Children's Images of Identity

Drawing the Self and the Other

Jill Brown and Nicola F. Johnson (Eds.)

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TRANSGRESSIONS: CULTURAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

Cultural studies provides an analytical toolbox for both making sense of educational practice and extending the insights of educational professionals into their labors. In this context *Transgressions: Cultural Studies and Education* provides a collection of books in the domain that specify this assertion. Crafted for an audience of teachers, teacher educators, scholars and students of cultural studies and others interested in cultural studies and pedagogy, the series documents both the possibilities of and the controversies surrounding the intersection of cultural studies and education. The editors and the authors of this series do not assume that the interaction of cultural studies and education devalues other types of knowledge and analytical forms. Rather the intersection of these knowledge disciplines offers a rejuvenating, optimistic, and positive perspective on education and educational institutions. Some might describe its contribution as democratic, emancipatory, and transformative. The editors and authors maintain that cultural studies helps free educators from sterile, monolithic analyses that have for too long undermined efforts to think of educational practices by providing other words, new languages, and fresh metaphors. Operating in an interdisciplinary cosmos, Transgressions: Cultural Studies and Education is dedicated to exploring the ways cultural studies enhances the study and practice of education. With this in mind the series focuses in a non-exclusive way on popular culture as well as other dimensions of cultural studies including social theory, social justice and positionality, cultural dimensions of technological innovation, new media and media literacy, new forms of oppression emerging in an electronic hyperreality, and postcolonial global concerns. With these concerns in mind cultural studies scholars often argue that the realm of popular culture is the most powerful educational force in contemporary culture. Indeed, in the twenty-first century this pedagogical dynamic is sweeping through the entire world. Educators, they believe, must understand these emerging realities in order to gain an important voice in the pedagogical conversation.

Without an understanding of cultural pedagogy's (education that takes place outside of formal schooling) role in the shaping of individual identity – youth identity in particular – the role educators play in the lives of their students will continue to fade. Why do so many of our students feel that life is incomprehensible and devoid of meaning? What does it mean, teachers wonder, when young people are unable to describe their moods, their affective affiliation to the society around them. Meanings provided young people by mainstream institutions often do little to help them deal with their affective complexity, their difficulty negotiating the rift between meaning and affect. School knowledge and educational expectations seem as anachronistic as a ditto machine, not that learning ways of rational thought and making sense of the world are unimportant.

But school knowledge and educational expectations often have little to offer students about making sense of the way they feel, the way their affective lives are shaped. In no way do we argue that analysis of the production of youth in an electronic mediated world demands some "touchy-feely" educational superficiality. What is needed in this context is a rigorous analysis of the interrelationship between pedagogy, popular culture, meaning making, and youth subjectivity. In an era marked by youth depression, violence, and suicide such insights become extremely important, even life saving. Pessimism about the future is the common sense of many contemporary youth with its concomitant feeling that no one can make a difference.

If affective production can be shaped to reflect these perspectives, then it can be reshaped to lay the groundwork for optimism, passionate commitment, and transformative educational and political activity. In these ways cultural studies adds a dimension to the work of education unfilled by any other sub-discipline. This is what Transgressions: Cultural Studies and Education seeks to produce – literature on these issues that makes a difference. It seeks to publish studies that help those who work with young people, those individuals involved in the disciplines that study children and youth, and young people themselves improve their lives in these bizarre times.

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JILL BROWN AND NICOLA F. JOHNSON

INTRODUCTION

From Personal Connection to International Collaboration

This edited collection is a result of notable connections across place, time, interests, leisure, horses and languages. We were riding through the Won Wron State Forest in regional Victoria almost three years ago and coined the idea for this book. Our excitement increased during the ride as we thought of more and more contacts that we had who had connections with Indigenous groups.

The importance of connection to place has particular significance for us both as we connect with nature, with animals and with friends while we enjoy a leisurely pastime. The sharing of stories and experiences occurs as we ride together through the native bushland and we often discuss things not possible if we were sitting beside each other in an office space. These relationships we have with the living and animal worlds are strongly reflected in our personal respect for Indigenous cultures and the ways in which other people around the world engage with their own special places.

The potential for this project was mediated by the international connections that Jill mainly has as a result of her extended academic career, but also because of her doctoral supervision of multiple students from various countries throughout the world. We initially had hopes of acquiring data from minority groups in Peru, Brazil, and the USA, but we were pleasantly surprised with the widespread collection we did obtain for this collection. It amazed us how many academics we knew who had a passion for or knew about particular minority groups that they were able to access.

Jill's long-standing friendship and working relationship with Professor Eva Alerby (Sweden) was first initiated by a love of horse riding. Eva, a keen horsewoman, was a guest scholar at Monash and keen to continue riding during her time in Australia. A day's riding in mountain country during a heavy storm resulted in an enduring friendship and a strong research relationship between the two universities. The first thing that Jill asked Nicola when they met at Monash University in February 2010 was, "Do you ride?" Fortunately the answer was yes.

From these initial seeds, other people like Gunnar Jonsson and Anna Podorova have also been cajoled into horse riding and driving. Ahmad dates his doctoral journey in relation to the birth of Jill's first foal – 'my thesis is the same age as Took' (a full blooded Waler gelding).

This work builds on previous collaborations with Jill Brown and Eva Alerby (*Voices of the Margins: School experiences of Indigenous, refugee and migrant*

children), but this work is different in that it makes space both for expressions of Indigenous identity and for the connection and disconnection between the imaginings of the other by mainstream and Indigenous children.

The geographical spread of the various cultures highlighted in the following chapters is also reflected in the international collaborations of authors. We include Australasian perspectives, Asian perspectives, North American perspectives and Scandinavian perspectives. Across both hemispheres, there are minority groups who are treated as different, and unequal. In contrast there are powerful cultures such as the New Zealand Māori who occupy a central place in the life of all New Zealanders – both white/European (Pakeha) and Indigenous (Māori).

As you will see, many of the Indigenous groups described in this collection of chapters are minorities. They have tended to be marginalized and lauded as uncouth or uncivilized, but the images provided in this book demonstrate their prowess, their knowledge, their strengths and their loves. That the drawings by mainstream children depict the Indigenous children largely in terms of stereotypes is not to be understood as criticism of the mainstream children. When we are confronted by the unfamiliar, our only means of understanding is through shared cultural images. That this is so is neither unexpected nor, in the main, problematic. What is a very real problem is that, when mainstream children are only able to imagine Indigenous children in terms of stereotype, there is no space for Indigenous peoples to take their place as part of the modern mainstream society. If we are not able to change these ways of imagining the other, we will all be deprived of rich opportunities to share and extend our diverse understandings of the world and our place within it.

Each chapter includes a random selection of only a small number of the images produced by the Indigenous and mainstream children. The theory of imagining the other is enriched by Phiona Stanley's contribution in chapter 2. The phenomenological methodology employed is explained in detail via Eva Alerby's chapter (3). Chapter 4 by Jill Brown is the first study of children's drawings. This chapter contrasts drawings by Indigenous children in the far north of Australia and mainstream children in a large city in the south. The next chapter by Raqib Chowdhury focuses on the Chakma, an Indigenous minority in Bangladesh. The drawings here are presented side by side, one half showing self, the other half the imagined other. Chapter 5 by Anna Podorova and Inna Makarova which explores the Komi community in Russia through a delightful series of water colour paintings is particularly poignant. Anna's grandfather was Komi but this is part of her identity which was not valued and as a result is largely unknown. The following chapter by Gunnar Jonsson and Iva-Maria Svonni contains drawings by children living in a city in the far north of Sweden. The children were asked to draw themselves as both Sami and as citizens of their city thus making available the connections and complexities of being both Indigenous and mainstream. Chapter 7 by Nicola Johnson provides a marked contrast to other studies. The Maori occupy a central role in New Zealand identity, playing a powerful part in construction of the ways in which mainstream New Zealanders present themselves to the world. The children in the next chapter by Xuhong Wang are not

Indigenous but, as the children of migrant workers, they are a marginalized minority in modern China. Chapter 9 by Ahmad Bukhori-Muslim focuses on a little known Indigenous minority group in Indonesia. The Baduy are a forest dwelling people in Java whose traditional lifestyle is threatened by illegal logging and land clearances. The next chapter, by Sayako Saito, documents her struggle to connect with the Ainu community in Japan and concludes that the past history of marginalization means that there is no ethical way for an outsider to speak for them. Chapter 11 by Megan Blight and Michelle Eady takes us to an Indigenous community in the North West Territories of Canada where Indigenous culture and identity remains a strong part of everyday life. The final chapter by Dat Bao further explores notions of identity. There are identities that Indigenous children construct for themselves and these are documented in many of the preceding chapters. There are identities constructed by others and imposed on Indigenous children, often limiting possible future ways of being as part of mainstream society. A third depiction of identity can be the futures that children construct for themselves via their imaginations, hopes, dreams and fantasies. It is this important work that Bao focuses on in his chapter on the Hmong and Yao children from northern Thailand.

   We hope you enjoy and appreciate the tremendous insight and poignancy of these images and the rich descriptions surrounding these phenomena.

Jill Brown and Nicola F. Johnson
February 2015

PHIONA STANLEY

1. THEORIZING THE CULTURAL BORDERLANDS

Imag(in)ing "Them" and "Us"

INTRODUCTION

When you have to call about a utilities bill and the call centre keeps you on hold for ten minutes, do you draw? Doodle? Me, I fill scraps of paper with long, looping flowers and squat, fat cats with long whiskers. What about when you're waiting for someone on a dusty road and you happen to have a long stick to hand: do you sweep patterns into the dirt? I draw swoops and spirals, the patterns of soaring seagulls and walks I'm yet to take. These are not really drawings *of* anything, they're movements, habituated actions. One could, undoubtedly, read meaning into my unthinking lines, but (or because?) they're not entirely conscious; I do not aim to communicate meaning to anyone beyond myself. Indeed, if I do want to communicate, I have plenty of other tools at my disposal: I can use language (several, in fact). I can dress a certain way or wear specific shoes. I can show through the paralinguistic subtleties of gesture, posture or facial expression how I feel.

As adults, many of us rarely draw beyond these kinds of swooping, looping doodles, perhaps because we have no need (or no talent? or it is not culturally all that common?) to communicate through visual art. But many, perhaps most, children create visual art across diverse cultures, and many will imbue their creations with meaning (Alland, 1983). This is not to say that children have no other recourses for meaning making; drawing is just one way of depicting the world and one's place within it. But children's art offers a window both into the minds of individuals and their socialization environments (Bertoia, 1993; Gernhardt, Rübeling, & Keller, 2013; Hall, 2010; Lorenzi-Cioldi, et al., 2011; Rübeling, et al., 2011).

As a parallel to this, I draw cats because I like them and because they are common animals in my environment. My cats are stylized, influenced by other cat depictions in my culture, including cartoon cats such as Jim Davis's 'Garfield' and Simon Tofield's 'Simon's cat'. I also *know* that cats have whiskers and so I draw them in, even though, when I look at a cat, its whiskers are not necessarily visible, and other animals have whiskers too. But in my mind cats are all about the whiskers, so my (conventional) drawing of a cat has long, obvious whiskers. So although 'my' doodled cats are 'mine', they are also products of my culture's relationship with cats and they are influenced by the way my culture relates to, and depicts, cats (in particular) and the natural world (in general). My cat, for instance, sits on a mat

rather than prowling the Australian outback in search of small, hopping marsupials to devour; my cultural view of cats is cosy domestication rather than rural destruction. So while my doodles, perhaps, allow an insight to my individual mind, they also, perhaps more significantly, offer an insight into my culture. The same is true of children's drawings.

This chapter is not mainly about children's drawings, however. This chapter, like the book as a whole, is mainly about intercultural relations. Children's drawings simply provide data about how Culture A sees both itself and Culture B, and vice versa. Additionally, the intercultural interfaces in the contexts discussed in later chapters is of a specific kind: that between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in myriad global contexts. This chapter therefore provides a theoretical background to later discussions: an overview is given of (intersectional) 'cultural' identities and the construction and uses of Others in defining (and feeling good about) the Self. As examples of these processes that may perhaps be termed 'Selfing' (a little used term) and 'Othering' (a widely used term), I draw in this chapter on a wide variety of historical and geographically diverse cases: contemporary British Internet memes, 1960s New Englander constructions of imagined 'Russians', ancient Athenian pottery depictions of Thracians and 'Amazons', 1950s US American identity work through imagined science fiction futures, ancient and contemporary Chinese notions of (racialized) Self and Others, and intersectional identity constructions of Indigenous Peruvians in contemporary urban novels from Lima.

CULTURAL DESCRIPTIONS AS CULTURAL PRODUCTS

In early 2014, a series of Internet memes appeared called "British people problems". Tongue-in-cheek, these "problems of excessive politeness" included the following:

- I don't feel well but I don't want to disturb my doctor.
- Having my hair cut, the barber said, 'Is that alright?' I nodded. It wasn't.
- A man in the supermarket was browsing the food I wanted to browse, so I had to pretend to look at things I didn't even want until he left.
- Yesterday, I arrived at a mini roundabout simultaneously with two other drivers from other directions. We're still here.
- I live outside the UK so when I say 'with all due respect' nobody realises I'm insulting them (The Meta Picture, 2014).

These extreme (and yet oh so everyday!) non-confrontational behaviours, putatively 'typical' British and funny because they are so recognizably familiar, are examples of an important discourse type within intercultural relations: cultural self-descriptions.

Online social space, including social media such as Facebook, Tumblr, Instagram, and Flickr, can be theorized, in Habermasian terms, as public sphere (Chen, 2012). This is a discursive space in which social 'realities' are negotiated and constructed.

This process, the 'social imaginary', works through the complex mutual presence of action and reaction, display and response:

> I wear my own kind of hat, but in doing so I am displaying my style to all of you, and in this, I am responding to your self-display, even as you will respond to mine. If my hat can express my particular kind of cocky, yet understated self-display, then this is because of how the common language of style has evolved between us up to this point. … It matters to each one of us as we act that the others are there, as witness of what we are doing, and thus as co-determiners of the meaning of our action. (Taylor, 2004, n.p.)

Over time, social constructions produced in this way become invisible social 'realities', as tangible and 'real' as any other products or artifacts of a cultural environment. Thus the 'social imaginary' is described as:

> That set of symbols and conceptual frameworks particular to a social collectivity or network, which have been built up, modified, mediated and transformed over time, and which are drawn on in the sense-making process … The imaginary refers to the ways in which a nation or other grouping sees both itself, and others, that is, those considered not part of itself. … The media here is understood as a mediator and shaper of that set of projected and shared envisionings. (Lewis, 2009, p. 227)

In the same way as technologies are products of a given place and time, social constructions are similarly produced rather than natural. However, discursively produced social 'reality' is just as 'real' as any other cultural products:

> The child is brought up in a culture where he or she simply takes social reality for granted. We learn to perceive and use cars, bathtubs, houses, money, restaurants, and schools without reflecting on the special features of their ontology. They seem as natural to us as stones and water and trees. (Searle, 1996, p. 4)

Searle (1996, p. 12) differentiates between intrinsic facts (e.g. 'this object is a stone') and observer-relative facts (e.g. this object is a paperweight). And the problem with social 'reality', produced in social imaginary, is that while it purports to be intrinsically factual (e.g. British people are excessively polite) it is, instead, observer relative. That is, as Holliday (2013) describes, cultural descriptions (whether of the Self or the Other) are, *themselves*, non-neutral cultural artifacts, products of the culture making the description.

So whether a culture is ostensibly describing itself (as in the example above, of British over politeness) or describing another culture (as below, in the case of Steinbeck's 'Russians') cultural descriptions are cultural products specific to the culture that is doing the describing. This is particularly obvious when a cultural Other is constructed in the absence of any real-life experience of the cultural Other.

Quoting conversations from his 1960 travels around the USA, Steinbeck (1962, p. 143–144) shows how 'Russians' were discursively constructed as a foil to American identities:

> 'Hardly a day goes by somebody doesn't take a belt at the Russians' … I asked, 'Anybody know any Russians around here?' … [He] laughed. 'Course not. That's why they're valuable. Nobody can find fault with you if you take out after the Russians. … Man has a fight with his wife, he belts the Russians.'

> You think then we might be using the Russians as an outlet for something else, for other things? … Maybe everybody needs Russians. I'll bet even in Russia they need Russians. Maybe they call it Americans.

In addition, culture-specific social imaginaries divide society discursively into taxonomies and categories that are, themselves, no more intrinsically 'real' than statements made about characteristics supposedly true of those deemed to be in the various categories. Who, for example, is culturally 'Western'? Who are "the 99%", or the "1%", of society? Who are "the global poor"? What does it mean to be 'Indigenous'? Who is a native speaker of a language? What does it mean to be Black, or White, or any other category?

> Our modern imaginary [includes]. categories of process and classification which happen or have their effects behind the backs of the agents. We each can be placed in census categories in relation to ethnicity, or language, or income level, or entitlements in the welfare system, whether or not we are aware of where we fit, or what consequences flow from this. (Taylor, 2004, n.p.)

So both the allocation of cultural categories and the ascribing of 'typical' characteristics to people in these categories are observer-relative constructions rather than natural 'facts'. Why, then, divide the world discursively into Self and Other and ascribe descriptions to each side? In the next section, I consider the *uses* of cultural divisions and descriptions.

CULTURAL DESCRIPTIONS AS CULTURAL MIRRORS

Visual representations of cultural Otherness have long been used to make sense of the Self by drawing a defining boundary around characteristics of the putative non-Self. Twenty five centuries ago, for instance, following violent altercations with cultural Others in the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, Athenian identity work was undertaken through visual art appearing on pottery: vases of this period depict stylized, Athenian-imagined cultural Others, including both real (e.g. Thracians) and imagined (e.g "Amazon") out-groups. Thracians were portrayed as savages, wild, and stupid, with beards and tattoos marking them as Other (Moodie, 2013, p. 36), while the mythical Amazons, a formidable and fearsome female enemy, symbolized Athenian fears about matriarchal society and the dangers of women's

power over men (*ibid*, p. 43). This both reflected, and in part constructed, the way Athenian citizens of the period understood their *own* identities in contrast to those of imagined, and/or constructed, cultural 'Others' (Miller, 2000; Moodie, 2013). As has been theorized of this context, as now, a group's depictions of those it regards and constructs as cultural Others reveal as much, if not more, about the depicting culture themselves than those they purport to represent (Bohak, 2005). Indeed, Miller (2000, p. 413) describes as integral to the discourse of *ipséité* (Selfhood) the construction and articulation of *altérité* (Otherness). So Athenian culture, masculine and civilized, is saying as much about *itself* as the Other in its visual depictions of Otherness.

Another vivid example of this type of projecting of the artist's paradigm onto that ostensibly under scrutiny is given by Gilbert, who writes about the difficulty of extracting ourselves from our own time and paradigm in order to imagine ourselves in another:

> Most reasonably sized libraries have a shelf of futurist tomes from the 1950s with titles such as *Into the Atomic Age* and *The World of Tomorrow*. If you leaf through a few of them you will quickly notice that each of these books says more about the times in which it was written than about the times it was meant to foretell. Flip a few pages and you'll find a drawing of a housewife with a Donna Reed hairdo and a poodle skirt flitting about her atomic kitchen, waiting for the sound of her husband's rocket car before getting the tuna casserole on the table. … You'll also notice that some things are missing. The men don't carry babies, the women don't carry briefcases, the children don't have pierced eyebrows or nipples, and the mice go *squeak* instead of *click*. … What's more, all the people of African, Asian and Hispanic origin seem to have missed the future entirely. (Gilbert, 2007, p. 111)

In the same way as the ancient Athenians and the 1950s futurists were paradigm bound in space, culture, and time, and could not depict cultural Otherness except through their *own* ontological, epistemolgical and normative paradigms, so the children's drawings that are the subject of this book provide insight into the young artists' *own* cultures and times, including dominant social imaginaries and narratives about cultural Others, and normative notions of the Self as defined by the boundaries of cultural Otherness.

This same process, of constructing and reducing an Other to feel good about the Self, lies behind Edward Said's (1979, 1986, 1993) notion of Orientalism: the 'Orient' is a cultural and political construction of the hegemonic occident's imagination. The Orient is essentialized, exoticized, and marginalized; it is denied its own voice and is, instead, (mis)represented through categorization, distortion, and reductionism. The Orient is thus Othered by Western discourse, a process enabled by imperialism and postcolonial maintenance of hegemony. Orientalism may exaggerate positive as well as negative traits, for instance Su-lin Yu (2002) critiques Julia Kristeva's (1977) book *About Chinese women* as an Orientalist fantasy in which Kristeva

romanticizes China as historically matrilineal and Mao-era Chinese women as 'autonomous, active, and sovereign rather than passive and non-participating … They are culturally superior to Western women' (Yu, 2002, p. 6–7). Clearly, though, this is just as reductionist as negative Orientalism, as it constructs Chinese women as unchanging and homogenous. It may be a 'nicer' Orientalism, but it still disallows Chinese women individual variation, selves, and agency. So Orientalism, whether ostensibly positive or negative, entails reduction and essentialism of cultural Others.

Occidentalism is similar, and has been variously defined (Conceison, 2004, pp. 40–67). Here, I am taking it as the mirror image of Orientalism: the reduction and misrepresentation of the *West* by the *East* (Buruma & Margalit, 2004). One example of 'foreignness' being constructed for the purposes of self identity work is the use and positioning of foreign nationals in the People's Republic of China; I have written about this more extensively elsewhere (Stanley, 2013). One venue in particular in which this is evident is on (party-state-controlled) television shows, in which the role of foreign nationals is "performing [as] China-loving foreigners" (Gorfinkel, 2011, p. 288). Gorfinkel and Chubb (2012) describe their own experiences of appearing on Chinese television, analysing both the way they were depicted and also the underlying purposes of these constructions. Having foreigners dressed up in traditional Chinese clothes, speaking Chinese, experiencing Chinese cultural artifacts (supposedly for the first time), and singing Chinese children's songs works on a number of levels. First, it is a performance of 'Chineseness' that reflects how this is constructed locally. Second, it is a "showcase [of] foreigners' love for China … contestants' performances are frequently scripted to directly express attraction to, and love for, every aspect of China they encounter" (Gorfinkel & Chubb, 2012, p. 21). This serves to validate Chineseness through foreigners' approving gaze and to construct a China that is the envy of outsiders. Third, these shows infantilize foreigners, positioning them in subordinate positions looking up to and learning from China; this includes "scenes of them bowing to a Chinese master, often a child" (Gorfinkel & Chubb, 2012, p. 22). Foreigners are asked to feign struggling to use chopsticks and are represented as "wide-eyed, comedic, and eager to learn and discover the wonders of a mysterious and alien, yet wise and patient, China" (Gorfinkel & Chubb, 2012, p. 13). This constructs a Chinese-dominated 'cosmopolitanism' and the "metanarrative of China's national revival to its former, exceptional, central status under the guidance of the [Communist Party]" (Gorfinkel & Chubb, 2012, p. 18). Finally, these shows construct Chineseness as unique and foreigners as essentially *different*. As an example, song lyrics on one show described 'people with different skin and hair colours "curling their tongues" to speak the "elegant Chinese language" devised by the "clever Chinese people" (Gorfinkel & Chubb, 2012, p. 11). The message is that although foreigners may speak Chinese and appear on Chinese television they are irreducibly foreign and not Chinese. This reinforces a strong construction of a deep-seated binary of Self and Other in Chinese discourses. While foreigners may be *accepted*, they are always *excepted* in China. McDonald (2011) writes:

A series of … 'Great Walls of Discourse' has over the years been erected between 'the Chinese' … and 'the Foreigners', who with the best will in the world will never succeed in bridging the awful gap of their inherent foreignness. (p. 1)

The Chinese habit of dividing the world into two parts – commonly expressed as *guónèi* 'inside the country' and *guówài* 'outside the country' – is a persuasive one, and is supported by a whole discourse[.] (pp. 54–55)

BUT THEY ARE (RACIALLY?) DIFFERENT FROM US!

In some of the cases in this book, as with the Great Wall of Discourse described above, racial differences may be cited as an irreducible, essential, ostensibly biological difference. But race, in most literature, is a social construction (Coleman, 2009; Curtis & Romney, 2006; Johnson, 2003; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Kubota & Lin, 2009; Lott, 1999; McDonald, 2011, pp. 214–216; Romney, 2010; Root, 2007). This is not to deny that human bodies are different from each other and that some of these differences have social salience. Rather, racial categories are a human invention that are not supported biologically; our genetic makeup *does* vary, but this variation does not reliably correspond with our racial categories (Kubota & Lin, 2009, pp. 2–3). One researcher/performance artist working on the social construction of race and identity has conducted a series of 'Projects' in which she performs different racialized identities:

After observing particular subcultures and ethnic groups, Nikki S. Lee adopts their general style and attitude through dress, gesture, and posture. … She then spends several weeks participating in the group's routine activities and social events … From schoolgirl to senior citizen, punk to yuppie, rural White American to urban Hispanic, Lee's personas traverse age, lifestyle, and culture. Part sociologist and part performance artist, Lee infiltrates these groups so convincingly that in individual photographs it is difficult to distinguish her from the crowd. However, when photographs from the projects are grouped together, it is Lee's own Korean ethnicity, drawn like a thread through each scenario, which reveals her subtle ruse. … [W]hat convinces us that she belongs [is] her uncanny ability to strike the right pose. … Lee believes that 'essentially life itself is a performance'. (Museum of Contemporary Photography; Chicago, 2005–2009)

As Lee's photographs indicate, race is constructed as much by dress, gesture, posture, and 'attitude' (i.e. performance) as it is by phenotype.

However, in some cultural contexts, ideas and discourses about 'race' are rather different. Invocations of 'race' as a unifying or dividing category have recurred in Chinese political and social life for centuries (Befu, 1993; Gries, 2005, 2006; Sautman, 1997; Suzuki, 2007), and national mythmaking holds that the Yellow Emperor, born almost five millennia ago in (or *of*) the Yellow River valley, is the

progenitor of all modern Chinese people; the 'yellow race' (Allan, 1991; Chow, 1997). Since the early twentieth century, Darwinian science has been invoked and indigenized in China, with 'race' constructed as extending from Yellow-Emperor patrilineage and legitimized by taxonomies of human bodies and the 'fact' of unique, homogenous 'Chinese' phenotypical characteristics. This has included the use of *homo sapiens* fossil finds in China as evidence for a racial 'Chineseness' and the use of anthropometrics to assess the bodily dimensions of minorities, including Tibetans, to 'prove' their Chineseness. The ideas of place, race, and nation have thus been put to work in the name of national unity and state legitimacy. This includes the creation of a selective official history whose goal is:

> [T]o present a singular correct view of 'the real China' … [t]he party-state works hard to assert an essentialized primordial view of Chinese civilization, identity, and territory. … by promoting [what Jiang Zenmin called] 'correct theories and unified thinking'. … Any arguments that offer a more complex view of Chinese history [and] identity … are dismissed as 'unobjective' examples of 'Western bias'. … This unified understanding of China leads to a proliferation of pronouncements in the official media about what 'the Chinese people think' and what 'the Chinese people feel'. (Callahan, 2009, pp. 33–34)

China's national identity discourse is constructed on the basis of a (raced) Self and in opposition to (raced) foreign Others. Foreign gestures that are less than fully supportive of this dominant construction of Chineseness, including the putative integrity and uniqueness of the Chinese 'race', are routinely condemned as (at best) foreigners' inability to understand China 'properly' or (at worst) *ad hominem* attacks and accusations of 'China bashing' (Callahan, 2009, pp. 33–34).

<div align="center">CULTURAL IDENTITY: THE INTERSECTIONAL AND THE NARRATIVE</div>

The same may be true of other cultures' and individuals' identity discourses, including those of the Indigenous cultures discussed in this book. Race may be invoked as the primary defining characteristic of an individual's identity affiliation. However, racial labels, like identity narratives themselves, are constructions, and individuals' identities are also situated in other ways that are salient to their (cultural) identities. Martin describes how individuals' (and groups') identities are constructed and narrated:

> One proposes one's identity in the form of a narrative in which one can re-arrange, re-interpret the events of one's life in order to take care both of permanence and change, in order to satisfy the wish to make events concordant in spite of the inevitable discordances likely to shake the basis of identity. Narrative identity, being at the same time fictitious and real, leaves room for variations on the past – a 'plot' can always be revised … it is an open-ended identity which gives meaning to one's practice. (Martin, 1995, p. 8)

This means that phenotypical characteristics *are* a factor in our identities, both in terms of the identities we appropriate for ourselves and the identities attributed to us by others, but they are not the whole story. Also salient are the ways in which we perform, or display ourselves; as Taylor says above 'I can wear my own kind of hat'. This means that ascribed identity labels are not deterministic of who we are and what we are like:

> [M]eaning and identities are created in actual daily performances against a backdrop of norms and expectations held by speakers about how actors in certain social categories do, or should, act and talk. Thus, speakers and hearers have knowledge about forms of language typically used by speakers of different identities in particular situations … [the resulting] [i]ndexes, and knowledge of them, become part of Discourses that are shared widely in a culture, and are therefore resources which can be used in interaction for identity performances. (Kiesling, 2006, p. 265)

This is important to the chapters that follow, as it is important to pluralize both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures discussed. Other identity labels including gender, sexuality, age, occupation, income, place of residence, and even race/ethnicity, may be more or less salient to the identity narrative/s of any individual or group than the fact of their Indigeneity or non Indigeneity (whether ascribed and/or appropriated). This speaks to the intersectionality of identities: we are much more than members of the Indigenous or non Indigenous 'cultures' to which we are allocated in the binaries of this book, and elsewhere. So while this book's premise is to explore how the Self and Other are discursively constructed and represented/depicted, the binary labels of Self and Other are necessarily arbitrary and may be problematic, and should not be seen as the only, perhaps not even the main, and certainly not deterministic, identity labels or narratives of the people concerned.

So, for instance, in the novels of Peruvian writer Jaime Bayly, Indigenous characters are frequently represented. Indigenous identities in Peru, particularly urban Lima, are widely regarded as a 'ruinous deficit' (Niño-Murcia, 2003, p. 125), and Bayly's depictions are no exception: 'cholo' men (to use a common derogatory term for Indigenous Quechua and Aymara Peruvians) are routinely depicted as savage, drunk, dirty, and immoral, while 'chola' women are flimsy caricatures of people at the very edges of acceptability: maids and whores (Aguiló Mora, 2013). This is rather ironic in novels that lament the discrimination suffered by (urban, male, middle-class) homosexuals in Limeña society: Bayly's protagonists are mostly young, White, relatively wealthy, educated, and urban, and shuttle transnationally between Lima and Miami. These depictions speak to identities that are rather more complex than an Indigenous/non-Indigenous binary would suggest. Identities are gendered, so while Indigenous men may be stereotyped as drunk and wild, Indigenous women are regarded as controllable, subservient housemaids. Here, attributed gendered identities trump Indigenous identities, creating intersectional identities of gender-and-ethnicity. The same process occurs along other axes of

perceived and constructed difference, too: youth, Whiteness, relative wealth, education, urban(e) identities and transnationalism and travel. 'Cultural' identities, then, are intersectional and narrative, rather than binary and deterministic.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a brief overview, and various examples, of the practices and problematics of cultural labelling, describing, and Othering. My intention is to inform and problematize the discussions that follow: to what extent, in the chapters that follow, are participants on either 'side' erroneous conflating intrinsic facts with observer-relative 'facts'? To what extent are within-culture constructions, whether about the Self or the Other, being taken as true (like the British people's problems) rather than for what they are (which is constructions and stories about who we are, or wish to be)? And, when this occurs, as surely it will (after all, when I doodle even a simple cat I cannot help but say a lot about my own culture and norms; what more will be exposed when children draw the Self and the Other?) when this occurs, what happens? Is the process of in-group construction being used to support and feel good about the Self, as we saw with Athenian depictions of Thracians, Steinbeck's 'Russians', and Western foreigners appearing on Chinese television shows? Is it being used to create cultural unity and harmony (perhaps a good thing), and is this being done at the expense of cultural Others (perhaps a bad thing)? And how are cultural groups allocated anyway? Do I (mainly) appropriate my own cultural labels, or are they (mainly) attributed to me? And which of the many axes of potential difference and significance are most salient in my own, and my groups', identity narratives, and how do I negotiate the intersectionalities of culture, gender, race, place, and every other potential label?

So many questions. This chapter has raised important, theoretical issues with a view to deepening the debate within and resulting from the chapters that follow. It is not my intention to propose that we stop describing Others -whether in words or pictures- indeed, to aim to do so would be akin to trying to hold back the tide. Instead, I want to raise these issues around what is going on whenever we depict Otherness, and to expose some of the inner workings of why we do it, how the process works, and what happens as a result. It is also important to mention, as I have above, that 'cultural' identities are far from unproblematic objectivities; culture is shifting, narrative, and plural, and we are no more determined by the categories into which we can be fitted than Nikki S. Lee is defined by whatever set of clothes and gestures she appropriates in any given photograph.

What does this mean for the readings of the chapters that follow? My advice is to try to approach the racism that you will find with as much compassion as you can muster: the kids who depict Australian Aboriginal Others as living as savages, or who depict urban Swedes as totally out of touch with happiness and nature are not coming from places of hatred. They are, as we all are, acculturated by the social imaginaries around us. No social construction of identity can ever be entirely neutral

and, as with Orientalist and Occidentalist depictions, all cultural descriptions are products of the cultures in which they originate. The stories, and drawings, and descriptions that follow, then, are the starting points for discussions that, I hope, will be informed by the theoretical discussion in this chapter. It is not enough to 'correct' children's perceptions of the Other (as to replace one social construction with another is still to indulge in cultural labelling and describing, a conceptual rabbit hole down which it is possible to disappear for a very long time). Instead, the way forward from what may otherwise be a series of racist, problematic misunderstandings is to raise awareness of exactly the issues discussed in this chapter. This is what the book aims to do, by contrasting kids' drawings from different cultures so as to show that cultural description is at the same time both particular to the given society and universal. And from a growing awareness of such universals, I hope, can come understanding.

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EVA ALERBY

2. 'A PICTURE TELLS MORE THAN A THOUSAND WORDS'

Drawings Used as Research Method

INTRODUCTION

'A picture tells more than a thousand words', is a common saying. Given that a picture tells more than a thousand words – how can we understand and use this expression? How can a picture, or an image, be analysed and used as part of educational research? In this chapter the use of images, and more specifically drawings, will be explored. First, I will elaborate on pictures as expression and as a form of language. Next, the collection of data in form of drawings will be illuminated and discussed. Furthermore, I will explore one way to analyse drawings, and finally, challenges and possibilities of the use of drawings will be discussed in relation to research. When exploring the use of drawings, previous studies will serve as examples (Alerby, 2008; Westman, Alerby & Brown, 2013). However, focus is mainly on how the drawings have been, and can be, collected and analysed, and not on the results per se of the respective studies.

IMAGES AS EXPRESSION

Human experience, knowledge, visions, attitudes, views et cetera can be expressed and communicated in many different ways. In other words, as humans we have the ability to use many forms of 'language', including different forms of symbolic and visual systems, or so called 'non-verbal' language (Alerby, 2012). However, the most common way for human beings to express one's self and communicate with others is to use spoken words. Another common language is written words. By making a brief history of our Western culture, the most valued genres of written texts, such as literary novels, academic texts, official documents or various types of reports, have almost exclusively been produced without images or illustrations (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). For quite a long time, monomodality, namely the use of one type of character in communication, has been clearly and explicitly advocated. Views of human language have though, over the last few decades, changed in society as well as in schools (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). Multimodality is now part of everyday educational practice (Hurtig, 2007). This view has broadened perspectives on language, and includes assumptions that spoken or written language may not be

enough to fully represent humans' experience, knowledge, visions, attitudes, views et cetera. This broadened perspective of language has in turn affected research, increasing the use of multimodal methods, when the purpose is to grasp, for example, humans' experience of different phenomena in the world.

Beyond our ordinary spoken or written words, there is, according to Polanyi (1969), a rich domain of that which cannot be spoken that constantly beckons us. Given this, spoken or written words alone may not be enough to represent human knowledge – there are also silent dimensions, which he calls 'tacit knowledge', beyond what is explicitly expressed. Merleau-Ponty (1995) also stresses that not everything can be communicated verbally – there is something that exists beyond what is said, something that cannot be communicated verbally, which he calls a silent and implicit language. However, this silent and implicit language can appear through visual presentations, such as different kinds of art forms. One way to evoke some of what lies hidden in the tacit domain of our knowledge is therefore to use different forms of visual expression (Alerby & Brown, 2008).

Alerby and Bergmark (2012) explore the use of different visual art forms in research – photographs, lino-prints and drawings – from a life-world perspective, and emphasise the similarities of the process of collecting the data, as well as the process of analysis. It is not the art form per se that is of significance: it is the process of analysing and interpreting the meaning of the image. There are, however, differences to be observant of, for example a photograph can only depict what is in the nearby area of the one taking the photo. This circumstance can be compared with a drawing, in which the person making the drawing can depict imaginary phenomenon or objects, and the same is true for a lino-print. In this chapter the focus is, however, on drawings as a way to express experiences.

A drawing can be used to both express experiences and stimulate reflections, and Alerby and Elídóttir (2003) argue that different 'non-verbal languages', in the form of images, evoke reflections, which in turn are connected to lived experience. Because an image, such as a drawing, can be regarded as a form of language, it can be interpreted. Expressed in other words – an object of art can be seen as a text (van Manen, 1990). Even though this kind of text does not consist of a verbal language, it is a language with its own structure and meaning. Given this, a drawing can express something in the same way that spoken or written words can express something. Therefore, language has to be regarded as much more than oral and written speech, and as Dewey (1991) suggests "anything consciously employed as a sign is, logically, language" (p. 170). Following Dewey's view, paintings, illustrations and other visuals, can be one way to communicate and express, for example, experiences, and therefore also can be used as a method when conducting research. The use of drawings as empirical data on different topics has been embraced by myself and several other researchers (see, for example, Alerby, 1998, 2000, 2003; Alerby & Bergmark, 2012; Alerby & Brown, 2008; Alerby & Istenic Starcic, 2008; Aronsson & Andersson, 1996; Herting & Alerby, 2009; Jonsson, Sarri, & Alerby, 2012; Luttrell, 2010; Sewell, 2011; Yates, 2010).

WHAT A DRAWING CAN TELL – WAYS TO COLLECT
AND ANALYSE DRAWINGS

To start, it can be stressed that the methodological basis of an empirical research study consists, in general perspectives, of two parts. One part concerns the methods which are used to collect the empirical material. The other part concerns the method for analysing the empirical material (Alerby, 2003). Let us start with the first part – to collect the empirical materials, in this case, drawings.

A starting point when collecting drawings is that the participants are given the opportunity to consider and reflect on their experiences of the studied phenomena, but instead of putting their experiences into words they are asked to make a drawing depicting those experiences. To do this they are free to choose different types of drawing techniques, using paper and pencils, crayons, watercolours, et cetera. It is of importance that the participants are told that it does not matter how skilful they are in making the drawing, since it is merely a means to elucidate their experiences (Alerby, 2003). The participants can with advantages be divided into smaller groups and spread out over the room in an attempt to avoid influencing each other when making the drawings. The process of making the drawings can also be done as a group activity, where several participants together are reflecting and discussing their experiences and depicting these in a joint drawing. Which approach chosen – as a solitary or a group activity – is all dependent on the aim of the study.

In connection to creating the drawings, the participants are asked to reflect on and orally discuss their experiences depicted in the drawings with the researcher. An alternative, or a complement to oral comments, is to let the participant express their experiences in writing. Thus the participants have the opportunity to discuss their drawings by giving oral and/or written comments on the experiences that they have shaped in the drawing. It is of significance to note that the question is not what they have drawn, but about their experiences depicted in the drawings. These conversions can be audio recorded and subsequently transcribed, or noted in a researcher journal.

`The themes, which gradually emerge, consist in turn of internal variations in the form of different aspects. These aspects reflect the great variety of the participants' experiences within the respective themes and therefore make each theme what it is. It is essential to stress that the emerging themes not should be regarded as independent and self-contained categories, which are qualitatively separate (Alerby, 2003). Instead there are connections and links within and between the different themes that have emerged during the analysis process – the themes are mutually interplaying with each other. Still, there are central and common characteristics in each theme that make the theme what it is, and it is in turn the different themes that make the phenomenon what it is (van Manen, 1990).

Alerby and Bergmark (2012) claim that it is of importance to stress that individual experiences are not the focus per se, when striving to illuminate and explore different phenomena by using images, "but rather a collective understanding of a given phenomenon" (p. 97). Key aspects to keep in mind when analysing the drawings

are, according to Alerby and Bergmark (2012), openness and humility towards the studied phenomenon and the participants. As researcher, it is also of significance to be aware of one's own pre-understanding of the studied phenomenon, especially when it comes to the analyses. It is though not a question of ridding oneself of earlier experiences and pre-understandings, but to raise awareness about them. In addition, it is of importance that the analysis process is attempting for a holistic interpretation of the meaning of the drawings. To do that, it is of significance to view the drawings with openness and humility, but also with wonder – all with the purpose to get an overall understanding of the meaning expressed in the drawings.

To summarise the analysis process, the analysis of an image – such as a drawing – can be allocated in four steps:

i)   searching for qualitative similarities and differences in the meaning of the image and comments,
ii) comparing the data, finding different patterns in all images and comments,
iii) creating a mind-map to document the interpretations, and
iv) formulating themes describing the understanding of the meaning of the images and comments (Alerby & Bergmark, 2012, p. 101).

The analysis process can be described as passing through different phases of "… reflectively appropriating, of clarifying, and of making explicit the structure of meaning of the lived experience" (van Manen, 1997, p. 77). In accordance with Alerby and Bergmark (2012) this work is driven by a desire to understand the studied phenomenon and to make meaning. During the analysis it is therefore a matter of forming themes of the participants' experiences, and Jonsson, Sarri and Alerby (2012), stress the importance of not letting this process be governed by certain predetermined rules or stages. Instead the process involves allowing the phenomenon to appear precisely as it is, a free act of 'seeing' according to van Manen (1990), and not a rule-bound process. Thus, the analysis of the drawings aims to grasp and create understandings of the meaning of the experiences molded by the participants making the drawings. As a final phase of the analysis process, the interpretation made by the researcher can be reviewed by relating the findings to previous research.

Bengtsson (2001) stresses that the process of understanding experiences through images cannot fully lead to a total understanding of a phenomenon, but that it involves exploration and elucidation which is as close as possible to the phenomenon itself. Voicing experiences through images can contribute to a personal and in-depth meaning of a phenomenon (Alerby & Bergmark, 2012).

Using pluralistic methods of expressions – drawings in combination with oral and/ or written comments – gives the participants opportunities to express themselves in different ways, which in turn gives extensive perspectives of the studied phenomenon (Alerby & Bergmark, 2012). A fundamental assumption is that oral and/or written comments provide further dimensions to the image and vice versa, and I argue that a movement towards a combination of images and words, written or oral, will enrich

the entire understanding, or expressed in other words – the whole is more than merely the sum of the parts.

The interaction between the image and the words is the strength of this method, which cannot be achieved when relying merely on visual, written or oral data. Alerby and Bergmark (2012) argue that the rationale for using drawings in combination with oral and/or written comments is based on ontological and methodological assumptions stemming from the philosophy of the life-world. These assumptions advocate an inclusive view of humans as participating in the world, addressing the whole being: thoughts, emotions, actions, bodily expressions.

It is now time to give some examples from previous research (Westman, Alerby & Brown, 2013; Westman, 2014) that used drawings as empirical data, with a focus on the analysis process. The study has a focus on teacher work, both from a teacher perspective – teachers' own experiences of being a teacher, and from a student perspective – how students experience teacher work.

ENACTING THE METHODOLOGY

A group of teachers were given the opportunity to depict their experiences of teacher work. The participating teachers were asked to respond to the following task by making a drawing: Reflect on your experiences of being a teacher. But instead of putting your reflections into words, make a drawing depicting what came to your mind. In addition, each teacher had the opportunity to give written and oral comments on their drawings in direct connection to creating the drawing. One of the teachers made the drawing shown in Figure 1 and commented on it in writing in the following words: "To be a teacher is to protect the students, to take care of them. A teacher has many eyes."
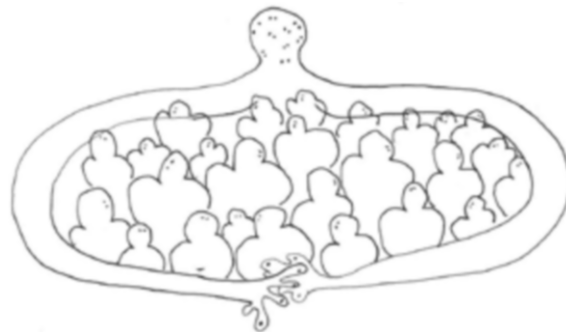
Figure 1. A teacher made this drawing when asked to depict the experience of being a teacher (in Westman, Alerby, & Brown, 2013, p. 229).

The interpretation of the meaning of the drawing and the written comments is that the drawing expresses dimensions of caring and protection. The significance

of the teacher's work is to take care of students in a protective manner. The teacher who made this drawing depicted these dimensions of a teacher's work by literally embracing all the students portrayed in the drawing. In addition, and in order to see and acknowledge all students, the teacher figuratively emphasized the need for having many eyes, which is also shown in the drawing. Westman, Alerby, and Brown (2013) interpreted this drawing as part of the theme 'To care, nurture and protect'. Some of the drawings in this theme emphasise care as embodied, in this example (Figure 1) as observant eyes, but also as embracing arms. The drawing shows the teacher having primary responsibility for the students' well-being and security. The teacher is also depicted as the largest figure surrounding the students, thus keeping others out, as in a kind of parent-child relationship.

Another example of drawings from the same study, but in this example students have depicted their experiences of teachers work, is shown in Figure 2. This drawing is also part of the theme 'To care, nurture and protect', but from a student perspective.

Figure 2. The caring aspects of teacher work, experienced and depicted by a student, are illustrated in this drawing (in Westman, Alerby, & Brown, 2013, p. 229).

In the drawing, shown in Figure 2, the student has depicted the class as a tree, where the students are the fruit. Into the trunk of the tree, '2B' is carved – the class to which the students belong. The three class teachers are depicted as gardeners, carefully nurturing the tree to ensure that the fruit – the students – grow to their full potential. The student who made the drawing commented on it as follows: "This tree is my class and this one is my classmates. I think classmate like fruit, like apples. The teachers' job is to grow the tree. Mr X gives me water. Miss Y manure and Miss P mud to make the tree strong and the fruit grow". This drawing is another example of caring and protecting dimensions of teachers' work, but also dimensions of nurturing.

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Another example of teachers' experiences of teacher work is depicted in Figure 3. In this example a teacher is occupied with work several hours outside school. The teacher's oral comment on the drawing is as follows: "The teacher is marking homework at home at 12.15 am while others are sleeping."

Figure 3. This drawing, made by a teacher, depicts the teacher still hard at work, even though it is the early hours of the morning (in Westman, Alerby, & Brown, 2013, p. 226).

This example is showing the teacher controlled by factors and pressures external to the classroom, and the drawing is interpreted as part of the theme 'To control and be controlled'. Given this, the teacher depicted in Figure 3 is controlled by external factors. However, according to some of the participating students they are in turn controlled by the rule of school and by the teacher (see Figure 4). Thus, it is not only the teacher who controls the students. External factors, such as the time (illustrated by the clock) and the schedule, also control the activities in the classroom and by that also control the students.

Figure 4. A drawing, made by a student, depicting teacher work connected to control (in Westman, Alerby, & Brown, 2013, p. 226).

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Figures 3 and 4 both depict teacher work as involving aspects of control – teachers controlled by external factors such as marking homework, but also students controlled by the teacher and the role of school – and these drawings are part of the same theme: 'To control and be controlled'.

In another study (Alerby, 2008), students were asked to express their experiences of school through drawings, complemented by oral comments. When analysing all the drawings, one of the emerging themes focused on social relationships. The drawings in this theme all focused on and depicted different types of social relationships in school, such as friendships between classmates, but also the relationship between the teacher and the students. In Figure 5 one of the students has depicted herself together with her friend; at the top of the drawing it is written "One needs to have friends".

Figure 5. Friendship between two classmates (in Alerby, 2008, p. 36).

Another example in the same theme is shown in Figure 6, where one of the students depicted the teacher in the classroom and emphasised orally the importance of a good relationship between the teacher and the students.

Figure 6. One student depicted the teacher in the classroom (in Alerby, 2008, p. 37).

These two examples both emphasise relationships as positive and appreciated, but also the opposite was depicted and mentioned in the drawings – lack of friendship and

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good social relationship between students, and between teacher and students. Given this, the common feature in this theme was that the drawings depicted some kind of social relationship – positive and appreciated as well as negative and unappreciated.

There are many ways to use and analyse drawings as empirical materials. In this chapter I have illuminated and discussed one possible way to proceed. The above drawings have served as examples to illustrate how this kind of visual data can be analysed and interpreted. But there are also other ways, grounded in other ontological assumptions. However, the presented way can be viewed as an inspiration and/or a raw model to develop further.

When using drawings as a way to collect empirical data, as described and exemplified above, the purpose of the analyses aims to grasp the meaning of the depicted phenomenon. What is each drawing expressing, and what are the entire drawings expressing as a whole? How can the significance of the drawings be understood? But finally, what can be the benefit of this method, and what risks can be identified? In the following, some challenges and possibilities when using drawings as empirical data in research will be discussed.

CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES WHEN USING DRAWINGS

When using drawings as empirical research data, some challenges are to conduct the research process in ways that are rigorous and trustworthy, as well as accepted by the scientific field, including other researchers (Alerby & Bergmark, 2012). However, there are limits with being solely dependent on images as the only source of empirical data. There is always a risk of over-generalization when presenting, for example, experiences collectively (Robinson & Taylor, 2007). This risk is though, not restricted to the use of drawings as a method to collect empirical data. It is a common risk, regardless of whether the data consists of drawings, interviews or written reflections, to name a few. However, Cook-Sather (2006) stresses the potential risk of considering different experiences in a single and unified way. It is therefore significant to be aware of the complexity of the analysis (Alerby & Bergmark, 2012). It is also of importance to be responsive to the fact that the use of images, such as drawings, as a research method, in some cases may not be fruitful. It is all about the purpose of the study. However, when attempting to grasp humans' experiences, knowledge, visions, attitudes, views et cetera about different phenomena in the world, the use of drawings can be one methodological approach.

It is, however, of importance to emphasise the intertwined combination of images and words (Alerby & Bergmark, 2012). The oral and/or written comments provide a further dimension to the drawing and vice versa – something which cannot be achieved when relying on only visual, written or oral data. This combination of images and words also enhances credibility and rigor when using images, such as drawings. The interaction between the image and the words is therefore a strength of this method, and the rationale for using visual art combined with oral and/or written language is, as mentioned above, based on ontological and epistemological

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assumptions stemming from the philosophy of the life-world. As an approach, the philosophy of the life-world advocates a comprehensive view of humans, expressed as openness and humility to the participants' experiences. This in turn, results in the need for pluralistic methods, addressing the whole being, with the utmost purpose to accomplish an all-inclusive understanding of a phenomenon.

Given this, a benefit of the use of drawings as a method, presented in this chapter, is that the participants are invited to share their experiences through different expressions. Using drawings in combination with oral and/or written language gives opportunities for the participants to express themselves in different ways. Alerby and Bergmark (2012) claim that pluralistic methods reveal not only a broad perspective, as opposed to a limited view, but also provide a deep perspective of the studied phenomenon. Sewell (2011) stresses that this research method can "provide access to different meanings, interpretations and themes not possible through other methods" (p. 177).

The saying, 'a picture tells more than a thousand words' may be true – images tell a lot, can be of great importance, and add tacit information beyond what is expressed explicitly in words. As has been stressed in this chapter, the benefit is to use a combination of different methods – a pluralistic approach – when trying to explore humans' experiences of different phenomena in the world. To conclude, let people use as many languages, or expressions, as possible – verbal as well as visual – when trying to shed light on and give voice to human experience.

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JILL BROWN

3. WALKING IN TWO WORLDS

Yolnugu Children and Mainstream Australia

This chapter explores the ways in which Aboriginal Australian children are imagined by children who are part of mainstream Australian society and the ways in which Aboriginal children imagine both themselves and their mainstream peers. These imaginings are expressed in the form of drawings.

TERMINOLOGY

In Australia the term 'Indigenous' is used to refer to two groups, Aboriginal Australians, whose traditional lands are on mainland Australia as well as on many of the larger off-shore islands, and Torres Strait Islanders. Although the word 'Indigenous' is widely used in reference to first peoples, it is not accepted by all Aboriginal Australians with people preferring to use local terms to speak of themselves and their community:

> Some examples are Nyungar (south-west Western Australia), Murry (eastern Queensland), Nunga (South Australia), Palawa (Tasmania), Yolnugu (Northern Territory – north-east Arnhem land), Koorie (Victoria and New South Wales). (Jonas & Langton, 1994)

The community in which the drawings from Aboriginal children were collected is located in Arnhem Land. The people refer to themselves as Yolnugu and this is the term used throughout in discussion of this community and its people.

The term 'remote community' is used to describe the location of the Yolnugu community. This is an official term defined by the Australian Standard Geographical Classification (ASGC). It classifies areas sharing common characteristics of remoteness (including access to services) into six broad geographical areas or Remoteness Areas. The remoteness of a point is increased by its physical distance by road to the nearest urban area (ABS, March 2011).

BACKGROUND

There are an estimated 517,000 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia, 2.5% of the total Australian population. Children and young people

represent more than half of the total population. The average age of 21 years is much lower than that of non-Indigenous people (37 years). This relatively young age is due mainly to higher fertility and mortality rates. The population is largely urbanised with 32% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people living in major cities, 44% in regional areas and 24% in remote parts of Australia. The uneven distribution of population in Australia, with the majority of the population living in large cities on the eastern seaboard and relatively small numbers of people in remote and very remote areas means that, although a larger proportion of the Aboriginal population live in major cities, they represent only 1% of the population in these areas. In very remote communities they are 50% or more of the total population (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2011).

There are decreasing but still very significant differences in the educational achievements of mainstream and Aboriginal Australian children. These children 'remain the most educationally disadvantaged in the country with educational outcomes, school retention rates and the completion of tertiary education well below those non-Indigenous peers' (Santoro & Reid, 2006, p. 289). Indigenous students in remote community schools are even more disadvantaged than their peers in regional and city centres. According to nation wide tests of literacy and numeracy, more than 50% of Indigenous students in remote Indigenous schools fail to reach minimum standards in writing, spelling, grammar, punctuation, and numeracy in years 3, 5, 7 and 9 (Hughes & Hughes, 2010). Other studies suggest that between 70 to 80% of children in these schools are below national standards (*The Australian,* April 29, 2010). A large gap remains at higher levels of attainment. In 2008, non-Indigenous adults were more likely to have attained at least Year 10 or basic vocational qualifications (92%) than Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults (71%), and were over four times as likely to have attained a Bachelor degree or higher (ABS, 2011). Despite the worryingly low levels of literacy achievement in remote communities, there are indicators that children in such communities are, in many ways, more resilient than those living in the city. A study conducted by the ABS found that:

> Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth in remote areas who speak an Indigenous language are less likely to experience risk factors associated with poor wellbeing, according to a report released today by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. (ABS 50/2011)

The report found that almost half of all young people in remote areas spoke an Indigenous language. These young people were less likely to engage in high risk alcohol consumption and illicit substance use, than those who did not speak an Indigenous language. They were also less likely to report being a victim of physical violence. The study suggests that closer connection to culture as indicated by levels of first language use results in a more secure sense of identity and, as a result, less likelihood of negative behaviours.

RESEARCH SITES

The two schools involved in this small study are very different. The Yolnugu community school in which data was collected is in a remote area of northern Australia, many hundreds of kilometres from the nearest city. Travel to the community is by light aircraft to a small rural airport and then a long drive on an unmade road that is only accessible in the dry season. The region is affected by cyclones and monsoonal rains during the wet season between November and April when the community can be cut off from the outside world for weeks at a time. Due to both the remoteness of the location and the nature of the terrain, the land escaped being made part of a pastoral lease during the early days of European settlement in the area. As a result the community had limited contact with non-Indigenous Australia until a mission was established in the late 1950s. The land and the school are owned by the community; the school building is comparatively new and well-equipped. The community is culturally strong; traditions and language have been maintained. English is used as a minor language in the community, a third or fourth choice for most people. As a result many of the children start their early years of education with no or very limited English language skills. For many, school remains the only place where English is used. The school is small with a total enrolment of fewer than 200 students, all of whom are Yolnugu. An English as a second language teacher works across all the classes and there is a strong first language program that aims to see children acquire literacy in both first language and English. Classes run from pre-school to year 12, the final year of secondary schooling. The teachers are mainly non-Indigenous but Yolnugu teaching assistants are employed to work in every class. The school prides itself on its 'two way' approach to learning. The founder of the school wanted 'his people to gain real educations, to participate in the economy and to retain their native culture, languages and traditions. The notion that Aboriginal children should be able to walk in two worlds and have facility in both is very much a Yolnugu inspiration' (Pearson, 2011, n.p.).

The mainstream school in which data was collected is in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne, the capital of Victoria and the second largest city in Australia. The area surrounding the school is affluent with house prices reaching the million dollar mark. The school is an independent or private school affiliated with the Uniting Church. It is co-educational with classes from pre-preparatory to Year 12 and functions as three separate schools, the Early Learning Centre and Junior School, the Middle School for Years 7 to 10 and the Senior School for Years 11 to 12. The school aims to offer a holistic education to develop 'mind, body, heart and spirit'. Fees range from A$11,000 for Year One to more than A$20,000 for Year 12. Fees for international students, of whom the school has an increasing number, are substantially higher. Classes are small with an average of 15 students in each and the school has a high teacher retention rate. The school is set in a mix of landscaped gardens and playing fields and offers excellent teaching/learning facilities with well-equipped classrooms and separate areas for art, music, drama and other specialist subjects.

DATA COLLECTION

Data collection followed a similar process in both schools. Permission was obtained to work with Grade 4 children. The Yolnugu school had only one grade at each year level with a total of twelve children in grade 4 at the time of data collection. The mainstream school had two grade four classrooms with a total of 32 children. The children in the Yolnugu school were asked to complete two drawings. In the first drawing they were asked to draw themselves, showing the researcher what they enjoyed doing in their free time. In the second drawing they were asked to think about children who lived in the big cities in the south and to draw whatever they thought about in relation to these children. It was emphasised that the task was not about producing the 'best' drawing but about drawing what the children were thinking about in completing each task. The researcher moved around the class as the children were drawing and spoke to them about their work. Notes were taken as this was being done.

A similar approach was taken in data collection with the mainstream Grade 4 children. The two classes had come together in one room where the children were asked to complete a drawing, in this case a single drawing. The instruction was to think about Aboriginal Australians and to make a drawing which showed what they were thinking about. Again it was emphasised that there was no right or wrong response – the task was to show what they were thinking, not to produce the 'best' picture. In the same way as before the researcher moved around the room, speaking to the children about their drawings and making note of their responses.

ANALYSIS

The drawings were viewed repeatedly and with great care, first taking each as a complete unit and then examining them as part of the collection as a whole. Drawings and the accompanying oral comments were taken together with neither being given more weight than the other. From this process several clear themes emerged. In the drawings of themselves, the Yolnugu children placed themselves as the central figure engaged in a wide range of different activities. A marked aspect of these drawings was the mix of traditional culture and lifestyle with elements of western modernity. This led to development of the first theme, that of *tradition and Western modernity*. In the second drawing done by the Yolnugu children, that of children living in the big cities in the south of the county, again a common element emerged, that of a lifestyle dominated by traffic congestion, of buildings one on top of each other and children confined inside their homes. This led to the development of two additional themes, that of *outside in the city* and *life inside four walls*. Analysis of the drawings done by the mainstream children found that the drawings were almost exclusively of Indigenous people in terms of stereotypical images firmly positioned in the past. That this was unexpected was evidenced by the comments of

the teachers who said repeatedly that they 'talked about other things as well' as part of the curriculum. The figures in the drawings were mostly unclothed, decorated with corroboree paint, often holding a spear and boomerang. This led to the theme of *images of the past.* Two drawings suggested some contact with white settlement, one showing the arrival of a sailing ship in Sydney Cove, the other showing two Aboriginal Australians wearing ragged European clothing. These drawings led to the final theme, *contact with white settlement.* A detailed discussion of each of these themes follows with accompanying exemplar drawings.

TRADITION AND MODERNITY

The first theme, *tradition and modernity*, comes from the pictures drawn by the Yolnugu children in response to the prompt 'draw a picture that shows me what you like doing'. The pictures all showed the children outside and active in the natural world. Several children drew themselves playing sport, Australian Rules football, soccer and basketball. The soccer game shows two teams lined up on either side of the field, ready to kick off. The football game is similar in that teams are positioned ready to play. In both drawings careful attention has been paid to the shape of the ground, the ball and the goal.

Several children drew themselves fishing. In these drawings the children are all on large motorboats. One girl is standing on the deck with her fishing rod and a pile of fish. A boy has carefully written '1000' on the boat near the engine. He explained that this is the boat he goes out in to catch dugong and it can go very fast. The boat is far out at sea and the central figure has just caught a very large fish. There was also a drawing of camping in the bush. This very detailed drawing shows all the equipment necessary to camp out in comfort including several tents, table and chairs and a generator so the central figure can play his electric guitar and a portable fridge can provide cold drinks.

Two girls drew themselves at the beach. Both depicted themselves in very carefully drawn fashionable clothing. One girl is standing under a coconut palm; the other is swimming. The comment from the girl who drew herself swimming – 'these are my new bathers. They have spots and love-hearts'. The figure in the drawing is centrally positioned against a background of waves, the arms are spread wide and there is a large smile on the figure's face. This is clearly a drawing of a child confident both in her skills in the water and in her sense of self. The second beach drawing shows the girl collecting coconuts. The sun is shining, birds are flying overhead and, while in this drawing, the figure is much smaller and positioned to one side, again there is a smile on the face. Her comment – 'see how many coconuts I have'. The two drawings selected for inclusion are both by girls. The first drawing (Figure 1) shows the girl out in the bush collecting her favourite food, bush honey.
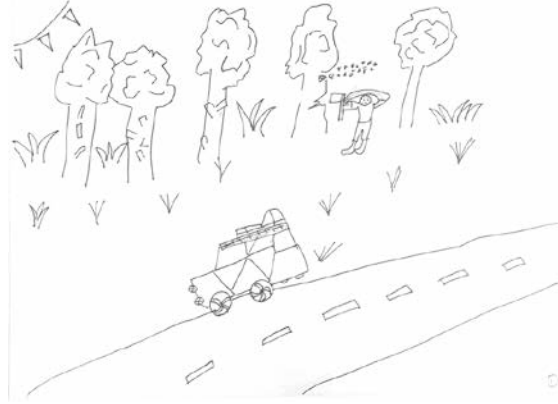
Figure 1. Collecting bush honey.

The girl has drawn herself with an axe in her hand. She has obviously disturbed the bees which are swarming around her head. This is not as problematic as it might seem as native bees have no sting. She has chopped well into the trunk of the tree in her search for the honey. The figure is wearing shorts and a tee-shirt. If not for this, the top section of the drawing is completely that of traditional Yolnugu lifestyle. However the bottom section of the drawing is very different. The girl has driven out into the bush in her four-wheel drive vehicle. Equipment she might need is on the roof-ranks and the car is parked by the side of a sealed road. During the wet season a sealed road allows people to travel more easily from one place to another. Although at present there is no such sealed road into the community, this is clearly something to be desired. The second drawing (Figure 2) also shows a girl busy with traditional bush food.

Figure 2. Growing bush food.

In this drawing, however, the girl is not out in the bush. She is working in the school garden. The garden was a community project which involved the collection and cultivation of traditional food plants. The children are responsible for caring for the garden and the food produced becomes part of the lunch provided by the school. The girl is busy watering the bushes which are covered with fruit. Her comment – 'we need to water them every day to make them grow. They taste good'.

What is noticeable in both these drawings and in the ones described above is the blend of traditional lifestyle with an emphasis on bush foods of various sorts and the elements of western modernity which add to the ease and comfort with which traditional activities can be carried out. The aim of the school's founder was for the Yolnugu children to be educated to 'walk in two worlds'. These drawings suggest that this aim has been achieved.

OUTSIDE IN THE CITY

The second theme, *outside in the city*, is one of two themes coming from the drawings done by the Yolnugu children in response to the prompt 'draw me a picture that shows children who live in the big cities down south'. Interestingly despite the mention of children in the prompt, there is very little sign of life in these drawings. Roads are shown choked with traffic, there are tall buildings standing one against another, there is a long line of cars waiting to get into a football ground but there are no people. Only one drawing (Figure 3) has a person outside and this figure was added in response to the question 'where are the people?' The girl responsible for the drawing commented – 'they're inside their houses, miss. They never come out'.

Figure 3. 'They never come out'.

Her drawing shows a row of neat houses side by side. Each house has a small garden in front and a car parked in a garage at the side of the house. Before adding

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the figure standing in the driveway, the girl drew attention to a face looking out of one of the windows, one of the people who 'never come out'.

LIFE INSIDE FOUR WALLS

If children in the city are imagined as never coming outside, what then do the Yolnugu children imagine these children do inside their houses? The answer is made clear in the drawings which come under the theme, *life inside four walls*. Children in the big cities spend their time watching television and playing computer games. In the drawing selected for this theme (Figure 4) the television is in central position.
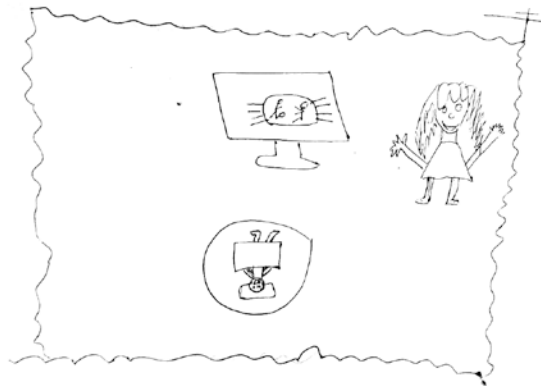
Figure 4. Staying inside.

A mother stands to one side as her baby lies on a cushion in front of the screen watching what appears to be a game of football. That they are inside is made obvious by the walls that surround them. Several of these drawings have windows in the walls that hint at the existence of the outside world but here there is nothing but a bare room, two people and four enclosing walls.

Comparison of the two types of drawings, the Yolnugu children drawing themselves and the Yolnugu children drawing the imagined other, shows two very different worlds. The first is an active world of rich engagement with the natural world. The second is a bleak depiction of a world with little interaction with either the natural world or with other people. It is restricted, confined and unappealing.

IMAGES OF THE PAST

The fourth theme, *images of the past*, comes from the drawings done by the mainstream children in response to the prompt 'think about Aboriginal Australians. Draw what you are thinking about'. The overwhelming majority of drawings come within this theme. Of the thirty-two drawings collected, only two show any indication of

contact between Aboriginal Australians and mainstream society. The thirty drawings which locate Aboriginal Australians in days gone by are dominated by stereotypical images. The central figure, usually male, is clothed in a loincloth, holding a spear and boomerang, accompanied by a number of native animals. Housing is in the form of roughly constructed huts or skin tents, often grouped around a campfire. One drawing shows a collection of cave paintings. Figures in the drawings are collecting food, hunting and fishing. Several drawings by boys are of rival groups fighting; the comment from one boy – 'see the blood on his spear'. The action in other drawings is less violent. Figures are shown decorated with corroboree paint, dancing to the music of a didgeridoo, a traditional wind instrument. The drawing selected for this theme (Figure 5) is typical.

Figure 5. Boomerangs and kangaroos.

The drawing is dominated by a large central figure. The figure is clearly male. He is wearing a loincloth and holding a boomerang. A kangaroo is positioned to one side. A much smaller figure, also male, is in the background, sheltering in what appears to be a cave. There is a fire inside the shelter. A goanna and a witchetty grub are on a rock near the smaller figure. The inclusion of the kangaroo, goanna and witchetty grub was explained – 'they eat these'.

CONTACT WITH WHITE SETTLEMENT

The two drawings which show some awareness of contact with white settlement also locate Indigenous Australians in times past. The first drawing, by a girl, has

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two figures, one an adult male, the other a female child. Both are barefoot and clad in ragged European clothing. Although the shelter behind them has a door and window, it is clearly intended to be a hut, rather than a house. A shield with traditional dot painting decoration is placed at the entrance to the shelter. A mob of kangaroos is on the hills in the background. The little girl has an echidna as a pet. Somewhat unusually it is on a lead, attached to her wrist. An ants' nest is located next to the echidna which perhaps explains its willingness to remain so attached. The drawing selected as illustrative of this theme (Figure 6) depicts first contact between Indigenous Australia and European settlement.
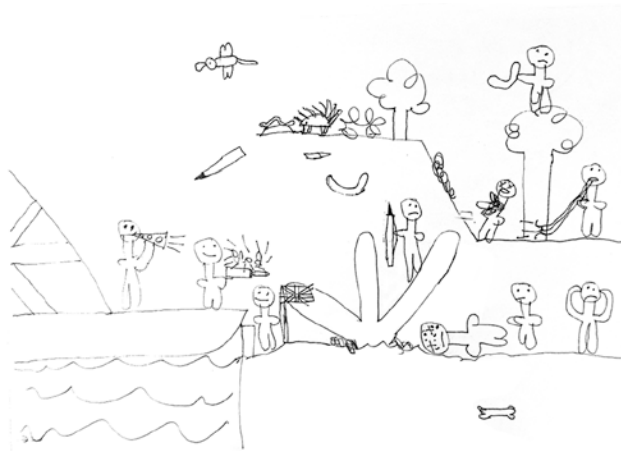
Figure 6. Contact with European Settlement.

The drawing is detailed with a number of small figures and a great deal of activity, showing a quite complex understanding of this stage in Australia's past. The drawing is divided roughly in half, one half showing Indigenous Australia, the other the arrival of European settlement. Although it is not clear whether the sailing ship in the foreground represents Captain Cook's landing or the arrival of the First Fleet, Indigenous land is obviously being taken over in the name of Great Britain. The Union Jack has been raised on the beach. A figure on the deck of the ship is playing a trumpet, perhaps the National Anthem to accompany the ceremony of raising the flag. Seven figures representing Indigenous Australians are shown, several actively resisting the landing of the Europeans. One figure is armed with a spear, another with a boomerang. A spear and a boomerang have been already thrown, with the spear aimed at the larger of the two figures on the deck of the ship. That this resistance is doomed to failure is made clear by the gun being fired from the prow of the ship and the figure that has fallen to the ground. Another smaller figure has been drawn on an angle and appears to have closed eyes. When questioned about this figure, the boy responsible for the drawing

explained that the person was sick – 'they all got sick and died'. Interestingly, even in this scene of conflict and death, native animals are present. An echidna and a snake are on the cliff above the beach, while a cockatoo flies overhead.

DISCUSSION

The ways in which Aboriginal Australians were imagined by the mainstream children involved in this study were unexpected. The class teachers were clearly dismayed while, as researcher, I was surprised to find that there was no apparent awareness of Aboriginal Australians as part of modern Australia. Data was collected not long after a National Sorry Day when the then Prime Minister of Australia, Kevin Rudd, apologised to the Stolen Generation, those who had been removed from family and community and placed in orphanages or foster care. This event received wide media coverage and was accompanied by Sorry Day Marches in many of the capital cities. The school is known for its focus on social responsibility and community service and would certainly have discussed these events with students. There are also a number of well-known sportsmen and women who are Aboriginal. Melbourne is the heartland of Australian Rules football. Every child has a team that they follow and many teams have Aboriginal players. Given this I had expected to see some awareness of contemporary issues, perhaps drawings of the Aboriginal flag. The question then is why, in the imagining of mainstream Australian children, does there seem to be no place in modern Australia for Aboriginal Australians. Why is it that the only ways in which they can be imagined is in terms of stereotypes positioned in the past?

   Does the fault lie with the school curriculum? At the time of data collection schools in Victoria were working in response to the Victorian Essential Learning Standards (VELS) which outlined what students were expected to learn from years one to ten and offered a set of standards to be used to develop teaching materials. The Civics and Citizenship (Level 3) domain which sets out what is perhaps the most directly relevant section of the curriculum for grades three and four makes explicit mention of Aboriginal Australians:

> As students work towards the achievement of Level 3 standards in Civics and Citizenship, they build on their understanding of Australian society and investigate some of the different cultural groups, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) communities that make up the Australian community. (vcaa.vic.edu.au/vels/level3[1])

Note that this is a reference to the ATSI communities in present tense, as part of modern Australia. The Humanities (Level 3) domain, a subject area which includes aspects of history, has a focus on the history of the local area and the local community. In the case of the mainstream school involved in this study such a focus would result in an absolute absence of Aboriginal Australians. Consideration of a past and present

which includes Aboriginal Australians is part of the VELS curriculum for grades five and six:

> As students work towards the achievement of Level 4 standards in History, they develop an understanding of change and continuity over time through the history of the establishment and growth of Australia. They learn about the organisation and lifestyle of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in the past, the impact of European settlement and as enduring cultures today. (vcaa.vic.edu.au/vels/level4)

Although the curriculum set out in VELS is for government and catholics schools, it is certainly not ignored by private schools such as the one involved in this study. Class teachers would be aware of the curriculum statement and it is likely that the advice contained in this document plays at least some part in their planning. It is, however, possible, despite the explicit naming of Aboriginal Australians as a focus community in the Civics and Citizenship domain, to choose instead to focus on other cultural groups and to avoid any mention of Aboriginal Australians as part of 'communities that make up the Australian community'.

It seems that, despite the attention being paid to the inclusion of Aboriginal Australians in curriculum documents, this is not a topic being taken up by class teachers. Why is this? Perhaps the answer is to be found in pre-service teacher education programs? A number of researchers point the finger directly at this aspect of teacher preparation arguing that although attempts are being made to include Indigenous Education perspectives in pre-service teacher education programs this is often problematic. The relevant units may be offered as electives or given as a special 'one off' lecture, rather than as an integrated part of the teacher education program. The units may be taught by non-Indigenous staff members. Content may generalize various Indigenous peoples as one. This 'common sense' understanding of Indigenous cultures as homogenous can even come from Indigenous guest lecturers who position themselves as spokesperson for Indigenous Australia and by so doing not only mislead non-Indigenous members of the audience but also cause offense to those who are themselves Indigenous (Santoro & Reid, 2006, p. 290).

One result of this is that new teachers often have very limited knowledge and experience of Indigenous education perspectives and are thus poorly prepared to pay appropriate attention to these issues in their teaching. As a result, to quote Sharon Sowter, a member of the Yorta Yorta community and a teacher with twenty-two years experience in state primary schools, 'Aboriginal Studies often focuses too much on people holding spears and boomerangs. Even students who identify as Koorie often don't know their tribe or their people's history' (AEU News, 2013, n.p.).

Other researchers suggest that teachers are reluctant to tackle issues associated with Aboriginal Australia because they 'think if they don't know enough they don't have the right to contribute to the conversation' (Korff, 2014, n.p.). They are afraid they will get it wrong and unintentionally cause offense. Others struggle with bleak and often ignored aspects of past and present, the so-called 'Black Armband' view of

history which rejects the notion of Australia as 'Terra Nullius' and instead documents resistance, massacres and on-going inequality and injustice. For many such teachers, and indeed for many other members of mainstream white Australia, it seems the safe option is silence.

Whatever the reasons the end result, at least as indicated by this small study, is that mainstream Australian children provide no place in their imaginings for the Yolnugu children. In stark contrast to the confident embracing of two worlds which is evident in the drawings of the Yolnugu children, mainstream children seem unable to conceive of Aboriginal Australians except in terms of spears and boomerangs, figures trapped in the past. If this is an accurate understanding of the ways in which Aboriginal Australians are imagined by the mainstream, it is a tragedy. It is a tragedy for mainstream children who are denied access to all that communities such as the Yolnugu have to offer and to the Yolnugu children trying to take their place in a world that is unable to even imagine their existence.

NOTE

[1]   VCAA VELS has now been superseded by AusVELS which is available at this website http://ausvels.vcaa.vic.edu.au/. The learning focus for level 4 Civics and Citizenship is almost the same as the excerpt provided here.

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RAQIB CHOWDHURY

4. BEING AND SEEING CHAKMA

Constructing Self and Other through Images

And what you do not know is the only thing you know
And what you own is what you do not own
And where you are is where you are not.
East Coker, *Four Quartets*. (T. S. Eliot, 1940)

The increased politicisation of the question of 'who is Indigenous' can be seen as a result of success in the attainment of legal recognition – often through international laws – of Indigenous peoples around the world. Consequently, international organisations, host states, non-governmental organisations and researchers have each attempted to develop their own definitional standards of native peoples over the last five decades, although, as Corntassel (2003) points out, this is best answered by Indigenous communities themselves. This chapter does not aim to add to this debate; nor does it attempt to reproblematise the definitions. Rather it looks at how "invisible social realities" (Stanley, this volume, p. 4) have been exposed through images drawn by children across ethnicities.

Bangladesh has been labelled as one of the world's most "uniquely homogeneous" (Ahsan & Chakma, 1989, p. 960) states with "no ethnic conflict" (Hussain, 2000, in Barua, p. 60) – claims predicated on statistical facts such as 99% of the population speaking Bengali and identifying as Bengali, and 85% of the people professing Islam as their religion. Over the years such convenient generalisations have legitimised the persistent cultural homogenisation that has been enacted in the country through state machineries and, with that, the suppression of ethnic minorities.

However, there are at least 45 ethnic minority communities in Bangladesh. The Chakma represent the largest of these. Commonly referred to as *pahari* (hill people), the *adivasi* (Indigenous) or the *jumma* (those who subsist on swidden cultivation), the Chakma are of Sino-Tibetan and Mongoloid descent and share linguistic, racial and ethnic ties with South East Asia and the hill peoples of Assam of North East India, Thailand and Upper Myanmar. They are conspicuously distinct from mainstream Bengalis in terms of clothing, language, food habits, religion, beliefs and rituals, mode of cultivation as well as sociocultural structures and political and economic practices. The Chakma for example primarily subsist on slash and burn

jum (swidden) cultivation as opposed to ploughed cultivation characteristic of the rest of the country.

The Chakma, who claim descent from the Shakya Buddhist line of Gautama Buddha, have lived in Bangladesh for many centuries alongside both medieval Muslim imperialists and later British colonialists retaining distinct sociocultural norms. Ethnically they represent a "continuum" placed in between the two "cultural models" (van Schendel, 1992, p. 117) of the South-Asian and the Southeast Asian or, according to Chakma (2010, p. 283) the "confluence of two regions". Today Chakma identity is firmly established in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) in Bangladesh where they have sought to develop an Indigenous model of state, society and culture (van Schendel, 1995, in Damodaran, 2006).

The CHT represents a distinctive identity in terms of geography, racial distribution as well as cultural and political history. It comprises of an area of 12,181 square kilometres of a geographically isolated region which topographically contrasts with the rest of the plain land of Bangladesh. For two centuries the CHT was a remote hinterland of colonial rulers and then a part of the post-colonial state of Pakistan, and is currently within the state of Bangladesh inhabited by these minorities who constitute less than one per cent of the country's population.

However, aside from representing a region of rich ethnic diversity, CHT also marks a historical setting of significant ethnic conflict (Uddin, 2010, p. 283). Despite their cultural and linguistic diversity, there has been a "systematic reluctance" to recognise the "plural and heterogeneous nature" of the ethnic minorities within modern Bangladesh's legal-constitutional framework (Adnan, 2008, p. 27). Uddin (2010) has documented the historical marginalisation of ethnic minorities based on the binary of upland-lowland relations in Bangladesh and the tensions which characterise the division between ethnic minorities living in hilly areas and the plain land Bengalis who regulate state institutions.

Other academic scholarship has documented significant research on the historical, political and ethnographic accounts of the CHT in general and the Chakma in particular (see for example: Ahsan & Chakma, 1989; Bhaumik, 1997; Chakma, B., 1997; Chakma, S., 2000; Guhathakurta, 1997; Mohsin, 1997a, 1997b, 2001a, 2001b, 2003; van Schendel, 1992), especially focussing on their political strife, language, history and culture. Little research to date has examined the changing mental landscape of the region through the lens of children's eyes, and in particular their views manifested in drawings, or what we can call 'visual narratives' (Bach, 2007). These private and individual narratives provide rich and complex stories of identification and self-identification through the naïve, spontaneous and unstudied eyes of children who are largely uninformed of the discursive constructions of themselves and others as enacted in academic scholarship.

THE CHAKMA – A BRIEF CULTURAL-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In order to understand how the Chakma are discursively constructed, and perhaps to understand the readily available binaries the children of this study are likely to have relied upon in drawing their images of self and other, it is important first to briefly highlight two distinctive and often conflicting nationalisms enacted by the citizenry in Bangladesh, both of which have imposed invisible but almost irreconcilable boundaries between the two groups. While *Bengali* nationalism constructs unity on the basis of language and cultural commonalties, *Bangladeshi* nationalism is primarily religion-based, although it is also the term used to denote *any* citizen of Bangladesh, including her ethnic minorities. In both of these forms of nationalism, the Chakma are excluded.

Datta (2003) argues that historically Bangladesh has always adopted policies "detrimental to the minorities" (p. 245). Guhathakurta's (2012) more recent study documents how throughout the postcolonial South and South East Asian countries, minorities have been historically marginalised and removed from centres of power on the basis of their minority ethnic status through the dual mechanisms of unitary constitutions and centralised state politics. In fact, despite the *Paharis* being the earliest inhabitants of the CHT, their status as" economically self-sufficient, culturally distinctive, and socially egalitarian" (Uddin, 2008, in Uddin 2010, p. 284) people, and their exceptionally high rate of literacy – estimated to be 70% in comparison to 28% among the Bengalis (Rashiduzzaman, 1998, in Gerharz, n.p.) – they were gradually marginalised by the successive rule of the British (1858–1947) and Pakistan (1947–1971).

The Chakma suffered several human rights violations, including ethnocide and genocide in the Liberation War of 1971. Through the 'legitimacy' attained through allegations against Pahari people of being collaborators of the anti-liberation movement, the state's atrocity over the CHT people continued after independence when Bangladesh's new constitution espoused an explicitly hegemonic form of *Bengali* nationalism, which restrained 'other' ethno-linguistic identities and nationalisms among the people of the country (Adnan, 2008, p. 39). Post-independence assimilationist strategies of the state over four decades saw the continued marginalisation, alienation and extermination in the name of nation-state building (Chakma, 2010) – a phenomena that continues to this day. Indeed Karim (1998) reports that a "new regime of truth" has "violently" replaced the older discourse of the Pahari as "simple" and "childlike": the Chakma are now seen as a "terrorist, separatist and an insurgent" (p. 304) people – much like other ethnic minorities elsewhere.

Over a period of more than 150 years the colonial policy and the postcolonial state's attempts at building a homogenous nation-state have created the dichotomised entity of the *Paharis* and the plain dwellers in the region (Uddin, 2010, p. 284)

which has trickled down into the populist discourses of the common Bengali and today largely inform their divisive and binary views. Some of these binaries were clearly reflected in the drawings made by the children of this study.

IDENTITY AND NOMENCLATURE

The politics of cultural difference, dictated almost exclusively by the state and its policy of stratifying people as belonging to different cultural 'groups', as well as contestations between rival nationalisms espoused by dominant groups (Adnan, 2008) have created Chakma identity as we know it today (Uddin, 2010). Sometimes, identity has been constructed in collaboration with an elite class within the central power structure, while at other times, identity has been constructed by how others (outsiders) intend to look upon them and describe them. Colonial administrators branded the CHT people as 'hill-men' or 'hill-tribes' (*Pahari*) while during the Pakistan period, the government referred to them as 'tribal people'. In post-independence Bangladesh, the state referred to them as *upajatee* (literally 'sub-nation' or 'tribe') – often used pejoratively by Bengalis to denote the Hill people as primitive and backward farmers.

The Chakma, largely "passive spectators" (Adnan, 2008, p. 38) to such labelling, gradually adapted to the identity constructed for them by others. Today all of these labels are often used interchangeably by the Chakma. Adnan has pointed out how the "crystallisation of the collective Jumma identity of the Hill peoples" (p. 38) can be viewed as being driven by the "need to distance themselves from the Bengali assimilationist project" (p. 38) – essentially identity formulation by negation as a mechanism to distinguish the community with the dominant Bengali population.

In this continuum of naming and labelling the self and the other, this study provides new elements in the discursive construction of the Chakma identity, and it does this through the eyes of children's images.

THE STUDY

Children often "imbue their creations with meaning" (Alland, 1983, cited in Stanley, this volume, p. 1) and therefore visual narratives can be particularly convincing sources of data. They can provide visceral and personal accounts of children experiencing unity and otherness, adding legitimate voices hitherto absent in research literature on the Chakma. More importantly, images can be seen as a window into "intercultural interfaces" and "intercultural relations" (Stanley, this volume, p. 2). The images of Indigenous and mainstream children drawing the self and the other therefore provide an illuminating lens on readings of enacting and understanding identity.

In this chapter I adopt Alerby and Bergmark's (2012) real-world phenomenological approach of using images as a "form of language" (p. 95) to capture human experiences – such as self- and other- identification through such forms of visual art. Drawings

can be seen as "lived experiences" manifested into "transcended configurations" (van Manen, 1990, cited in Alerby & Bergmark, 2012). Such "multimodality" allows a "broadened perspective of language" where visual forms of communication allow the exploration of the "silent dimension of human experience" and become a form of language in itself in its ability to communicate (van Manen, 1997, cited in Alerby & Bergmark, 2012).

I also propose Foucault's (1990) notion of invisibility and silence as alternative forms of text (or a 'coded' form of speech) in which layers of power can be embedded (or hidden). Silence or the reluctance/forbiddance of utterance can be a space that accommodates the 'unspeakable' or as Manen (1997) calls it, the "epistemological silence" beyond the language of words and verbal utterances. Foucault cautions against drawing "binary divisions" (p. 27) between what one says and what one does not say. The more important matter is to find alternatives to capturing and engaging with silent text through a multiplicity of forms of silences. This is to be done in view of discourses that are allowed (or "authorized" – p. 27) and the discretions required. In this study, therefore we consider children's drawings as an "integral part of the strategies that [can] underlie and permeate discourses", utterances not allowed or permitted in other forms of expression, such as traditional academic research based on quantitative surveys or qualitative case studies and focus groups.

A child who creates a drawing is visually depicting their lived experiences as manifest in their 'unthinking lines' (Stanley, 2014). To that extent the image becomes the text (van Manen, 1997), a "methodological implement when attempting to grasp people's experiences concerning different phenomena around the world" (p. 97). Following Alerby and Bergmark's study, it is significant in the context of this study that the participants were told that it did not matter how skilful they were in making the image, since it was merely a means to elucidate their experiences.

Rather than drawing conceptual distinctions between ethnonationalist and Indigenous groups (and their mainstream counterparts), this study has focussed on the depiction of the self and the other, in particular through drawings of attire and physical appearance, which was considered to be an age-appropriate and a more immediately implementable way of asking children to draw images.

Dress is an important characteristic as an instantly recognisable identity marker. As common in ethnic communities, traditional dresses are a female phenomenon. Wichterich (1998) has shown that in South Asian countries women typically "preserve" traditions expressed by clothing, while men's clothes often symbolise modernity (p. 198). Kabeer (1991) explains this as a result of the predominantly male occupation of the "public space" as opposed to the primarily female domain of the more "domestic spheres of social life" (p. 129). In the context of gender seclusion, a characteristic of the dominant Muslim Bengali society, ways of dressing can be seen as embodying a symbolic value to demarcate cultural difference as well as a way of registering silent resistance. In the case of the Chakma, dress is a "distinctive mark based on horizontal structures" (Gerharz, 2000, n.p.).

Generally the Chakma are less conservative in their dressing compared to their (Muslim) Bengali counterparts. Among the CHT minorities, some of the women's dresses are more or less similar – for example the Chakma, the Tripura and the Tanchangya dress alike. The typical Chakma female dress is composed of a homemade hand-woven cotton skirt with stripes (*pinon*), a blouse and a scarf (*khadi*). Colour and design vary, although red and black traditionally dominate. In South Asia for women the interpretation of tradition intrinsic to communal identity has restrictive implementations, especially in the way they dress (Dube 1998, in Gerharz, 2000). This study therefore looked at dress and dressing as one aspect of a very complex system of cultural boundary-marking and indeed a manifestation of the Foucauldian silence explained above.

A total of seven children participated in this study, of whom four were Bengali and three were Chakma. With the exception of one, they were all primary school (grades 5 and 6) students from Rangamati – one of the three districts in the CHT. One participant was in grade 7. All children except one were female.

Participant	Ethnicity	Age	Gender
B1	Bengali	11	M
B2	Bengali	11	F
B3	Bengali	14	F
B4	Bengali	10	F
C1	Chakma	11	F
C2	Chakma	9	F
C3	Chakma	13	F

In collecting data, care was taken so that it did not feel like an intervention or intrusion. Participants were told to participate in a game – a 'fun activity' which involved expressing their views through drawings. Children in Bangladesh would often engage in drawing activities which is a common hobby or pastime. In fact three of the seven participants (incidentally, all the Chakma girls) were home-tutored for drawing.

One participant asked if it was about drawing flowers or a "natural scenery". They were told that they will draw people. They responded saying they were not good at drawing pictures of people; that their drawings "will not be good". They were assured that this fun activity was not a competition and that their pictures would not be judged by how "artistic" or beautiful they were. Nor was there any right or wrong way of drawing. They were encouraged to draw using their imagination and assured that all images would be equally acceptable.

They were then asked to each draw two images – of a Bengali and a Chakma person. They were asked – do you think they are different? All answered in the positive, upon which they were asked - how can you tell the difference? What makes them different? When you hear 'Chakma' or 'Bengali' what does that make you think? Can you show that in your drawings?

In a study where the primary source of data is drawing, it is not possible to achieve total "understanding of a phenomenon" from interpreting participants' lived experiences through visual art alone (Bengtsson, 2001, in Alerby & Bergmark, 2012). Therefore description and interpretation take a supplementary role in conveying as close a "personal and in-depth meaning of a phenomenon" as we can. Participants were therefore asked to take us through the images by describing their drawings, especially in terms of similarities and differences.

While drawing one participant asked if anyone else will view their drawings. They were told that a few other people would see them, but they were all elsewhere and that they will be amused seeing that the images were all drawn differently. This was done to encourage them to be 'original' and creative, but at the same time so that their output was natural and spontaneous.

The participants felt hesitant at first however once they started drawing the images, they did so engrossingly and took their time. With two exceptions, all other children drew pictures by themselves without the presence of other participants. Overall it was observed that the Chakma children had fewer questions for clarification than their Bengali counterparts, possibly because all three Chakma participants learnt drawing through private tutors. They were also observed to have greater confidence in handling colours and outlining their images, although critiquing this was certainly not an aim of the current study.

EXPLAINING THE BENGALI AND CHAKMA IMAGES

According to Barth (1969), rather than being a *result* of stratification, ethnic groups can also be seen as a form of social organisation. Such organisation can be most visibly manifested though the unique traditional dresses that the various ethnic groups living in the CHT wear.

Alerby and Bergmark (2012) stress that in analysing data from drawings, it is important to maintain "openness, humility, and wonder" toward the studied phenomenon and the participants. A critical interpretation can yield narratives which help us understand phenomenon and elucidate the meaning of the experiences the participants communicated through their drawings. In other words, to capture their *reflections* of their experiences can be as important as what they physically depicted.

Alerby and Bergmark suggest four steps in the analysis of such data, all of which were used in the interpretation of the images: a qualitative comparison of

both similarities and differences of meaning conveyed through the images and explanations; the exploration of patterns across the images; the creation of a 'mind-map' to document the findings; and generating themes emerging from these findings. In doing so the analysis passed through these phases of "reflectively appropriating, of clarifying, and of making explicit the structure of meaning of the lived experience" (p. 100–101) of the Chakma and the Bengali children.

Figure 1. Bengali child's (B1) drawing of Bengali and Chakma.

This participant, an 11 year old Bengali boy, draws a Bengali man as one wearing the most recognisable clothes: he says – 'Bengali means *lungi* and *genji*' – the quintessential and most common attire for Bengali males. He is seen with ware on head, taken to market for selling, a common vocation of subsistence farmers in small communities in the CHT. The *lungi*, a local variant of the *sarong*, is common across South East and South Asian countries – a loose garment worn around the waist, appropriate in high humidity countries where trousers or 'pants' offer a less practical and less comfortable experience. While Bengalis often wear trousers, it is far less common for Chakma males to wear the lungi, who would rather wear the *dhoti* – a Hindu variant of the *lungi*.

The Chakma man on the other hand is wearing pants and shirt – common attire of men who normally reserve traditional clothes for special occasions only. Curiously his face is rounder and perhaps representative of facial features more characteristic of the Chakma. The lighter complexion is another marker to distinguish the two people, although it is not clear if the distinction in colour was intended or not.

Figure 2. Bengali child's (B2) drawing of Bengali and Chakma.

The second participant was another 11 year old Bengali, but female. She draws a Chakma woman wearing traditional Chakma skirt with a top and her eyes are smaller and narrower. The handwoven cotton skirt is the *pinon*, which is often colourful and made of thick and coarse fabric. The Bengali girl wears a frock and has larger eyes. It can be noted that the Chakma girl has longer hair, another feature that often characterises them - Bengali women often prefer shorter hair, although by no means this is a distinguishing feature.

Such 'less common' and incidental differentiating features provide interesting insights into how children have internalised what is normal and 'acceptable' in a society where conformity in dressing can be an expectation imposed upon by the family and centuries-old traditions. Like the previous images, the Chakma girl here seems to have a rounder face.

Figure 3. Bengali child's (B3) drawing of Bengali and Chakma.

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Oldest among the participants, this 14 year old Bengali girl puts a lot of visual detail into her drawings – her Bengali girl is wearing a multi-coloured traditional *saree*, with an *achol* and a colour blouse. Like her Chakma counterpart she is wearing earrings and a necklace, although it is not certain if she sees these as differently worn by the two girls in the images. While drawing she described the Chakma girl as wearing a "traditional" dress and having smaller eyes. The variety of colours in the Bengali girl's dress is interesting and might suggest the relative simplicity of design in Chakma attire.

Figure 4. Bengali child's (B4) drawing of Bengali and Chakma.

Our fourth participant, a 10 year old Bengali girl draws the Bengali girl wearing a long skirt and says she has a "longer nose" and "bigger eyes". The Chakma girl on the other hand is wearing a floral top with a frock, shoes and has a purse in her hand. She mentions, and as can be seen, that the Chakma girl's hair is longer (also seen in Figure 2), and has smaller eyes and her "nose is flat".

It is significant that the Bengali girl's skirt is longer than the Chakma girl's – this denotes the relatively conservative way in which Bengali girls dress as explained earlier. Like Figures 1 and 2, the Chakma girl's face appears to be 'rounder' too, unlike the Bengali girl's more pronounced chin, although she does not mention this in her verbal description of the drawings. It is certainly possible that some of these physical characteristics are subconscious or based on incidental observations ("unthinking lines", after Stanley, this volume) where "intrinsic facts" blend in with "observer-relative facts". It is also to be noted that among the images of the Chakma, this is the only one that had no traditional dress, which might be indicative of what Gerharz calls "a sign for Bengalisation or foreign influence" (2010, n.p.) which is increasingly seen among the minorities in Bangladesh.

Figure 5. Chakma child's (C1) drawing of Chakma and Bengali.

The first of the Chakma participants, this 11 year old girl draws a Chakma girl walking with a *hallong* (a bamboo container) attached with a *labak* to her head. She is wearing a red and black *pinon*, and a red blouse. As noted earlier, these two are the most common colours of the Chakma *pinon* and *khadi*. Her hair is done in a *sul sudo* or bun, typical of Chakma girls, and she has bare feet. Curiously this image is drawn from the side, possibly to highlight the *hallong*.

The Bengali girl is drawn wearing a skirt and top and has a garland around her neck. Her hair is open and she is wearing shoes. Although the Chakma girl's eyes and nose have not been drawn (possibly because this is the rear view), it appears that the Bengali girl's eyes are large, proportionate to her face, possibly representing an emphasis on a differentiating feature. Her clothes are relatively 'plain' – block-coloured – as opposed to the multi-coloured *pinon* of her Chakma counterpart.

Figure 6. Chakma child's (C2) drawing of Chakma and Bengali.

The youngest among the participants was a nine year old Chakma girl. Her drawing shows a Chakma girl wearing *pinon-khadi* and the Bengali girl wearing a colourful frock. While she did not say much about her drawings, it appears as though the nose and the eyes of the Bengali girl are larger than her counterpart's and she is dressed perhaps less conservatively. She has bare feet too, unlike the Bengali girl, another feature common among the Chakma, especially those living in villages and small towns.

Figure 7. Chakma child's (C3) drawing of Chakma and Bengali.

The last participant, a 13 year old Chakma girl, describes the Chakma girl in her drawing as one from a village wearing Chakma attire "in a very traditional way" – including a silver necklace and bangles around her wrist. She is on her way to the market and like the Chakma girl in Figure 5, she has a bamboo *hallong* attached to her back. This participant is quite keen to point out that her nose is flat. She is also seen in *theng-haru*, or feet bangles, a traditional Chakma ornamentation common among the Chakma especially in villages, and almost never seen among Bengali girls.

The Bengali girl she describes as also being from a village. She is also barefoot but her head is covered in a *ghomta* – the end of the *saree* – again signifying the

conservative way in which Bengali girls often go out in Bangladesh. Her eyes and nose are described as 'big' and 'long' respectively.

DISCUSSION

Barth (1969) explained that among ethnic groups, the cultural features that are highlighted do not necessarily represent the sum of objective differences, rather they are ones that the actors *choose* to consider as significant in marking distinction - the "signals and emblems of differences" (p. 14). As well as being the result of a process of ascription and self-ascription (Gerharz, 2000), these cultural manifestations can be seen as an historical evolution which happens due to their occupation in a range of spaces. Given this, we can say that in the continuum of discourses constructing identities, through the act of drawing, these Bengali and Chakma children have presented what they consider to mark difference and how they relate to these differences at this point in time.

Aside from the descriptions that the participants have provided on their drawings, these also tell stories in themselves. These stories are often markers of traditional ways of life rather than anecdotal and incidental details captured physically. For example the two Chakma girls on their way to the market carrying the bamboo basket, the skipping Bengali girl and the made-up Bengali girl wearing a traditional *saree* tell us more about lifestyles than clothes and dressing. Also the tendency of Chakma girls wearing more 'colourful' clothes compared to Bengali people and the variety of clothing options might represent the diversity that this group is more comfortable with.

In addition to the more 'obvious' features of clothing, a lot of emphasis is seen to have been placed on physical features. For example, most drawings have marked difference through the relative size of eyes, nose, length of hair and the shape of the face. The words described to note these differences have been based on simple binaries such as short/long, flat/pointed, narrow/wide, small/large and round/less round. Interestingly the difference in the length has also been marked in dresses, showing that the Chakma dress less conservatively. In addition, differences have also been marked through ornamentation and make up, and through the presence or absence of footwear. Such spontaneous allocation of cultural categories and the ascription of what is perceived as 'typical' features are observer-relative constructions rather than deterministic, natural 'facts' (Stanley, this volume, p. 6).

As systems for ascription and self-ascription (Rahman, 2010), identities are perceptions in constant transition involving multiple configurations (p. 149). Social identity theory defines an individual in terms of group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, in Rahman, p. 101) and may be understood with reference to self, in-group and out-group categorisations (Rahman, 2010). While demonstrating physical markers such as clothing as a means to inclusiveness and belonging to a group through affiliation, dress is also one that excludes one from 'others'. Such dual mechanisms of identification and differentiation is a classification system of

its own, with "horizontal demarcation lines" (Gerharz, 2000, n.p.) which are quite clear in the drawings. In their explanations, the children have often used 'us' or 'we' to talk about a certain way of life, or a practice that is common to their own group.

CONCLUSION

Despite the narrow and often divisive language of nationalism and nation-state building that has characterised the discourses on the Chakma and other ethnic minorities in Bangladesh and is discussed in academic scholarship, empirical research, national and international forums or indeed among Indigenous groups themselves, the children's images have often bypassed these and have provided alternative ways of looking into similarities and differences.

It can be seen that these children's images are often built around readily available binaries, representations which connote self/other, familiarity/exoticness, feelings of inclusion and exclusion and perhaps, to an extent conservative and liberal lifestyles. Also has been seen is the tendency of children to explain difference through narratives, some of which have highlighted cultural nuances of lifestyles and lived experiences.

Ascribed or indeed appropriated binaries and identity labels are not deterministic of who we are and what we are like; they are indeed "intersectional" and "narrative" (Stanley, this volume, p. 15), all coloured by the "social imaginaries" available at our disposal. Stanley's argument that we are "paradigm-bound in space, culture and time" and cannot "depict cultural Otherness except through [our] *own* ontological, epistemological and normative paradigms" (p. 8), means that these images tell us as much about the children's view of others as they do of themselves.

However, Alerby and Bergmark (2012) warn that while spoken or written language may not be enough to fully represent knowledge and experience, there are also limits when a study exclusively depends on visual art as the sole source of empirical data. They recommend that such data are supplemented with descriptive accounts, which this study has done. Rather than drawing on generalisations, this study's aim indeed was to break generalisations and reifications by presenting the participants' images as openly as possible and to present the complexities and discontinuities in their representations.

Identities can never be stable systems for ascription and self-ascription as Schlee et al. (1996, in Gerharz, 2000) explains; and as Corntassel (2003) laments, ascribing identity markers to Indigenous peoples will continue to be problematic. This study therefore emphasises on these complexities and discontinuities manifest in the drawings and stresses that the most interesting representations of Selfing and Othering may be housed in the most banal of findings in this study. Together with their verbal accounts, these images provide fleeting but important insights into Foucault's (1990, p. 27) many silences that "underlie and permeate discourses".

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ANNA PODOROVA AND INNA MAKAROVA

5. KOMI PEOPLE THROUGH THE EYES OF CHILDREN

Paintings or Photographs?

> *I dedicate this chapter to my father and our Komi ancestors.*

Anna's story

My grandfather lived in a Komi village called Storozhevsk. He was Komi and did not speak Russian until he became a draftee of the Russian (Soviet) army at the age of 18. My Komi father started learning Russian when he went to school at the age of seven. He then left the village to become a seaman in the western part of Russia, married my Russian mother and did not go back to the Komi Republic. My sister and I never learnt the Komi language, apart from several simple phrases we heard from our Komi grandparents when we visited them in the North and later, when my grandfather stayed with us as he became too old to live on his own.

As a child, I spent all my summer holidays, a month or two at a time, in my grandfather's village in the Komi republic and I remember the warmth, openness and hospitality of the village community, where everyone knew everyone and the doors were never locked. I also remember awkward moments when we would meet friends and relatives in a shop or at the river; they would greet us in Komi and ask something but my sister and I were not able to understand or respond as we did not speak Komi. My father would do all the talking while my mother, sister and I would stand nearby or continue walking. Many people, including my grandparents, usually switched into Russian to include us in conversations, and I took it for granted.

At the age of 16, almost 20 years ago, I confronted my father and asked why my sister and I had never been taught the Komi language or told to be proud of our Komi heritage. My father said he did not want us to be part of a minority nationality; he believed it was easier for us to be Russians among the Russian majority. It is particularly sad as my Komi father is an educated man who achieved a lot in his life. Yet, he believed it was in the best interests of his children not to be associated with his native national minority culture.

If I were asked to draw the Komi people, I would first draw a deep cool river surrounded by forests full of animals, mushrooms, berries and huge mosquitoes. My drawing would also picture several smiling people who are having fun swimming,

fishing or jumping on the floating logs. I would not draw any speech bubbles, but I would know that the sounds of the Komi language and laughter are all around me because I am one of the happy people in the drawing. The second half of my picture would look different. It would have a place where the river once was, but is no longer because there are no more forests around it. There would be several empty houses and old people nearby, looking puzzled and lonely. There would also be a city in the background, full of cars, noise and billboards in Russian and English languages. Young Komi and Russian people will be small figurines in that city.

INTRODUCTION

The Indigenous peoples constitute less than six per cent of the world population (UNO, 2009, p. 8), and this number is unlikely to grow as we are all aware of the fact that vulnerable minorities have smaller chances of surviving the globalization effect. At the same time, many believe that preserving cultural diversity is an important part of the development of humankind and that "the protection of Indigenous cultures is vital to this enterprise" (UNO, 2009, p. 76). Anna is one of the two authors of this chapter and her family story (above) may be considered an illustrative snapshot of some of the changes that the Komi people have experienced in the last century. The history of the Indigenous Zyrian people (old name for Komi) goes much further back and is still continuing post 2000.

According to the *Report on the State of the World's Indigenous Peoples* (UNO, 2009), the formal definition of the concept of 'Indigenous peoples' may be "over- or under-inclusive" (p. 6) and may mean different things in different world contexts and environments. In this chapter, we explore the relationships of the Komi people with their culture and land as "continuity of connection to a place" and maintaining a separate identity (Robertson, 2008, p. 12), which is often considered to be of utmost importance when defining Indigenous communities. "Culture" in this study is understood as a dynamic concept open for interpretation and interaction of different forces, including political and economic. It is also linked to such factors as people's life-styles and language use. It is important to acknowledge that we agree with Stanley (this volume) who problematizes the use of somewhat limiting identity labels of 'Self' and 'Other' as the only narrative of someone's identity and argues for the many identity labels such as place of residence or gender to be included in the discussion. Hall's (2005) "levels" of identity (personal, relational and communal) also need to be considered when making statements about Indigenous identities in the 21st century. However, for the purposes of this study, it was important to allow the participants in this study to make a choice about their ascribed or appropriated identities as Indigenous or non-indigenous artists of Indigenous realities.

Although the multiple realities of Indigenous communities around the world and the variety of global contexts have been explored in literature (see Bekerman & Kopelowitz, 2013; Craven, Bodkin-Andrews, & Mooney, 2013; Robertson, 2008;

Rasmus, Rikkinen, & Juden-Tupakka, 2008), the studies looking into the Komi context are scarce (see Kuznetsoff, 2009; Makarova, 1999). This chapter provides an opportunity to learn more about the Komi and mainstream children's perspectives on the Komi origins and culture. The chapter starts with an outline of the geographical and historical background of the Komi people, followed by discussion of the current situation in the Komi Republic. The research design and details are discussed in the sections that follow. Then the main findings are described, and the chapter concludes with the discussion of the results in light of the tensions and future prospects of the Komi people's development as an Indigenous community.

KOMI PEOPLE: GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Republic of Komi is part of the Russian Federation and stretches over a huge territory in the North-East of its European part. In a large part of the republic, the proximity of the Arctic Ocean and Siberia create a variety of natural environments and dictate quite a harsh climate. The larger part of the Komi region consists of the *taiga* (boreal coniferous forest) and only in the far North is it replaced by the forest *tundra*. Archaeological excavations indicate that, despite the harshness of the climate, men appeared in this region 25–35 thousand years ago. However, according to experts, a sudden temperature fall that took place around 22 thousand years ago, forced the ancient population to leave the region (Makarova, 2004). Makarova (2004) says that only from the beginning of the Mesolithic age one can talk about population of this territory due to favourable natural conditions such as a mild climate, deep rivers full of fish, abundance of the flora and fauna. This nature-geographical adaptation of the Komi culture has become one of its distinguishing features (Makarova, 1999). We can identify several periods in the development of the Komi people and culture, which were shaped by the specifics of the historical development of the Komi region.

Archaeological findings (tools, hunting weapons, animal remains) demonstrate that hunting played a major role for the Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic population of the region. Hunting, fishing and gathering stayed with the Komi people for hundreds of years. At first, hunting satisfied the basic needs of the Komi people but gradually furs became valuable goods of trade exchange with the south-eastern tribes. In return, the Komi people received weapons, iron and tin (Makarova, 2004).

The next stage of the development of the Komi culture is closely linked with the Christianisation of the region and later the Russian enculturation (Konakov, 1994; Makarova, 2004). In 1379, St. Steven of Perm set off on his Christianisation mission and acted with rigor; he demolished the barbaric idols, burned sacred groves and heathen temples (Makarova, 2004). This evoked opposition from the local population. Although neither St. Steven of Perm nor his followers succeeded in their intentions to destroy the local beliefs fully, the region became part of Russia

by the end of the XV century, which in turn led to the Russian enculturation and creation of the Perm written language. The period of the XVI–XVIII centuries in the Komi history was characterised by the intensive penetration and settlement of the Russian population. Entering a different linguistic and cultural environment, Russians influenced various aspects of the Komi culture. Widely spread Russian borrowings were found in the daily lives of Komi, with the Russian blacksmiths and craftsmen tending to the local population needs and passing their craftsmanship in building, woodworking, and patterned weaving. Old Russian colonisation played a leading role in the development of the Perm Vychegda culture and later in the Komi-Zyrian culture.

The third period of the formation of the traditional Komi culture started in the XVIII century. By that time, the region was completely transformed from the clan-based formation to the early class-based society. As before, separated and removed from each other, Perm groups did not represent one whole nation. Many ethnic groups resided on the vast territory at that time. They had differences in some elements of their traditional culture: language, clothes, ornaments, customs and rituals. Ethnic variety within the Komi culture continued to exist for a long time, and its disappearance was connected with the breakdown of the traditional Komi lifestyle in the first third of the XIX century. This is representative of the fact that all Indigenous peoples worldwide develop under the influence of the "external forces of history and the social and economic contexts of the times" (Robertson, 2008, p. 12). Today, this breakdown process continues and sometimes seems unstoppable.

KOMI TODAY

There are numerous internal and external factors that need to be taken into consideration when contemporary Indigenous communities are discussed. The forces that influence the development of the Komi history these days are economic and political. In our case, these factors include but are not limited to the demographics, the status of the Komi people as Indigenous and the role of the government and other institutions in preservation and promoting the Komi culture and language. Understanding the complex phenomena within the Komi people's cultural development processes in the 20th and 21st centuries is crucial.

Identity self-determination and association with a particular language can tell a lot about Indigenous communities. The Census and other data provide valuable insights into the Komi people's self-identification changes from the beginning of the 20th century. Khilkhanova and Khilkhanov (2004) maintain that assimilation practices were common in the Soviet Union, where the dominance of the Russian majority was not questioned. By the end of the century, 20–30 per cent of the Komi people believed Russian was their native language (Modern Russian Idea and State, 1995, as cited in Khilkanova & Khilkhanov, 2004). The collapse of the Soviet Union did not necessarily lead to the renascence of the minority languages and cultures in

the former and current regions and republics and, unfortunately, the Komi Republic is not an exception. Moreover, current Russian government attitudes and legislation seem to aggravate the process of cultural assimilation.

Although Komi people are included in 'Indigenous people' classifications by United Nations Organization (UNO) and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the definition of "Indigenous people" in the Russian Federation does not apply to the Komi people as their total population number is higher than the 50,000, specified as a characteristic of the Indigenous people in the Russian legislation. This means that Komi people are not eligible for the limited funding and few strategic initiatives that do apply to several minority peoples residing on the territory of the Russian Federation. Fortunately, as the Komi language belongs to the Finno-Ugric language family, there are international organizations (e.g. Estonian non-profit Fenno-Ugria) and governments that support preservation of the Komi language and culture in Russia. However, their efforts are often met with resistance from the federal government, and many discussions around the Komi culture seem to be limited to the issue of preservation of the traditional culture.

Russian culture and language clearly dominate the reality of the Komi republic these days. According to the 2010 Census data (Federal State Statistical Service [FSSS], 2010), the population of Komi (previously known as Zyrians) constitutes 23.7 per cent of the total current population of the region, with more than half of the Komi living in rural areas (FSSS, 2010). The 2010 Census informed us that 99 per cent of the Komi population speak Russian and only 65 per cent of the Komi people residing in the Komi Republic speak the Komi language (FSSS, 2010). Russian is the language of instruction in schools and universities, the language of media and literature. Many people residing in the Republic of Komi, including the Komi people, seem to be unaware of the fact that the Komi language is described as "definitely endangered" by UNESCO (Moseley, 2010). The Komi language is increasingly used only as an everyday communication tool by older generations of the Komi people, predominantly in rural areas. Kuznetsov (2009) labels such reduction of the Komi language use a process of "devolution to the language of peasants" or "kitchen language" and warns about the damage to the status of the language and its people. The majority of the Indigenous population 'unlearnt' how to speak, sing and dance in the folk manner and play traditional instruments. The Komi people have abandoned national costume and cuisine. At the same time, a renewed process of comprehending the Komi cultural heritage is taking place.

This process of preserving the Komi culture is accompanied by program measures on protection and transfer of the spiritual wealth of the national culture to new generations. Not denying the importance of preserving heritage and old traditions, it is important to see culture not only as a predetermined and fixed set of norms, practices and artefacts. Cultures are perceived as being "inherently in flux" (Hall, 2005, p. 8), being constructed and shaped by people. Unfortunately, the concept of the Komi culture appears blurred these days.

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It is not clear whether the Komi people are aware of the characteristics of the process of cultural integration in which minority and majority cultures co-exist rather than disappear or become marginalized. For instance, if the Komi language does not expand its spheres of use to become the language of the Komi youth, the existence of the Komi language and culture is in jeopardy. Kuznetsov (2009) discusses current limited representation of the Komi language and culture on television, radio, the Internet and written press and argues that the preservation, development and popularisation of the Komi language in these spheres is necessary.

Preservation and popularization of the Indigenous cultures is not possible without the support of the government. Despite low estimated numbers of the Indigenous peoples, 370 million (UNO, 2009), such peoples speak more than half of the 7000 world languages and preserving their cultural heritage gains increasing attention on the world's government agendas. The Ministry of Culture of the Komi Republic identifies 'implementation of the holistic measures for preservation of the cultural heritage' (Belorussova, 2012, n.p.) as one of the main directions and supports initiatives and events related to the preservation of Finno-Ugric cultures and languages. It is hoped that the focus on 'cultural preservation' will be soon replaced by the focus on increasing the cultural and linguistic awareness of the local population and contributing to the improved status of the Komi people nowadays. The Minister of Culture of the Komi Republic also stresses the necessity of collaboration between research and other institutions functioning in the sphere on non-material cultural heritage (Belorussova, 2009) and this study aimed to contribute to the body of empirical research about the Komi people today.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND CONTEXT

The primary intent of the studies in this volume is to learn more about children's experiences with and perceptions of the Indigenous people in their region. Fifteen Komi and Russian children aged 10 to 12 years old took part in the study in one of the schools of Syktyvkar, the capital of the Republic of Komi.

The nature of knowledge in qualitative research is shaped by the nature of data collection methods. Alerby and Bergmark (2013) believe that art forms allow participants to reflect on their experiences of the studied phenomenon, in this case, the participants' perceptions of the Komi people. However, interpretation of the "mute" material evidence (Hodder, 2000) without comments from creators of the artefacts may be compromised. Therefore, a request to provide a commentary was part of the short interviews that followed the drawing session. A multimodal method of data analysis was considered to be the most appropriate as it allowed for a better understanding of children's perspectives and beliefs about the Komi people.

The school where the data collection was conducted is an innovative educational institution. The school's mission is to raise talented children in the hope that their

future profession, way of thinking and feelings will be connected to the world culture and the spiritual values of the peoples living in the Republic of Komi (The School website, 2014). The school was chosen as a research site for several reasons, the most important being that it functions as a boarding school for children from the rural areas of the Komi republic with the majority coming from a Komi background. Many Komi children from rural areas live in the boarding school in Syktyvkar while their parents stay in their villages.

To achieve its educational objectives, the school follows several curricula and state programs, including music, arts, drama and ethno-cultural education domains. The school focuses on the regional component, which is represented in such subjects as learning the Komi language as a mother tongue, Komi language as a foreign language, history and culture of the Komi people, and Komi literature. The school also has an ethno-cultural centre, where students engage in conferences, activities and expeditions with an objective to learn more about the Komi history and culture. It is claimed that this rich ethno-cultural environment allows young people not only to raise their awareness of the connection to their ancestors' deeds, but also become active successors of their people's culture (The School website, 2014, "Ethno-cultural Centre", para 2).

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

One of the authors (Inna Makarova) collected the data with the help of an assistant. A mixed group of eight Komi and seven Russian children was asked to draw their visions of the Komi people in one of their Arts classes. The children's watercolour drawings were accompanied by a conversation with one of the researchers. The interviews were video-recorded, with the camera focusing on the drawing and recording the child's voice talking about the drawing. These recordings were later used for image restoration because the originals had been destroyed in a burst hot water pipe incident. The drawings and recordings were then analysed by both researchers as the constructed realities, shaped by the researchers' positioning and the circumstances surrounding the participants at the time of data collection.

Participants' comments on their drawings aided our understanding of the image choices but it is worth noting that most children seemed to focus on the 'what' of their drawings, not the 'why' and often did not elaborate on their content choices. This could be explained by the fact that the children in this study were not familiar with the interviewer, or were conscious of the camera and other children present in the classroom. There is also a possibility that children in this study had never thought of the probing questions they were asked to respond to or had assumptions about their interlocutor's knowledge about the world around them and did not deem it necessary to provide details which they considered well-known facts. Hodder (2000) warns about commentators who often appear 'curiously inarticulate' talking about the artefacts they produced, which may become a challenge in qualitative research

where researchers look for the participants' views of phenomena in question. We as researchers were aware of this and the importance of looking for "what is not said" (Price, 1987, p. 314, as cited in Ryan & Bernard, 2000), which aided our data analysis.

The above challenges of the analysis of the drawings and comments were overcome by treating the two sources of data, unspoken and spoken responses, as a whole (Alerby & Bergmark, 2013). The data were compiled into a table where the drawings and comments were displayed next to each other. Several main themes were identified in the process of the data analysis. Visual and oral commentary data were analysed using the on-going "whole text" open coding, followed by the axial and selective coding processes used to refine emerging and define the core categories (Flick, 2002). The main themes and patterns of the visual data which emerged were *connection to nature, traditional Komi activities, home and outside world dichotomy, and traditions and mythology*. The oral comments not only added to the interpretation process but also allowed for emergence of additional discussion topics such as those of *identity, questioning the survival of traditional way of life in the modern world and cultural assimilation* (washed out borders between Komi and mainstream representations in the modern world). The participants' discourses were also analysed in relation to their self-identification as Komi or Russian, as well as use of tenses and personal pronouns when talking about Komi people.

The analysis of patterns in the drawings and interview data allowed for the compilation of the "patterned evidence", which, according to Hodder (2000, p. 710), had to be "evaluated in relation to the full range of available information" about contexts, similarities and differences, and appropriate theories. The main themes in the drawings and interviews were examined in search for common tendencies and unique features, which created patterns and connected categories (Alerby, 2000; Jonsson et al., 2012). The patterns and categories were then linked to the social, cultural and historical knowledge of the contexts relevant to the phenomenon of the Komi people living in the Republic of Komi; therefore, the resulting account can be described as "more like a painting than a photograph" (Charmaz, 2002, p. 522). The findings are discussed in the sections below.

<div align="center">VISUALISED THOUGHTS OF KOMI AS
INDIGENOUS PEOPLE</div>

Close connection of Komi people to the nature was an obvious theme in all the drawings (see Figure 1). Depictions of blue rivers, dark forests and animals in the drawings reflect participants' perceptions of the Komi people as closely connected to their natural environment. The Komi culture is based on the idea of the accord between man and nature, where man was the integral part of the natural world. This can be felt in all the drawings of the Komi children and several drawings by the Russian children. The landscapes appear untouched and peaceful.

Figure 1. Connection to nature: rivers and forests.

The participants depicted a range of artefacts in their drawings. Three Komi children drew the old Komi symbols and idols as well as hunting weapons. One Russian girl drew a 'forest man' (a mythical creature that lived in the forests) and his "old earth house, covered in overgrowth" (participant comment). Several children thought the traditional Komi ornaments on people's clothes were important and included those in their drawings. One of the possible reasons for children to include such themes and motifs in their drawings could be explained by their knowledge of the Komi mythology and fairy-tales because such content is part of their school curriculum.

Another theme in the drawings was children's visualised thoughts of everyday activities of the Komi people. The children in the study seemed to know that hunting, reindeer herding and mushroom/berry gathering played an important role in everyday life and survival of the Komi people in the past and included such elements if their drawings (see Figures 2 and 3).

Figure 2. Reindeer herders and hunters.

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Figure 3. Reindeer herders, hunters and Northern lights.

Figure 4. Cold river, warm fire.

Overall, in the drawings of the Komi children, Komi people seem to be quite relaxed as they go fishing, swimming and hunting. Two Indigenous participants drew children swimming in the river and fishermen in boats (see Figures 4 and 5). There is a drawing of a couple who are getting married on the river bank.

Figure 5. "I like fishing with my [Komi] father".

There appears to be a difference in the perceptions of the Komi Indigenous lifestyle. In the drawings of most Indigenous children in this study, forests and rivers are more prominent than dwellings. One Komi boy created a drawing which had two distinctive sections labelled in the Komi language 'hunting' and 'home', with

the ancient Komi idols in the centre of the drawing, as if guarding both spheres. In another painting, an old woman is sitting in front of the house (see Figure 6). Her hands are in her lap, and she is a symbol of patient waiting. Her husband is walking towards her with a bag on his back (the later comment by the participant clarifies that he is back after berry and mushroom gathering). Only two Komi girls drew small houses in the forest opening, whereas four of the seven drawings of the Russian children had Komi houses and villages in them and two drawings had figurines of Komi people working very hard: chopping wood and carrying water (see Figure 7).

Figure 6. Old woman waiting for her husband.

Figure 7. Houses and Komi people's actions – mainstream children's drawings.

The images allowed us to explore and interpret the visualized thoughts (Alerby, 2000), and identify the main themes which were discussed above. Alerby's (2000) hypothesis that the thinking processes of children can be influenced by "their own concrete reality" and by a "comprehensive global view" (p. 217) can be applied in this study and we attempted to capture these influences in our discussion of the findings. The participants' oral comments provided additional information and explanations that led to the development of the discussion topics. These include self-identification as Komi or non-Komi, the phenomenon of acculturation and survival of the traditional Komi life-style.

DISCUSSION: PAST AND PRESENT

The findings indicate that the children in this study see the Komi people as belonging to the past, judging by the clothes and activities in the drawings. Such perception reflects thoughts of the researchers of the Russian minority peoples (see Bazhenova, 2004, as cited in Kuznetsov, 2009; Kuznetsov, 2000) who are concerned as the Indigenous languages and cultures in Russia become commonly perceived as backward and belonging to olden days. Traditional actions such as berry gathering, hunting or reindeer herding depicted in some drawings are no longer so widely represented as means of earning a living but still are important ethnic identity markers, as discussed by Rasmus et al. (2008) in their study of the Sami people in Finland. Another study by Jonsson et al. (2012) shares similar results where such traditional occupations as reindeer herding are also associated with the Indigenous life-style and are also considered an insufficient means of livelihood in the modern world.

The participants' use of the past tenses when describing situations and people's actions in the drawings can also illustrate the perceptions of the Komi people as belonging to the past. It is worth noting that, although the majority of the Komi children in this study use present tenses when describing their paintings, their further comments and clarifications indicate that they, too, associate the created images with the past. For instance, one girl drew small timber houses and commented that was her choice because "there *were* many trees in the Komi region, the forest region". Her choice of the past tense can be attributed to the sad reality of de-forestation of the region due to intensive logging practices in the Komi Republic. In another interview, the survival of traditional livelihood activities in the modern world is questioned by a 12-year-old Komi boy. He drew hunters in the picture but commented that there were not so many hunters left because nowadays "everything could be bought in a store". This Komi boy's words about hunters in the 21st century Komi land reflect concerns expressed in the Report on the State of the world's Indigenous peoples (UNO, 2009) which states that "traditional modes of livelihood […] are under a great amount of stress" (p. 7) for several reasons, including modern commodification processes. Resource-intensive extractive industries have a detrimental effect on the sustainability of Indigenous communities worldwide (UNO, 2009) and today's economy of the Komi Republic relies on production and processing of fossils (oil, gas, coal) and timber (logging), thus making traditional life-styles and means of survival redundant.

The results show the differences between perceptions of the Komi and mainstream children within the theme of the everyday activities of the Komi people. Overall, interviews with the Komi children in this study were characterised by emotional attachment to and more detailed descriptions of the Komi people's actions in their drawings, which, in many cases, were part of their concrete realities. Komi children described cold water in the rivers and how one needs to start a fire to warm up after

swimming, how they like going fishing with their father and expressed regrets about never attending a real Komi wedding or seeing Northern lights. For the Komi children in the study, such phenomena and activities appear to represent the Komi people and their lifestyle. The Komi children in this study mostly portrayed untouched landscapes and did not talk about the village life when discussing their paintings. Interviews with most Komi participants made the researchers feel what it was like to be a Komi child. In contrast, several Russian children used the phrase "This is how I imagine their [Komi] life" during their interviews. For these mainstream children, the Komi people's life appears very hard and seems to require much "labouring" (participant comment). One Russian boy explained that Komi had to do it as it was their life.

Although most of the Komi children in this study do not depict houses and villages in their drawings, the dichotomy of 'home' and the man's 'outside' world is often visible in the paintings of the Komi children in this study. These drawings illustrate the traditional Komi life-style where men were seldom at home with their families. In winter and spring the men went hunting in remote areas, while in summer and autumn they went hunting nearby as their help with field crops was required. For the Komi people, home was a very important place where one could hide from the harshness of snow storms and biting frost. As argued elsewhere (Makarova, 2004), the Komi house was also meant to protect people from the unrest and lack of stability that accompanied progress. This boy's drawing is representative of the belief that "the closeness and warmth of the house have always been contrasted to the vast cold outer world where a man took the leading role as a hunter and explorer" (Makarova, 2004, p. 47).

One of the interesting developments in this study was the focus of the issue of identity and children's choices with regards to their belonging to a particular national group. Although it was not the original intent of this study to explore the depths of the cultural identification of the children, it became one of the themes for discussion. This opportunity to self-determine their identity at the start of the interviews was also an essential exercise of the Indigenous children's right to "determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions" (Art. 33, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, as cited in the UNO, 2009, p. 5). It can be said that children in this study identified with the Indigenous (Komi) or the mainstream (Russian) culture based on their parents' origins. Most of the children did not hesitate to say they were Russian or Komi. However, it was not always an easy choice. Eriksen (2004, as cited in Alerby et al., 2013, p. 282) describes identification as the "ongoing struggle between choice and compulsion in the interface between person and context". Identity choices are also dependent on "where we are, who we are with, and what we wish to accomplish" (Hall, 2005, p. 113). The fact that participants' answers to the interview question could be overheard by other children in the room may have influenced the identity choice of one of the girls in this study.

When asked about her background, one of the girls said she was Russian but continued to explain that her mother and father were Komi. When the researcher asked whether it was possible to be Russian if you had Komi parents, the girl smiled and reluctantly accepted the fact that she was Komi. She then continued to describe her favourite experiences of frequent fishing trips with her father and how she drew that in her picture as an illustration of the Komi life. It seems that this girl had never been asked that question and her self-identification as a Russian was a natural result of the acculturation processes that have taken place in the Komi republic.

Being educated in a boarding school also may have contributed to the child's confusion. For the Komi pupils in this school, multicultural communication and world civilizations are subjects of study along with the studies of the Komi culture and history. Not denying the validity of learning about the big world around us, there is a concern that "the homogenizing effect of global living can distance educated young people away from their Indigenous origins" (Robertson, 2008, p. 9). In this case, the girl seemed to display characteristics of so called "double identity" (Alerby et al., 2013). However, in contrast to the Alerby et al.'s (2013) findings, this girl did not seem to have reached the comfortable stage of balancing the mainstream and Indigenous cultures when making her identity choice.

Acculturation processes may have also contributed to the fact that children identified the Komi people as traditional land occupants of the past and did not have any modern life elements in their drawings. The interview data also indicate that the Russian children in the study were not able to identify any particular differences between the Russian and Komi people of today. One of the Russian girls mentioned 'traditional customs' as the way to differentiate between the Komi and Russian residents of the Komi republic but hurried to say that it is not that easy these days to see these differences. Several children made similar comments. Such comments and related drawing elements "provide insights into the young artists' own cultures and times, including dominant social imaginaries and narratives about cultural Others, and normative notions of the Self as defined by the boundaries of cultural Otherness" (Stanley, this volume, p. 8). Children's visions in this study can be described as "a mirror of a society or a culture's internal well-being" (Holden & Hicks, 2007, as cited in Jonsson et al., 2012, p. 104) and it can be argued that there is a need to raise public awareness about the issue of national minorities in the Russian Federation and their modern day existence.

Depictions of Komi as labourers or hunters from hundreds of years ago are products of cultures which surround young artists. These particular and at the same time universal cultural descriptions were produced by children who have been "acculturated by the social imaginaries around" them (Stanley, this volume, p. 17). The analysis of the data in this study led us to link the concepts of Indigenous cultural awareness, acculturation practices and cultural sustainability.

Although separation and marginalization, two of the four acculturation strategies (integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization) described by Berry (1990, as

cited in Khilkhanova & Khilkhanov, 2004), do not seem to represent the situation in the whole of the Komi Republic, the assimilation processes seem to be unavoidable. Conventional worldviews and customs are destroyed due to the expansion of the information power, new technological developments, destruction of the traditional way of life, weakening of social relationships (family, relative, neighbour and communal) and migration from villages to cities, from one territory to another. This happens in many Indigenous contexts all over the world. However, we hope that Komi people will not follow the path of assimilation, as in the past, but move towards a strategy of integration where the unique features of their Indigenous culture are maintained and developed in harmony with the mainstream cultural environment.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study extend our understanding of the life of the Komi people in the North of Russia and Indigenous children in today's world. Based on the discussion above, we argue that the people residing in the Republic of Komi need to be aware of the importance of the cultural sustainability agenda for the Komi people, which would include government support, active campaigns raising everyone's awareness of the current situation, and recognition of their "Indigenous" status by promoting the use of the Komi language and culture in education, media and the Internet.

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GUNNAR JONSSON AND IDA-MARIA SVONNI

6. SÁMI CHILDREN'S IMAGES OF IDENTITY

A Matter of Relations

INTRODUCTION

Culture is created, transformed and developed in interaction between people. Sometimes cultures melt together, sometimes cultures retain their distinctiveness. For thousands of years, people in the northern areas that today are known as Sweden, Norway, Finland and Russia, have been living side by side. The Sámi people were living in the area long before the nation-states were established and therefore they meet the criteria for being Indigenous. Despite the fact that the Sámi for thousands of years have come into contact with and been influenced by other peoples, they have maintained their culture. Indigenous peoples are held together by their cultural identity which is shaped by the history and by the social and physical environment in which they have been/are living. This does not mean that cultural identity is something static. In the same way as culture is transforming in interaction among people, the creation of cultural identity is a constantly ongoing and evolving process in human interactions.

The overall aim of the research presented in this chapter is to explore cultural identity by focusing on Sámi children´s images of being a *Sámi* or being a *mainstream child*. We illuminate and discuss this by analysing children's drawings and comments on what it means to be a Sámi and what it means to be a mainstream citizen. The key research questions explored in the paper are (i) How do Sámi children understand the meaning of being a Sámi and the meaning of being a mainstream citizen? (ii) What differences and/or similarities can be distinguished concerning what it means to be a Sami and what it means to be mainstream?

SÁMI PEOPLE – THE NORTHERNMOST INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF EUROPE

The Sámi population is numerically small, only approximately 70,000–80,000 people, but because the formal census in these countries does not ask for ethnic origin it is difficult to say exactly how many people identify as Sámi. The Sámi population in Sweden is approximately 17.000–20.000, in Norway, approximately 40.000–50.000, in Finland approximately 6000–10.000 and in Russia approximately 2000 (Jordbruksdepartementet, 2009). Sápmi, or 'Sámi land', is the region in which

the Sámi people live. It is the land of the Sámi people even though it is not recognized as such by the nation-states. According to the UN's International Labor Organization ILO, they are one of the Indigenous peoples of Europe and the only Indigenous people of Scandinavia. Since 1977, even the Swedish government acknowledges the Sami as an Indigenous people. Nevertheless, they have not given the rights to Sami, which according to international agreements, should be given to Indigenous people and the Swedish government has not yet ratified the convention on Rights of Indigenous people (ILO, 169) They argue that the reason for this is that the issue of land rights, hunting and fishing opportunities need to be further investigated (Utredningen om ILO:s convention, nr 169, 1999).

Whether Sami can or should be seen as a culturally homogeneous group is contentious. In newspapers, television media and sometimes in tourist brochures a standard picture appears in which it is communicated that the Sami live in the mountains, are dressed in typical Sami clothing and are engaged in reindeer herding. This simplified view has to be clarified. Only a minority, 10–15% of the Sami, are reindeer herders (Jordbruksdepartementet, 2009) and only a few of them live near the mountains. Historically, the Sami often made their living from reindeer herding, fishing or hunting in Sápmi, but nowadays they have many different professions and are spread over large parts of the world. Nor does everyone speak Sámi language or understand each other.

The Sámi language is divided into three main dialects – South Sámi, Central Sámi and East Sámi. Within these dialects there are several sub-dialects. North Sámi and Lule Sámi are the two largest dialects within the Central Sámi language. Because the differences between the dialects are so marked it is possible to characterise them as three different languages (Sámi Information Centre, 2008). Many Sámi people today, perhaps as many as 85% of the Sámi population can not speak the Sámi language (Regeringskansliet, 2004). In the 1960s and 70s, many Sámi parents taught their children Swedish instead of their native language, because they thought it was best for the children.

<center>SHAPING CULTURAL IDENTITY</center>

Cultural identity is created through the establishment of boundaries in relation to other groups of people. This process is dependent on context; where, how, when and with whom we are (Balto, 2005; Jenkins, 2004). Although there are employment, linguistic and geographical differences, it is possible to ascribe Sami people their own cultural identity which is separate from, for example, Swedish or Scandinavian cultural identity.

There are many contexts in which the Sami cultural identity is shaped. Those contexts in which the processes of identity shaping occur can, for example, be at home in the family life or in the daily life for those who live and work together with other Sami, e.g. among those who work with reindeer herding. Cultural identity

can also be shaped at special organized gatherings such as music festivals, sports championships or markets like the winter market in Jokkmokk. Two institutionalized contexts are important to consider. One is the Sami parliament which is both a publically-elected parliament and a State agency. The purpose of the Sami Parliament is mainly to improve the Swedish Samis' opportunities to keep their culture alive. They also act as an advisory organization, participate in community planning and are responsible for payment of predator compensation to Sami villages (an economic compensation that the Swedish state gives to the Sami when reindeers are taken by predators). Since their tasks are regulated by the Swedish act, the parliament has no real power and will instead administer and enforce the decisions of the Swedish Parliament and Government.

Another important institution is the Sami school which is actively working to strengthen the Sami culture in children's education. Education for Sami children has earlier been disadvantaged in Sweden, just as in the rest of Scandinavia (Aikio-Puoskari, 2006; Jannok Nutti, 2011; Svonni, 2007). According to Hyltenstam, Stroud and Svonni (1999) up until the middle of the 20th century, education for Sámi children was carried out according to the interests of the majority society. Education was also used as an instrument of assimilation and segregation. The first Sami schools started in 1913 and were "hut schools" in which the children got a shorter and poorer education than the mainstream children. During the 1940s the huts were replaced by more modern boarding schools, and the quality and length of the schooling gradually increased. The government decided, in 1980, to establish a Sámi School Board, with a majority of Sámi as board members (members were appointed by the Sami Parliament). It is the Sámi School Board which is responsible for Sámi education today. In addition to following the Swedish curriculum, the school has its own goals that relate to maintaining their culture e.g: that "all educated in the Sami school shall master the Sami language, Sami norms and the Sami cultural heritage" (Skolverket, 2011). The national goals of education are made real in the daily work at the Sámi schools, the Sámi pre-schools and within the integrated Sámi teaching given at the municipal schools. Parents choose if they want their children to be educated at a Sami school or at a regular school. Today there are Sámi Schools for pre-school children up to grade 6, in six places in the northern part of Sweden – Karesuando, Lannavaara, Kiruna, Gällivare, Jokkmokk and Tärnaby. At the age of 13–14 the children go to the ordinary compulsory school with the possibility of studying certain subjects like social science, history, art, and the Sámi language with other Sámi students. The upper secondary school in Jokkmokk for example, offers certain programmes with a Sámi perspective.

WHO IS SAMI?

The right to identify as Sami is both a legal and personal issue. Usually, this identification is based on a mixture of language criteria, cultural affiliation, and

not least, self-identification. From the legal point of view, there is not 'one for all' accepted method for this identification in Sweden. The Sami Parliament Act (SFS 1992:1433), which determines who is eligible to vote for the Sami Parliament states, that one is Sámi if one believes themselves to be Sami and has or has had Sami language at home, or has parents or grandparents who had the Sami language in the home.

From the personal point of view, the shaping of identity is not always easy. Åhren (2008) who studied identity formation among young Sami found that it can be a troublesome journey. It can be described as search between two different cultural identities, one that belongs to the individualistic western society and one that belongs to a more collectivistic Sami society. In a modern fragmented and individualized society, identity creation is a project for the individual and different norms between those different cultures may make it tricky for the individual. Åhren (2008) describes this as being *in between*, when one can alter between those cultures depending on time and context and have the feeling of fully belonging to one single culture. Similiar results have been found by Jonsson, Sarri, and Alerby (2012) when they studied Sámi children's visions of the future. The children were aged 9–12 years and were students at the Sámi school in Jokkmokk. The children were asked to make drawings on how they imagined the future in 30 years. The drawings were combined with subsequent verbal comments. The comprehensive understanding that emerged, was that children described different cultural horizons in form of (i) a pure Sámi culture horizon, (ii) a mixed horizon with a mixture of Sámi culture and Western modernity and (iii) a horizon that just held Western modernity. When the children described their visions of the future they were moving within and between the different horizons of the Sámi culture and that of western modernity or as Jonsson, Sarri and Alerby puts it "the children were moving as if on a winding path within and between these two horizons" (p. 104).

The data presented in this chapter was collected at the Sámi School in the Kiruna municipality in the northern part of Sweden. Kiruna is a mining city with 23,000 inhabitants. The mine is the motor of Kiruna's economy. Most people in Kiruna receive their income from the mine or from activities related to the mine. It is a young city which celebrated its 100th anniversary in 2000. When the mine started around 1800, people from all over Sweden came to Kiruna for work. Most citizens are therefore not of Sámi origin. Even if the Sámi are a minority in Kiruna, they set their mark on the city, because among other things, the Sami Parliament is located there.

METHODOLOGY – DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

As already mentioned, the empirical materials for this study were collected in a class at the Sámi School in Kiruna. It was in a mixed age group that consisted of

15 children, aged between 9–12 years. During the data collection, which took part during regular school activities, the children had the opportunity to consider and reflect on what it means to be a Sámi and what it means to be a mainstream citizen of Kiruna. Given that it is likely that Sámi children can identify themselves as part of the Sámi culture as well as part of the mainstream culture, the questions were not asked or explained in such a way that the children should understand the issue as "us or them".

Data were collected with the aid of creative activity in the form of production of drawings, combined with written and oral reflections. To make their drawings, the students had to use paper and pencils or crayons. Firstly, they were asked to draw what it means to be a Sámi and thereafter, what it means to be a citizen of Kiruna. The children were told that the important issue was to make their reflections explicit, not how skilful they were at making drawings. They were divided into smaller groups and spread out over two classrooms in an attempt to avoid influencing each other when making the drawings. The children also had the opportunity to talk about their drawings with the researchers. This was facilitated in a very informal manner; the researchers walked around in the classroom and talked to the children about the drawing they were creating. These conversations were written on a notepad.

The study followed the ethical rules concerning research in Sweden, which among other things means that the children, as well as their parents, were informed of the study, participation is voluntary and participants are free to withdraw from the study without any further explanation or penalty.

ANALYSIS

The data have been analyzed in accordance with the life-worlds philosophy of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1996). The analysis aimed to elucidate the meaning children expresses of what it means to be a Sámi and what it means to be a mainstream Kiruna citizen. During the process, the drawings, the oral comments and the written texts were seen as a whole. According to the research procedure, the data were analysed repeatedly and thoroughly. In an attempt to find similarities and differences each unit of data (drawings, oral comments, texts) was viewed in the light of other units of data. The similarities and differences that were noticed were then combined in different themes, taking the central and common characteristics of the patterns as the point of departure. It is also important to stress, that the analysis has not been based on some predetermined criteria or rules. Instead, the overriding principle of the analysis has been to bring our own prior understanding in parentheses and allow the phenomenon to appear precisely as it is. It is also worth remarking that constitution of cultural identity, like all other forms of meaning making, is linked to past experiences and contexts; where?, how? and when?, and with whom we find ourselves (Jenkins, 2004).

FINDINGS – SÁMI CHILDREN´S CONSTITUTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

In the analysis, three different themes emerged; *Living spaces, activity,* and *human expressions.* These themes should not be regarded as independent and autonomous categories, which are separated from each other. Instead, there are connections and links within and between the different themes. In these connections we emphasize that the themes were found at the collective level and that not every single theme is expressed at the individual level for each child. First, we will briefly explain each theme.

Living Spaces

In this theme, the arena for where life takes place is described. When children draw what it means to be a Sami, the "wild" nature is the background and the setting where they live, act and play. When they depict what it means to be a mainstream child, the "man-made" city is the background. Straight lines make up tall buildings, windows, and parking lanes. The ground is covered by asphalt or cultivated grass.

Activities

What they are doing or the activities they are involved in are described in this theme. Collecting reindeer, fishing and driving snow scooters are common activities within the drawings of what it means to be a Sami. When it comes to what it means to be a mainstream Kiruna citizen travelling, shopping, playing football and "hanging around" are examples of common activities. Driving a snow scooter is an activity that is apparent in both the Sami context and in the mainstream context.

Human Expressions

This theme embraces different expressions of human behaviour and different frames of minds. People's expressions are for example described as friendly, angry, snobby, cool, stressed, et cetera. These expressions are in some drawings of what it means to be a mainstream child made apparent with written words in the drawing. Especially in the drawings of mainstream life, single explanatory words are sometimes added. Those words can be ARG (angry), Tut-Tut! (they are in a hurry and drivers of cars signals angrily to each other).

   Now we will exemplify and show how the themes are expressed in the children's drawings. Instead of primarily focusing on each theme (which is the usual way of presenting this kind of research), we will show some drawings from individual children, and explain how the themes have emerged. By doing so, we will also show

similarities and differences between the aspects that make up the various themes. Each child's two drawings are presented together, the first represents what it means to be a Sami and the other represents what it means to be a mainstream citizen. For readability and confidentiality, we have given the children fictitious names.

Anna's Expressions of Being a Sámi versus Being a Mainstream Citizen

When Anna express what it means of being a Sami (see Figure 1) she writes down mountains, lakes, reindeer, the northern light, snow scooters, helicopters, dogs and fish, which we interpreted as *the living spaces*. She writes that she "is born to be a Sami". She enjoys when they are many people who are working together. Especially the calf marking (the calves get marked in their ears as a form of identification) in summer is something to long for: "I think of how long it is to the calf marking, that's what I like best, when kids are pulling calves and large stags are running fast." She herself is driving a snow scooter in the centre of the drawing, because she is on her way to the reindeer paddock. All these expressions of doing something we have interpreted as *activity*. Even in the drawing that depicts what it means to be a mainstream citizen (Figure 2), she is the snow scooter driver in the centre of the drawing. But the reason for the activity differs, now it is because she wants "to impress the guys". She orally explains that mainstream boys get impressed when she is doing tricks with the snow scooter. "They think it's really cool". She describes the mainstream Kiruna children as "snobbish and ridiculous". She also writes that mainstream children, think Sami is weird and "are wearing ugly clothes and shoes" Her expressions of mainstream behavior belong to the theme *human expressions*. However, she also reflects that even Sami guys can be silly and "really, it doesn't matter who you are".

Figure 1. In Anna's drawing of being a Sámi the living space is the wild nature. There are a lot of activities, like driving snow scooter, marking calves, etc.

Figure 2. In Anna's drawing of being a mainstream, the living space is the man made city. The main activity is even in this drawing, to drive snow scooter because she wants to impress the guys.

Ola's Expressions of Being a Sámi Versus Being a Mainstream

In Ola's drawing of what it means to be a Sámi (see Figure 3), he has depicted a natural landscape in which the reindeer paddock is in the center. People around the paddock are working on collecting reindeer. Ola writes: "When I think of the Sami, then I see a lot of mountains, a reindeer corral, a guy who collects reindeer." He reflects that this is not representative for his own Sami background. "I myself am a forest Sami. I live out in the forest and live off the wild such as hunting, fishing, berry and reindeer." Regarding to what it means to be a mainstream citizen (Figure 4), Ola explains that his mother is a singer and sometimes he follows her when she visits places around the world. He writes that mainstream people often are in a hurry, which he doesn't like: "I think it's exciting to go to famous big cities like Stockholm, New York or Paris, but I always feel that everyone is in such a hurry – all the time. I do not like that."

Figure 3. Ola's drawing of the Sámi life. The living space is a natural landscape. The main activity is collecting reindeer.

Figure 4. In Ola's drawing of being a mainstream is the living space characterized by concrete and asphalt. There are also a lot of bad human expressions like being angry and being stressed.

Nils's Expressions of Being a Sámi Versus Being a Mainstream Citizen

Nils' drawing on Sami life (see Figure 5), shows the activity when they in wintertime are collecting reindeers in a corral. Some reindeer have escaped and they are trying to catch them by using helicopter and snow scooters. He describes in detail how they are working together and also what the people inside the cottage and huts are engaged in. The living space is a landscape with a lot of huts and cottages. He reflects that he draws huts even though they do not live in such (nowadays Sami stays in cottages when they are working with the reindeers, in the past they were staying in huts). He explains "it feels more Sami if I draw some huts" In the drawing of what it means to be mainstream (Figure 6), he has depicted a totally manmade landscape with a lot of concrete and asphalt. He gives only superficial descriptions of what he has drawn: "Over there is the shopping center, there are high-rise apartments, a soccer field and a school. The kids are on break."

Figure 5. In Nils drawing of the Sámi life the living space is a landscape with huts and cottages. People are engaged in the activity of collecting reindeer.

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Figure 6. The living space in Nils's drawing of the mainstream life are a manmade landscape with a lot of parking lanes and shopping centres.

Ida's Expressions of Being a Sámi Versus Being a Mainstream Citizen

Regarding what it means to be a Sami, Ida draws when she and her grandpa were fishing arctic char (a type of fish) with nets in the lake (see Figure 7). She likes to fish with her Sami friends and is often helping grandpa in the rowboat out on the lake. She says that she likes to do that and that they usually get a lot of fish. In the drawing on what it means to be mainstream (see Figure 8), she has drawn her own room in her family's house in Kiruna. When she is doing the picture she points out where the bed is, where the cupboard is and where the door to the kitchen is.

Figure 7. Ida's drawing of beeing a Sámi. She and her grandpa are engaged in the activity of fishing for arctic char.

Figure 8. The living space in Ida's room in Kiruna.

CONCLUSION AND FINAL DISCUSSION

When we view all children's drawings together in an attempt to find patterns in how the themes are expressed, we can conclude that the constitution of cultural identity to a large degree is about making relationships: *Relations to places* and relations to other people - *Social relations.*

Relations embedded in the places they relate each culture to, are different. The Sami living places are basically and to a small extent influenced by humans. They consist of trees, hills, snow drifts, fish, dogs and also people. The relationship with these sites is sometimes described explicitly as pleasurable and restful – something you crave for. Sometimes the relationship is expressed implicitly and between the lines as a harmonious relationship "where I feel at home". The places associated with mainstream life are mainly hard man-made places. Straight lines, roads and parking lanes, high cubic buildings, huge shopping centres and many cars. The relationship with these places appears (implicitly or explicitly) as stressful, noisy and intense – "It's so stressful in town and everyone is so busy".

The social relations that characterize what it means to be a Sami and mainstream differ. Social relations in the Sami society finds expression as a community in a collective work that occurs in nature. It can be to lay out fishing nets together with the family or to help in the calf marking or other work with reindeer. The social relationship in the common work is often at the forefront of the stories although the activities described, such as snowmobiling, are fulfilling a useful function for the collective, for example, to run the scooter to raise reindeer. In mainstream society there are not many social relations described. Descriptions of what single individuals are doing is common. For example: "I shop for clothes", "I read a book" or; "He honks in the car because he is so busy." To the extent that social relations

are described for the mainstream society, they are often characterized by negative attributes, such as anger, stress and irritability.

The results presented in this chapter must, like any other research results, be understood in context. Creation of cultural identity is just like any other identity creation process a twofold phenomenon; individuals create their own identity in the light of others. But also others' perception of or expectations of who you are help to create the identity (Giddens, 1991). Similiarly, it is with the creation of cultures, they are developed and maintained in light of other cultures. When this data was collected, the kids were in a Sami school which in its curriculum has inscribed the aim to protect the Sami culture and their parents have decided that they are going to study there. Therefore, we can rightly assume that the children at the time of data collection, primarily saw themselves as Sami and the mainstream child as "the other". The result could have been different if the situation and context had been different. However, this does not counteract that it is important, as far as possible, to try to understand how cultural identity is created and how it can be expressed. With greater understanding of how boundaries against other groups and cultures are constituted and expressed, it will be easier in a future globalized society to include and maintain all different cultures.

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NICOLA F. JOHNSON

7. THE PAST IS IN THE PRESENT

Images of New Zealand Māori Identity

INTRODUCTION

I am not a Māori scholar researching about Māori. I am a *pakeha* (white/European) researcher who wants to share with an international audience the insights and strengths of the Māori of whom I am proud to know. I am an outsider looking in to *Māoritanga* (way of life) and I embrace the insights and strengths of Māori ways of knowing.

> *No Tauranga ahau* (I am from Tauranga). My *waka* is the SS Rotomahane[1]. My *maunga* is Mt Maunganui (*Mauao*). My *awa* is the Kaituna River. My *iwi* is *pakeha*. My *marae* is Maketu. My *tane* (man) is David (*Rawiri*). My *tamahine* (daughter) is Elle. *Ko Nikora ahau* (My name is Nicola).

The brief *mihi* (introduction) presented above is an indication of my history, background and ties to people, place and landmarks of significance. It is non-traditional as it combines both *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) and English. This simple version is the beginning of a *whakapapa* (genealogy, ancestral ties), which according to the New Zealand Māori, if one knows their *whakapapa,* s/he knows his/her identity. While I do not identify as Māori, I do have a meaningful affinity with the Māori *tikanga* (culture). My primary education alone helped shape the strong affinity I have to Māori language and culture and it is one reason why I wrote this chapter, and why I studied *te reo Māori* at university. However, as I have not lived in New Zealand since 2005, this chapter should be viewed with that consideration in mind. The chapter presents the insights from two groups of children about their sense of identity and their sense of things Māori, but the information provided which accompanies these pictures is merely a reference point based on my experience and knowledge. I certainly am not claiming to be an authority in the area. I hope that my contribution affirms the powerful and strong nature of things Māori, that is, the Māori worldview, Māori ways, Māori language, Māori ideology, Māori knowledge, Māori culture and Māori practices (after Wiri, 2001, cited in Pihama, 2010).

The strength of the Māori voice is evidenced in the development of an Indigenous research framework informed by the work of Russell Bishop (1998; 2012) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) amongst others. *Kaupapa Māori* theory refers to the ideas, preferences, practices and aspirations of Māori (Berryman, SooHoo, & Nevin, 2013),

which provides a framework for empowering and evaluating research surrounding by Māori for Māori about Māori (Berryman et al., 2013; Jones, 2012). One way of explaining the focus of Kaupapa Māori is provided below:

> Kaupapa Māori therefore keeps the focus on Māori while at the same time repositioning Māori away from positions of deficit theorizing, about their status within colonization, to positions of agency, where Māori can take responsibility for transforming their own condition. (Berryman et al., 2013, p. 10)

This strong body of work surrounding Indigeneity, identity and Kaupapa Māori research (e.g., Mahuika, 2008; Jones et al., 2010; Walker et al., 2006) should be viewed as a strength of the *tangata whenua* of *Aotearoa* from which we can all learn. Pihama (2010) acknowledged that kaupapa Māori has transformed the ways knowledge and research about knowledge has been shaped within New Zealand. This chapter does not try to replicate that work, but what it does do is provide the cultural context of the country to people with little knowledge about New Zealand and its Indigenous people.

To provide some further contextual information, New Zealand children are compulsory taught the Māori language and culture in their schooling years. Teachers in primary and intermediate (middle) schools are expected to use *te reo Māori* (Māori language) consistently and teach Māori vocabulary to all of their students. Greetings such as *Morena* (the transliteration of 'Good morning'), and *Ka kite ano* (see you again) are examples of frequently used phrases that children within pre-school settings and primary settings are consistently exposed to. Young learners are often taught Māori language through the use of *waiata* (songs). Many Māori songs are consistently sung at school assemblies and for classroom 'sing alongs'. Indeed, much of a repertoire of group singing in any New Zealand school would consist of Māori *waiata*.

Close affinities with the power of the national New Zealand rugby union team – the All Blacks – and their use of the *haka* (Māori war dance) means many New Zealanders strongly affirm/support these particular links with Māori culture. Indeed, some have suggested that following the All Blacks rugby team[2] is a New Zealand religion. However, there are many reasons why in general, the people living within New Zealand respect the Māori culture and language[3]. Many New Zealanders affirm Indigenous ways of knowing and the rich heritage that Māori contributes to New Zealand history and ways of living. It is therefore appropriate to provide some contextual information surrounding the historical development of this cultural appreciation.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND MĀORI

The Māori people are the Indigenous, first people of the islands of New Zealand[4]. The Māori name for New Zealand is *Aotearoa* which means 'Land of the Long White

Cloud', but King (2003) highlights there was not agreement about this terminology until the 1900s. Māori connection with land is not only a basis of identity but a link with their ancestors who were buried there.

In the 1700s, white settlers arrived from Great Britain to colonize the country. Since this time, the Māori have had a strong voice and have fought for their land. They are known as a warrior people, notorious for their cohesiveness within their tribes, and their militant nature. *Once Were Warriors* (1994, based on a novel written by Duff, 1990, and later produced as a film), set in New Zealand, refers to the historical constructs of what it meant to be *tangata whenua* (people of the land, or people from a certain geographical area), but how contemporary forces have shaped or not shaped postmodern understandings of Māori identity. The phrase referring to Māori 'once' being warriors means that some traditions are not or should not be continued, specifically the physical dominance over others.

Traditions within Māori culture including the meeting of groups to *korero* (talk) and to eat *kai* (food). Ceremonies surrounding communication and how food is prepared are some of the cultural traditions that are shared with visitors to a *marae* (community meeting place for a tribe or sub-tribe).

In terms of my personal experience, I grew up in a time when the Māori voice was becoming strong and that issues about *tangata whenua* were being taken seriously in terms of land rights, and voices were heard within New Zealand (federal) Parliament amongst various issues. While generations previous to my own are sometimes less enthusiastic about the role of Māori within mainstream New Zealand society, my peers and many people within education sectors strongly embrace Māori traditions, which include principles of respect, sharing, and community. As a child, I remember hearing Māori being spoken in the street of the small town in which I lived in the 1980s. *Te reo Māori* and things Māori have notably featured in my life, as they were accepted and positive aspects when I lived in New Zealand.

Part of identity is constituted by the *mihi* which identifies connections with particular landmarks of the area of origin. A *mihi* points to origin of family but also of place. The mountain or hill that a person identifies with (*maunga*) and the water way that comprises the local area is presented (*awa*) along with the *marae*, the *iwi* (tribe), the *hapu* (sub-tribe) and parents as well as previous generations.

The *waka* is presented in the *mihi* because it represents the legendary travel from Hawaiki (group of Polynesian islands in the South Pacific, deemed a mythical homeland by some) to New Zealand on one of the canoes[5]. Māori people are encouraged to and typically do identify not only which tribe, sub-tribe, *marae*, and landmarks they connect with (and whom they are part of), but which one of the seven or so canoes their ancestors arrived on when they first voyaged to New Zealand in the 13th century (see King, 2003).

While there are many Māori who have strong connections and affiliations to their *marae*, there are also many who have little to do with their Indigenous culture. Additionally, there are many *Pakeha* (Caucasian people) who out of respect for the Māori have learned the language and are informed about Māori traditions, legends,

cultures and acceptable protocols. While English is the first and main language spoken and written in New Zealand, Māori is also listed as an official language. The strength of *te reo* is marked by bilingual signage which usually provides English and Māori translations of nouns beside each other. A library at a school will have a sign stating 'Library' and then underneath in Māori *te puna o te mātauranga*. This trend can be seen in almost every public place within New Zealand pointing to the strength of Māori *tikanga* (culture) and the respect of the language and its people.

In contrast to the many groups of Australian Aborigines who do not speak or share the same language, part of the Māori strength and cohesiveness (in my opinion, some would argue that it is not) is because of similarities between tribes throughout the north and south islands of New Zealand. While some tribes (*iwi*) have their own dialect, *te reo* is remarkably consistent throughout the country. This means that Māori dialogue can occur between a tribe from Northland with the *iwi* that originates from the South Island. Not only has the usage of Māori been increased through the availability of free resources on the Internet, but the New Zealand government has funded programs to arguably sustain the language and promote unity[6].

Unity is also exemplified and promoted in the performance of the New Zealand national anthem, entitled 'God defend New Zealand'. The anthem is well-known as it is shared at significant sporting events with the first verse being sung in *te reo Māori* and the second verse being sung in English, even though the original song was penned in English only (and comprises five verses). This repetition and reinforcement means that there would be few New Zealanders that would not know the Māori words (and the correct pronunciation) to the first verse[7]. Admittedly, the second verse (first English verse) is often sung more loudly and confidently!

Another example that promotes usage of *te reo* is transliteration. I have often found the use of transliteration to be very useful myself and it points to a demonstration of respect of the Māori culture and language. If there are not Māori words assigned to English nouns, then transliterations can occur. For instance, Nicola can be transliterated to Māori by incorporating the Māori letters of the alphabet. Because there is no 'c' or 'l' in the Māori alphabet, Nicola becomes *Nikora*. Matthew becomes *Matiu*. Other common examples include pen to *pene* and money to *moni*. While the months of the calendar do have Māori names, often transliterations are used. January is *Hanuere* and May is *Mae* but each of the months also has a Māori name. May is *Haratua*. While there are some Māori words that are kept and are not translated into English, in general the accommodation of English is very helpful and often understanding can be easily shared between groups as the barrier can be negotiated.

THE PLACE OF THE MARAE

A strong feature of my lived experience and one that also features in the drawings from the New Zealand participants featured in this chapter is the *marae*. The *marae* is important in the lives of Māori as it is a communal place used for cultural, social and

ceremonial purposes. A *marae* is where an *iwi* (tribe) has their *wharenui* (meeting house), their *wharekai* (eating house), and each *marae* is formed by a boundary fence and welcoming gates (*waharoa*). No one is permitted to venture onto the *marae* unless they have been invited and been a part of the welcoming ceremony (*powhiri*) by the *tangata whenua* (people of the land). There are very particular processes and procedures that must occur in sequence in order for visitors (*manuhiri*) to be not only accepted but welcomed onto a Romanise marae[8].

As in the case of the children in this chapter, many primary school children have an annual visit to the local marae in term 1 of the school year. In New Zealand, the school year occurs from the last week in January to mid December. Typically, there are four school terms each year with a two week break between terms. The summer holiday occurs for about six weeks from December to the end of January.

As a Caucasian child at a New Zealand primary school, our local marae was at Maketu, a very small seaside town on the east coast of the North Island. My classmates and I would be greeted as manuhiri (visitors) after arriving by car pool. We went through the powhiri, which we had been prepared for, including the reasons for where boys, girls, senior men and senior women were positioned. We learned the purposes of each ritual and rationale for each protocol, and we learned where we could sleep in the *wharenui* (meeting house), that is, girls on one side and boys on the other, and not to sit on our pillows because they are a place for one's head which is *tapu* (sacred). I remember learning about *harakeke* (flax), how and when to pick it, how to weave it and the use of *kete* (baskets). After each speech was given at the marae by assigned representatives, the group being represented by the individual is required to sing a *waiata* (song). We learned a variety of song genres for these purposes (for example, hymns, ballads, rhythm chants, and narratives).

These memories are very distinct for me and are also very positive. I enjoyed the kai and the enjoyed the respect for place and appropriateness of behaviours, and I enjoyed the community spirit evidenced through song and clear demarcation of roles. I enjoyed the *kapa haka* (song and dance) events where we learned actions to accompany songs and could perform these at public events for an array of purposes. The Christian background I had was enmeshed with the experience of things Māori as many Māori songs I learned referred to God, spirit, place and family. Many Christians I knew were Māori and vice versa. Māori emphasized connections to other things, other people and other times, and acknowledged the importance and promoted the significance of these connections.

A very well-known Māori proverb (*whakatauki*) encapsulates the way I try to live and treat other people. I learned this whakatauki many years ago.

He aha te mea nui o te ao?

He tangata! He tangata! He tangata!

What is the most important thing in the world? It is people! It is people! It is people!

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This saying presents a value system evident in Māori culture and to me evident in a Christian precept, that is, of relationships being the most important aspect in one's life. This is influenced by such Bible verses as the following: Love one another (John 13:34 NIV) and Love your neighbour as yourself (Matthew 22:39 NIV).

INTRODUCING THE PARTICIPANTS AND THE STUDY

Two contrasting public schools were involved in this study. Both were full primary (years 1–8) schools located in the North Island of New Zealand. Both were co-educational schools, part of the compulsory schooling sector, with a fairly even mix of gender. The project collected drawings from years 3 and 4 students (8 – 9-year-olds) from two classrooms in each school. The first school was a *kura kaupapa* (Māori school) with the ethnic composition being 100% Māori. This school had approximately 124 enrolments and 25 children from that school[9] created drawings for this study. All children at the school speak both Māori and English, but the school provides both *auraki* (English medium) and *rūmaki* (Māori medium) classes, which allow parents a choice as to the preferred language of instruction for their children. In the mid to late 1980s, in a bid to rejuvenate the Māori language, schools (kura kaupapa) and early childhood centres (*kohanga reo*) were established to provide complete Māori-language immersion experiences.

The second school provided classes only in English and had approximately 220 enrolments. According to the school's 2013 report from the Education Review Office of New Zealand[10], its ethnic composition was NZ European/Pakeha (57%); Māori (33%); Pacifica (8%) and other ethnic groups (2%). 41 children provided drawings for this study.

In both schools, after obtaining permission from the Principal, the teachers and the parents/guardians (on behalf of the students), a mutually convenient time was arranged for the drawings to be created. The students in the mainstream primary school were told the following: "We [the researchers] are really interested in finding out about Māori children. We are collecting drawings from children all over the world in different countries. We hope you will be happy to give us your picture when you have finished it. We are hoping you will be able to draw what you are thinking about when you think of Māori children." At the kura kaupapa school, this was changed slightly to state, "Please draw me a picture that tells me about you and shows me the things you like doing". After the children drew the pictures (*pikitia*), they were asked to tell the teacher or assistant a bit about their drawing and the teacher or assistant recorded the notes on the back of the drawing. If the children wished to keep their drawing, they could. For the findings presented in this chapter, the students were asked to use pencil. They were not asked to produce a piece of art, nor asked to draw a pretty picture.

The images were coded and analyzed according to the following:

• What the images actually looked like to me (in terms of identifiable drawings)

- The words written on the back of the picture which identified what was in the picture, or,
- The story told to the teacher or assistant about what was in the drawing (this was either written in English by the assistant or teacher, and at the kura kaupapa, some students wrote their description or story in te reo).

Each drawing was coded according to categories and from this emerging themes were identified which are now explained. I present three illustrations from the kura kaupapa school and three illustrations from the mainstream primary school as representations of what most of the students drew.

IMAGES FROM THE MĀORI IMMERSION SCHOOL (KURA KAUPAPA)

In this section, I provide general statements about the images then provide specific examples to illustrate the themes gathered. The students in the kura kaupapa school demonstrate their understandings of identity by emphasizing the place of the *marae*[12] within their everyday lives. Their connections to the land are reinforced by their presentation of their *mihi* which describes the hill or mountain they connect to (*maunga*), the river, sea or waterway (*awa*) which is in their location, and signifies the importance of place which aligns with their identification of geneaology. Their connection to land is signified through myths and legends as well as in art, music, drama and performance. In the *kura kaupapa*, many of the students wrote about their picture on the back of it. They all used some Māori words to explain their drawing, but three wrote their explanation completely in *te reo Māori*.

Figure 1. Kura kaupapa #1 pikitia.

The student wrote the following statement on the back of this picture (Figure 1): *Ko ngā mea pai ki ahau ko te kapa haka me te mahi pukana.* It has been translated in English to mean, 'Things that I enjoy are performing and making wide eyes'. The person on the left has wide, staring eyes. This action is done during a *haka*

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and/or *waiata* (song) in order to emphasise particular words. The individual decides when they will do *pukana* (widen eyes/staring), in contrast to the group's homogenous movement that characterizes many songs and dances. Here, the student is emphasizing his/her enjoyment of Māori *tikanga* in the form of song and dance performance.

Figure 2. Kura kaupapa #2 pikitia.

At the top of the page, the following statements are written in Māori: *Ko nā mea pai ki ahau ko te pangarau*. It is translated as, 'I like to do mathematics'. The date of *Rāpare 10 Paengawhāwhā* (Tuesday 10th April) is included. The girl in this picture conveys happiness through the use of smiling faces (on hers and on the sun), hearts, and geometric and *koru* patterns.

Figure 3. Kura kaupapa #3 pikitia.

The following statement was written by the teaching assistant on the back of the picture: "I come from Waiohau. This is my *awa* Rangitaiki and my *waka* Mataahua.

We are at Hahuru *marae*. Mum is fundraising for her trip to Hawaii. There are lots of people there." Also written on the back of the picture were the following phrases which explain the items on the picture:

> *Waka* on river, rafter with *hei tiki*, *ra* the sun, *maunga*, gates, *koru* patterns, welcoming gates, lots of people. A *waharoa* is the gateway where people stand to be welcomed onto my *marae*.

Figure 3 represents what most of the students from the *kura kaupapa* drew to explain themselves to others. Many mentioned the *marae* and associated practices as an important part of their lives. They explained how it was a site for meetings and was depicted via *koru* patterns and where people would be welcomed via the *waharoa* and *powhiri*. As an example, another student wrote the following on the back of his/her picture (not reproduced):

> My family is at the *marae*. It is called Tuteao. We are sitting on chairs listening to the old people talk about things at our *marae*. I like playing with my cousins. We play tiggy [childhood tag game] and we always have a big *kai* [food].

Other Māori students wrote of activities they like to do outside. For instance, two students wrote, "*He pai te whutuporo ki ahau*" [I am good at football (rugby union)] (pictures not reproduced). Another child wrote, "He pai ki te haere ki te papatakaro" [I like to go to the playground]. A different child said, "*He pai ki te haere ki te ngahere*" [I like to go to the forest]. Four students mentioned *kapa haka* and how much they enjoyed it. Two pictures mentioned funerals (*tangi*) which has particular protocols and where the *marae* features as an important part of the mourning process.

The things Māori children like to do are shaped by *te reo*, *kapa haka*, sport and leisure. The sun featured in almost every drawing either as a decoration in reference to a sunny day, or in reference to the sun god *Ra,* characterized by a face and a sense of power, and who features in some Māori legends. For these Indigenous children, the *marae* is part of their everyday lives and visits are regular. The enjoyment of sports, activities and school features in the representations of these young children's lives but it is evident that *Māoritanga* and *tikanga* shapes much of their everyday experiences.

IMAGES FROM THE MAINSTREAM PRIMARY SCHOOL

The images drawn by most of the children in the mainstream primary school in this chapter have mostly referred to that term 1 *marae* visit as part of their understanding of what it is to be Māori. It demonstrates that this visit had a memorable effect and deepened their understanding of what Māori *tikanga* is all about. The pictures from the *pakeha* (Caucasian/European/white) children point to specific symbolic representations of their *marae* visit and highlights distinct features about what they believe constitutes Māori identity. 25 of the pictures featured the structural buildings

of the *marae*, including the welcoming gates (*waharoa*) and/or the rafters (*heke*) of the *wharenui* (meeting house), and/or a statue on top of the gates (*hei tiki*). 13 of the pictures featured koru patterns; 16 of the pictures depicted Māori men or women in traditional clothing worn during *kapa haka.* 16 pictures focused on the use of *poi* or weapons also utilized during a welcoming ceremony (*powhiri*).

Figure 4. Pakeha #1 pikitia.

The first picture presented in Figure 4 depicts a woman with a *moko* (tattoo on her chin). Traditional *moko* used chisels which left grooves on the lips and chin of a woman. Considered sacred, nowadays, a removable pen and specific patterns are used by Māori performers to convey meaning and belonging, including rank and status. The woman in this picture appears to be wearing Māori jewellery and traditional Māori clothing, which as a visitor (*manuhiri*) to a marae, one is likely to see and hear (as the swaying employed by the group makes a distinct sound). Men tend to have *moko* tattooed on their thighs and buttocks, though some would have facial tattoos also. However, in terms of modern day *powhiri* at marae, women performers tend to utilise the *moko* as part of presenting their Māori identity, along with being dressed in *piupiu* (kilt-type garments made of flax).

Figure 5. Pakeha #2 pikitia.

Figures 5 and 6 represent what most of the mainstream children drew in their pictures. The pictures featured the *marae*, the welcome ceremony (*powhiri)* to the marae, the gates (*waharoa*) and the group of performers participating in *kapa haka*. Figure 5 also shows the traditional *hangi* which is cooked under the ground on hot stones on a grate and is usually smoked. One of the performers is sticking out his tongue which is also an individualized option and interpretation (emphasis of words) completed during a performance. The rafters *(heke)* presented on each side of the picture represent stories and history of each *marae*.

Figure 6. Pakeha #3 pikitia.

For the final picture, the following words were written on the back:

Mountain used to have faces – special to Māori people; Greenstone is special too; They like spiral plants; Maui slowed the sun down; Gate – to go onto the *marae*; Māori hut; *waharoa* (gate)

This picture depicts items of importance to Māori, including greenstone (*pounamu*), the unfurling frond of the silver fern (*koru*), and stories of creation (myths and legend), including how mountains, island and waterways were formed.

FINAL COMMENTS

The ways that Māori place importance on Māori language, culture, history and associated traditions means that their identity continues to be recognized, affirmed, and taught to younger generations. The significance of place, art, music, leisure and relationships continue to empower Māori and those in New Zealand society.

> Kaupapa Māori theory suggests that reconnection with one's own heritage enables greater opportunity and ability to reclaim the power to define oneself and, in so doing, define solutions that will be more effective for Māori, now and in the future. (Berryman et al, 2013, p. 11)

Much can be learned from how kaupapa Māori theory is embraced within mainstream New Zealand culture and within New Zealand schools. The importance of the language (*te reo*) and how it is employed, strengthened and esteemed in New Zealand society is an example that can be drawn upon throughout the world to acknowledge and enhance the place of other Indigenous cultures. In contrast to some other cultures which are viewed as deficit, Māoridom, *te reo* and *tikanga* continues to strengthen.

NOTES

[1] In 1879, the SS Rotomahane left London, Great Britain and arrived in Dunedin, New Zealand two months later.
[2] See www.allblacks.com
[3] An excellent website for knowing more about *te reo Māori* is www.korero.Māori.nz
[4] It is argued that the Moriories were the first peoples of New Zealand. King's (2003) work points to the myths perpetuated as historical 'truths' in the 1900s.
[5] Useful websites about NZ history can be found at http://www.newzealand.com/au/feature/early-settlement/ and http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/history
[6] For more information, see http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/Māori-education-Mātauranga and http://www.minedu.govt.nz/NZEducation/EducationPolicies/MāoriEducation.aspx
[7] For more information about the NZ anthem, see http://www.riv.co.nz/rnza/songs/anthem.htm
[8] See for example http://www.korero.Māori.nz/forlearners/protocols/Mārae.html
[9] Special thanks goes to the Principal *(tumuaki)* and the *kaiako* (teachers) of the school for their assistance.
[10] Reference cannot be provided as the school will then be identifiable.
[11] More information about the *marae* can be found here http://www.newzealand.com/au/feature/marae-maori-meeting-grounds/

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XUHONG WANG

8. I DO NOT BELONG HERE

The Experience of Migrant Children in China

With the rapid development of economy and the acceleration of urbanization since the mid-1980s, an increasing number of labourers migrate to the more economically developed cities in China, such as Shanghai, Beijing, and Guangzhou (Yuan et al., 2013; Geng et al., 2012; Gao, 2008). In 2013, for example, there were 245 million migrants lived in the cities (National Bureau of Statistics, 2014). Many of these migrants are from rural areas. They expect to have more job opportunities and better lives in the cities.

The issue of education of migrant children is accompanied by the phenomenon of increasing population mobility in China, as many migrants bring their children with them when they come to cities. In recent years, the number of migrant children in the cities has increased dramatically. In Beijing, for example, there were 66,392 migrant children of school age in 1997. The number increased to 98,000 in 2000 (Yao, 2010), 240,000 in 2003 (Xinhua News Agency, 2003), 370,000 in 2006 (Yao, 2010), and 418,000 in 2009 (Beijing News, 2010), respectively. According to the Beijing Medium and Long-term National Educational Reform and Development Plan (2010–2020), an official document issued by Chinese government, 43% of all the students enrolled in elementary schools in Beijing are migrant children. The number is significant. It means that almost half of the students studying in elementary schools in the capital city of China are from somewhere outside this city. In the future, it is estimated that the number of migrant children will continue to increase.

The education of migrant children has become a challenge for both central and local governments. On one hand, the rapid increase in the number of migrant children causes a shortage of education resources in the cities. The schools are unable to accept such a large number of students. On the other hand, the residency registration (hukou) policy also limits the opportunities of migrant children to enrol in public schools in the cities. This policy requires that children be educated in the place where their households are registered. Therefore, it is difficult for migrant children to get equal opportunities to access to public schools as the local children do when they migrate to other places, no matter how long they have lived there.

The marginalized status of migrant children in urban China has attracted attention from economists, scholars, and psychologists (Geng et al., 2012). Many argue for improvement of policy so that migrant children can obtain more opportunities for

education. Little attention has been paid to the feelings of the children themselves. The ways in which these children see their lives in the cities are not clear. Thus, this chapter specifically focuses on the experience of migrant children. It tries to understand their lives through their own eyes, rather than through the eyes of adults.

In this chapter, I start by describing the situation of migrant children, as well as the policies that affect their lives in the cities, mainly the residency registration policy. Then, I describe the research methodology used in this study. This is followed by analysis of the drawings. In the final section, I reflect on the study and make connections to the relevant literature.

THE CHINESE CONTEXT

In China, the household registration policy requires Chinese citizens to register in their place of permanent residence. All social benefits, such as education and health care, are provided by local governments based on this registration. When people temporarily move to other places, they do not receive equal treatment in terms of these social benefits as permanent local residents in the same area do (Hu & Szente, 2010). In other words, this policy results in unequal treatment to migrants. Despite this, in order to benefit from the economic development of China, millions of people move from rural areas to economically developed cities. Many of them are farmers from Middle and Western China.

Due to economic considerations and the restrictions associated with the household registration policy, many rural migrants leave their children in their hometowns. These children were called 'left-behind children' (liushou ertong). They are taken care of by their grandparents, relatives, friends or neighbors. This situation has been gradually changing from the beginning of the 1990s as an increasing number of migrant workers have started to take their whole family with them (Liu & Zhu, 2011). From that time on, the number of migrant children in the cities has increased. According to the Interim Measure of School Education for Temporary Migrant Children issued by the State Education Committee, the term 'migrant children' refers to children aged between six and fourteen years old (or between seven and fifteen years old) who have temporarily lived as migrants for more than half a year with their parents or guardians in a migration destination other than the place where their household is registered (SEC, 1998).

For many migrant families, public schools are their first choice for the schooling of their children. The governments establish public schools mainly to satisfy the needs of local urban children. These public schools are equipped with good facilities and well qualified teachers, and have to go through regular evaluation and inspection conducted by local governments. However, policy barriers affect migrant children registering in public schools. Only a few years ago, because of the household registration policy, public schools in the cities could directly reject migrant children. To get a place in public school, many migrant families had to pay a large amount of temporary schooling fees or donation that they could ill afford (Hu & Szente, 2010).

In 2010 the Chinese government abolished the temporary schooling fee, aiming to create equal opportunities for schooling for migrant children. However to enrol in public schools, migrant children have to present several documents. For example, in Beijing, migrant children need to present at least five official documents, such as the temporary worker certificate of the parents or guardians of the migrant children, a certificate showing their actual place of residence in Beijing, a temporary resident certificate, an identification card and a certificate proving that no family members are living back at their birth place. For various reasons, many migrant families, especially those of lower social background, are unable to provide these documents. As a result, they have to send their children to migrant children schools.

Migrant children schools were established in response to the increasing demand for schooling of migrant children (Yuan et al., 2013). Different from public schools which receive adequate resources from government, these schools are usually under-funded (Li et al., 2010). A small number are approved by local government, but the majority operate illegally, as they are unable to meet the basic requirements set by local government (Hu & Szente, 2010). Migrant schools are usually located in the rural-urban fringe of the large cities. Zhang (2009) conducted a research study investigating the situation of migrant children schools in Beijing. The report shows that, due to the shortage of funding, 98% of migrant children schools rented places which used to be building material markets, warehouses, and factories as teaching buildings. The poor condition of the buildings resulted in huge safety risks. In addition, these schools could not provide good facilities for students, and many of them could not meet the minimum health requirements of the local governments. Furthermore, the teachers' salaries were very low. Nearly 30% of the teachers received less than 800 yuan (equal to US$129) each month, the monthly salary of the majority of teachers (65%) was between 800–1200 yuan (equal to US$130 to 184), and very few received more than 1200 yuan (equal to US$184) each month. Consequently certified teachers were unwilling to work in such schools. As a result, in these migrant children schools, only 14% of the teachers have bachelor degrees, 55% of them have college degrees, and 20% of them graduated from high schools or secondary technical schools. Many do not have teaching qualifications. Because of the poor condition of the schools, as well as the unattractive salary level, a large number of teachers leave migrant children schools every year. In the years since Zhang's study was conducted, there has been little change in the situation of migrant children schools.

In recent decades, the Chinese government has tried hard to increase opportunities for migrant children to enroll in public schools. However, due to the dramatic increase in the number of migrant children in the cities, there are not enough places available for them in public schools. In addition the policy barrier also restricts the access of migrant children. Therefore, many migrants have to send their children to migrant children schools, even though these schools are very poor in both teaching quality and facilities. 30.8% of migrant children were enrolled in public schools in 2003 (Li et al., 2003). The number increased to 61% in 2006 (Xie et al., 2007).

This suggests that about one third of all migrant children in Beijing are studying in migrant children schools.

The poor condition of migrant children schools has drawn great attention from scholars and policy makers. Scholars have undertaken research to explore the related issues from the perspective of policy development (e.g. Fang et al., 2008). They have also investigated the situation of migrant children schools (e.g. Zhang, 2009; Zhao, 2008; Yao, 2010). In addition scholars have tried to understand the experience of migrant children in schools. For example, Xie et al (2007) researched teacher-students relationships. Shuai et al (2008) studied the class atmosphere in migrant children schools. Zou et al (2008) focused on the mental health of migrant children. However, very few studies focus on the feelings of migrant children in the cities, especially those in migrant children schools. Migrant children in public schools are usually from migrant families of higher social background. Research shows that studying in public schools, migrant children not only enjoy better teaching facilities and more highly qualified teaching staff, but such schools also promote communication and understanding between urban children and migrant children. Therefore, migrant children are better able to adapt to the new environment (Li et al., 2009) and have a better sense of belonging. On the contrary, migrant children in migrant children schools are usually from families of lower social background. Their parents work in the cities as, for example, nannies, cleaners, porters, and small traders. These children are separated from urban children, as they do not have urban classmates. Therefore, their experience and feelings differ from migrant children in public schools.

Thus, the aim of this study is to understand the experience of migrant children studying in migrant children schools. It focuses on how they feel about their lives in the cities. On one hand, I investigate how urban children feel about the lives of migrant children. On the other hand, I explore how migrant children feel about their lives in the cities, as well as how they think of the lives of urban children. By comparing the responses of urban children and migrant children, I try to understand the extent to which migrant children, as a group of children possessing different cultural background, integrate into urban society.

METHODOLOGY

Much of the research investigating issues related to migrant children has used interviews or questionnaires. Different from this previous body of research, this study uses children's drawings to understand their experiences. According to Alerby and Bergmark (2012), although visual art, including drawings, does not consist of a verbal language, it is a language and has its own grammar. Therefore, visual art can be adopted as a methodical implement when understanding people's experiences.

Two schools, one public school and one migrant children school in Beijing, were chosen to be the sites of this study. The public school located in the south of Beijing, provides nine years of compulsory school education (including primary education

and junior secondary education) for children living nearby based on a national curriculum framework. The vice principal of the school randomly selected a class in grade six to conduct this research. There were forty-one children in the class. They were asked to make a drawing about migrant children. It was emphasized that there were no rules, no right or wrong, and they could draw whatever came to their mind when thinking about migrant children. It was up to them that whether they chose pencil or coloured pen. To prevent interference, the children were asked not to talk to each other when making the drawings but they had opportunities to explain their drawings afterwards.

The migrant children school where this study was conducted is located in the north of Beijing and offers six years of primary education for migrant children. This school was founded by a retired couple in 1999, and approved by local government in 2005. Compared with many migrant children schools, the quality of this school is much better. Therefore, it has attracted more than 1,200 migrant children. The school relies on tuition fees paid by students to cover all the costs, including the salaries of teachers. Similar to other migrant children schools, this school does not have permanent teaching buildings. In the past years, the school has moved seven times. Individuals and organizations have donated chairs and desks to the schools but it is very rare for the school to receive donations of money. The principal of the school randomly chose a class in grade six to conduct this research. There were forty-three students in the class. They were asked to draw two pictures using either pencil or coloured pen. One of the pictures was about their lives and another was about the lives of urban children of their age. The children were asked to draw whatever came to their mind. I did not talk to them when they made the drawings in order to prevent any possible interference. After they finished, they were invited to make comments and offer explanation. The following sections describe the drawings. During the process of analysis, both the drawings and the comments were used. To protect the participants from being identified, all the names used in this study are pseudonyms.

URBAN CHILDREN DRAWING THE LIVES OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

The children in the public school were asked to make drawings about the lives of migrant children in their city. The drawings reveal the inner feelings of these urban children towards migrant children. Two themes emerge when analyzing the drawings, including living conditions/economic conditions and social relationships.

Living Conditions/Economic Conditions

The drawings within this theme make it clear that migrant families are in poor economic conditions in the city. Figure 1 was a drawing made by a girl. The left part of the drawing shows the room of a migrant child. The room is furnished with the simplest essentials, a table and a bed. An electric bulb is hanging from the ceiling

without any lampshade. The right part of the drawing shows the room of an urban child. This room is equipped with a water dispenser, a chandelier, a reading lamp, a table, and a bed. It is much better furnished. The fancy chandelier emits a warm light; the table is covered with a carefully selected tablecloth; the bed is covered with a beautiful bed sheet and the fluffy pillow and quilt will obviously keep the sleeper warm. The girl made this drawing in the cold wintertime. The left part of the drawing depicts a chilly atmosphere, although she used colour pens to draw the room. In contrast, the girl chose to mainly use pencil to draw the room of an urban child. Despite the lack of colour the room conveys a warm and comfortable feeling. The drawing delivers a clear message: for migrant children, their room in the city is just a temporary place to shelter. Only basic furniture is available here. In contrast, for urban children, their room is a place that they feel warm, comfortable, and relaxed. The room is carefully furnished. Urban children have everything that they need in their room. The drawing shows an awareness of the vast difference in the living conditions between urban children and migrant children.

Figure 1. Rooms of a migrant child and a local child.

Social Relationships

The drawings within this theme show the understandings of urban children towards the social relationships of migrant children in the cities. For many children in the public school where this study was conducted, none of their friends were migrant children. Figure 2 was a drawing made by Mei Mei. Four migrant children are playing with each other in a clearing in front of a house. They are having a good time together. There are other migrant children living nearby. Far away from these children and their home, is Beijing city where many high-rise buildings are located. Mei Mei explained: 'There are many migrant children living in Beijing. But I do not know any of them. All my friends are local… We all live in Beijing. But the parents of these migrant children are poor. So they live in the suburbs outside Beijing where

the rent and food are cheaper. They are far away from us, and they make friends with other migrant children'.

Figure 2. They live far from the city.

Figure 3 is a drawing made by Huan Huan. There is a high-rise residential building at each side of the drawing. In the clearing between these two buildings, local children are playing basketball, football, table tennis, and badminton. A migrant child is standing in the corner alone. This drawing has text written on it, explaining what this migrant child is thinking: 'Ah! Nobody wants to play with me.' Huan Huan said: 'There are several migrant children living in the same community with me. I meet them all the time. But I never speak to them. I play with local children. I think the migrant children must feel sad because we do not play with them'.

Figure 3. 'Nobody wants to play with me'.

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MIGRANT CHILDREN DRAWING SELF

This section describes the drawings made by migrant children about themselves. Many of these migrant children have lived in Beijing for several years. Given this it is surprising that 67% (29 migrant children) made drawings about their home towns. 26% (11 migrant children) made drawings about their school while only 7% (3 migrant children) made drawings about their home in Beijing.

HOMETOWN

The majority of migrant children made drawings about themselves when they thought about their lives. They have lived in Beijing for several years, but they did not have a deep attachment to the city. Instead of having a strong identification with Beijing city, many of them saw themselves as country girls or boys. Xiao Xiao was one of them. She was very shy. Her mother worked as a nanny, and her father worked as a porter in Beijing. She made a drawing about her home town (see Figure 4). In the drawing, there are four houses in the foothills. Children are playing badminton together. Xiao Xiao explained that she did not like Beijing. She missed her home town very much, as all her good friends were there. She wanted to live with her parents, but she felt that she did not belong to this city.

Figure 4. Xiao Xiao's home town.

Ping Ping had lived in Beijing for quite some time. She also made a drawing about her home town (see Figure 5). Apart from her house, she included her brother and sister-in-law in the drawing. There is an apple tree at each side of the house. Ping Ping commented: 'I live with my parents here in Beijing. But I feel lonely here. I do not have many friends. I miss my home town and my friends there. And I also miss my brother and sister-in-law very much'. Ping Ping seemed to be very unhappy when talking about her life in Beijing but soon she changed her mood, saying: 'Now

I am in grade 6. I will go back to my home town to attend junior high school. I can be with my friends and brother again. I cannot wait to go back to my home town'.

Figure 5. The home of Ping Ping in her home town.

School and Classroom

The drawings within this theme portray the school that the migrant children attend. Some migrant children drew the whole school, including teaching buildings, playground, teachers, and students. Some drew part of the school. Han Han made a drawing about his classroom (see Figure 6). A teacher is teaching the class, and migrant children are listening carefully to what he is saying. Apart from tables and chairs, there is an air conditioner in the corner of the classroom. Han Han commented: 'I like studying here, and I enjoy my time in the school. All my friends are here. We play with each other all the time. My home is a bit far from the school, but I do not care. We have a bus picking us up from the city'.
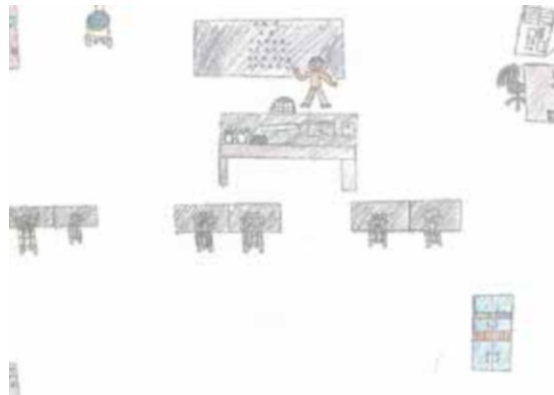
Figure 6. Classroom of migrant children.

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Apart from home town and school, three migrant children also made drawings about their home in Beijing. These migrant children lived in bungalows. In the drawings, the rooms are quite small, and only have basic appliances and furniture, such as a desk, chair, cabinet, and television.

<div align="center">MIGRANT CHILDREN DRAWING URBAN CHILDREN</div>

In addition to making a drawing about their lives, migrant children were also asked to draw local children in Beijing. The drawings help to understand the ways in which migrant children see the lives of urban children. Two themes emerged during the process of analyzing the drawings. Migrant children mainly focused on features of the modern city and the colourful life of local children.

Modern City

In the eyes of migrant children, local children live in a modern city. Figure 7 is a drawing by Ning, which is representative of the drawings within this theme. Many people are driving cars on the busy road. There are skyscrapers, a bookstore, a hospital, and a restaurant next to the road. Ning explained: 'Local children live in a big city. There are many skyscrapers, which is different from where I live in Beijing. It is very convenient to live in the city. There are many shops and restaurants nearby. And there are big hospitals. They do not need to worry when they are sick'.

Figure 7. Skyscrapers and cars.

Colourful Life of Local Children

Migrant children also saw local urban children having colourful lives in the city. Several migrant children mentioned that their own parents were very busy with their work, so they usually stayed at home during weekends. Different from them, local

children had colourful lives in the city. As shown in the drawing made by Bei Bei (see Figure 8), a public school is located in the city, having a large playground and high-rise teaching buildings. The school is surrounded by trees. In addition to a river where people can fish, there is a zoo nearby. In the zoo, there are many animals, such as hippos, peacocks, bears, and lions. Local children enjoy wonderful lives – even the sun is smiling.
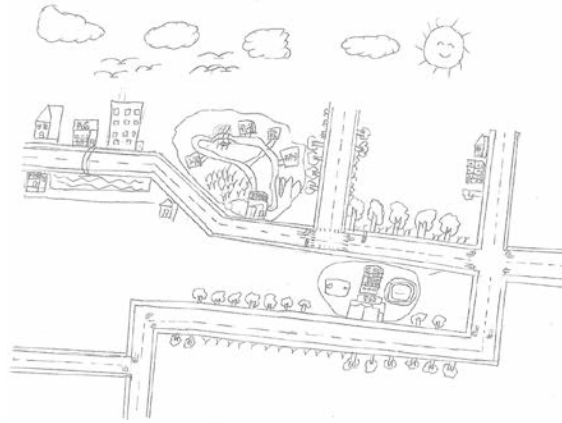
Figure 8. Colourful life of local children.

DISCUSSION

Drawings reveal children's inner selves. It is a channel to express their understanding of a specific issue or phenomenon. In past years, issues related to migrant children have received a great deal of attention. A number of studies have examined the status of migrant children schools and policy development in relation to migrant children, while a few studies focus on the identity issues of migrant children. This study pays attention to the lives of migrant children in migrant children schools. The drawings and oral comments of both migrant children and urban children help us to understand the experiences of migrant children in Beijing.

In this study, urban children feel that they are different from migrant children. They understand migrant children based on their economic conditions and social relationships. In their eyes, migrant children are very poor. Although living in the city, most of them live in an area far from the city centre and very similar to the countryside. Few migrant children live in the large communities in the city. Due to their identity as rural migrants, urban children keep a distance from them. They regard migrant children as outsiders – that is a group of children temporally living in the city. Over the years, they will return to their home towns.

For migrant children of this study, friends are a very important factor affecting their sense of belonging. Migrant children go through a process of socio-cultural separation when coming to the cities. They leave their well-developed peer networks

in their home towns, as well as the familiar environment. It is challenging for them to adjust to a new socio-cultural environment. Migrant children in this study are generally from migrant families of lower social background. They live on the rural-urban fringe of Beijing city and attend a school specially established for migrant children. Instead of being friends with local children, they make friends with either other migrant children in their school or their neighbours, as they share similar social background and culture. They feel comfortable with each other. This finding is consistent with other studies (e.g. Li, 2006).

Migrant children of this study distinguish themselves from urban children by using words such as 'they' and 'we'. When making comments, they refer themselves and other migrant children as 'we', and urban children as 'they'. In other words, they consider urban children as others and out-groups. For example, Ling Ling commented: 'They (urban children) live in the city centre, have lots of money, and do not like to play with us. But we live in the suburb of Beijing city, and do not have many local friends. So we are different from them'. Urban children of this study have similar understandings. They refer local children as 'we' and migrant children as 'they'.

Separation from urban lives makes it difficult for migrant children to develop a real and deep understanding of the lives of urban children. Rather than being objective, they understand urban children in abstract and superficial ways. Many of them simply think that urban children enjoy privileged material and spiritual lives in a modern city characterized by skyscrapers and limousines. This simplistic understanding can cause misunderstanding, even hatred (Gao, 2008).

In addition, the separation between migrant children and urban children, as well as the physical distance between rural-urban fringe and city centre make migrant children feel that they are a marginalized group of people in the city. Because of the strong feeling that local residents do not accept them, they keep strong attachment to their hometown. However, these migrant children have left their home towns and lived in the city for years. They are no longer part of the rural communities, but can not integrate into urban society, which causes serious issues for identity construction. In this study, many migrant children identify themselves as rural children living in the city, which places them in a complicated position - they are neither rural children nor urban children. They are floating in between and suffering identity crisis (Zheng & Du, 2009; Geng et al., 2012).

Migrant children are in a marginalized position (Tang, 2009; Lei, 2004). Due to their social exclusion, unequal treatment, and discrimination, migrant children find difficulty in integrating into urban lives. In recent years, the Chinese government has put a great deal of effort in creating opportunities for migrant children to study in public schools in their migration destinations. However, migrant children experience discrimination in public schools. As a result, some migrant children transfer from these public schools to migrant children schools (Li, 2004; Zhao, 2008), while others return to their home towns. Liu and Zhu (2011) conducted a study investigating the migrant children who return to their home towns. The findings show that the most

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common reason why these children return to their home towns is the difficulties in adapting to the migrant destinations, rather than policy barriers.

Moreover, some migrant children start to psychologically resist urban children and urban life (Lei, 2004). Gao (2008) believes that, because of the economic condition and the occupations of their parents, migrant children are particularly sensitive about their status and image in the eyes of local people. Sometimes, a word, an action, or a look from local people can hurt. As a result, the migrant children hesitate to communicate with local people.

To change the marginalized status of migrant children, one possible way might be opening up access to public schools. Different from the migrant children in migrant children schools, migrant children in public schools identify more strongly with the host culture and more weakly with culture of origin. They better adapt to the socio-cultural environment of the migration destinations (Yuan et al., 2013). But, as discussed above, migrant children experience discrimination in public schools. Most of them do not want their classmates to know that they are migrants (Li, 2004). Thus, increasing enrolment in public schools can only partially solve the problem. To fundamentally change the marginalized status of migrant children, the urban population must change their understanding of migrants. They need to be more tolerant and open to migrants. To achieve this aim, there is a long way to go during which the government and educational institutions play an important role.

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AHMAD BUKHORI-MUSLIM

9. IMAGINED BADUY CHILDREN

Working with Parents and Little Time to Play

INTRODUCTION

Cultural identity representations of minority groups are frequently stereotyped. Lack of understanding and ignorance resulting from cultural and social domination enables the majority groups to generalize narratives told about the minority group. As Stanley (this volume) observes, the intrinsic cultural identity of the minority group is often blurred by the observer-relative 'facts' of the majority group. This stereotyping of Others can be identified in the relationship between mainstream Indonesian children and those of the isolated Baduy community as described below.

This chapter discusses the perceptions of mainstream Indonesian children of the daily lived experiences of Baduy children, an isolated Indigenous minority in Indonesia, who occupy the most southerly western part of Java. It also explores how the Baduy children depict their own lives and the lives of mainstream Indonesian children.

Depictions of identity in this chapter are as understood from drawings made by children of both the mainstream and the isolated groups. The chapter first explains who Baduy are and the place of the Baduy children in mainstream Indonesian society. Next the purpose of the study is outlined and the research site described. Emerging themes based on the pictures are identified and discussed and some conclusions are drawn.

WHO ARE THE BADUY?

Indonesia is a land of multiethnic groups. Some of these local ethnic groups are dominant such as the Javanese and Sundanese in Java, the Batakese and Padangese in Sumatra, and the Balinese in, of course, Bali. They play active roles in all levels of government administration, from local to central. Other ethnic groups are geographically isolated, smaller in number and still living their traditional life with limited involvement in mainstream Indonesian society. Such groups are isolated in rural areas of the country and resist interaction with the more dominant ethnic groups. Included in this group are the *Anak Dalam* in Sumatra, the *Baduy* in Java, the *Dayak* in Kalimantan, the *Polahi* in Sulawesi, and the *Korowai* in Western Papua.

These people are called *Masyarakat Adat* (Indigenous communities). However, the way in which the term 'Indigenous people' is used in the Indonesian context is different from the same term used to describe other groups in countries such as Canada (Inuit), the United States (Indian-American) and Australia (Aborigine) because all ethnic groups in Indonesia are basically Indigenous (International Work Groups for Indigenous Affairs).

One such group are the Baduy who live in the subdistrict Leuwidamar, a district of Lebak, in south-western Java. Their name may be derived from the word Bedouin. It may also be taken from the name of a local river, *Ci Baduy* (Baduy river). Local non-Baduy people sometimes call them *Kanekes*, taken from the name of the local government-administered village in which they reside. They are also called the *Rawayan*, a name referring to the numerous bamboo bridges over a local river. Another name used by local mainstream people is *Kompol;* this term is especially given to members of the outer Baduy community. However, according to Erwinantu (2012), *Ayah Mursyid*, one of leading figures in the Baduy community confirms that he and his community prefer two of these four labels. The first is Kanekes, a term that refers to their formal administration established by the Indonesian government, and the second is Baduy that represents their formal identity in interaction with the mainstream Indonesian society. As this is the term preferred by the community, the term Baduy will be used throughout this chapter.

The total population of Baduy people is approximately 11,000, occupying the *Kendeng* mountain, at an elevation of 300–500 metres above sea level (Kurnia & Sihabudin, 2010). The Baduy homeland is contained in just 50 square kilometres of hilly forest, about 160 km from Jakarta, Indonesia's capital. The Baduy live in several small and large villages under the administration of Kanekes.

Ethnically the Baduy belong to the Sundanese ethnic group, one of the many local ethnic groups in today's Indonesia. Some people believe that the Baduy are the descendants of the aristocracy of the Sunda Kingdom of *Pajajaran* who lived near *Batutulis* in the hills around Bogor, West Java province. Their racial, physical and linguistic traits bear strong resemblance to the other Sundanese people. However, while modern Sundanese are open to influences from the outside world, the Baduy people resist any modern influences and vigorously preserve their ancient way of life. They live a simple and modest life in their geographically isolated areas, maintaining a close but friendly contact with nature, much like the Amish people in the United States.

The Baduy people have traditional clothing that they wear at all times and this has become their trademark. Males, adults and children, wear a homespun shirt, a bandana-like headscarf, and a skirt, similar to the Scottish kilt. Females wear a long shirt and skirt like a sarong. The colour of these outfits is always either dark blue or white. The Baduy people are not allowed to wear shoes of any kind, believing it is important to have contact with the earth.

The Baduy are divided into two sub-groups: the Baduy *Dalam* (Inner Baduy), and the *Baduy Luar* (Outer Baduy). Dark-blue clothing is worn by Baduy who are part

of the Outer Baduy community whereas white is for members of the inner Baduy. The population of about 400 *Baduy Dalam* or inner Baduy people consists of 40 families called *Kajeroan* who live in the three villages of Cibeo, Cikertawana, and Cikeusik. These villages are located in the *Tanah Larangan* or forbidden territory where no stranger is permitted to spend the night. The members of the Inner Baduy community are considered the purest Baduy and follow the rigid *buyut* (taboo) system very strictly. They have very little contact with the outside world and are considered to be "people of the sacred inner circle". These Baduy people refuse to use any means of transport, but walk everywhere on their bare feet. They also refuse the use of even the simplest technology such as nails and hammers for building their houses. This rejection of technology naturally includes communication technology such as radio and television.

The Baduy Luar make up the remainder of the Baduy population, living in 58 small and large villages, under the Kanekes administration. They act as a barrier to prevent visitors from entering the Sacred Inner circle (Kurnia & Sihabudin, 2010). They follow the same rigid taboo system as those who live as part of the inner Baduy community but are not as strict as the Dalam. The Outer Baduy are also more willing to accept some modern influences into their daily lives. For example, some Luar people now wear the colourful sarongs and shirts favoured by their Sundanese neighbours. In the past, the Baduy Luar wore only their homespun blue-black cloth, and were forbidden to wear trousers. Animal meat is eaten in some of the outer villages where dogs are trained for hunting, though animal husbandry is still forbidden. Other elements of the modern world, such as motor vehicles, money, and electricity, are rapidly infiltrating their villages. It is no longer unusual for an outer Baduy to travel to Jakarta, or to work outside the community as a hired hand during the rice planting and reaping seasons. Some even work in cities such as Rangkasbitung, Jakarta, Bogor and Bandung. Nowadays, a small number of outer Baduy are involved in public domains such as politics and education.

The religion of the Baduy is known as *Agama Sunda Wiwitan.* This is the religion of the early Sundanese, a combination of traditional beliefs and Hinduism. Their religion is related to animism, a belief that venerates and worships the spirits of their ancestors. However in its development, this faith has been influenced by, and incorporated, aspects of Hinduism, and, to some extent, Islamic elements. Today, many outer Baduy people have converted to Islam. Some still live in their outer compounds but others have moved away from their community and live together with non-Baduy community members.

THE PLACE OF BADUY CHILDREN IN INDONESIAN SOCIETY

The majority of mainstream Indonesians think of the Baduy as a group of geographically isolated people who deliberately resist and exclude themselves from modernity by living in rural mountainous areas. This decision to isolate themselves

from modernity means they live in traditional ways lacking many of the services regarded as essential for daily life. The Baduy people are often considered ignorant because they reject local government programs for social welfare such as education and public health. However, this negative view held by many members of the dominant Indonesian society is rejected by the Baduy people. In *Saatnya Baduy Bicara* (it is time for Baduy people to speak up), which is claimed to be the first book to comprehensively represent the real voice of the Baduy, Kurnia, and Sihabudin (2010), identified three misconceptions about the Baduy people, which include issues of public health, basic education, and participation in civil society.

First, many mainstream Indonesians assume that the Baduy people refuse local government programs in the provision of public health, which includes clean water, proper housing and assistance with child birth. This assumption is not always true. In fact, many Baduy people rely on the local government for child delivery in public health centres. They welcome the public sanitation program, ask for the help of the mobile midwives provided by the local government, and bring their younger children for regular health checks and immunization.

Second, the Baduy people are assumed to refuse the government programs for education. Many in mainstream Indonesian society believe that the Baduy people do not want to send their school-aged children to the formal schooling provided by the local government because the content of the education offered is against their local values. Outsiders believe that formal education for the children of Baduy is against their traditional customs. Again, this is largely incorrect. In fact, there is one primary school and one secondary school in the Kanekes area provided for outer Baduy people. Starting in the 1990s, one Baduy person has been elected as a senator to represent his community at the national level. However, there is some truth in this view of the Baduy, especially for Inner Baduy who hold their *buyut* (taboo) system very strictly. As a result of this distrust of external education, very few Baduy people, even those who are members of the outer group, are currently able to read or write.

Finally, the mainstream people believe that the Baduy people reject civil participation, particularly in general election and other national events. Ayah Mursyid points out that, despite being separate from the mainstream, Baduy people still manage to be active Indonesian citizens (Kurnia & Sihabudin, 2010). They acknowledge the existence of the Indonesian administration and comply with rules issued by the local Indonesian government. They participate in major government programs such as general elections for local and national government. They also participate in the direct presidential elections which started in 1999.

Despite their misconceptions, many in mainstream Indonesian society acknowledge that Baduy people have a local wisdom that they may lack. Erwinantu (2012) identifies three core values in the life of Baduy people: simplicity, close relationships with nature, and the spirit of self-support. While the Baduy live a modest life in a mountain area, it does not mean that they are poor. They have their

own understandings of prosperity which are different from those of the mainstream Indonesian people. Baduy people also maintain gender equality and a spirit of peace among members of their community.

Today, the Baduy community has been identified by the local government as a tourist attraction. Pictures depicting their traditional life are displayed in many cultural exhibitions at provincial and national levels. Many people, both local and foreigners, come to the Ciboleger area to explore the life style of, particularly, the outer Baduy. Researchers in anthropology, culture, and language, both domestic and international, visit the Baduy people. Findings from these studies have been presented at national and international conferences and in a range of other publications.

However, the increased interest in the Baduy lifestyle has not yet been followed by appropriate support for the community. The local government does not pay sufficient attention to the condition of the Baduy people. The infrastructure for the area does not receive proper maintenance. The 30-kilometre road from the city of Rangkasbitung to the outer Baduy area is bumpy and not completely asphalted. Other community support such as the traditional market area and the health clinic are still in poor condition. Some areas of the forest on which the Baduy depend for their livelihood are threatened by extensive illegal logging and deforestation.

Similar to adults, children of the Baduy are the recipients of negative stereotyping by their mainstream counterparts. They are often considered backward because they dress differently, do not have proper access to formal schooling, and are not familiar with modern technology such as transport and communication.

PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

This study has several purposes. First, it explores how Baduy children are imagined by mainstream Indonesian children as evidenced from their drawings. Second, also through drawings, the study documents how Baduy children understand both themselves and mainstream Indonesian children. Third, it identifies the themes of the drawings and how these themes represent the voices of the Baduy children.

METHODOLOGY

Participants and Research Sites

Thirty-six grade-six children from two Primary Schools showed their willingness to participate in this study. Twenty-five mainstream Indonesian children (six boys and nineteen girls) aged ten to twelve from Rangkasbitung Primary School (RPS), drew pictures showing what they know about the activities of Baduy children. Located in the city of Rangkasbitung, about 30 kilometres from where the Baduy people live, the school has 150 students, from years one to six.

Three girls and eight boys from the Baduy Primary School (BPS), aged ten to sixteen, also participated in this study. Established in 2008, this school is for children of Outer Baduy who have started to accept the formal schooling provided by the local Indonesian government. At the time of the study, the school had only sixty-seven students in years one to six. All students in this school are Baduy children. Two of the three teachers are non-Baduy. The age of the students is above the average age of primary school students because some of the children started their formal schooling at a later age. Many of the students at this school are converts to Islam with only a few adhering to their traditional ancestors' beliefs. It was impossible to include children of the inner Baduy community as participants due to the cultural reasons outlined earlier.

Data Collection Process and Ethics

During the two-week of data collection period, each child at RPS was asked to draw a picture depicting some favourite activities of the Baduy children that they may have heard about or known from reading books and/or watching TV programs about Baduy children or from their real encounters with Baduy people. Drawing kits such as papers, pencils and erasers were provided by the researcher. Similarly each child at BPS was asked to make two drawings. In the first drawing, they were asked to depict their favourite activities as Baduy children. In the second part, they were asked to depict the activities of the children who live in big cities such as Rangkasbitung and Jakarta. Of these drawings, seven drawings selected the analysis to represent various emerging themes.

The study adheres to the research ethics in the country. Consent was asked from children and their parents to participate in the study. Each child was free to withdraw from the study at any stage. Names of children and places in this study are pseudonyms.

SOME EMERGING THEMES

There are several common themes that emerge from the drawings of the participating children, which include working with parents, play/leisure activities, schooling, and traditional clothing.

Working with Parents

The majority of drawings about Baduy children, drawn by both the mainstream and the Baduy children themselves, show the children working with their parents in a variety of activities such as collecting fire wood, carrying agricultural produce from the farm, planting paddy or rice seedlings, making palm sugar and collecting

bananas and durian fruit. Figure 1 below shows a Baduy boy who is assisting his parents on their farm.

Figure 1. A Baduy boy is collecting firewood using his golok (big knife).

This figure shows a Baduy boy collecting firewood from a tree near his bamboo house. Baduy people do not allow electricity to be connected to their homes and depend on fires for cooking and lighting. Therefore, the collection of firewood is an essential part of their daily life. The bamboo house of Baduy people is raised above the ground, to keep the house temperature warm and to avoid beasts that may attack them, especially at night when they are sleeping.

Figure 2. A baduy boy is carrying two sacks of agricultural produce from the farm.

Similarly, Figure 2 above depicts another example of working to help parents. From a very young age Baduy boys are taught to help their parents with the production of food on the family farm. During harvest time, they are asked to carry agricultural

produce such as paddy/rice, chillis, cucumbers and other vegetables from the farm. They usually put these in plastic or gunny sacks and carry them using a bamboo stick on their shoulders. Similar to mainstream Indonesians, the staple food of the Baduy people is rice. The small hut in the drawing above is a storage hut called a *leuit* which is used to store the dried paddy.

Another activity done by children to help their parents is tapping palm trees for sugar as shown in Figure 3 below. Palm sugar is one of the agricultural products which supports the economic life of Baduy people.

Figure 3. Two Baduy children are carrying dried paddy while two others are tapping palm tree for sugar.

In this figure, two boys are carrying dried paddy using bamboo sticks on their shoulders. One boy is climbing the ladder to tap the palm tree to collect palm sap or sugar while another boy is watching him. On his hip is a *golok,* a common tool or weapon that most Baduy males carry everywhere. The *golok* serves as a tool for their activities of farming and hunting, as well as a weapon to defend themselves, especially from the wild animals in the surrounding forests.

Play and Leisure Activities

The second emerging theme identified from drawings by the mainstream children about Baduy children is play or leisure activities. Figure 4 below shows a Baduy boy who is catching a fish on a river bank surrounded by banana trees. Unlike urban children who catch fish using a fishing rod and bait, Baduy boys usually rely on a bamboo-made catcher, as shown in the drawing. Although fishing is actually another example of helping parents to provide food, most Baduy children consider it more leisure or play than a chore. For them, playing in the fresh and cold water is like an escape from the heat of the farm, while fish is a staple food that the Baduy community have for their main meals.

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Figure 4. A Baduy boy is catching a fish using a bamboo-made catcher.

Another fun activity for Baduy children is playing with their *golok* (big knife). All the drawings by Baduy and mainstream children include a golok. It is a compulsory tool, especially for boys, tied to their waists at all time during daylight. Most of them have fun clearing the bush or cutting the tree branches using their golok when assisting their parents on the farm. They also use the golok to make toys from bamboo, or even make temporary shelter when it is raining. A golok for Baduy children is like an electronic gadget for urban children.

The other leisure activity identified from the drawings is going on excursions and camping. Figure 5 below shows an excursion on a train ride to the city where children can enjoy modern life facilities such as concrete houses and multi-storey buildings. Unfortunately this leisure activity was drawn by the Baduy about the mainstream children, not vice versa. Another figure drawn by a Baduy child shows a group of mainstream children who are setting up a tent for camping.

Figure 5. Life in the big city.

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Schooling

The next emerging theme is schooling. Figure 6 below shows a modern two-storey school building in one of the major cities in Indonesia as drawn by Baduy children.

Figure 6. A girl and two boys are at their urban school, an aeroplane over the school building and a bird perching.

In the figure above, two male teachers are sitting in the office while one student, a girl, is standing in front of the school building. A car is parked in front of the school and an aeroplane is flying above the building. It is interesting to note that two of the signs on the building, school and office, are written in English. Again, this drawing was made by Baduy children about mainstream children. There were no drawings which show the schooling activities of Baduy children, suggesting that schooling is not regarded as an important aspect of their life.

Traditional Clothing

The last emerging theme is clothing. Almost all the drawings show Baduy children in their traditional clothing. Boys wear a bandana-like headscarf called *udeng*, shirt, and Scottish-kilt like skirt. An accessory which is always found as part of male clothing is the golok. It is a compulsory tool for Baduy children so that they can carry out various activities ranging from assisting parents to making toys. Figure 7 below shows a Baduy boy in his traditional clothing.

DRAWING, MEANING AND REPRESENTATION

Dyson (1983) posits that children's first pictorial symbols are objects meaningful to them. Relevant to this, figures made by Indonesian mainstream and Baduy children contain people (boys and girls) and objects of traditional life such as bamboo houses, pets (chickens), trees, flowers, clothing (*udeng* or headscarf), paddy fields, palm

Figure 7. A Baduy boy wears a headscarf and a Scottish-kilt like skirt.

sugar, agricultural produce (chillis, cucumber, and corn), and tools or weapons (*golok)*. The figures also include objects of modern life such as trains, aeroplanes, cars, buses, double storey buildings, and outdoor leisure facilities. For Baduy children, objects of traditional life serve as an important means which links them to their main 'jobs' as children; working with their parents to maintain their traditional lifestyle.

In line with this, Vygotsky (1985) points out that for children, drawing is a means of expressing their feelings and emotions. Supporting this idea, Pirtle and Maker (2012) argue that children's drawing is a form of communication which can both demonstrate their acquired knowledge and act as a tool for the process of cultural meaning-making. Cox (2005) posits that children's drawing is an active process of defining reality. To a certain extent, drawings made by the two cohorts of children in this study show the knowledge they have about children who come from a different group. Each group of children made use of their cultural knowledge to describe children from the other group. These children may also have used their imagination when describing the other children (Sylla et al., 2009).

It is rather disconcerting to find that most drawings about Baduy children show them at work, assisting their parents in a variety of ways such as collecting fire wood, carrying agricultural produce, and tapping palm trees for sugar. No single drawing about Baduy children specifically describes leisure or play activities like outdoor games or schooling, even though some of them, such as the children involved in this study, now attend a school provided by the local Indonesian government. Since drawings are is a representation of lived or imagined experience (Sylla et al., 2009), that mainstream Indonesian children tend to stereotype the life of Baduy children may be the result of information they learn from school, television, or personal encounters with Baduy people. Similar to the biased understanding of Baduy people

held by the many in mainstream society, following Moodie's (2013) notion of 'otherness', the Baduy children are sometimes described as 'savages' who spend their time in the forest and who do not have schooling experience.

Nevertheless, it seems that Baduy children may not consider working with their parents as only duty but also as play or leisure activity. When formal schooling is not common, working with parents serves as a valuable means of education. Working in the farm allows Baduy parents to introduce skills their children need when they are grown up. This is like an internship, a way of transferring life competencies to prepare children to live independently. In addition, the farm also serves as a play ground that children can make use of while assisting their parents. Therefore, Baduy children may find farming both more interesting and more educational than the formal schooling provided by the government.

Outer Baduy children seem to have a comprehensive understanding of the life of mainstream urban Indonesian children. Schooling may have expanded their horizons so that they can describe the life environment of urban children, a life very different from their own. The drawings by Baduy children contain various forms of modern transport such as buses, trains, cars, and aeroplanes. They visualize city life in terms of high rise buildings, traffic, and shopping areas (Beneker, Sanders, Tani & Taylor, 2010). Inner Baduy children who do not attend formal schooling and who have a more restricted taboo system may have more limited knowledge about the life of mainstream urban children. Interestingly no drawings by the Baduy children show how mainstream children help their parents. Baduy children may also have a stereotyped understanding of what the mainstream children do out of schooling given that all their drawings show mainstream children playing and enjoying their leisure time. They may believe that working with parents is only for children living a traditional life like themselves.

It is also interesting to identify that some children drew people of the opposite sex. The majority of mainstream Indonesian girls drew Baduy boys in their pictures while Baduy children drew both boys and girls when describing the activities of mainstream Indonesian children. This finding is different from what Chen and Kantner (1996) found in their study, that children prefer to draw their own sex when drawing people. While mainstream Indonesian girls are more stereotypical in their understandings of Baduy children by drawing boys only, Baduy children's drawings show more equity as evidenced from their drawing both boys and girls. Erwinata (2010) found in his study that Baduy people, in their modest life, have maintained the spirit of gender equity. For instance, work on the farm is shared by both males and females.

Despite this valuing of gender equity, unlike the mainstream Indonesian school, most children at BPS are male with only a few female students. It seems that Baduy people still consider formal schooling more appropriate for boys, whereas girls are educated at home in their own traditional ways. They may believe that their traditional education can best prepare the girls with the skills needed in their community.

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There is a level of similarity between drawings by Baduy and mainstream Indonesian children. The objects and activities depicted by mainstream Indonesian children are also found in the drawings by Baduy children. For example, specific clothing of Baduy children (headscarf, Scottish-kilt like skirt, and golok), bamboo houses, *leuits*, and palm trees are found in drawings by both groups. In fact, this traditional clothing is the trademark of Baduy children which most drawings have perfectly demonstrated. This costume is very different from the casual modern clothing of mainstream children that it physically distinguishes the Baduy from them.

Similarly, drawings of the two groups about Baduy children also include activities of collecting firewood, carrying agricultural produce on shoulder poles and making palm sugar. It seems that the local Indonesian government has made an effort to make the Baduy people known to mainstream Indonesians. Some national and local TV stations regularly air adventure programmes of geographically isolated communities such as the Baduy, Anak Dalam and Korowai so that they are somewhat familiar to mainstream children.

Finally, drawings by Baduy children contain local wisdom. There is much that Indonesian people can learn from the Baduy people who observe many mystical taboos, which they hold very firmly. The first wisdom relates to moral values and modesty. The Baduy are forbidden to kill, steal, lie, commit adultery, get drunk, eat food at night, take any form of conveyance, wear flowers or perfumes, accept gold or silver, touch money, or cut their hair.

The second taboo relates to environmental sustainability. The Baduy defend their lands against invasion from the outside world. Being totally reliant on nature, the Baduy may not grow *sawah* (wet rice) because the formation of *sawah* may destroy the environment. Instead, they rely on *ladang* (dry paddy farming). In doing so, they also do not use fertilizers, raise cash crops, use modern tools for working *ladang* soil, or keep large domestic animals.

The last local wisdom is hard work. The drawings show how Baduy children are involved in many activities assisting their parents at home and on the farms. They help plant the paddy, make palm sugar, and collect firewood. As children, they may not know how to indulge themselves, as their mainstream Indonesian counterparts do, such as by playing computer games and other leisure activities. As children, however, they still find enjoyment in assisting their parents. As Figure 4 above shows, they enjoy playing in the fresh water of the river while catching the fish for their family meal.

SOME CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Similar to findings in previous studies, drawings in this study reveal pictorial symbols of meaningful objects for children such as people, houses, pets, trees, and flowers. These objects are proportionally shared by both Baduy and mainstream Indonesian children. Second, it seems that mainstream Indonesian children have

some inaccurate stereotypes about Baduy children. They believe that, as evidenced from the drawings of all boys, only male Baduy go out of the village to work and have no time at all to play. In fact, boys and girls of the Baduy community work together on the farms and in other social contexts such as schooling and it is likely that they find enjoyment in helping their parents. Third, it seems that Baduy children have more understanding of gender equality as shown by their drawings of both boys and girls. Fourth, although Baduy children are cut off from many aspects of modernity, they appear to have a relatively thorough knowledge of modern life which includes modern means of transport and buildings. This suggests that outer Baduy children are somewhat open to outside influence. Fifth, there is some local wisdom that can be learnt from Baduy children such as the value of hard work and the importance of environmental sustainability.

Finally, due to cultural restrictions, this study only includes outer Baduy children. It would be interesting to include children of the inner Baduy community for future study so that the life of this group of Baduy people can be explored more comprehensively.

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SAYAKA SAITO

10. AINU: "HOMOGENOUS" JAPAN'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

INTRODUCTION

Many Japanese believe that they live in a homogenous, monoethnic society, which they regard as a distinctive as well as a positive characteristic of Japan (Lie, 2001). This view is often expressed by scholars, the media and Japanese politicians. In 1986, Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro claimed in his speech that for at least 2000 years, Japan has been a homogenous nation without ethnic minority groups. This "historical amnesia" angered Ainu and other ethnic minorities of Japan. In fact, the common view of homogenous Japan has been contested and problematized by many scholars (Howell, 1994; Htun, 2012; Kibe, 2006; Lie, 2001; Maher, 1997; Siddle, 2003; Weiner, 1997). They have argued both for the existence of ethnic minority groups and against the persistent discrimination against them in contemporary Japan, and called for recognition of diversity towards multiculturalism and coexistence. At present, the principal ethnic groups of Japan include Japanese, Ainu, Okinawans, Koreans and Chinese. This chapter re-examines the historical and political construct of homogenous Japan, which has been critical for the nation building of modern Japan and shaping of Japanese identity, by looking into the Ainu, the only officially recognised Indigenous people of Japan, and reconsiders the ethnic and cultural diversity that has always existed in Japan. Despite this, the drawings made by the children for this study indicate the absence of Ainu people in Japanese society today. More than a century of forced assimilation, persistent discrimination and ignorance, and lack of Ainu solidarity may be the primary reasons for this absence. In addition, the study faced unexpected obstacles through which Ainu-researcher relations were questioned and emergence of empowered Ainu identities were observed.

AINU HISTORY

Ainu people were hunting and gathering people who lived in a subsistent economy engaging in regular trading with Japan, China and Russia (Gayman, 2011). Their culture first made its appearance around the 13th century (Siddle, 1997). An estimated 40,000 Ainu originally lived throughout Ezo-chi (later renamed Hokkaido), including the Kuriles and Southern Sakhalin (Siddle, 1997). Until recently, they were significantly distinct from the mainstream Japanese population in terms of their language, culture, religion and appearance. However, like other minority peoples of

Japan, they have become not so distinguishable in the Japanese society today (Htun, 2012). Japanese homogeneity is in fact considered to be very much a historical and political construct that emerged during the formation of the Japanese state of Tokugawa (1603–1868) and Meiji (1868–1912) periods. The ethnic boundaries drawn and redrawn during the state building of these periods helped to determine the location of "Japan" and characteristics of "Japanese" (Howell, 1994). In brief, Japanese national identity was defined by who was not Japanese. Simultaneously, this process segregated and later assimilated the Ainu and other minority groups into the mainstream Japanese society.

During the formation of the Japanese polity in the Tokugawa period, the Ainu were autonomous from, but subordinate to, the mainstream Japanese population (Howell, 1994). The Matsumae autonomous domain of the Tokugawa shogunate that ruled the small southern part of Hokkaido controlled and manipulated approximately 20,000 to 30,000 "primitive" Ainu in order to enhance the prestige of Matsumae rulers (Cheung, 2005). They enforced restrictions and prohibitions on Ainu trade, which lead to an unfair monopolisation of trade by the Matsumae. This administration (商場知行政) was in fact a policy implemented in order to confine the Ainu to their own habitations and isolated Ainu society (Miyajima, 1996). In addition, new Japanese immigrants began to take over Ainu lands. Such invasions of Ainu land and plundering of their life sources triggered disputes and armed battles between the Ainu and the Matsumae, resulting in the loss of numerous lives. Eventually, the Ainu fell under Japanese control and were deprived of their fishing and hunting grounds. As the Matsumae were gaining increasing political and economic power over the Ainu in the late 18th century, forced labour in appalling conditions and diseases brought by the Japanese into Ainu lands almost caused the ethnocide of Ainu who were not immune to such diseases (Miyajima, 1996).

When the Meiji Restoration took place in 1868, the Japanese government, which was striving to build a modern state influenced by the European model, implemented various mechanisms of assimilation to "civilise" the Ainu (Kibe, 2006). Ezo-chi was renamed Hokkaido. In 1872, Japan annexed Hokkaido, claiming it was *terra nullius* (Cheung, 2005). Mass immigration and colonial administration followed. The Japanese settlers were given the best farming land for free whereas the Ainu were forced to move to rocky and barren lands. Hunting and fishing, the primary source of their diet, became prohibited and agriculture was promoted. In 1899, the Japanese government passed the notorious Hokkaido Former Aboriginal Protection Act in order to supply impoverished Ainu under the colonial rule of Japan with small plots of land to help develop Hokkaido as Japanese farmers (Murayama, 2012). Under this act, the Ainu were deprived of their original names, language, ethnic culture, religion, traditional way of life and land. Many Ainu who were not used to farming did not succeed in their attempts and were sent to work as poorly-paid workers in factories and mines (Okada, 2012). Another feature of this act was education that was conducted in the Japanese language. However, Ainu children received only a four-year compulsory elementary education instead of the six years of education for

Japanese children and were taught separately from them (Stevens, 2001). They were prohibited from using their Ainu language and excluded from geography and science subjects on account of their alleged "emotional and intellectual immaturity" (Maher, 1997). Many parents made their children only learn Japanese in the hope of escaping poverty and the Ainu situation (Stevens, 2001). This act, which was implemented to "protect" the Ainu, actually forced them to assimilate into the Japanese society (Okada, 2012). By the beginning of the 20th century, the Ainu were living in chronic destitution and only barely managing to survive (Siddle, 1997). Official and popular history, however, views the creation of Hokkaido as *development (kaitaku)*, not *colonialism* (Siddle, 1997).

In post-war Japan, race and nation became increasingly synonymous (Siddle, 1997). This idea was often reflected in the Japanese notion of homogenous nation-state with popular literature on Japaneseness, *nihonjinron* appearing in 1940s and 1950s. Racial discrimination against non-Japanese in education, employment and marriage made it difficult for the Ainu to assimilate into the mainstream society despite their efforts to do so. Even Ainu who resembled and passed as Japanese lived in the fear of discovery (Siddle, 1997). As a consequence, many young Ainu turned their backs on their heritage. The Ainu were unable to challenge the Japanese domination until the 1970s when domestic human rights movements and struggles of Indigenous people elsewhere contributed to the emergence of new, young and often radical Ainu activists throughout Hokkaido (Siddle, 1997). They launched attacks on the assimilation policy of the government and the Hokkaido Ainu Association's comfortable position and conservative leadership. As a result, the marginalisation of the Ainu began to surface. Other Ainu started the process of documenting Ainu culture, establishing Ainu museums and revival of Ainu language and ceremonies (Stevens, 2001). In 1984, the Hokkaido Ainu Association prepared a draft for new legislation, the Ainu Cultural Promotion Act (CPA) – also known as *Ainu Shinpo* (Ainu New Law) – to replace the Hokkaido Former Aboriginal Protection Act. Among other things, it contained demands for the protection of human rights, guaranteed political participation and a fund for economic self-reliance (Siddle, 2002). The enactment of this new law became the principal demand of the Ainu activists in both domestic and international forums.

1997 was a crucial year for Ainu politics. The Sapporo District Court recognised the legal category of Indigenous people and that Ainu people fit that definition (Siddle, 2002). This decision ended the Nibutani Dam Case which was brought by two Ainu activists against the Hokkaido Development Agency. They argued that the construction of the dam over their land including their sacred river site was illegal. This ruling clearly recognised minority people's rights for greater consideration and to enjoy their culture. In addition, thirteen years after the preparation of the draft, the Japanese government finally accommodated the Ainu as an ethnic minority and replaced the Hokkaido Former Aboriginal Protection Act with the CPA. However, this law was significantly different from the draft written by the Hokkaido Ainu Association and neither recognised any Indigenous rights of the Ainu nor adequately

acknowledged advancement of Ainu culture (Maruyama, 2012). Nevertheless, this campaign marked the clear emergence of Ainu ethnopolitics and transformed the "dying race" into "an Indigenous people" (Siddle, 1997). Following Japan's ratification of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People in 2007, for the first time in history, in 2008, the Japanese government officially recognised the Ainu as an Indigenous people of Japan and promised to create a new law and improve policies to support them.

AINU TODAY

Today, Ainu identities vary with individuals and generations. There are estimated 23,782 Ainu people living in Hokkaido (Hokkaido Government, 2006). Only the Tokyo metropolitan area has conducted an investigation on Ainu living outside Hokkaido and estimated the population to be approximately 2,700 in 1988 (Hokkaido Ainu Association, 1988). However, these figures are not clear as a result of Ainu-Japanese intermarriages and/or Ainu people hiding their Indigenous heritage due to persistent discrimination (Siddle, 2009). A significant representation of Ainu in the present Japan is ethnic tourism which has spread throughout Hokkaido in tourist villages and museums. Despite economic gains for some Ainu and the role it has played to maintain Ainu rituals, dances, songs and arts, this ethnic tourism has been criticised by Ainu for commoditising Ainu culture, which produces stereotypical images of Ainu and neglects to address the long history of Ainu and Japanese, and the contemporary problems that Ainu people face (Hiwasaki, 2000). For the majority of the Japanese population, indifference and lack of knowledge concerning Ainu is still the norm (Siddle, 2009). In addition, after more than a century of policies that enforced assimilation, the Ainu remain disadvantaged compared the rest of the nation in terms of education, socioeconomic status and quality of life (Okada, 2012). As a consequence of discrimination and inferiority, as well as humiliation due to much-publicised exploitation of welfare benefits by some Ainu, recent lack of Ainu solidarity has been an issue for the progress of Ainu rights recovery movements (Gayman, 2011). A survey conducted by Hokkaido University Centre for Ainu and Indigenous Studies (2008) shows that more than two thirds of Ainu youth have no consciousness at all of being Ainu. The same survey reveals that 74.3% of Ainu "would like to live their lives without particular consciousness of their ethnicity" while only 18.2% "would like to live actively as Ainu".

On the other hand, continuous efforts have been made by Ainu individuals and groups especially in Hokkaido and Greater Tokyo to revive their culture and Indigenous identity. For example, in Tokyo, an Ainu-managed restaurant called *Rera Cise* played an important role as a safe space for the Ainu living away from their homeland to talk, socialise and practice culture until it closed down in 2009 (Watson, 2010). In recent years, with increasing human rights and minority rights movements, independent younger Ainu groups in particular such as *Ainu Rebels* have been pursuing both traditional and contemporary Ainu culture in a positive

light and interacting widely with other Indigenous peoples around the world (Htun, 2012; Siddle, 2009). A film called 'Tokyo Ainu' was released in 2011 in response to the calls by the Ainu living away from their homeland in Greater Tokyo, who wanted to "document their voices for future generations" (Tokyo Ainu, 2011). Additionally, the Ainu Cultural Exchange Centre in Tokyo founded by the government as a commitment to the CPA has been a venue that supports Ainu activities of cultural transmission and exchanges between Ainu and non-Ainu, as well as providing materials for people who wish to learn more about Ainu. Also, the Council for Ainu Policy Promotion was established in 2009 with participation of several Ainu representatives so as to comprehensively and effectively promote Ainu policy. As for Ainu language education, although it is not taught in schools, there are a handful of universities in Hokkaido that offer Ainu instruction in addition to small Ainu classes operated by community groups in Hokkaido (Maher, 1997). Shoji Yuki, the leader of Ainu Art Project, attributes the contemporary Ainu movements and more open views by the society to the previous generations who fought bravely against discrimination and legislation, and strives to build upon the past and present a new Ainu culture for future generations (Yuki, 2007).

NATIONALISM, IMPERIALISM, AND AINU

In the course of Japan's modern nation building from the Meiji period throughout the end of World War II, ideology, known as nationalism and imperialism, played a crucial role in Japanese identity formation (Hamada, 2005; Weiner, 2009). Prior to this period, during the Tokugawa hegemonic rule (1603–1868), political authority was shared between centralised *Bakufu* administration and approximately 250 semi-autonomous feudal domains that spread throughout Japan (Weiner, 2002). Japanese population at the time was in fact culturally as well as racially diverse. However, in order for Japan to find its place in the world amidst the imperial dominance of the western powers, it became an urgent task for the Meiji leaders to unite the population and promote the Japanese nation state, a unity of new economic, social and political relations. Likewise, Japanese national identity that assumed unique qualities and capabilities of *Yamato minzoku*, a race that shared a common ancestry and culture, was strategically shaped and promoted.

The core of such an *imagined community* of a race and nation state was the racial mythology that the Japanese were one extended family of the semi-divine father and the head of state, the emperor (Weiner, 2002). The imperial family, which had been unbroken for over two thousand years, was regarded as sacred and the source of social morals, thus, reverence and loyalty to the emperor became absolute and unquestioned. Throughout the Meiji period, this notion rapidly became common sense among the educated classes, and subsequently strategically permeated the general public. Hence, this *imperial nationalism* integrated Japanese concepts of race, ethnicity and nation, fusing Japan's heterogeneous population into one family state and one harmonious whole. In the midst of this endeavour, the Japanese

systematically promoted assimilation of Ainu into Japanese society in order to actualise the imagined ethnically homogenous Japan and for the government to secure and claim the territory of Hokkaido against Russia (Hamada, 2006). However, while being legally Japanese citizens, Ainu people were excluded from the racialized national communities and treated as an internally colonised native population (Siddle, 1997). The Japanese government justified the economic and social inequality of Ainu on account of their inborn differences and forced their continued subordination. Similarly, such internal racism of inferior *Other* affected members of other ethnic minorities, the former outcasts and urban and rural poor who were considered unacceptable in the civilised Japanese society (Weiner, 2009).

It is this version of what it means to be Japanese which remains at the heart of imagined Japanese identity, an identity which renders the Ainu invisible, a people who cannot even be imagined by the mainstream children who participated in this study.

DATA COLLECTION SITES

Although all methodology throughout all chapters of the book are to be consistent, I have deliberately altered my data collection sites and participants. Instead of having two participant groups – one Indigenous group and one mainstream group – I had one Indigenous group and two different mainstream groups. The three intended data collection sites were as follows:

- Site 1. A unique private school where Ainu education is encouraged and practiced.
- Site 2. A typical public school where there is no particular curriculum or textbook that indicates Ainu education.
- Site 3. A school / organization / community group where Ainu children study or take part in Ainu activities.

My intention of having two groups of mainstream children was to compare the results of those who are educated about the Ainu at school with those who are not. It is important to point out that the latter represent the vast majority of Japanese children today.

SITE 1 – PRIVATE SCHOOL

The school is located in a quiet residential area of Japan. It is well-known for its unique education which aims to foster a child's curiosity for learning. Their education is grounded in three main principles: "subject education", "school events, self-governing and cultural activities" and "study of living and comprehensive learning". Their curriculum and school events contain methods based on various hands-on experiences rather than learning from a textbook. Such experiences include learning various folk dances of Japan including Ainu dance and Eisa dance of Okinawa,

educational exchange programmes with schools in South Korea, China, Russia and the USA, and numerous creative classes and events such as arts and crafts, cooking, handwork, farmwork, and school festivals. The data were collected in March 2014 during their Art class with the researcher present in the classroom.

Participants

The two classes consisted of both boys and girls of mainly mainstream Japanese children with just a few children of mixed or non-Japanese heritage. There were 35 grade five students and 34 grade four students. The children belong to families of better socioeconomic background as the cost of private school education is high in Japan. The vast majority of the students had learned and performed Ainu dance and made Ainu embroidery in grade one. Some also remembered cooking salmon with an Ainu guest teacher who came to school and taught children about some Ainu cooking.

SITE 2 – PUBLIC SCHOOL

The school is located in another residential area of Japan. Like all other public schools in Japan, the school follows the national curriculum set by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. The curriculum barely contains any information about the topic of Ainu. There is a school club called "World Club" at this school which meets once a month and holds activities such as studying English, learning exchanges with Australia, and cooking international food. The teacher in charge of the World Club agreed to take part in this project. The data collection was conducted in January 2014. The teacher explained the aim of the research project and the data collection procedure to the students on behalf of the researcher who was absent.

Participants

The students consisted of both boys and girls of mainstream Japanese children. There were 14 grade four students. They belong to mixed socioeconomic groups since public education up to grade 9 is free in Japan. Their school is located in the western area of Japan where the population of Ainu is unknown. Unlike Hokkaido and Tokyo where some Ainu organisations are located and cultural and political movements are taking place, these children represent the vast majority of mainstream children in Japan.

SITE 3 – AINU CHILDREN

Despite numerous attempts made, the researcher was unable to have Ainu children participate in the research project. The requests were sent to a school and a university

in Hokkaido, several Ainu organisations and individuals but each declined one after the other. As the research project progressed, it became apparent that such refusals were the consequences of the long history of Ainu-Japanese relations as well as *academic colonialism* carried out by Japanese researchers. No Ainu children participated in the study.

<div align="center">STUDIES OF AINU – ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS</div>

Recruitment of Ainu children brought unexpected ethical challenges that later shifted the whole research project into a new direction. The research requests sent to a number of educational bodies, Ainu organisations, groups and individuals were declined one after the other, leaving the researcher puzzled for months. The question was finally solved when I encountered a Japanese researcher who was working for one of the Ainu organisations in Hokkaido that I contacted and who had written a thesis on the topic of how Japanese social, political and historical contexts have influenced the discussion of Ainu origins. Prior to this encounter, I had been trying to convince my prospective Ainu participants how beneficial this book chapter might be for them because this project "gave Ainu children space to express themselves and an opportunity for their voices to be heard". This idea turned out to be both disrespectful and inappropriate for three reasons.

Firstly, the Ainu have long been discriminated against and exploited by Japanese scholars in the name of research. For example, various records show deceitful and/or forceful excavations of Ainu graves without their permission, including the infamous collection of 1004 Ainu individuals at Hokkaido University by Kodama who was well aware that disentombing was a taboo in Ainu culture and yet justified his excavation claiming that his research was necessary before Ainu became extinct (Hamada, 2006). As a result of such unethical research approaches and academic publications, researchers and publishers have experienced a number of lawsuits since 1980s (Nakamura, 2010). Inevitably, Ainu people have become "allergic" to academic research and researchers. Consequently, topics concerning Ainu are likely to be avoided considering their "sensitive" nature. Secondly, in the light of recent Ainu politics especially the official recognition of the Ainu as Japan's Indigenous people in 2008 in addition to international and domestic Ainu movements, Ainu people now have access to sources with which, and places where, they can practice their culture and express their new identities. This indicates their independence and empowerment as an Indigenous people. In other words, they do not need to have a Japanese researcher to give them space to express themselves or an opportunity for their voices to be heard. Thirdly, as mentioned earlier, due to inter-marriages with the Japanese and the silent Ainu concealing, not expressing or being unaware of their ancestry thus living as Japanese, there seems to be prevalent uncertainties of "Ainu identities" among Ainu people themselves in the present society. In other words, they will not express their Ainu identities if they

do not identify themselves as Ainu. The Concept of "mainstream children" and "Indigenous children" seemed to be, on a superficial level, absent among people in Japan.

For the reasons mentioned above, the researcher, being Japanese and not having developed any close relationship with the Ainu, was unable to get any favourable responses regarding participant recruitment. This chapter, hence, does not contain drawings by Ainu children, which places considerable limitations on the study. However, the absence of Ainu drawings may precisely depict the current Ainu situation in Japan. That is, they exist but are barely visible in contemporary Japan. Potential causes of their absence are more than a century of assimilation policies, discrimination against them, lack of multicultural education, and lack of Ainu solidarity. The absence of drawings by Ainu children, the long history of Ainu-researcher relations, recent Ainu empowerment, and new Ainu identities are explored further in the Discussions section.

METHODS FOR DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The researcher at site 1 and the teacher at the site 2 prepared drawing paper but had asked the participants to bring a drawing medium with colour such as colour pencils or crayons that they wished to draw with. At site 1, some participants used water colour because it was the medium often used in their Art classes. At both sites, the researcher and the teacher were to encourage the children to give oral descriptions of their drawing experience as they drew and painted. Collected data were analysed and interpreted in accordance with the approach outlined by Alerby this volume where repeated patterns and themes were identified; drawings selected for the next section, Data Presentations and Discussions, are typical examples of these.

DATA PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

Of the children in the two mainstream participant groups, only the children in the private school where Ainu education was encouraged and practiced were able to produce drawings of Ainu. The children in the public school, on the other hand, had absolutely no idea what to draw. The following four drawings were made by four children at the private school, site 1. During data analysis of 69 drawings, five themes emerged which are presented below in frequency of appearance.

- Nature (trees, rivers, hills, rocks)
- Fish (salmon)
- Embroidery / patterns / traditional costume
- Animals (bears, deer, horses, foxes, owls)
- Ainu people

When the children were given this drawing task, they did not know what to draw at first. They repeated "Mmm… I don't remember very well…", however, they spent a few minutes bringing back what they had learnt in grade one - the year when all children at the private school learn about Ainu through dancing, storytelling, craftwork making, cooking, painting, drawing and other hands-on activities. Although it took a while, the children one after the other began to recall their experiences. There were a small number of students who had entered the school after grade one and had not learned about Ainu. However, some of them asked, "Can I draw from my imagination?" while others looked at their classmates' pictures and drew something similar.

Ainu and Nature

The vast majority of the students depicted nature such as trees, rivers, lakes, hills and rocks, and Ainu co-existing among them (see Figure 1). Even today, forests cover 70% of Hokkaido. Ainu life had always been with nature and nature was there immediately in every aspect of Ainu life. They believed that *kamuy*, sprits or gods, resided in all things that surround humans (Aoyama, 2012). There were *kamuy* of nature such as fire, water and wind, *kamuy* of plants, ancestors, animals, plants, and even objects. They were considered to have the same existence as humans and were mutually interdependent with each other. Ainu gave daily prayers to *kamuy* to give thanks and to ask for protection. The children did not explain why they made such drawings, however, their drawings indicate their strong association of Ainu with nature and their understanding that Ainu lives are closely related to nature.

Figure 1. Ainu people are sitting around a fire by a river and surrounded by trees.
This indicates their close relations with nature.

Salmon and Bear

A large number of grade five students drew salmon or salmon and a bear. Salmon used to be one of the most important food resources for the Ainu until fishing was banned during the Meiji period. The bears were mostly depicted by the children as salmon hunters although they are also commonly known as precious sacrifices of *Iyomante*, sending off the bear, the most famous yet controversial Ainu ceremony. As I was talking to the students and their art teacher, it became apparent that when they were in grade one, an Ainu person came to the school and cooked salmon with them. In fact, some children drew a piece of salmon and two of them drew it being cooked on a grill (see Figure 2). What they recalled was their lived experience with an Ainu person. Alerby and Bergmark (2012) emphasise that an essential when analysing visual images is not what the participants have depicted, but rather, how they reflected their experiences when the drawings were made. The children drew what they knew about Ainu – their hands-on learning experiences with an Ainu person in grade one.

Figure 2. A piece of salmon is being cooked on an old-fashioned grill. A bear is standing next to it with a river and rocks in the background.

Ainu Embroidery

Grade 4 students in particular recalled their experiences embroidering patterns (see Figure 3) on *matanpushi,* a headband with Ainu language embroideries that Ainu people wore to tell gods where they were and to protect themselves, as well as *tekunpe*, a covering for the back of the hand and wrist that they used for work or as an accessory. According to their art teacher, the children made *matanpushi* and *tekunpe*, and performed Ainu dance wearing them. At their school, grade one children learn about Ainu culture every year with guest Ainu speakers and through hands-on

*Figure 3. Ainu patterns embroidered on matanpushi and tekunpe in grade one
recalled by a grade 4 student.*

learning experiences which include Ainu embroidery and dance. They practice and perform the dance at the annual school autumn festival. They also produce drawings of the dance that they have learned and experienced.

Ainu People

An Ainu man and an Ainu woman are wearing a *matanpushi*, *tekunpe* and traditional consume (see Figure 4). They seem to be holding a *mukkuri*, an Ainu musical instrument made of bamboo. They are surrounded by trees, streams, fish and small animals that may be bears. What is noteworthy here is that, although the two Ainu people are dressed in their traditional clothing, they are drawn in a way that the child may have drawn any other people they know such as their friends. This is in comparison to the drawings made by two children who joined the school after grade

*Figure 4. An Ainu man and an Ainu woman drawn by a grade five student. They are wearing
a matanpushi, tekunpe and traditional costume, holding a mukkuri.*

one therefore did not have an opportunity to learn about the Ainu. They tried drawing from their imagination, however, their drawings indicated primitiveness such as running with spears, wearing fur clothing and "30,000 years ago" written at the top of one of the drawings. This suggests remarkable differences in their knowledge about and perceptions of the Indigenous people. These two children depicted them as a people of tens of thousands of years ago living in a primitive environment. On the other hand, the children who had learned about the Ainu presented what they knew, had heard about, and experienced.

Public School

As mentioned earlier, there are no drawings made by the 14 children at the public school. When they heard "Ainu", they had no idea what it meant. Some of them even imagined "Ainu" to be an animal or a plant. They had neither learnt about Ainu at school nor encountered Ainu people or culture in their lives; even if they had, they had no awareness of it.

DISCUSSIONS

The results of the drawings, or absence of drawings, depict the current Ainu existence in Japan, knowledge about Ainu people among people in Japan, as well as Ainu people's struggle as an Indigenous people in the present society. As the children in the public school had not even heard of Ainu, it is likely that the same absence of knowledge applies to other mainstream children since all public schools in Japan follow the same national curriculum set by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology which does not cover topics regarding Ainu. Although some efforts are being made by individual teachers to teach children about minority peoples living in Japan including Ainu, they say that time is very limited which make such efforts almost impossible. As Siddle points out (2009), for the majority of the Japanese population, indifference and lack of knowledge concerning Ainu seems to be the norm. Representations of Ainu in present day Japan are, by and large, confined to traditional Ainu culture such as ethnic tourism which produces stereotypical images of Ainu and neglects to address the long history of both Ainu and Japanese, and the contemporary problems that Ainu people face (Hiwasaki, 2000). Awareness that Ainu people are not people of the past but a people with whom we co-exist in Japan today seems to be lacking.

The drawings made by the private school children, on the contrary, indicate their knowledge about the Ainu and the importance of Ainu education. Despite the fact that what they depicted was limited to the traditional aspects of the Ainu, they presented their knowledge of the Indigenous people. What is remarkable here is that they tried to express their lived experiences with an Ainu person and Ainu culture. According to the school principal, their learning aims to foster children's curiosity about the world around them. They are encouraged to experience and have fun. Their

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hands-on lessons are designed to promote children's eagerness towards learning. Similarly, their Ainu education is not intended to address the long history of Ainu and the Japanese. Rather, their Ainu education that consists of singing, dancing, embroidering patterns, cooking and storytelling can easily be experienced and learnt by grade one children since they are fun and interesting to them. If their learning experience is fun, they will want to learn more about it. The school principal claims that by learning about various cultures, he would like his students to build a future society that embraces multiculturalism. The children may be too young to understand the long history, however, their learning experiences may stay with them until one day they encounter an Ainu person, consider minority issues, or study about cultural and ethnic diversity.

Absence of Ainu children and their drawings suggests the current Ainu situation in Japan and implies a number of issues concerning Indigenous people in the Japanese society today. As the survey conducted by Hokkaido University Centre for Ainu and Indigenous Studies (2008) revealed, there is an obvious lack of agreement regarding present-day Ainu identities among Ainu people themselves. It is uncertain that whether or not and to what extent Ainu children today grow up holding onto their Indigenous identities. Ainu people's concealing and turning their backs to their heritage may be a consequence of unavoidable circumstances or a choice made by individuals. Hence, presence of Ainu people and their identities seem to be obscured or invisible in Japan even in Hokkaido. Considering the official and unofficial Ainu population of Hokkaido and other parts of Japan including Tokyo, Japanese people are likely to have encountered and interacted with Ainu descendants without ever knowing their Indigenous identities. The question "Where are the Ainu people today?" may have arisen from a false perception that Ainu life is confined to Hokkaido and their traditional ways of living. Watson's case study of Ainu diasporas living in Tokyo (2010) draws attention to increasing Indigenous peoples all over the world moving into urban and metropolitan areas where they have begun to negotiate, appropriate and construct their new identities. Similarly, as a result of more than a century of forced assimilation, how and where Ainu people live has changed. Efforts are, in fact, continuously being made by Ainu activists as well as some ordinary Ainu to give rise to modern Ainu identities. However, although Ainu culture has been supported by the government as a commitment to the CPA, Ainu people have not yet been recognised by the general public as a distinct race, let alone as an Indigenous people of Japan. Even if they encounter Ainu culture, it is most likely to be so detached from their daily lives that it challenges neither their belief in homogenous Japan, nor their self-conceptions of what it is to be Japanese (Siddle, 2003).

Another issue depicted in the absence of Ainu children and their drawing is the long history of hostile Ainu-researcher relations mentioned earlier such as appalling excavations justified and conducted repeatedly by some Japanese scholars in the name of research (Hamada, 2006). Given its complex history, Japanese academics consider Ainu-research to be sensitive and the topics difficult for them to approach objectively (Cheung, 2004). In fear of criticism by Ainu activists, publishers have

become particularly reluctant to carry articles concerning Ainu. This has resulted in a decline of related studies and publications although the Japanese Society of Ethnography formed a committee on research ethics in the late 1980s and printed a Statement with Respect to Ainu Research on the cover of their well-established quarterly journal, *Minzokugaku-Kenkyu*, in 1989. The studies of Ainu cannot be separated from the past Japanese-Ainu relations of domination and subordination which continue to exist in contemporary Japan even though ordinary Japanese and Japanese academics may prefer not to see them.

In the light of increasing international human rights and minority rights movements, new laws and policies which protect Ainu culture and their Indigenous rights, and recognise them as an Indigenous people have been enacted in the past few decades (Okada, 2012). Although this may only be the beginning of Ainu politics towards their true recognition in the Japanese society, the movements have transformed the disappearing race into an Indigenous people. In other words, Ainu people are neither a people who lived in Hokkaido in the past who have now assimilated completely in the Japanese society nor a people who need guidance from the Japanese. They are no longer passive subjects of Japanese research and do not need to be given opportunities by Japanese researchers to voice their opinions and express themselves. At present, there are a number of Ainu associations and organisations particularly in Hokkaido and Tokyo promoting their culture, identities, rights, and recognition. Additionally, some Ainu people who perceive their heritage and culture in a positive light have taken part in numerous domestic and international cultural festivals. Efforts have also been made especially by independent younger Ainu groups to revive Ainu culture pursuing both traditional and contemporary culture and interacting widely with other Indigenous peoples around the world (Htun, 2012; Siddle, 2009). Therefore, they are now an internationally and officially recognised Indigenous people who are able to empower themselves.

CONCLUSION

Ethnic and cultural diversity has always existed in Japan. The belief that Japanese people live in a homogenous, monoethnic society is a historical and political construct which was established in the modern nation building of the Meiji period. Japanese identities were shaped systematically by ideology known as nationalism, imperialism and later *nihonjinron*. This forced Ainu people and other ethnic minorities living in Japan to assimilate into the Japanese society and live legally as Japanese citizens, and yet they were treated unequally to the Japanese due to their alleged innate differences. As a result of more than a century of forced assimilation, despite their existence, Ainu people seem to have become invisible in contemporary Japan even in Hokkaido. Nevertheless, the long history of discrimination against Ainu by the Japanese still persists today. Ainu-Japanese relations including the hostile history of Ainu and Japanese researchers require much attention. The drawings and absence of drawings by the children indicate apparent lack of knowledge concerning Ainu

people, their culture and history. This indicates an urgent need for multicultural and multi-ethnic education in Japan in order for the Japanese public to acknowledge the history and diversity in a move towards genuine respectful co-existence. The results of this study also suggest that Ainu people are now internationally and officially recognised Indigenous people who are able to empower themselves. An indication of such empowerment is the emergence of new Ainu identities that are promoted by Ainu groups and individuals who perceive their Indigenous ancestry in the positive light and strive to establish their contemporary identities. Lack of solidarity may be an issue, however, this may be the beginning for Ainu and other ethnic minorities of Japan to gain recognition. Amidst globalisation and internationalisation, acknowledging its own diversity may be a necessary step for Japan towards a truly multicultural society that embraces diversity and co-existence.

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MEGAN BLIGHT AND MICHELLE EADY

11. WHAT DO CANADIAN ABORIGINAL CHILDREN IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES UNDERSTAND ABOUT THEMSELVES THROUGH THEIR DRAWINGS?

INTRODUCTION

At the onset of this project, our idea was to travel to the Canadian arctic to meet with the children there and have both the Aboriginal children and non-Aboriginal children draw pictures of what an Aboriginal child means to them and compare these drawings. Once we discussed our ideas with school principals in the regions we wanted to focus on, we realised that there may be an issue: in many of these regions there are few children who are not do not have some type of Aboriginal background and therefore, trying to do a comparison became a difficult task. However, we embarked on the journey and learned more about how Aboriginal children think about themselves through drawing than we could have imagined.

SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

The Aboriginal communities of the Northwest Territories of Canada represent a distinct group of Native peoples, including the Dene and Inuvialuit peoples. Cultural identity is found in these communities through a diverse and unique array of perspectives, values, beliefs and traditions. Aboriginal perspective in these areas is held with great esteem, seen in its purpose for living with integrity, guiding choices, understanding value, and empowerment (Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education, 2000). In particular, there is a distinct sense of existence within the "Laws of relationships", with natural world, with one another, and with self (Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education, 2000, p. 5).

The Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education (2000) outlines some of the key defining concepts of the values and beliefs which shape these relationships within natural and human order:

- Kinship (respect in relationships)
- Protocol (conduct in ceremonies and social interaction)

  ○ Medicine (personal habits and practice in relation to health and spiritual gifts)

- Ceremonies (roles and conduct)
- Copyright (earning the right to knowledge)

  ○ Oral tradition (expression of knowledge, its forms and ownership) (p. 15).

This valuable and foundational curriculum document also outlines the importance and place of language in these cultures, and asserts it as fundamental to culturally relevant classroom approaches:

> Language and culture are intertwined. Both are necessary to instil identity in its fullest sense… because language and culture cannot be separated, language is vital to understanding unique cultural perspectives. (Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education, 2000, p. 16)

The framework expounds the relationships and other fundamental concepts of cultural significance embedded in the Native Aboriginal languages of these cultural groups. By implication, the value of language learning for authentic cultural learning and understanding holds great centrality to shaping the attitudes of students, as well as generating change and direction for the learner:

> Learning the language engenders respect for the self, for others and for all facets of nature, and this in turn strengthens the human capacity to stand together. (Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education, 2000, p. 15)

Among these concepts lie the fundamental premises of cultural significance in the relationships held in Aboriginal communities throughout these regions. These concepts are most notably centred on the place of Elders as "keepers of knowledge" (Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education, 2000, p. 3), genuine love and care for all people, and a deep connection to place, which even extends to a spiritual connection and conviction in learning to protect:

> People are identified by the land they have historically inhibited and on which they have learned to survive. (Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education, 2000, p. 6)

It is these imperative elements of identity which shape perceptions of culture of all those for whom relationships in these contexts are a fundamental and everyday reality.

ABORIGINAL IDENTITY, VALUES AND LAW IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Aboriginal identity in the Northwest Territories is shaped by the place of values in traditional culture, which subsequently forms the law and culture of day-to-day

interaction in contemporary context. For example, Dene values represent the values of the Dene people, the culmination of long-established traditional culture and moral standards:

> Dene values are an important part of our daily lives, the values are taught from the history and continue on through the next generations. (Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education, 2000, p. 6)

Dene values include:

- sharing (in regards to the land and its resources),
- respect (for self and others, and all living things),
- caring (for family and community alike),
- equality (among all people, and all living creatures), and,
- self-respect and pride (respecting self and taking pride in doing well, contributing to family and community) (Blondin, 2000).

Dene values shape the way that Dene people live in the world and interact on a daily basis, and form the foundational elements of Dene Law. Comprised of nine fundamental laws which define the way that they should live and relate to one another, the laws are fundamentally based on relationship; relationship with the world, relationship with others, and relationship with self. The overarching law is "Share what you have", an umbrella law which held great importance particularly throughout Dene history for the purpose of survival (Blondin, 2000). The laws define how communities ought to interact in a way which shows respect for one another, particularly for Elders, and which cares for those in positions of lesser power or circumstance, all in line with and caring for the patterns and cycles of Mother Earth.

Traditional stories of the Dene people reveal helpful insights into the nature of relationship in Dene culture. There exists in these stories a strong sense of care and concern for the attitudes and futures of children and young people of Dene backgrounds. In and through these stories, Aboriginal Elders in the communities pass down knowledge from generation to generation: "These teachings should also be good and useful for the children of these modern times" (Blondin, 2000, p. 35). These aspects of Aboriginal culture were the foundation on which we built our interest in understanding how these children understood themselves through drawing.

THE PROJECT

This project sought to develop insights into the cultural perceptions of self of primary school aged students in Canadian Aboriginal community contexts. The fundamental premise of this project was to ascertain students' perceptions of self-identity and culture, based on lived experience. In doing this, it is important to consider how the

thoughts of students might be understood in a culturally and contextually relevant way, particularly in the modes used for this project.

Monomodality has been shown distinct preference in society until recent years, shown through the highly valued nature of homogeneous texts using one primary medium (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). It represents a long-existing pattern in western culture, not only in the value given to written text, but also in the homogeneous character of the visual arts, and all the creative arts, in a strive for uniformity (Shaban & Al-Awidi, 2013). Recent decades have seen a change in views on language and expression, where perspectives have been broadened to include an increasing acceptance of multimodality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). This shift to multimodality in our contemporary context represents a revolution in cultural thinking, and a divergence from former paradigms in this dynamic and ever-changing modern age (Alerby & Bergmark, 2012).

Drawing provides opportunity for children to engage in free self-expression, making tangible the images of their mind, dreams and everyday by giving them form in a creative, spontaneous and resourceful way (Alerby & Bergmark, 2012). In drawing, participants engage directly in shaping their own lived experience, giving their own portrayal of a given phenomenon, as per their views of reality (Alerby & Bergmark, 2012).

Drawings, and the processes by which these visual images are created, reveal much about the way a child negotiates meaning and constructs understandings of self. The way that children represent themselves in drawings demonstrates pleasure, desire and reveals much about their varied perceptions of identity (Shaban & Al-Awidi, 2013):

> The effects of culture, tradition, and social context on children's image making help them understand who they are, and it affects their interaction with others in their daily lives as they create their social position. (p. 34)

Drawings provide highly telling insight into the perspectives of children on their place in social contexts. When children draw, they tell stories about these contexts and their feelings associated towards them that they might otherwise never express verbally (Jenkins, 2008). A child's expression through drawing provides an important avenue for understanding the emotional needs of children based on given opportunity for free self-expression, particularly in regard to identity and self-understanding.

THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

This chapter presents selected data collected when traveling to Canada's arctic region in the Northwest Territories. The students directly involved as participants in this project were of Aboriginal cultural heritage and attended local schools in grades three and four (aged 7 and 8 years old). Their stories and particular backgrounds differed in many ways, however most had experienced the integration of cultural

curriculums in their schools. These curriculums heavily focus on language classes for students, and reviving the traditional language among the younger generations, as well as integrating traditional culture into the everyday of the classroom. Students in these contexts learned much of what it means to be Aboriginal, and native to their people, through insights into the elements of both traditional and contemporary lifestyle which shape and transform cultural identity.

Consultation with school principals led to the negotiation of arrangements for visits to the school and meetings with students, teachers and community members, in order to ensure broad support and permission for the research to go ahead in the Aboriginal community context. Upon the arrival of the researcher in the community, an information session was held for parents and teachers, where they were given the opportunity to develop a clarified understanding of how the project was to be undertaken and their part in it, as well as to ask any questions they may have had.

STUDENT DRAWINGS

Participants were asked to draw their perceptions on a given phenomenon; in this case how they view their Aboriginality, the data gathered by drawing represents responses which authentically articulate the experience of the individual through visual portrayal of their own realities, which may then by interpreted in a holistic way (Alerby & Bergmark, 2012). This method of drawing utilises visual art works as "empirical data" (p. 95), where perceptions stem from "the 'silent' dimension of human experience" (Alerby & Bergmark, 2012, p. 96).

Students were gathered as participants to complete the drawing process. Upon arrangement with the school principal and supervising or participating teachers, a classroom was arranged for this interaction between the researcher and the group students, lasting approximately an hour in total. Students were informed of the nature of the project as well as their ongoing anonymity and consensual participation.

After explaining the task to students through an example, students were asked to draw a picture in response to the question: "What comes to mind when I say the word Aboriginality?" The researcher expanded upon the question where necessary, clarifying with students as participants, and offering alternative words (such as 'Inuit', 'Dene', 'Inuvialuit', or Native) where this helped to add meaning to the question. Students were given time to complete their drawings, up to one hour, including and followed by discussions of their thinking and the drawing that resulted of their efforts.

STUDENT DISCUSSIONS/INTERVIEWS

The verbal reflections of students were facilitated by short discussions completed directly following students' drawings. The discussions used questions focussed on the internal thought processes of the participant to accompany their visual portrayal,

rather than to gain additional understandings (Alerby & Bergmark, 2012; Shaban & Al-Awidi, 2013).

Student discussions were encouraged during the drawing process, and followed immediately after their drawings through mini-interview scenarios which asked them to expand on their thoughts during, and the process of drawing. Discussions were conducted individually with students as close to the time of their drawing as possible. Given the timeframe and locational circumstances, this approach proved the most effective way of gathering relevant and reliable data from the given sample.

In this way, the study used the methods of document analysis and observation to gather the views of participants. In addition to discussions with students, the classroom interactions provided a context by which observation was also undertaken as to the reactions and body language of students during the process of drawing.

The analysis of the drawings and discussion was undertaken according to the steps involved in van Manen's Phenomenological life world cycle of analysis (van Manen, 1997), involving iterations of thematic exploration. Prior to coding, time extensive time was given to reflecting on the ideas gained from the data, and developing a general sense of meaning, tone, depth and credibility of the information (Creswell, 2014). This stage of analysis was essential in providing a holistic sense of the project, and in understanding the big ideas and meanings scattered throughout the data. The process involved revisiting the drawings, discussions and interviews, and viewing them in light of the research questions. Throughout this stage, themes in the data began to emerge, building a framework to lead into the coding process.

Students created drawings that demonstrated the depth of their understanding as to the significance of culture and cultural identity in their lives. These students drew pictures with rigour and critical thought, and presented their perceptions as more than simply cultural artefacts and activities such as Tepees and Hunting, rather, drawing with insight into the importance of elements of culture such as interpersonal areas of family, celebration, and language. These students demonstrated that their thinking and perceiving had extended beyond themselves, to consider culture as critically being shaped by relation to and understanding of others, at local and broader scales.

ABORIGINAL STUDENTS' UNDERSTANDINGS OF SELF AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

Students' understandings of self and cultural identity were seen in their responses of drawings and discussions when asked to show their understanding of the word 'Aboriginality'. Many of these understandings are evident in the key ideas students spoke about, shown for their frequency below:

Figure 1. Student interview word frequency.

Students demonstrated understandings of self and identity by portrayal of personal thoughts and experiences in their drawings and discussions. All participating students demonstrated the capacity to portray their understandings of self through visual and verbal representations of cultural identity.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

One of the underlying categories represented in the data collected from the drawings and interviews was *Cultural Identity.* This category was further divided into sub categories that we labelled *Creative, Environmental, Interpersonal, Intrapersonal, Practical and Values,* These categorised the specific themes represented by students in their drawings and discussions. The sub categories each included their own characteristics:

- Creative drum dances and singing

    ○ Making, traditional crafts
    ○ Environmental connection to land

- Interpersonal

    ○ Celebrations
    ○ Elders
    ○ Family
    ○ Language

- Intrapersonal
- Practical

  ○ Hunting and fishing
  ○ Making and building

- Values

  ○ Religion and spirituality

These categories and subcategories were built upon student directed comments, rather than interviewer additions or questions, which were generally excluded from analysis to prevent misrepresentation of the students' own thoughts.

These were dominant categories throughout the data represented elements of cultural identity which significantly shaped and defined the participants' understandings of themselves. We have chosen drawings from the children that were specific to each of these subcategories and included some pieces of their discussions about their drawings.

Creative: Drum Dances and Singing, Making and Traditional Crafts

The children interviewed, often drew picture that represented drum dancing and singing and making traditional crafts. In most cases, these crafts were in the form of traditional clothing like mukluks (slippers to keep feet warm) or parkies (also known as parkas, large winter jackets with a fur tuft around the face. The students showed a connection to celebrations in the community and the way in which people celebrated together. Participant I7 drew this picture of drum dancing and wearing traditional clothing:

Figure 2. Participant drawing I7.

The participant explained:

I   What's happening in your picture?

I7   Like drum dancing.

I   Drum dancing? So over here, we've got the drummers and they're banging on the drums and some of them are sitting down, some of them are standing up and we've got this beautiful music that's coming from there and then who are these people?

I7   Drum dancers.

I   They're drum dancing and what are they wearing?

I7   Traditional clothing.

I   Traditional clothing? So what is the jacket called?

I7   I forgot. Oh it's a parkie

I   Yes, and these? (pointing to feet)

I7   Mukluks.

Another participant explained how many craft projects and celebrations are carried out in the community setting:

I   And what do the ladies do together?

D3   Sewing sometimes.

I   What kind of sewing?

D3   Beading and making slippers and talking.

I   Excellent! When you have a celebration in this community, do you do something special?

D3   We all get together to have drum dances and we do jigging.

Many participants discussed drum dancing, and dancing or jigging and being something that they related to their culture and set them apart from other cultures. They also took great pride in discussing the local clothing and the creation of those clothes by primarily the women in their communities. It was evident that the participants understood the special dancing and arts and crafts that were a part of their community and a part of who they were as people.

Environmental: Connection to Land

Connection to land represented the most frequently noted category throughout the student interviews. The theme of connection to land in relation to cultural identity was represented similarly by all students in their portrayals of personal and shared experiences of the land, and expressions of connection to specific place. Students showed connection to land by their portrayal of significant places, and references to being out on the land, such as experiences of camping, hunting, fishing, and making

and building tepees. Many of the students' references to the land were simply portrayals of the abundance and beauty of the natural environment around them.

This student's drawing represented a personal sense of connection to the land in forming cultural identity, by their integrated representation of traditional and contemporary land uses.

Figure 3. Participant drawing D5.

Students' depictions of the natural environment additionally showed dependence on the land in both a deep spiritual sense, and for survival:

I	And then I see this. Tell me about that.
D5	He has a tepee where he puts fish and…
I	Yes.
D5	He makes dry fish and he cooks bannock and dry meat.
I	Excellent. He cooks bannock, he cooks dry fish, and does he go hunting then?
D5	Yes.
I	So what does he do when he goes hunting?
D5	He shoots moose and caribou.

Their connection to land depicted significant experiences shared with family and community:

D1	My dad takes me, well; sometimes we go to the bush.
I	That sounds like fun!
D1	Yes.
I	What kinds of things do you do in the bush?
D1	We make a camp, we make fire and we walk around and we cook meat and we fish.

In each of these representations of connection to land, both visually and verbally made known, students demonstrated the ways in which connection to land deeply shapes and forms who they are, and their identity as participants of Aboriginal communities and cultures of the Northwest Territories.

Interpersonal: Language

Language also represented a key theme throughout the data, coded a total of 11 times in the student interviews. Students spoke of their language learning in curriculum-integrated language classes at school, telling of the content of their lessons, and the kinds of things they had been learning. Many showed a distinct sense of pride about their language learning, a sense of accomplishment about achieving this communicative skill:

D5   We do numbers in Dogrib, animals in Dogrib and days of the week.
I   Can you tell me why you think that's important.
D5   So when we grow up, we could talk to the Elders.

Some students interviewed recognised the central place of traditional language learning in their cultural identity as children of Aboriginal heritage. These students spoke of the importance of language to their culture, and its significance in *being* and *becoming*:

I   In the language class, what kind of language are you learning?
D2   Dogrib.
I   Dogrib, and why do you think it's important?
D2   It's part of our culture.

Students spoke of the significance of language learning to continue tradition and ensure this fundamental element of their own culture would not die with the rapid progression of modern society toward English. They valued traditional language as a part of who they were as children of Aboriginal heritage

I   Yes. Why is it important that you learn to speak Dogrib?
D2   I could speak it when I'm older.
I   When you're older, yes. That's right.
D2   Because I am Dene.
I   Yes you are. Anything else?
D2   I know about my culture; I'm Aboriginal.

In participant N10's drawing in the bottom right hand corner, they show a picture of a Dene person on the left which has a speech bubble coming from his mouth at it says, "Wilideh" which means the Dene language. On the right, there is an Inuvialuit person with a similar speech bubble that says "Inuit language."

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Figure 4. Participant drawing N10.

I   Now what have you got down here?
N10 The language.
I   The language? This guy says "I speak…"
N10 Wilideh
I   And this guy says…
N10 Inuit language.
I   Yes, Inuvialuit maybe? Yes?
N10 Mm hmm.
I   Now, why do you think the language is so important?
N10 So we can know all the languages older.
I   Yes, and why is that important around here? Why is it important to learn the language?
N10 So I can speak to older people.
I   Yes, because lots of people here… some of them only speak their language don't they?
N10 Yes.

They also spoke of the value of language learning in day to day interactions with family and community members, particularly grandparents and Elders, in communicating well and respectfully with them:

I   Does your grandma speak Dogrib?
D2 Yes.
I   And do you have a grandpa who speaks Dogrib too?
D2 Yes. I like to talk to them.

The significance and place of language to the students involved in the study, and the dimension of language in moulding the cultural identity and understandings of self

that are held by students in regards to their background and heritage is fundamentally evident within each of these examples.

Interpersonal: Family

Cultural heritage and family stories were also strongly represented throughout the drawings and discussions of students involved in the study. *Family* was noted in the interviews many times making it one of the most popular categories in the category of 'Cultural Identity'.

Cultural heritage holds a significant place in the family, defining many elements of family life and providing a sense of identity through background and tradition. Some students felt this particularly as they sought to take on and embrace the diversity of multicultural family composition. This student spoke of their parents, siblings, grandparents and Elders in the community. Many students demonstrated that they held a strong sense of cultural identity and understanding given their ties to family, and the links these bloodlines gave them to the land and place and all other aspects of their respective Aboriginal cultures. Students endeavoured to find the words to adequately express this, even expressing that such identity was 'in their veins'. In this way students demonstrated their ability to differentiate as well as to group themselves with and from others, developing understandings of their own deep and rich cultural identity through ties to others with whom they were 'learning to be'.

In asking students to visually represent their perceptions of the word 'Aboriginality', and to discuss the process undertaken in their drawings, much was revealed about how students perceived not only their own cultural identity, but also the way they perceived others around them and the world as a broader whole. Fundamentally, the drawings and discussions uniquely represented the ability of students to differentiate between the personal and interpersonal.

Intrapersonal: Understanding of Self and Others

As unfolded in the previous sections of data analysis, the drawings and discussions gathered in the study revealed much of how students perceived themselves, particularly in regard to cultural identity. Additionally, as students portrayed representations of themselves they drew and spoke of relationships with others, particularly interpersonal relationships within community, where they involved in processes of differentiating 'other' from self-perceptions.

Drawings, such as that of D4, and interviews reiterated this strong sense of understanding where students were active participants of local culture in which tradition is readily, openly and actively shared. Not only were their understandings of others strengthened, but also, as they shared in community they also developed a sense of cultural identity in understandings of themselves.

Figure 5. Participant drawing D4.

This participant demonstrated the ability to view the world even on an abstract level, and to interact with others through a clear perception of personal identity, established on the fundamental characteristics of culture.

While there was only a small number of student who seemed to have an 'understanding of world', the data did reveal a significant relationship in that students who demonstrated a deep level of understanding of both self and others were frequently those who demonstrated a broader understanding of the world which extended even further from themselves. It may be proposed that these students demonstrated a predisposition to look more globally than their local contexts, and sought to understand the world through connection and exploration in this way. For example, this student demonstrated a strong sense of identity and understanding of self in a way that allowed her to powerfully differentiate between self and others.

Figure 6. Participant drawing NJ7.

In recognising difference, this participant showed empathy in taking on the perspective of others, and seeking to genuinely understand the context and situation of those in another place:

NJ7   Well most of my birth family – because I was adopted – is all from (another community in another area of northern Canada) and that's where I want to go some day to help kids get food because recently I did a petition for food security and I drew a Inuit girl hunting.

I   Do you have family there do you think?

NJ7   We have lots of family there.

I   So what got you the idea of doing the petition?

NJ7   After my mum told me that 60% of children don't get food every day, at all, and 70% of children don't get food because of all of the high rates of money, like just one piece of big… like a medium size of meat, like that big would cost $103.

I   That's so expensive. Isn't it crazy?

NJ7   Mm hmm.

I   Anna, when I say the word "Aboriginal", obviously you drew her in an Aboriginal outfit; she has mukluks on.

NJ7   And then the amauti which is that parka she's wearing.

I   Yes. What is it called?

NJ7   Amauti.
       There's big shoulders which lets the hood go up and usually you put the baby in the hood and it'll just rest over here or it'll be in the back and there's a picture of me in my photo album of when I was a baby, of my aunty who is a throat singer and carver. She has a picture of me in the back of her hood looking really confused.
       I Can you tell me anything else that's really interesting about Aboriginal people? What other things do they do? You said throat singing and you are the first person in all the hundred kids that I talked to that knew what throat signing was.

NJ7   I throat sang when I was three until now and the last time I throat sang was in (another arctic community) with my aunt because that's where they moved.

I   If there is a message that you would want to give teachers about Aboriginal children…

NJ7   I would tell them how much they're getting not enough food and that we should help them with money to get them food, like go around door to door to get money and then send it to the people in each territory there and give all the money so they can buy food.

The combined words and drawing dynamically portrayed a sense of responsibility as citizen of the world, seeking to deeply understand others, both near and far, based

on a strong sense own personal identity. For each of these students, understanding of world existed on the foundation of a deeply rooted understanding of self and cultural identity, flowing into genuine understandings of others, and ultimately of the broad contexts of their globalised world.

Practical: Hunting and Fishing, Making and Building

In the Dene and Inuvialuit culture, hunting, trapping and fishing falls predominantly in the male domain of responsibility. In correlation to this, many of the young male participants who took part in this study drew pictures of hunting and fishing. Many of them also had a sense that the hunting and fishing that takes place is done for the practicality of feeding the family and sharing with the community.

Figure 7. Participant drawing T22.

I   …and what is happening in your drawing
T22 This is my dad and he is shooting a moose
I   What other animals are out there on the land
T22 Um…wolves, and bears but we shoot the moose and the caribou for our food. My dad, he is laying on his tummy and looking at the moose to get a good shot

Young boys in these communities are taught to hunt at a very young age and they have been out on the land many times with their father, uncles and other Elders to learn the skill of hunting, trapping and fishing. They have made the connection early of the practicality of helping one another to get things done for the good of family and community. This may include providing food to eat, clothing to wear, buildings to live, learn and worship in and doing this together in a community driven, culturally sound approach to living.

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Values: Religion and Spirituality

Another foundation for the Aboriginal north is religion and spirituality. There is a unique combination of the traditional stories and legends passed down from Elders since passed, and the induction of the Catholic Church at the turn of the century followed by other denominations. In one small community of 400, there were at least three places of worship.

Many of the participants drew pictures such as participant D6 below, depicting a traditional dream catcher. These are usually made of a wooden frame and sinew or string and decorated with beads and sheets and feathers. We found it interesting that the participants chose to show a sense of spirituality in this way.

D6   It's a Dream catcher.
I   It's a beautiful dream catcher. Do you know what a dream catcher is for? Can you tell me?
D6   It's for catching dreams.
I   Yes. Where do you hang it?
D6   By your bed.
I   By your bed…and then if you have a bad dream at night?
D6   It catches your dream.
I   Yes, and makes it go away, doesn't it. That's so pretty. You also have written some words here. Can you tell me about these words?
D6   Hope, faith and peace.
I   Where did you find those words? Those are words that you just thought of?
D6   I just believe that.
I   So when you think about hope and love and peace and faith – all of those things make you think about Aboriginal?
D6   Yes, and Dene.

Others drew pictures of significant landmarks which held stories for their people some of the participants were able to tell us about the legends passed down by their Elders and understood that this sense of spirituality was a part of what made them Aboriginal.

CONCLUSION

The drawings and discussions in this project revealed a great depth of insight into the thoughts and perceptions of students themselves in regards to cultural identity. The drawings produced by students represented elements and experiences from their own lives, formed and fashioned by the culture and context of the everyday. Their representations showed *creative, environmental, interpersonal, intrapersonal* and *practical* themes as well as *values*, of real world significance and of great

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importance in conveying a message of meaning, the symbolic language of their thoughts (Alerby, 2010).

Drawings revealed of students exactly what they knew and associated with 'Aboriginality', their own cultural heritage. For some, their thoughts and perceptions were at a mere surface level, with little impression of the true depth and significance of Aboriginal culture to their lives. For these students, Aboriginality was the context in which they socially existed, the family and friends who comprised the interactions and relationships of the everyday, and the contexts in which they existed. These inputs and insights, these experiences of reality, were the elements that fundamentally shaped students *understanding of self* and *understanding of others*, even at a basic level.

Students showed they were able to differentiate themselves from others when they demonstrated both *understandings of self* and *understandings of others* in their drawings and discussions. Their reflections presented depth of thought into sustaining both the uniqueness and diversity of self and others, shaped by cultural perspective in the context of everyday interaction (Hannam & Echeverria, 2009; Parker, 2008).

The sequence emerging across the data gathered in this study demonstrated a link between students' understanding of self on a deep level, and a genuine understanding of others both in local and global contexts. Understandings of self, and others were exhibited as students related their knowledge and experience of elements of cultural identity, as coded thematically into *creative, environmental, interpersonal, intrapersonal, practical,* and *values* domains. As these components unfolded, it became evident within the data set that as understanding of self was increased, so did understanding of others. These understandings led students to speak with real empathy for others as they demonstrated genuine perceptions and understandings of the diverse contexts and cultures in their world.

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DAT BAO

12. IMAGES OF DREAMS AND HOPES

Hmong and Yao Primary Students in Northern Thailand

INTRODUCTION

A great deal of discourse in visual research demonstrates interest in professionally produced images which come from classical or modern arts, architecture, and the media including comic strips, cartoons, movies, photography, and artefacts. Most of such works are created by professional artists, designers, film-makers, cartoonists, photographers, and architects; and are accessible from official channels such as in museums, archives, the Internet, public library books and private collections. One major reason for doing so is to understand society as well as to see how artists represent social and cultural trends at the time of the art work.

Not much concern has been given to personal, non-professional, less popular images such as drawings and doodles created by ordinary children and adults, students and teachers, and so on. Although these visuals, unlike the works by artists that speak to society or represent a view, might not have an intended communication message to society, they actually contain in them many values, beliefs, and insights meaningful to the people who created them. Arguably, they become valuable resources that can potentially reveal the world through the lenses of various social groups who may not consciously form into a community to interact with other members. Without research into such artefacts, expressions of certain worldviews would disappear forever and the range of perspectives on many contemporary issues would never be understood.

As an educator and an illustration artist, I find it important to make use of my interest both in curriculum awareness and in reading visual works to look at the drawings created by young students who go to school with hopes of becoming good citizens of their country. Studying their inner world through self-created images represents an invaluable source for observing the extent to which society can meet the ideology of the future generation who will build that society.

Inspired by the above understanding, this chapter reports a study which examined self-created images by 75 primary students in two ethnic hill tribes namely the Hmongs and Yaos. Aged between 11 and 13 years, they study in Chiang Rai Pittayakom School, Chiang Rai province, in the northern part of Thailand. Most of Hmong and Yao families live in remote rural villages in this country as well as in

Burma, Laos and Vietnam. The first reason for selecting the context of Thailand is because it was where I lived and worked for many years as a teacher educator thus have been familiar with its education system and social context. The second reason has to do with my interest in listening to a voice less heard from the minority groups who have constantly migrated from neighbouring nations due to being unable to seek recognition and acceptance in the society where they lived.

DISCOURSE ON CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

When young students enter school, they bring with them previous background in reading not only words but also pictures (Williams, 1963) and such experiences with images should be taken seriously so that image-creating skills inherent in learners can be utilised as a rich resource for learning. In particular, drawing can serve as an inspiring tool for students to generate information and make sense of the world as well as another medium that children can utilise to express their rich and creative thoughts.

A child's drawing 'captures symbolically on paper some of the subject's thoughts and feelings. It makes a portion of the inner self visible' (Klepschand Logie, 1982, p. 7). Alongside with the verbal word, drawing has been viewed in the literature as:

- a rehearsal for writing (Grave, 1983)
- a kind of visual awareness which children have more than adults (McDermott, 1974)
- a 'means of expression and a method of conveying ideas as surely as language' (Sibley, 1957, p. 6)
- a type of writing in itself, as young students process and produce what they have seen before in books, and a shift among mutually supporting systems of depiction including talking, drawing, and producing written text (Newkirk, 1989)
- representation of artistic cleverness (Goodnow, 1977; Gardner, 1980)
- demonstration of the ability to see the world and a way to develop viewpoint (Jacobs & Tunnel, 1996). A transitional device which connects symbolic play and imagination (Krampen, 1991)
- one of the most important expressions of and pathways to creativity among children (Sibley, 1957; Malchiodi, 1998).

PARTICIPANTS AND RESEARCH LOCATION

With permission from the principal of Pittayakom primary school in Chiang Rai province, I visited the school to learn about its culture and students' background. With help from these teachers, I was able to visit two classes and collected data from 75 Hmong and Yao students. There was no interview with the children apart from the suggestion for the children to express themselves by drawing pictures about their

dreams and hopes as well as what they love to see changed in their immediate living environment. Not much interaction happened between myself and the students as I did not know their dialect; and thus the study focuses on the drawings as the primary research data.

The students were all living in mountainous rural areas of Chiang Rai, being fairly isolated from the world without travel beyond the village and without the Internet. Occasionally, there are volunteer student teachers from cities in Thailand or from overseas visiting and teaching the children for a short time. Apart from this, interaction with urban culture is minimal. Many of the parents have low literacy and hardly travel far from their mountain homes. Teaching and learning resources are provided by both the Thai government and international organisations especially the UNICEF, in the forms of locally produced textbooks, story books and other basic facilities such as photocopiers, blackboards and stationary.

Dwelling in mountainous, forest areas and historically migrating from ancient China, many ethnic minority groups (according to the local media), do not seem to receive the same level of inclusivity as mainstream Thai citizens with regards to economic and social opportunities. Despite this, the children are sent to school where they receive education very much in the same curriculum as every other child in Thailand. Like most other kids, they are given opportunities to learn, play, and express themselves with the support of teachers who are both indigenous and who came from elsewhere in the country. The context of children's drawings plays an important role in our understanding of their meaning. Scholarly attention towards a consideration of the questions of place and space has been appealed in visual research (Stimson, 1986). The spatial context of the drawings includes rural landscape, village life, trees, mountains, and other assets close to the students' experiences.

VISUAL ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK

The interpretation process for this project is founded on perception psychology, a perspective in visual research which has to do with consensual reality (Curtiss, 1995) and is deeply phenomenological as it allows both identifying meanings of images and exploring ways to label such representation in an independent manner. Although much of the analysis comes from my common sense and analytical experience having studied art and worked as a visual artist for many years, part of my data analysis has made use of a scholarly framework of eight elements as summarised by Emmison and Smith (2000), which includes the following:

Binary opposition – drawing attention to items that might appear in pairs and in mutual contrast.

Frames – denoting relationship between the part and the whole in a context, as well as how each item is depicted differently in the frame as opposed to in the real world.

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Genre – although this applies more to classification in photography such as sports, news, fashion, etc., genre could be understood as denoting mood, style and narrative, such as humanist, comic, documentary or dramatic.

Identification – referring to how people are related to a particular image and this connection may come from the positioning and role of that person. This criterion applies to both the artist and the character in the drawing.

Narrative – involving a story line which can be communicated through either a single image or a series of images, especially where there is some indication of continuation such as past and future.

Reading ability – requiring the reader's life experiences in order to understand an image and interpret it into a message.

Signification through icons – denoting how the artist presents a real object in ways that seems most meaningful to him/her and this process may appear in multiple forms such as partial representation, emotional gestures, expression of passion, symbol of happiness, and so on.

Subject position – or what I would call hierarchy or prioritisation – highlighting objects or persons that are central or privileged as opposed to others that may be devalued in order to rank them by degrees of importance.

This framework, however, serves my analysis as a suggestive tool rather than a strong binding checklist to conform with. The four criteria which help me the most are identification, narrative, reading ability, and significance through icons. They are extremely helpful for the understanding of character relationship, the kinds of stories being told, the organisation of images in each drawing, and the use of my contextual knowledge in interpreting events. The position of humans and objects, in the meanwhile, only applies to a small degree when there are various issues in the same drawing and one of them needs to be highlighted as the most essential. The other criteria are only considered when there is a strong indication of binary of elements, time frame and specific genres.

DIVERSE THEMES IN THE DRAWINGS

Being invited to draw pictures about what they like to draw best, the children decided to focus on such topics as everyday routine, experiences, dreams, aspirations, future careers, improvement of living quality, and better facilities for the community. Their visual presentation touches on reality as well as travels beyond it as students not only describe what they see and hope for, but also stretch into fantasy-like aspiration. The images being constructed include a comfortable mansion, enhanced beauty in living space, more smiley faces, a tree with houses built on every branch, a better looking and larger school, a more prosperous life for the village, more flowers in the garden, being reborn into the life of a superhero, or turning into one with power to make changes, and travelling to

America to see more of the world. Arguably, although life in the village seems limiting in terms of living comfort, advanced facilities, novelty, mobility, and new events, somehow the children are aware that the world out there has more to offer; and if they do not know enough about the external surrounding beyond what their eyes can see, it would not hurt to dream and hope for the better. All of a sudden, being given the chance to express themselves further, they make the living environment enhanced in size, appearance, mood, facilities, details, functions – even mobility and action.

In addition to the above, they use images to create wishes for themselves and others. They aspire for the school to have a swimming pool, a football court, a playground, a better library with more books to read, a helicopter to take students from home to school so they don't have to walk through long and tiring mountain roads, a car that can fly, and a rocket to explore the universe. Personally they also wish to look more beautiful, earn money for their loved ones, set up a museum for the community so that young generations can learn more about the past. It is impressive how young children developed such a desire to be connected with traditions. Living in humble conditions on an everyday basis, the children also hope for more comfortable living facilities, a safer forest, easier access to the river, better transport to school, better clothes to wear, more advanced education, and more energy produced by a solar cell energy machine.

MORE CONFORMITY THAN INDIVIDUALITY IN THE CONTENT

Some of their dreams happen to be highly similar when many visualise themselves becoming teachers, doctors, nurses, dancers and painters. Discussion with the teachers reveals that the students' world seems limited without much technology and without travel away from home. This is particularly evident in the fact that none of the children ask for any current accessories which urban children are familiar with such as smartphones, video games or laptops. Besides, a sense of unity is dominant in a number of images, manifest by identical images of, for example, many windows of the same size and styles appearing repeatedly in a house, the same architect is shared across many houses in the village, and so on.

A large number of drawings also share similar images of humans, animals, places, architecture, and other elements. Individual traits and ideas seem much less common, which reflect the sociocultural context of Hmong and Yao people as communities are stronger in sharing interests than remaining individualistic. Only two of all the drawings seem to express different ideas from the rest. One depicts an artist who looks like a supernatural hero with fire and magic in his hands (Figure 1); the other describes an angry dragon breathing out fire to destroy two cats, with a story and this morale: 'This story tells us that we should not try to discomfort other people. It's a circle of karma' (Figure 2). Such scenarios, though rare, indicate that there are

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children who think differently from the rest and they may or may not be as happy as others due to their own individuality.
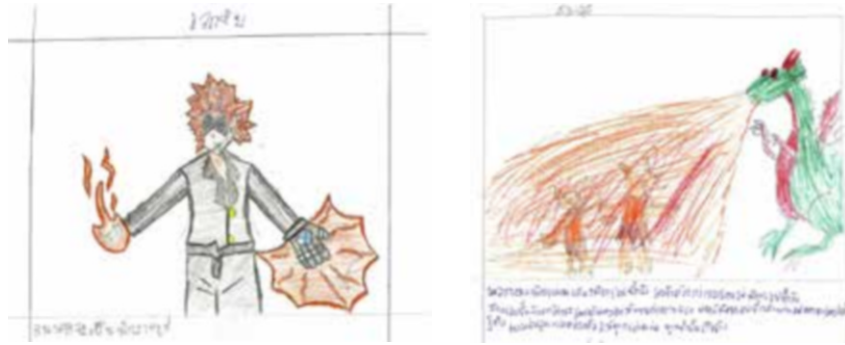
Figures 1 and 2.

ASPIRATION FOR LARGER DIMENSION AND BETTER QUALITY

Despite the children's limited interaction with the external world beyond their school and village, the images of things that can fly dominate students' art works, together with objects that stretch high up in the sky such as tall houses and houses on trees.

Human beings in most of the pictures are well-dressed, good-looking, healthy and fashionable. One character represents 'Sazuke', a Japanese cartoon hero that they probably have seen in picture books. There is also the need for an increase in quantity of good things such as more flowers, vegetable gardens, vehicles, space, mobility, roads, houses for relatives so that each house does not have to be so crowded. It is worth noticing that many of the drawings are about houses and other basic facilities.

There are captions that accompany the drawings, which explain what the children want in concrete terms. One student wrote: 'I want my school to have more university students' visit so we can receive more presents from them'. This wish comes from practical experiences with university students who visit the school from urban areas in Thailand as well as from overseas.

EXPRESSIVE TALENT AND CREATIVE CONTENT

As far as artistic styles are concerned, the use of colour is rich when almost all the drawing contains bright, colourful images. The use of space demonstrates the need to expand from narrow to large, from crowdedly shared to more open and free space. Much of the context remains rural rather than urban. The medium for the art work was mainly black and colour pencils. Although the styles of drawing are relatively diverse among the children, their works tend to portray more realistic than

fantasy-like events, more complete than suggestive, more concrete with details than abstract, suggestive shapes, and in particular more elements of the everyday setting as opposed to metaphors. Only two of the drawings employ metaphorical thinking such as fire to indicate passion of an artist and several stars flying around a teacher image to suggest his success. The drawing below (Figure 3) shows how concrete the child's thinking is in terms of what is useful for the immediate living environment: as more trees and houses are needed, to bring them to the community is essential. There is little balance between reality and the world of fantasy across the art works. Instead most of the pictures demonstrate a high degree of reality and noticeably there are virtually no ambiguous or abstract shapes.

Figure 3.

The ways in which the children stretch their imagination and create an extension of their world beyond their present living conditions tend to stay within the practical life they know best, such as the need to maintain positive interpersonal relationships through depiction of kind neighbours and proud parents, taking care of community members, supporting their families, helping younger children to learn, making the village proud through earning a good education, opening a bakery and letting everyone try new cakes, becoming a doctor to save lives, becoming a teacher who shares knowledge and serves as a moral guide, among other meaningful hopes. Such aspiration for the better seems to hint at their dissatisfaction toward their present quality of life, which is evident in three themes which run across all the drawings: the need of preserving positive reality (green forest, good relationship, a happy family, and sound morality), the aspiration for change (more good things, better life quality) and to a small degree the expression of fantasy (becoming hero, doing the impossible). Through images the children construct and manipulate their social reality, consciously or subconsciously, to serve their ideological ends. Below are images which demonstrate these themes.

Figure 4. 'Things that I want to do are to be with my family. My father, mother,
older brother and me are living in a sufficient economy.
We grow vegetables, eat them, and feel happy'.

Figure 5. 'When I was in year 4, I asked my mom to buy a cook book for me.
I have been dreaming to be a chef. I want to open my own bakery.
I wish I could cook for everybody to try!'

Figure 6. 'I want the world to have robots, a prime minister like Doremon [a Japanese cartoon character who can produce magic], and a solar-cell energy machine'.

A PEACEFUL APPROACH TO LIFE

It seems obvious that the children's attitudes toward life reflect more harmony than conflict, peacefulness than disturbance, and more positiveness than negativity. The pictures denote a fairly peaceful nature, expressing hopes and dreams for better life quality as well as desire to increase mobility without getting upset or blaming anyone. Although there are slight indications of problems, disadvantages, and dissatisfaction, there is rarely a strong sense of anger or resentment – with the exception of only one drawing in which a dragon destroy others for annoying it. The children's minds are calm and forgiving rather than disturbed and action-oriented as sometimes seen in urban people's imagination.

There is no sense of struggle against power dominance or injustice of any kind. No obvious evidence of students' social class, gender and ethnic identity represented or hinted in any elements of the drawings. Instead the drawings remain fairly neutral in their rural culture with common images of villages and landscapes that can be seen across Thailand. Arguably, children in rural areas have not been taught critical and analytical thinking and thus their work does not seem to contain symbol or hidden messages but tends to be honest, simplistic and straightforward in what is asked for. This tendency seems to contrast with art works by professional artists which sometimes hint at issues that is not inherently visual but can be visualised (such as anger is visualised as fire or pain visualised in a broken heart), which is an important feature of visual culture (Mirzoeff, 1999). This type of hidden message is absent from the drawings by the children in this study.

This observation prompts me to think that if these students, considering their expressive talent and the ability to think beyond reality, have the right to be educated more in a curriculum that promote more abstract, advanced thinking facilities. Without

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such support, students will waste a great deal of their expressive potential. Research evidence has demonstrated that pre-school and primary students have remarkably more creative abilities than high school students (Elsie, 2013), which is not limited to art creation but is deeply connected to the ability to identify problems and to approach them in individualised ways. Part of such creativity is the development of symbolic thinking (Elsie, 2013), which allows children to see patterns in life, form relationships, imagine events and express emotions.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The weakness of their research is that the students' drawings are treated as data in their own rights – without conversations with the students themselves. There are three reasons for this. One is that the researcher did not wish to take time from the children because not only are their study schedules very tight but many need to travel long distance back to their home, thus making the idea of interview intrusive and difficult. Two, is that after data were collected, the opportunity for such follow-up questions no longer existed. And as mentioned earlier, the researcher was unfamiliar with the dialect in the area. Arguably, the increasing presence and access to the Internet has made visual images more interrelated with other modes of communication such as music, voices, sound effect, and written language (Duncum, 2004), so that it has become increasingly less realistic to study visuals in their own right. However, as described in the context of the chapter, these children have little to no exposure to technology or to the Internet.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It was noticed that in most Hmong and Yao villages, child rearing practice requires children to help their family with work since a very young age, such as keeping watch on the house, carrying baby siblings, performing household chores, and even doing some farm work. Such participation allows children to blend in with community life and enable them to construct meanings related to the dreams and hopes not only of their own but also of those of the community. As evident in the artworks, the children's voice express how the community is still in need of more efficient facilities and how much should be done toward improving the living quality.

   I would imagine elsewhere beyond these villages, if asked about their dreams, urban children would probably request a good deal of extravagant luxuries and yearn for improbable fantasies. The Hmong and Yao children in the study, however, through their self-driven visuals have constructed a less demanding world they perceive as ideal and, with tremendous passion, have not asked much more than the basic need. The world of their experience and imagination merges into a model of life where humans care about one another, hungry villagers have sufficient food

to eat, children receive education to become helpful citizens, illnesses are treated, lives are saved, and living spaces are expanded for everyone to reside in comfort. Such simple dreams and hopes suggest that there is so much to be done in order to provide the minimum tangible comfort and support for these young minds to develop intellectually.

What also seems highly noticeable is the children's self-expressive ability to recognise problems and construct solutions. Through drawing activities, students identified their own concerns, reflected on individual viewpoints, built awareness of social issues, and made judgment of events in the world around them. Such skills have implications for classroom pedagogy whereby teachers can invite students' creative effort and inspire their creative ideas.

For young talents not to be wasted, schools need to develop their own resources and ways to help the children maximise their own learning. It is also teachers' responsibility to facilitate more independent thinking. Considering the lack of mobility capital, curriculum reform is required in Thailand to provide these creative, passionate young learners with more access to life and culture in the rest of the world. In particular, more facilities and tools such as computers, televisions, Internet access, social media, books, magazines, stationery, good nutrition, and means of communication should be provided so that these young learners can stretch their skills, expand their world and enrich knowledge about the other cultures.

It would be incomplete if this chapter closes without any mention of the participants' ability to see beyond their existing world. Research shows that creativity as a trait is not necessarily about visual art but can apply to children ability to reason, identify issues, and develop any problem solving skills. The images created in the study somehow demonstrate such skills to some extent as the children wish to replace reality with either a better living environment that can be built or the fantasy world part of which only exists in imagination. Such imagination if well nurtured has potential to develop not only into symbolic thinking but also into the ability to be empathic and form relationships, especially when the children express emotion about or identify themselves with an ideal character such as a good doctor, a profound teacher, or a brave hero whom they are yearning to become.

Engaging students through their own creation of drawings represents a self-resourceful way of learning. This is because visual images from external sources tend to impose ideas on students and show them what to see, which reduces their ability to interpret the world in their own way. When images come from students' minds, the thinking process is enriched as opportunities for self-development and learning autonomy. Very much in the same fashion as the ability to write essays which every student needs to develop, visual texts should be constructed by students themselves rather than always by authors of textbooks. If pictures in coursebooks often serve as 'mirrors of the written text' (Duncum, 2004, p. 261), visual images created in the classroom would demonstrate learners' identity and values beyond what printed materials could ever provide.

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