other Indigenous women, community, kin, elders and significant others.

The "North Brisbane Indigenous Women's Wellness Summit" was the first of its kind for women in North Brisbane. The event helped to reposition Indigenous women as activists who work with other Indigenous women. It offered an opportunity to assert power as Indigenous women within an Indigenous women's arena. Bunyabilla Indigenous Corporation Inc has since been successful in another application for funding for women's activities. We see this now as a sustainable women's activity that will help to create an ongoing focus on wellness that underpins and maintains Indigenous wellbeing.

Indigenous women's wellness

The Indigenous women involved in this study identified wellness as being about wholeness. For the women, wholeness includes many factors that combine equally to create who they are, where they come from and what their place is with family and community (both in the past, now and in the future). Wholeness was expressed as a balance of factors, such as Country, kin, connection to land, spirit, ancestors, traditions and health. These peacefully combine to create wellness.

The women noted that, without the equilibrium of wholeness, wellness is compromised. This can lead to illness, disease and disconnection. A disruption of wholeness can also be seen through things such as family violence, housing problems, incarnation and addiction. Indigenous women's wellness involves the social and emotional connections that combine, interact and intertwine to create wholeness within an individual. Health or wellness becomes the by-product of this organic internal connection.

The following women's comments highlighted that wellness to them was "social and emotional wellness", and it involves "connection to country, connection to community". Several women stated that "that makes us well" (connection to community and county). One woman stated that "wellness is a word and it is not just one thing". She said that "wellness is the environment we are in: environment, health, land, family violence, arts, housing". Other women made similar statements and a couple drew pictures of circles and wrote some of these words within the circle at different points and leading out from the centre. We discussed that every woman has many aspects of her life and that it requires balance.

The yarning revealed that, for Indigenous women, continued wholeness or wellness requires a form of community wholeness. The major issues they raised were about the need to sustain traditional women's connections or women's business. They talked about the lack of traditional women's gatherings, support, autonomy and a place for business.

The women involved clearly felt that Indigenous women "hold the family together". By supporting sisterhood through traditional

means, including gatherings, they can create social and emotional wellness within the community and within the individual. They argued strongly within the focus group that, if a space or place was provided for Indigenous women's social and emotional wellness and women's business, they could overcome some of the social and emotional problems they encounter. The women made a number of specific statements about having a place of their own. For example, "we do not have anything in community like a women's group or anything like a yarning circle" and "we need a place of our own … Just for us" and "Brisbane North has nothin' for the mob".

The women agreed that support, knowledge and connection come from "aunties" (leading older community members, elders). They wanted to receive the knowledge of older Indigenous women. These "knowledge keepers" were called upon by younger members of the group numerous times during this research. It was evident that the knowledge shared by these aunties was considered to be privileged and highly respected.

During the research, we noticed that the ambience within the room each time we met was one of complete attention and respect. As the talking space shifted from one to the next there was silence – as historical experiences and present-day understandings were passed on from one generation to the next. Interestingly, even the youngest members of the group (the children of participants) ceased to talk and were captured by the words and significance of an elder speaking. This happened without prompting. In discussing the role of aunties, one woman said, "Elders hold the knowledge and we as Aboriginal women want to listen", while another woman said, "My strength. From Aunty." We also acknowledge, at this point, the support a number of elder Indigenous women gave to this project.

Participants also said that their social and emotional strength came from family members. They highlighted that they look after their own wellbeing for the benefit of their family and community. One woman in her 20s said, "I stay healthy for my family". While another, also in her 20s, said, "Daughter … is the biggest support at home. She'll you know get out en cook dinner or help with the little fella whatever". Other women explained that this support came from "family and friends" and "family and community".

The women strongly stated that Indigenous women's voices are not being heard. Their conversations focused around their future aspirations for community and family, and a burning desire to make changes to the health and wellbeing of Indigenous women. Their concern focused both on the Indigenous women of North Brisbane and their desire to heal and protect future generations. The honesty and passion of these discussions was clearly evident and shared by all participants, including the children, who were very much a part of all activities and discussions.

Conclusion

This paper reflects the strength, desire and agency of Indigenous women to focus on wellness. Through the Indigenous Women's Wellness Program Project in North Brisbane, we learned that Indigenous women do not want to focus on the sickness and statistics confronting Indigenous women within Australia. Instead, they want to focus on wellness, wholeness and healing for future generations.

The theoretical work of Bessarab and Ng'andu (2010) is of particular importance to us as it underpins the way that we worked with Indigenous women. Our work provides additional support for claims that yarning is a valid and appropriate method that is relevant for community-based health research.

Through the yarning process, we were able to establish relationality and accountability. We built a sustainable research relationship with Indigenous women, who began to dream

about what was possible and turn their dreams into action. The women who participated in this study are now truly engaged in health activism, with their lived reality and concerns about health and wellness informing their strategies. We will continue to work collaboratively with Indigenous women to shift the debate – away from a focus on sickness, and towards what Indigenous women can do to build wellness.

Acknowledgements

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